Planning in Cape Town's Interstices: Case Studies of Informal Land Occupations in Cape Town, South Africa

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To my parents: ngiyabonga. To Mum, eTshuma:

Tshuma olitshukela

Golide

Nyoni emhlophe

Umageza ngochago ngoba ethi amanzi angcolile

Wena wasebukhosini, owazalelwa esihlalweni sobukhosi

UGolide wasendlini yesilo

Sohlanga wena oqholotsha phezu kom'bela wenkomo

Sana lukaMzilikazi kaMatshobana itshobatshoba lingayo yise uMatshobana

iNtungwa elintunjane

Cicilomhlaba

uMazizitha

Umafihla ngendololwane udlula bedlala

Gumede

Gumbi

Moyana

Qwabe

Mnguni

To Dad:

Sitshela sabakwena

Somnguni

Shashane

Mahlazi

Sithole

Zithazemkhonto

Madlelelunyeni

Mhlangoqhuqhayo

Bagali

Maphokothela

Manzimande

Mntimande

Vusumuzi ngokuvus' okaMdonsela

Mshweshwe

Shongwe

Nsindamanzi

Zithamkhulu

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Abstract

Participatory planning has been institutionalised through planning legislation in most Western-style democracies since the 1940s. Irrespective of the variability in how participation is conducted in different contexts, participation is regarded as desirable. That is, provided participation activities and processes do not flout laws or infringe the property rights of others in the manner that informal land occupations do. Often characterised as a problem, informal land (whereby land is defined broadly to include vacant and under-utilised buildings) occupations and, consequently, the numbers of auto-constructed and retrofitted housing have not only continued apace since 1994 in South Africa, they have intensified in scale, frequency, and level of organisation. The aim of this research is to develop a theoretical understanding of informal land occupations from the residents' (read occupiers') perspectives. These citizen-led place making practices, which have not yet been fully theorised in Southern planning literature, constitute the issue under study. Thus, the main research question is: What strategies and tactics are used by residents to claim and sustain urban spaces in Cape Town, South Africa?

To answer this question, the research employed the case study and discourse analysis methods. The four cases for this research were located in Green Point, Woodstock, and Khayelitsha. Fourteen (14) semi-structured interviews and five (5) focus groups were conducted to gain the perspectives of a range of actors in the spatial planning and human settlements sectors, namely occupiers, professional planners working within local government and non-government organisations (NGOs), activists, elected local government officials, and bureaucrats within local and provincial government departments. Additional data in the form of government publications, namely policy documents, legislation, and transcripts of Parliamentary debates and Council meeting minutes to mention a few, as well as photographs, media statements and articles was also collected in the period between 2016 and 2022. This data was analysed through an iterative cycle of open, axial and selective coding.

The findings indicate that residents claim spaces, namely land and building, that are perceived to be vacant or underutilised. These spaces, which whilst requiring the (re)construction of housing or retrofitting, are suitable for a range of land uses. These spaces are residual in nature, non-synchronous, accommodate new or atypical performances, create uncertainty and new rules. These spaces are claimed through bold, bi-directional discursive and physical strategies and tactics. Occupations are initiated through mobilisation, which continues for the occupation's lifespan in order to re-mobilise existing residents and to mobilise (additional) support and resources for the movement.

Once the occupation is under way, autoconstruction, retrofitting, repair, and maintenance activities are undertaken. These activities, along with discursive strategies and performative repertoires, enable residents to sustain their claims. The findings also highlight that these processes occur in the city's interstices, with many of these spaces being left vacant or underutilised as a result of the city's growth. Within these spaces of possibility, residents' visions for the city are ineffectively realised. These visions are based on inherited imaginations that, in turn, are founded on both Western and African philosophical and theological currents. And, it is from this intellectual foundation that the radicality of informal land occupations emerges. On this intellectual foundation, residents strive to foster an African sense of self, re-affirm their humanity and dignity whilst highlighting alternative solutions for dealing with their current reality.

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List of Acronyms

ANC	African National Congress
APO	African People's Organisation
BC	Black Consciousness
BCM	Black Consciousness Movement
BIPOC	Black, Indigenous or Persons of Colour
CBD	Central Business District
CoCT	City of Cape Town
COPE	Congress of the People
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CRLR	Commission on Restitution of Land Rights
DEA&DP	Department of Environmental Affairs and Development Planning
DBSA	Development Bank of South Africa
DDM	District Development Model
DFA	Development Facilitation Act
DLA	Department of Land Affairs
DPWI	Department of Public Works and Infrastructure
DRDLR	Department of Rural Development and Land Reform
EFF	Economic Freedom Fighters
ePHP	Enhanced People's Housing Process
FEPD	Forum for Effective Planning and Development
GNP	Gross National Product
GPRPA	Green Point Rate Payers Association
HDA	Housing Development Agency
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
KCT	Khayelitsha Community Trust
LRAD	Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development
MEC	Member of the Executive Council
MJC	Muslim Judicial Council
MNC	Multi-national Corporations
MOH	Medical Officer of Health
MPT	Municipal Planning Tribunal
MSDF	Municipal Spatial Development Framework

NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People
NDP	National Development Plan
NEUF	Non-Europe United Front
NEUM	Non-European Unity Movement
NHK	Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk
NLL	National Liberation League for Equality, Land, and Freedom
NPM	New Public Management
NU	Ndifuna Ukwazi
PHP	People's Housing Process
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress
POS	Public Open Space
RCP	Rational Comprehensive Planning
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RSC	Regional Services Councils
RTC	Reclaim the City
SAHRC	South African Human Rights Commission
SANNC	South African Native National Congress
SERI	Socio-Economic Rights Institute of South Africa
SPLUMA	Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act
TOD	Transit Oriented Development
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UCT	University of Cape Town
UDF	United Democratic Front
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
VOC	Vereenigde Oost Indische Compagnie
WCPG	Western Cape Provincial Government
WWII	World War II

Chapter 1: Informal Land Occupations in Cape Town

Informal land occupation and, consequently, owner-built (self-help or auto-constructed) housing is not a new phenomenon in South Africa (Parnell and Hart, 1999). Since the colonial era hundreds of settlements have been established across the country through processes such as quiet encroachment for example (Oldfield and Greyling, 2015). Both government and privately-owned land is informally occupied, if it is perceived to have been "overlooked, supposedly marginal, underutilised or empty" (Borras and Franco, 2013: 1723). The informal occupation of land primarily by working class individuals has not only continued apace since the dawn of democracy in 1994; it has intensified in scale, frequency (Limberg, interview, 13 December 2017) and level of organisation. Hardly a week goes by without stories of how the poor, particularly in the global South, have (informally) occupied vacant land and/or buildings. Occupations occur, literally, overnight. This research examines the tactics through which land claims are made and sustained by mobilised communities and social movements in Cape Town, South Africa (figure 1.1).[i] These citizen-led place making practices, which have not yet been fully theorised in Southern planning literature, constitute the issue under study.
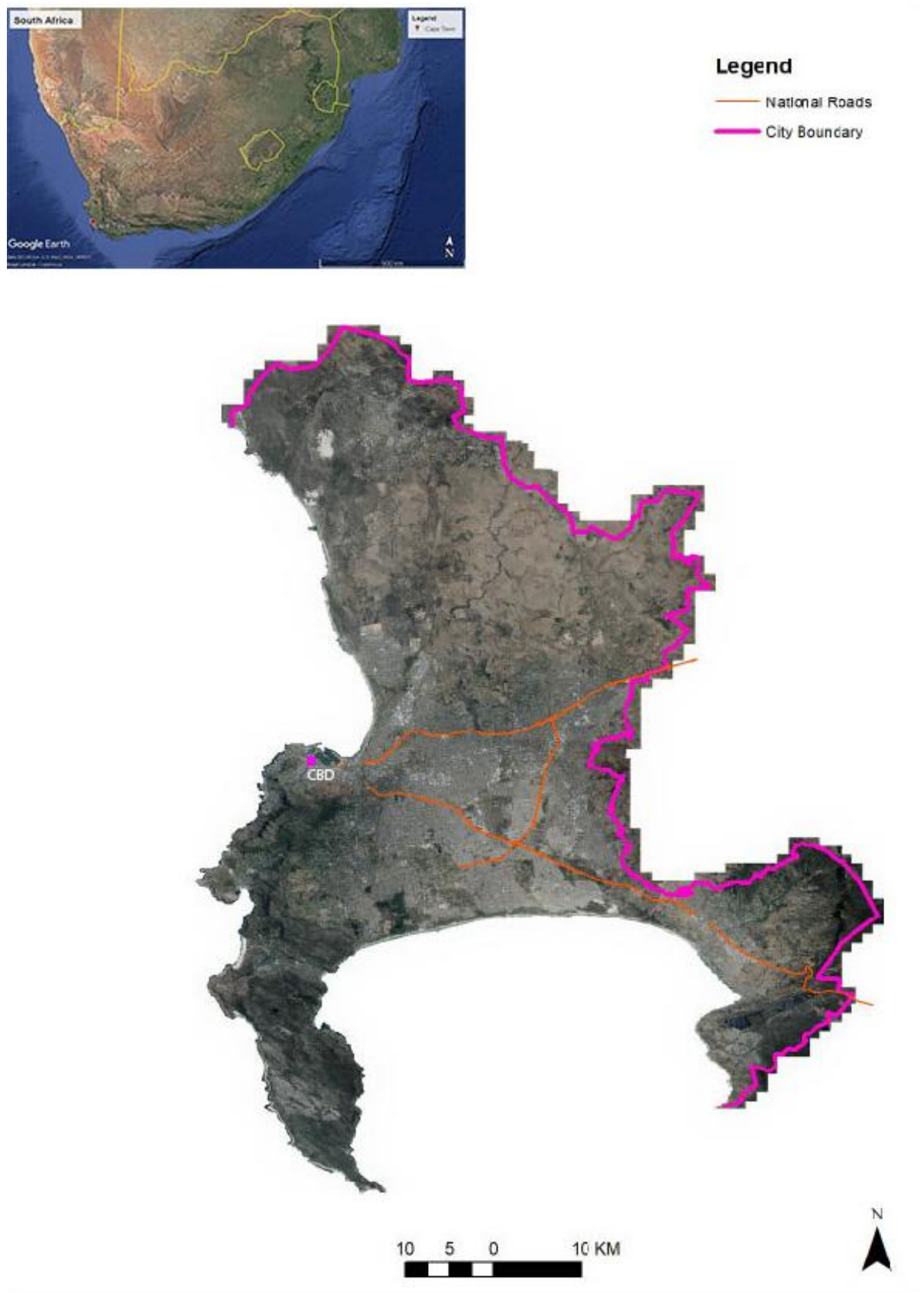
Figure 1.1: Cape Town, South Africa

(Aerial Image Source: CoCT, 2022)

As the purpose of this chapter is to introduce the issue under study, the chapter begins with a brief background discussion on the issue. The discussion in the first section of this chapter provides a brief historical account of land dispossession and displacement in South Africa. This is followed by a discussion on informal land occupation in Cape Town. This followed, in the third section, by a discussion of the main research question. This section also briefly introduces the four cases. The chapter concludes with an overview of how this thesis is structured.

1.1 Background to the Issue Under Study

The arrival of Jan van Riebeeck in 1652 marks the beginning of the first phase of 'official 'colonisation[ii] (Oliver and Oliver, 2017). This is the period when the First Nation peoples, namely the Khoi and the San in southern Africa, were dispossessed of their lands (Oliver and Oliver, 2017). The dispossession of the Khoi and the San has been characterised by violence, which continues to be exercised by the state in the present day. A new property system, as well as a new system of land tenure emerged in this period of 'official' colonisation. This property system is founded on a Western understanding of land, wherein land is recast as property that can be alienated, bounded and owned by an individual or group, and from which monetary and exchange values can be extracted (Porter, 2014). In cementing this new system of property ownership, the *Natives Land Act (No. 27 of 1913)* became the foundation of the system of land ownership, which deprived Black South Africans of the right to own land.[iii] The Act prohibited Black South Africans from buying land across ninety-three percent (93%) of the country. Put differently, Black South Africans were only able to purchase or lease seven percent (7%) of the total land in the country outside of the Cape Colony. It is important to note that the British colonists extended franchise (voting) rights to a small minority of 'qualified' Black African men. Black African men who qualified for the franchise were those who held property in land and buildings worth £25 or more, as well as men who received an annual salary of £50 or more (Wotshela, 2018). To be clear, during the nineteenth century when the British government controlled the Cape Colony, Black African men (and presumably also 'Coloured' men) were allowed to own land (and buildings) in the Cape Colony. Thus, it was not possible to enforce the 1913 Land Act in the former Cape Colony until after the *Native Trust and Land Act (No. 18 of 1936)* was promulgated.

After the promulgation of the 1936 Native Trust and Land Act, all purchasing of land in the former 'native reserves' (which were established in 1879 via the *Natives Locations and Commonage Act 1879*, and which later became the Bantustans and self-governing territories after 1948 (i.e. apartheid), was

disallowed. The 1936 Act established the South African Native Trust (SANT), which turned the "reserves" into state-controlled trust land where residents were permitted only to lease land via quit rent titles or Permission to Occupy (PTO) rights (Du Plessis, 2011). Consequently, the *Bantu Land Act,* as the *Natives Land Act 1913* is also known, and the *Native Trust and Land Act 1936* are the foundations upon which Apartheid was built. Through the *Group Areas Act (No. 41 of 1950),* the ownership of property and businesses by Black individuals was restricted to specific areas of the city designated for Black households. During the 1950s, more than sixty thousand (60,000) residents were forcibly removed from District Six[iv] alone in scenes that are strikingly similar to the present day eviction of residents across Cape Town. It is also through this act that many Black households were forcibly removed from urban areas to the former homelands. Through the *Natives Locations and Commonage Act (No. of 1879*) 'native reserves', that were then renamed 'bantu areas' under apartheid, were created (Winkler, 2021).[v] The 'bantu areas', in turn, became four 'independent homelands' or Bantustans (Transkei, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and Venda),[vi] and six 'self-governing' territories (KwaNdebele, QwaQwa, Gazankulu, Lebowa, KwaZulu-Natal and KaNgwane). The Bantustans, were established by the apartheid government to house the majority of the Black African[vii] population (figure 1.2). Together, the homeland areas, which were each designated for specific ethnic and linguistic groups[viii] on the peripheries of urban and rural areas, constitute thirteen percent (13%) of South Africa's land area. For many Black Africans, these remain the areas they still return to during the holidays. These areas also often constitute the chosen, final resting place of many Black South Africans even in post-democratic South Africa.
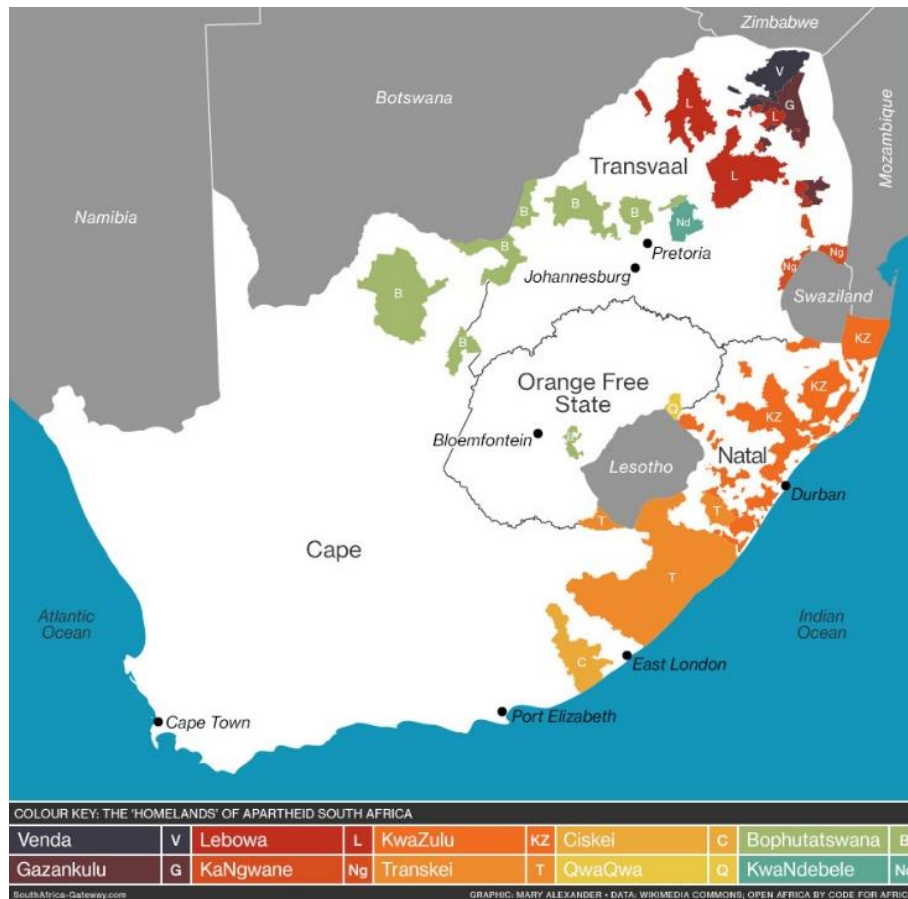
Figure 1.2: South Africa's Provinces and 'homelands' before 1996

(Source: southafrica-info.com/infographics/provinces-homelands-south-africa-1996/)

1.1.1 Informal Land Occupation in Cape Town

With very few options available to the majority of Black South Africans to access land through the formal market, informal settlements became a key feature of the urban landscape. As Harrison (1992: 15) argues, "informal settlement became a feature of [Cape Town's] urban environment" in 1834. This was the year in which slavery ended across the British Empire, including the Cape Colony. These settlements, which were established by former slaves on the town's periphery, were destroyed circa 1902 following a bubonic plague outbreak in the city. The residents of these settlements were (forcibly) relocated to Ndabeni[ix] (figure 1.3). However, not enough housing had been provided in the townships to accommodate the Black population leading to squatting by some residents. Ellis et al. (1977: 114) argue that by 1903 "squatting proper was under way in the Cape Flats". Ellis et al. (1977: 115) further note that although many squatters lived in deplorable conditions, the government had:

5

[D]ecided not to include provisions against squatting in the Land Bill, because if he had done so the government would not have known what to do with the large number of natives who would be thrown onto their hands.

It is important to note that it was not only Black Africans who were squatting; poor whites were also living in squatter conditions.

Figure 1.3: Location of Ndabeni within Cape Town

(Aerial Image source: CoCT, 2022)

Despite increasing rates of urbanisation in the 1920s, formal housing delivery in major cities for Blacks continued at a slow pace. As the working class population grew between 1920 and 1940, the city's housing crisis worsened. There were two elements to this crisis. The first was the deterioration and overcrowding of inner city areas. Second, was the high level of squatting by Black African and Coloured people on the periphery, namely the Cape Flats (Dewar et al., 1990). A Committee of Enquiry on the Condition on the Cape Flats, which was established in 1942, found that poverty and inadequacy of the housing for Black Africans were the causes of squatting (Ellis, Hendrie and Maree, 1977). These problems were present in the southern suburbs, namely Rondebosch and Wynberg (figure 1.4). However, very little could be done to address the problems in these areas as they were outside the Cape Town local authority's jurisdiction (figure 1.4). Consequently, citizens, many of whom had not been given accommodation upon their arrival in Cape Town from the Ciskei and Transkei during the war years (1939 – 1945) to construct the docks and defence works, began occupying land en masse. These occupation activities were also accompanied by an increase in the construction of backyard dwellings (Bank, 2007).

EXISTING JURISDICTIONAL BOUNDARIES 1994
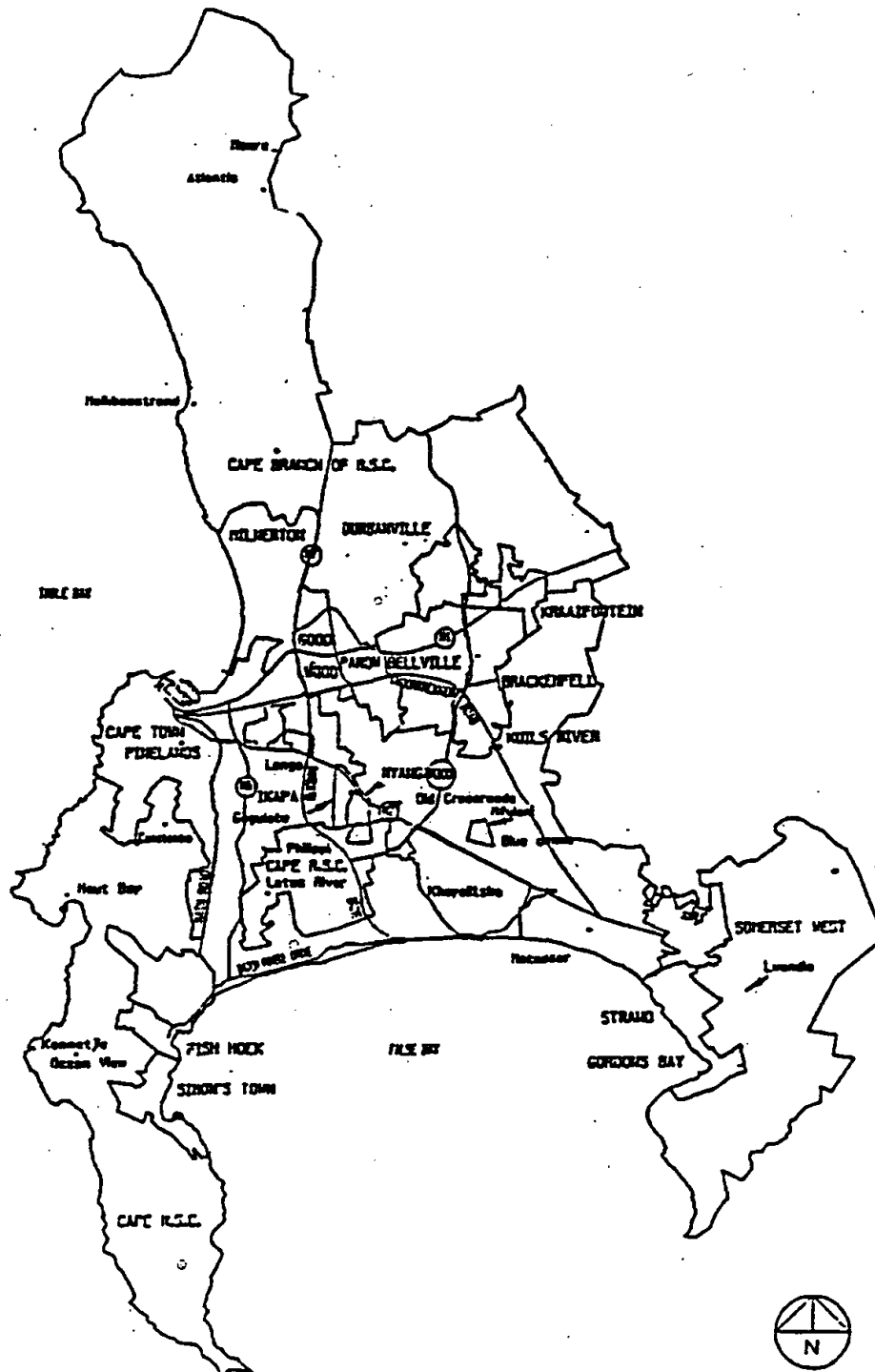
Figure 1.4: Local Authority Jurisdictional Boundaries

(Source: Cameron, 1996:39)

By the early 1950s, as Harrison (1992: 15) contends, "two-thirds of the black population lived within inner-city slums and shantytowns on the urban periphery". By the mid-1960s, informal settlements had been, for the most part, replaced by sprawling townships (ibid.). This step towards the near eradication of informal settlements was possible not only due to government's housing development efforts but also due to the introduction of the *Group Areas Act*, and *the Slum Areas Improvement and Clearance Act, 1956*. The latter was used as justification for the mass displacement of District Six's residents in the 1960s under the guise of urban renewal. Households that were displaced by these renewal activities could not be accommodated once redevelopment had been completed because their presence would be a violation of the space standards and health codes proposed in the Garden City model. Those who were displaced ended up in the Cape Flats or in squatter areas (Dewar et al., 1990; Ellis et al., 1977). The bulk of the squatter housing was subsequently demolished, with many of the occupants being deported to the homelands. In 1972, the government decided to stop the "construction of family housing for Africans in Cape Town" (Dewar et al., 1990: 64). As Harrison (1992) argues, the negative impacts of this decision were compounded, first, by the non-existence of a homeland near Cape Town from which Black Africans could commute to and from daily or weekly for work. Second, the economic crisis, which began in the mid-1970s, worsened the material conditions of individuals living in urban townships and the homelands (Dewar et al., 1990). Ellis et al. (1977) note that by the end of the 1970s, the housing problem and squatting were so severe that local authorities began using the term 'crisis'.
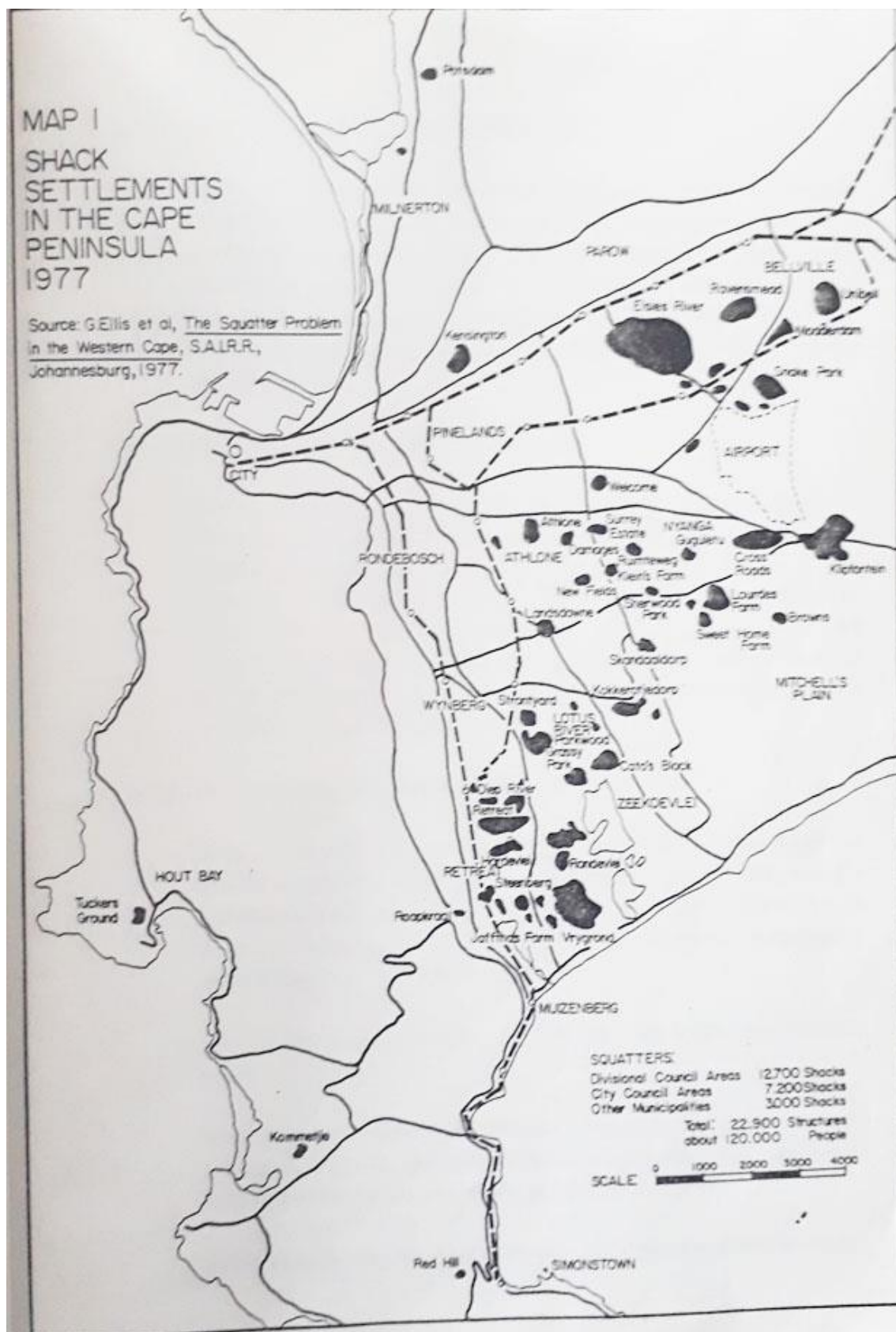
*Figure 1.5: Informal Settlements in **the Cape Pensisula, 1977***

(Source: Ellis et al., 1977: vi)

At the dawn of democracy, the housing backlog was substantial. Goodlad (1996) notes that in 1995, approximately 3.7 million households lived in shacks. Furthermore, formal housing ownership rates amongst Black Africans were amongst the lowest of all the races. This is despite, the decision to sell housing in townships to residents at discounted prices. This opportunity was presented to all population groups. But, only 34% of Black Africans had bought the houses they were living in by 1989 (Goodlad, 1996). Therefore, and as Turok (1994: 256) argues, the reforms that occurred in the 1980s were primarily tokenistic for the Black population as the "inefficient and inequitable structures remained intact". For example, despite big discounts being offered to those who purchased township housing, those who were unable to buy houses were faced with rapid rent increases in the mid-1980s. The discontent emanating from increasing rent culminated in the rent boycotts (1984-1986), with rent boycotters demanding the cancellation of rent increases, rent reduction, and the implementation of rent controls (Chaskalson et al., 1987). This form of protest was characterised by the popular slogan "*asinamali, asibhadali*" (we don't have money, we won't pay). During this period of 'popular power' as it referred to, popular, direct democracy was amplified (Suttner, 2015).

According to Turok (1994: 255), the Black population:

> [W]ithdrew their last vestiges of consent from local government structures, which began to disintegrate. Powerful civic movements based on street-level committees were established in many of the townships, mobilising the community around simple issues affecting daily life and aiming to make the area 'ungovernable'. Their most effective weapon was a mass boycott of rents and rates.

This led to an administrative, political, and financial crisis as well as a decline in service provision and maintenance of public facilities. In 1987 the Regional Services Councils (RSC) were established to create a "new source of income for local government, particularly to redirect some resources from the economic base of the white areas for selective investment in the townships" (Turok, 1994: 256). In addition to collecting levies from the businesses within their regions for capital infrastructure projects, RSC were also required to provide bulk services, namely sewerage and water. The establishment of RSC was one of the first steps towards regional planning in the country even though in white municipalities their roles were limited (Turok, 1994). Furthermore, the voting power RSC held were based on the level of services they provided to local authorities, not population size. This gave rise to the perception that RSC were undemocratic and illegitimate. In response to these perceptions,

increasing homelessness, and overcrowding, individuals "organis[ed] land invasions of surrounding farms and inner-city sites" (Turok, 1994: 255).

In more recent times, there has been a noticeable increase in attempts to occupy both inner city and peripheral sites. As is well known, South Africa's recent political history is integrally tied to social movements that played indispensable roles in actualizing democracy. Yet, and "unlike in many other transitional societies where political honeymoons dragged on for decades, new social struggles in South Africa emerged surprisingly quickly" (Ballard et al., 2005: 615). The root cause for this emergence stemmed not from desires to overthrow the state – as was the case during the apartheid era – but from desires to counter the African National Congress (ANC) led government's unbridled adoption of neoliberal macro-economic policies. In the South African context, political liberation coincided with economic liberalisation. This has had a devastating impact on the poor, who continue to resist unfavourable policies and the consequences thereof. One consequence of these policies is the slow pace of the land redistribution and restitution processes, of which the national housing programme is an integral component. Thus, given the country's colonial and apartheid history in addition to natural population increases, there is an ever increasing number of Black South Africans who are landless. Recognising this, Julius Malema (2016a), the leader of the political opposition party known as the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), has repeatedly stated: "you will see any beautiful piece of land, you like it, occupy it, it belongs to you" (figure 1.6). Whilst the extent to which residents have heeded this specific call has not been ascertained, we have been witnessing a fourth wave of occupations since 2016. The four cases examined in this research are part of this wave.

Figure 1.6: A Tweet by the EFF

(Source: https://twitter.com/EFFSouthAfrica/status/836562781042245632)

1.2 Issue under study: The process of informal land occupation

Huchzermeyer (2009) notes that informal land occupation has been, and continues to be, a key process moulding South Africa's urban fabric. It bears mentioning at this juncture that the term *informal land occupation* is used deliberately in lieu of the terms *land invasion* and *land grab* in this research. The terms *land invasion*[x] and *land grab* are not used in this research as they are limited and limiting when applied to the activities of the urban poor movements. The terms, firstly, obscure the historical spectrum of the reasons behind informal land occupations (Borras and Franco, 2013). That is, and as Cardoso (2016: 96) notes, the terms do not "allow us to apprehend [occupations] as modes of city making with particular histories, practices and toolkits". This has resulted in the conceptualisation of land primarily as the physical environment – climate, hydrology, soils, relief, and vegetation (Zonneveld, 1989). The social, historical, and economic characteristics of land are not included in the concept. This narrow framing of the concept of land serves to, first, depoliticise the concept and allow land-related questions and practices to be framed by legal-technical discourses, even though such questions are ontological. Second, and following on from the first point, it allows for the unquestionable association of the terms *land grab* and *land invasions* with a plethora of negative connotations in (policy) discourses on land occupations. In general, occupations, as both an activity (process) and a phenomenon, are associated with "disorder, political strife, economic crisis, and administrative failure on the part of blacks" (Sihlongonyane, 2005: 142). The attribution of these failures to a particular race highlights how intimately the land and housing questions are bound with race politics (Sihlongonyane, 2005) and relations of power and knowledge (Verma, 2014). This, in turn, has resulted in the terms being ideologically loaded like the term *squatter*[xi], which is also not used in this thesis.

Lastly, and of great concern to this research, these terms divert "attention [away from] the core issues of politics and power relations" (Borras and Franco, 2013: 1725). This is not to say that the term *informal land occupation* is not without problems. When broken into its constituent parts, the term is made up of three words: informal, land, and occupation. It is the first of these that I will focus on here. Informality is understood within urban planning as a "mode of the production of space", often in peripheral areas of the city (Roy, 2011: 233). The term, which was initially used to refer to a sector[xii], now refers to a "way of life" (Herrle and Fokdal, 2011: 6). Stuart et al. (2018: 26) refer to informality as a "new normal" characterised by precariousness (Tokman, 2007). To this McFarlane (2012) adds that informality is also practice. As a concept, informality, however (re)defined, fails to capture the complexity of the relations between different actors, sectors and institutions (Herrle and Fokdal,

2011). Despite this, the informality trope is pervasive; it is used to denote processes or phenomena that are one inch to the left or right to the normative. It is a word that we hardly hear in the field, yet it is constantly in the theory and policies in reference to what is the 'other'. This makes the concept even more problematic and deepens its ambiguity. Nevertheless, the concept of informality as an 'urban logic' (AlSayyad and Roy, 2004; Roy, 2011), which is integral to urban development (Roy, 2005) is useful. It is for this reason that it is used in this research.

It is also important to note that the term 'residents' will be used in lieu of the term 'occupiers' in this research. This shift in terminology is based on residents' self-reference as 'abahlali' *(residents)* not occupiers. As Mazibuko (interview, 26 October 2019) contends that "they [City officials] are calling us occupiers instead of calling us residents, it's a big sign that they don't want us to be here permanently". Moreover, self-identification as *abahlali* encompasses a rejection of discourses that place residents on the margins in relation to the law, knowledge production or planning praxis. In this regard, residents are also practicing a politics of refusal; a refusal to be characterised as 'bad' citizens or as temporary inhabitants (read migrants) in the city. In a tweet related to protests in Grabouw[xiii] that were spurred by overcrowding in schools, former Premier of the Western Cape Helen Zille (2012) says: "While ECape [Eastern Cape] education collapse, WC [Western Cape] built 30 schools – 22 new, 8 replacement mainly 4 ECape edu[cation] refugees. 26 MORE new schools coming" *(sic)*. This statement positions many of the residents, particularly those who have maintained ties in the Eastern Cape as migrants in Cape Town. Thus, not only are residents positioned as outsiders in relation to the law, they are also placed on the outside of the City's spatial extent – both in discourses and physically through their (re)location to areas on the urban periphery. Consequently, residents are challenging – through a discursive struggle (cf. chapter 4) - differentiated citizenship whilst claiming and sustaining claims to urban land.

Whilst historical socio-spatial injustices, gentrification and, more generally, the persistent nature of the housing crisis are key factors influencing many of the city's residents to participate in informal land occupations, these factors are not the focus of this research. Additionally, whilst informal land occupation is one of the key mechanisms through which many residents in the global South access housing, a community leader (personal communication, 23 August 2022) poignantly reminds us that it "isn't only about housing". Therefore, the focus of this research is on the strategies and tactics informal land residents use to claim and sustain claims to vacant or underutilised urban land. That is, the focus of this research is on the process(es) of informal land occupation through which residents

claim and sustain claims to vacant and underutilised land in Cape Town. Given this focus, these processes are examined in this research through a planning lens to understand how each of the four occupations that are the cases for this research have unfolded. Planning, "in the broader sense of the management of space, of land and property rights and the provision of urban services" (Healey, 1997: 8), has been practiced in one form or another for centuries by the state, the market, and civil society (Friedmann, 1987; Forester, 1999).

1.3 Main Research Question

Given that the aim of this research is to examine the strategies and tactics residents use to claim and sustain claims to urban land, the main research question asks:

What strategies and tactics are used by residents to claim and sustain urban spaces in Cape Town, South Africa?

To answer the main research question, this thesis utilises the case study method and discourse analysis, specifically LaClau and Mouffe's discourse theory (cf. chapter 3). The former, as Lauria and Wagner (2006) note, is used in planning research more frequently, replacing communicative planning theory as the approach of choice for empirical research since the 1990s. Although it is considered a "'soft' form of research", the case study has enabled us to improve our knowledge of various phenomena (Yin, 2009: 2). This is possible because this method, through the use of several data collection techniques, enables the "detailed examination of a single example of a class of phenomena" (Abercrombie et al., 1984: 34). In this research, the phenomenon under study is informal land occupation, or rather, the processes thereof. To this end, the research examines four cases of informal land occupation in Cape Town. The four cases are located in three neighbourhoods across the city - Green Point, Khayelitsha and Woodstock (figure 1.7).

Figure 1.7: Neighbourhoods within which the cases are located

(Aerial image source: CoCT, 2022)

These three neighbourhoods show great variation across key population demographics (table 1.1). The four cases have been selected because the spatial and socio-economic factors within these varied neighbourhoods offer a lot of insight into the challenges that we currently face today. Furthermore, these factors enable us to better understand the particular responses, namely informal land occupations, to the challenges faced by residents within these neighbourhoods.

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	Population	No. of Households	Av. Household Size	Demographic Profile				
				Black African	**Coloured**	**Asian**	**White**	**Other**
Cape Town (overall)	2 892 243	777 389	3.72	1 444 939 (38.6%)	1 585 286 (42.4%)	51 786 (1.4%)	585 831 (15.7%)	72 184 (1.9%)
Green Point	9 301	4 344	2.14	2 003 (21.5%)	898 (9.7%)	238 (2.6%)	5 804 (62.4%)	359 (3.9%)
Khayelitsha	391 749	118 809	3.30	386 358 (98.6%)	2 315 (0.6%)	271 (0.1%)	327 (0.1%)	2 477 (0.6%)
Woodstock	12 656	3 660	3.46	3 182 (25.1%	6 345 (50.1%)	608 (4.8%)	1 726 (13.6%)	796 (6.3%)

(Data Source: CoCT, 2012a, 2012c, 2012d, 2012e)

1.3.1 Graceland Occupation

In the heart of Khayelitsha, and bordering the Khayelitsha Magistrate's Court, Graceland is a vacant piece of land that had been earmarked for a mixed-income residential development by the Khayelitsha Community Trust (KCT)[xiv]. The six (out of ten) hectares within Graceland that have been serviced were supposed to hold 368 affordable housing units, with an average erf size of 110m² (Gaula, interview, 10 September 2019; see figure 1.9).[xv] However, despite the completion of the show house, also referred to as the KCT Show Village, in 2003 that consists of 9 residential units (figure 1.10), development has come to a standstill. The halting of further development on the land, which was partly due to delays in the release of land by the City (Gaula, 2017), has left the site vacant. According to a former landlord (interview, 27 November 2017) "elibali li-dangerous, lifun' ukusetshenziswa" *[this land is dangerous, it needs to be used]*. Whilst it was vacant, the land became a haven for criminals, who terrorised residents crossing the site to access the mall and public transportation. It is partly for this reason, and frustrations with the KCT's lack of transparency as bemoaned by many residents, that residents, namely Town II backyarders, have occupied Graceland.

Figure 1.8: Graceland, Khayelitsha

(Aerial image source: CoCT, 2022)

Figure 1.9: Artist's rendering of Graceland Phase I development

(KCT n.d.)

Figure 1.10: KCT Show House in Graceland, Khayelitsha

The majority of the residents are in their mid-30s to early 40s. Their decision to occupy is driven by changing life circumstances. For example, Siziphiwe (interview, 22 November 2017) states: "ekhaya sibanintsi and then sihlala kwindlu eyi-one. I think sibayi-nineteen or seventeen. So, nda-decider ukuba it's better ndifumane indawo eyam' because ndiyabona neminyaka iyand' vumela uba

ndingaphuma ndiyozihlalela" *[there are lots of us at home, in one house. I think there are nineteen or seventeen of us. So, I decided that it's better for me to get my own place because even my age permits me to leave and go and live on my own]*. Many residents were facing similar circumstances. Others, who were already living independently as backyarders, also note that both a desire for greater independence from landlords (Themba, interview, 25 August 2017) as well as the need for more space to accommodate growing children are factors that influenced their decision to join the occupation (S'bali, interview, 27 November 2017).

The first large-scale attempt to occupy Graceland took place on the night of the 15th of May 2017. Residents spent the morning demarcating hundreds of sites using pegs, rope and plastic tape which had at that time been renamed Izwelethu ('our nation') by residents. Once the sites were demarcated, residents began to construct their homes but by then, law enforcement officials – both metropolitan police officials and South African Police Services (SAPS) officials – had arrived on the site. These officials began demolishing the few structures that had been erected whilst removing the materials used to demarcate sites. As Pastor Skosana (interview, 15 March 2018) notes, the failure of this and subsequent attempts to occupy the land is due to the fact that residents underestimated the might of the state. In agreement, Themba (interview, 25 August 2017) states that the City appears to have had a "very well-orchestrated plan to demolish whatever plans [residents] had. You know, just in the space of two months, you know, there's no occupation".

The second and third occupation attempts, which took place on the 28th of June 2017 and the 21st of October 2017, respectively, were also unsuccessful. In the lead up to the second attempt, several meetings were held in order to coordinate the occupation, pool resources to assist those who would need assistance moving their building materials onto the site, as well as to allay any concerns residents had. Between the second and the third occupations, several mobilisation events were held in Graceland as well as in surrounding areas. These activities included meetings, the use of a loud speaker on the back of a car to relay residents' land-related concerns (referred to by residents as *ukukhwaza*), desire to occupy, and calls for support particularly by those living under similar circumstances. Residents also conducted a march around Town II as well as a 'speak out' in September 2017. During the speak out (figure 1.11) residents from Izwelethu as well as members of the Marikana and Suurbrak occupations shared their experiences. The speak out provided residents with a space in which they could build solidarity with those facing similar struggles for land, food and jobs. Whilst significant support was gathered for the occupation during these mobilisation activities, a significant proportion

of this momentum was lost following the murders of the occupation's key figures, Mthunzi 'Ras Moziah' Zuma and Philile Gilwa in May and July 2017, respectively. The deaths of these prominent activists within Khayelitsha cast what S'bali (interview, 27 November 2017) and Themba (interview, 25 August 2017) refers to as a "dark cloud" on the occupation, that deterred residents from being involved in the occupation. Thus, the third attempt was unsuccessful as not enough residents had come to the site to pitch their *hokis* (shacks). The low turnout, which a resident (personal communication, 23 October 2017) attributed to "wrong" mobilisation during a meeting held shortly thereafter, led the handful of residents who were present to demolish the single *hoki* they had already erected that night in order to avoid law enforcement confiscating the materials.

Figure 1.11: Izwelethu Speak Out Poster

There was a lull in direct efforts to occupy the site between October 2017 and in August 2020. The lull was initially precipitated by the advent of the December holidays, during which many residents would travel to the Eastern Cape to spend time with their extended families. This consideration led to the additional postponement of occupation-related activities as residents agreed that January would be a difficult month to *bethela* (erect) as residents' finances would be constrained after the holidays as many needed to prepare for the start of the school year. The lull was broken when the courts passed a moratorium on evictions during the national lockdown in response to the COVID-19 pandemic.[xvi] In August 2020 residents successfully occupied the site, which was then subsequently renamed Level 2. Now home to over 8,000 households (cf. figure 1.8), who have pooled resources to keep the settlement clean through a volunteer-led waste collection project called *Sikhuthaze* (we encourage). The volunteers collect the waste across the settlement and leave the bagged waste close to City of Cape Town bins along the main roads, where it is collected by the City's waste management service. Whilst Grant Twigg, Mayoral Committee Member for Urban Waste Management, has praised residents for keeping the area clean in comments made to Metelerkamp (2022), he notes in response to questions posed by a journalist that since "this community was formed as a result of a land invasion [and...] because the area is not yet on the list of established informal settlements, a budget cannot be assigned for new services or infrastructure". Understanding, but not fully accepting this state of affairs, Level 2 residents have also pooled resources to build twenty (20) toilets and a communal water system. Whilst they have built these facilities, residents still have to approach owners of the formal houses adjacent to the Level 2 to ask them to use their toilets as the number of toilets in Level 2 cannot accommodate them all (Twani, personal communication, 8 June 2022).

1.3.2 Helen Bowden Nurses' Home Occupation

A stone's throw from the iconic V & A Waterfront, and approximately 34 kilometres from Level 2, is the Helen Bowden Nurses' Home. Here we find Bongi Mabala, who like many other working class individuals in the city used to spend most of her salary on transport to get to work. In Mabala's (2018) words:

> I had to travel for about 2 hours and take about three to four taxis just to get to work, I'm already tired and I'm already exhausted and the money that I'd spend on a daily basis just to get to work, um, it's too much. So, when I'm here it's much more convenient [...] you are saving money.

The Helen Bowden Nurses' Home was initially occupied in March 2017, by a hand full of activists, who managed to bypass the security guard on duty at the gate one evening, and made their way onto the premises. Once on the property, and with enough provisions to last a few days, the activists played a game of cat and mouse with the security personnel who patrolled the building throughout the day and night. These activists managed to remain hidden in the building undetected for approximately three days, following which the occupation began in earnest with more residents moving into the building. It was at this point, in April 2017 that residents renamed the building Ahmed Kathrada House, after the prolific politician and anti-apartheid activist.[xvii] The Helen Bowden Nurses Home occupation, like the Woodstock Hospital occupation, is undertaken under the Reclaim the City banner. Reclaim the City (RTC) is a "campaign for desegregation and affordable housing development in the inner-city" (RTC, 2018). Speaking of the movement's origins during a meeting, house leader Elizabeth Gqoboka (2016) states that the "residents have decided, especially the domestic workers, the gardeners, and the caretakers to come together and stand together and then they formed a committee called Reclaim the City" *(sic)*.

Figure 1.12: Helen Bowden Nurses' Home

Today, the building accommodates 900 residents who call it home. As Mabala (2018) contends, the building is: "[H]ome ... because this is what we call home. We've got neighbours [and] we've got elders in the building if there is anything that's wrong". Echoing this sentiment, Sheila Madikane tells Ntseku (2022) that "[o]ur occupations have afforded us a place we can call home". However, since November 2017 there has been a second group of residents who, according to Gqoboka et al. (2017a: online) have "captured" the building. These individuals, who are also characterised as "opportunists" (ibid.),

initially tried to forcefully gain entry into the building on the 9th of November 2017. On the 22nd of November, the group's efforts to gain access to the building turned violent with RTC house leaders going to obtain court interdicts in order to stem the physical intimidation they were being subjected to. On the 23rd of November, approximately 30 individuals managed to forcefully enter the building and have claimed some of the rooms. These individuals, according to Gqoboka et al. (2017a) are not a part of the movement. These two groups continue to live uneasily together.

1.3.3 Silvertown Occupation

Within a ten-minute walk from Graceland, is Silvertown (figure 1.13). Established in 1989, Silvertown is the second oldest neighbourhood in Khayelitsha. The southern edge of Silvertown contains BNG houses, which were developed as part of an in-situ, informal settlement upgrading project.[xviii] At the time this project was tabled by the City of Cape Town in 2003, Silvertown informal settlement was home to 2,000 residents who comprised 1,316 households (City of Cape Town, 2003). However, the City determined that not all the residents could be accommodated on the site. Hence, 419 households were relocated to two greenfield sites. Of these households, 121 were relocated to Town II and 298 to Makhaza (City of Cape Town: Forensic Services Department, 2010).[xix] It is interesting to note that several of the households relocated to Town II went on to lease out their backyards structures once their formal houses had been developed. Many of their tenants would, years later, go on to occupy Graceland (now Level 2).
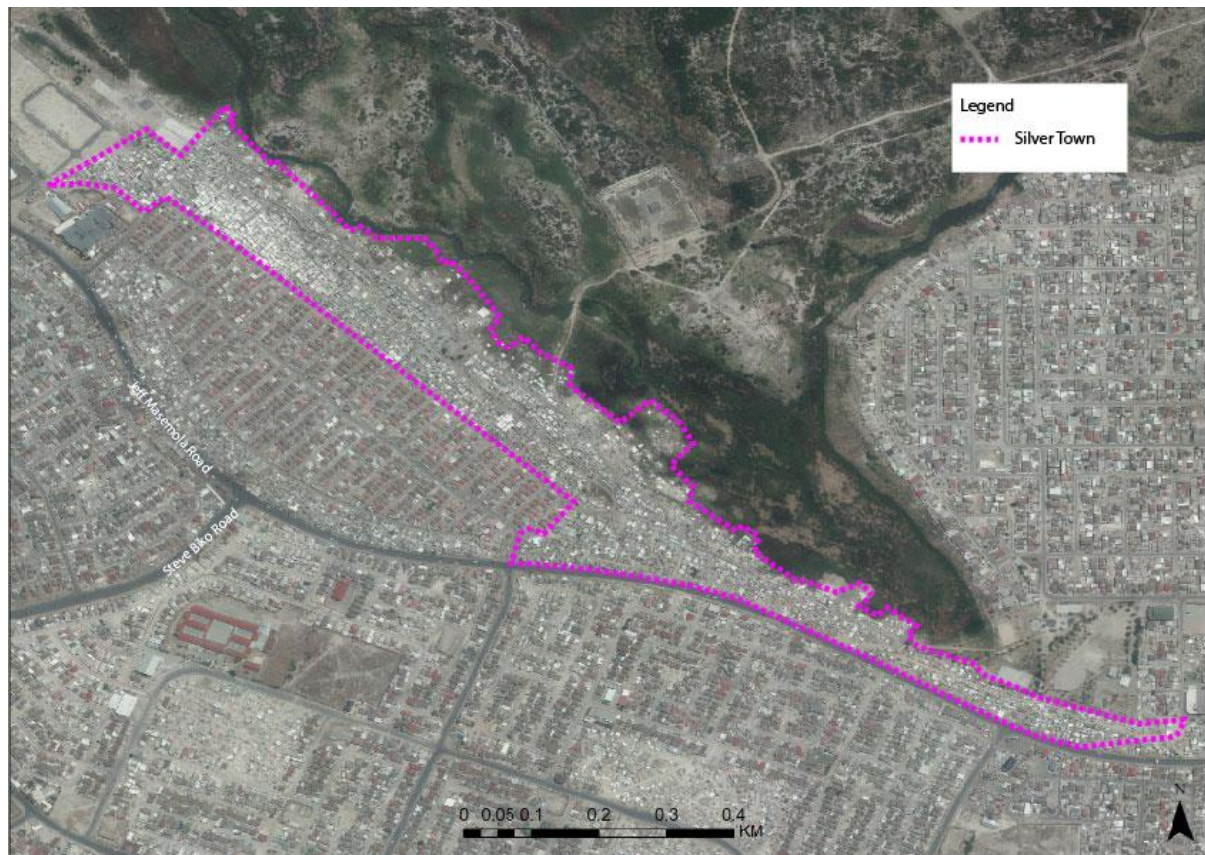
Figure 1.13: Silvertown, Khayelitsha

(Aerial image source: CoCT, 2022)

In 2013, quietly (new) residents began quietly encroaching onto the open portions of Silvertown starting at the south-east end. The settlement remained relatively the same size until July 2017, when more structures were constructed in the same part of the settlement. As Xolani (interview, 27 November 2017) notes:

Into eyasihlukumezayo, eyasi chaphazelayo ukuba siphakame sibeke, singabantu abahleli apha, abanye twenty years, abanye more than twenty years [...] So, sabona singabahlali hayibo sihlala endlini singabayi-ten [...] but kunabantu abasuka kwezinye ilokishi bazohlala lapha kulendawo. Kulapho eya-starter khona ke lonto. Saqonda ukuthi kutsh' ukuthi lomhlaba mos' akhont' ozokwenziwa wona.

[The thing that pushed us to stand up and build our structures, as people from this area, some of whom have been here for twenty years, and others for more than 20 years [...] So, as residents, we saw that there are ten of us in one house [...] but there are people from other townships who are coming to stay here. That is where this all started. We thought this means that nothing (no development) will be done on this land.]

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Thus, began a period in which a bolder form of encroachment began to accelerate the Silvertown's rate of growth. This bold(er) encroachment continues apace despite the eminent threat of eviction and several visits from law enforcement officials, namely the Anti-Land Invasion Unit (ALIU), coming in November 2017 to demolish structures and confiscate the building materials (ibid.). It also persists even after a devastating fire ripped through part of the settlement in the early hours of the 20th of October 2018. The fire resulted in 342 households (totalling 1,300 individuals) losing all their belongings.[xx] Despite the devastation these households had faced, they were reluctant to move to alternative accommodation lest their sites were taken by other residents in their absence. As in Graceland, the few remaining open spaces in Silver Town are under increasing pressure as either more residents join the occupation or existing residents extend their houses.

1.3.4 Woodstock Hospital Occupation

The final case, is the occupation at Woodstock Hospital occupation, which has been underway since March 2017 (figure 1.14). Now home to approximately 1,400 individuals, both young and old, the Woodstock Hospital has become one of Cape Town's largest building occupations. Once a bustling hospital located within, historically, one of the few residential areas which resisted forced removals in the 1950s and remained multi-racial (Garside, 1993), the Woodstock Hospital was decommissioned in phases over several years eventually closing as scheduled at the end of March 2017 when the last of its services were transferred to a new facility in District Six. When the first group of residents moved in, only one section of the hospital was still operating as a community health centre. Following its closure in March 2017, Cissie Gool[xxi] House as the hospital has been renamed by residents was fully occupied offering new homes to residents such as Jennifer H. Williams, more affectionately known as Aunty Jennifer. Like so many of the buildings residents Jennifer has lived most of her life in Woodstock. And, like many of the building's residents, Jennifer was also evicted from her previous home. As Williams (2018) recounts:

> The Saturday I paid the rent for them, the Sunday they put me out. I don't know why because I was asking them why then they said they don't have an answer for me.

Figure 1.14: Woodstock Hospital

Like Williams, Randall (interview, 22 September 2017) was also evicted from two previous residences in Woodstock that he shared with family members "without warning signs, without court orders, nothing". Both Williams (2018) and Randall (interview, 22 September 2017) heard about the occupation from acquaintances they had known from around the neighbourhood. They then made contact with RTC, specifically the Cissie Goole House leaders, who then offered them a place to stay in the house. For many of the building's residents, initial contact is made during the Advice Assemblies – weekly meetings during which individuals can learn about (tenants') rights, eviction processes, and the law. The intake of new residents is on a case-by-case basis, with potential residents needing to make a formal request to the house leaders, explain their current housing challenges and leave their contact details. This process means, that the number of residents has increased somewhat steadily.

1.4 Structure of the thesis

This thesis is divided into 6 chapters. This chapter, being the first, has detailed the background to the issue under study and explicitly stated the issue under study. This chapter has also introduced the four cases. In Chapter 2, I develop the theoretical framework by reviewing the literature on radical and insurgent planning, paying particular attention to its intellectual underpinnings. I also review the interrelated literature on urban interstices, repair, retrofitting, and maintenance. Throughout this

chapter, subsidiary research questions and criteria against which the research findings will be assessed are established. Thus, the theoretical framework provides me with a 'way of seeing', so to speak, and reading the cases (and the data) that enables me to answer the main research question. The theoretical framework is followed, in Chapter 3, by a discussion on the research methods – case study method, and discourse analysis – and techniques – semi-structured, individual interviews, oral history interviews, and field observations – that have been employed to undertake this research. This is preceded, however, by a discussion which locates this research within the broader field of research enquiry. The sampling and data analysis procedures that have been used in this research are also discussed in this chapter. The decision to utilise each of these methods and techniques is justified in this chapter. Reflections on how the research processes unfolded are made throughout the chapter.

Chapters 4 and 5 present the research findings. Chapter 4, guided by the theoretical framework, unpacks through the residents' voices and narratives, the various strategies residents utilise to claim and sustain claims to land. In so doing, alignments, conflicts, and contradictions within and between the cases as well as amongst the various actors are highlighted. In Chapter 5, the findings are brought explicitly into conversation with the radical/insurgent planning literature. Using the criteria established in chapter 2, the findings illustrate that informal land occupations can be characterised as a form of radical/insurgent planning. However, their radicality as the findings further illustrate, stems not from their challenge to power or from their quest for (spatial) transformation. Rather, their radicality emerges from their inherited imaginations that are informed by various intellectual and theological currents that inform residents' understanding of how they should and would like to relate to the land. These eco-relationalities, which treat nature, humans, and the divine/supernatural as intertwined elements, enable residents to (re)claim not only land but to affirm their humanity and dignity. Chapter 6 begins by answering the main research question. The chapter then goes on to discuss key insights from the case and avenues for future research that these insights reveal. The chapter concludes with a final reflection on a journey that has been characterised by un- and re-learning.

1.5 Conclusion

In introducing the issue under study, the chapter began with a discussion that highlights how informal land occupations have been an integral element of Cape Town's development since the 1800s. As a key mode through which space is produced in the city, informal land occupations have peaked in

distinct moments across the city's history. We are currently living through one such peak – the fourth wave of informal land occupations. It is the processes of occupation within this peak that this research is examining. In particular, the research examines the strategies and tactics used by residents to claim and sustain claims to the four sites – Graceland, the Helen Bowden Nurses' Home, Silvertown, and the Woodstock Hospital – that this research examines. These findings are presented in chapters 4 and 5. However, it is to the theoretical framework that the thesis turns in chapter 2.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

Participation[i] is the process through which individual and institutional actors, often referred to as stakeholders in the development literature, are included in spatial planning processes (Saad-Sulonen and Horelli, 2010). Interest in participation has increased in recent years particularly as technological advancements have made it easier for (some) citizens to access information. However, and as Parker and Murray (2012) argue, the ill-defined nature of participatory processes raises concerns about rigour or, rather, the lack thereof. These concerns have often been the basis for the dismissal of some of the issues raised through participatory processes. Furthermore, research shows that participation often does not lead to the (re)distribution of power between various stakeholders (Collins and Ison, 2006). Nevertheless, and according to Rydin and Pennington (2000: 153), participation is still considered an "unalloyed good". This is despite the fact that the implementation of certain participatory processes could lead to further disillusionment and distrust of these processes as well as unjustified government expenditure (Aspden and Birch, 2005). There is also concern that some processes can widen the gap between the planner and those we are planning for or with, instead of being inclusionary (Parker and Murray, 2012). This concern underpins the inclusion of participation as a key element within planning processes.

Despite the inclusion of participation as a key element within planning processes, the nature of residents' roles in planning processes remains largely contested. Some theorists argue that residents are participants in the planning process and others argue that residents are planners in and of themselves. This chapter discusses these differing, but not mutually exclusive, roles assigned to residents within the two dominant participatory planning theories – communicative/collaborative planning and radical or insurgent planning. Given the global North origins of these theories, and the global South context in which the cases are located, attention is also paid to the intellectual influences that underpin these theories.[ii] The key purpose of this discussion is to provide an understanding grassroots (bottom-up) planning that can inform the analysis of the processes that have been adopted in the informal land occupations under study. Thus, throughout the chapter I establish subsidiary research questions and criteria against which the cases are evaluated in chapters 4 and 5. In the first and second sections, communicative/collaborative planning and radical/insurgent planning are discussed, respectively. The interrelated concepts of autoconstruction, retrofitting, repair, and maintenance are discussed as key activities within radical/insurgent planning in the second section. In

the third section, this chapter unpacks the predominant characterisation of vacant and underutilised spaces as urban interstices in the literature.

2.1 Communicative/Collaborative Planning

The idea of (public) participation in planning has gained momentum with the communicative turn in planning theory, and the shift from government to governance[iii] in urban policy debates.[iv] As Rabinowitz (1995: online) points out:

> The important thing to remember here is the word participatory. The use of that term implies not just that you'll ask for someone's opinion before you do what you were going to do anyway, but rather that each participant becomes an important contributor to the planning process.

We find emphasis on participation within planning in Davidoff's (1965) *Advocacy Planning*. In the 1980s, we find this emphasis in Healey's (1985, 1997) *Collaborative Planning*, followed by Forester's (1989, 1997) *Communicative Planning* and, lastly, Friedmann's (1973, 1987, 1989) work on 'mutual learning' that he later developed as 'social learning'[v]. Friedmann's mutual/social has been succeeded by the notion of 'co-production' (McFarlane, 2018). Ostrom (1996: 1073) defines co-production as the "process through which inputs used to produce a good or service are contributed by individuals who are not 'in' the same organisation". In planning, the term is used to refer to the individuals collaborating or contributing to the development of a spatial plan, a research product (knowledge), or the delivery of basic services in a particular settlement (Heaton et al., 2016). Mitlin et al. (2020) note that interest in co-production stems from the realisation that, if we are to democratise and decolonise academia, we need to move beyond participation in research by recognising the crucial role of alternative epistemologies and ontologies. The concept of co-production helps us in this regard through its acknowledgement of the centrality of residents' in the production of certain services and knowledge (Mitlin, 2008; Mitlin et al., 2020). This recognition leads to residents being substantively included in planning and research processes. Co-production is a process of "collective learning" (McFarlane, 2011: 372), which can be an empowering process for social movements.

Communicative/collaborative planning has become the foundation for many other forms of planning, which as Healey (1997b) notes, are largely confined within a modernist instrumental rationalism from

which planning is still trying to escape. Since its development in the 1980s, communicative/collaborative planning[vi] has become one of the two dominant models of participatory planning. The other is radical/insurgent planning, which is discussed in section 2.2. Communicative/collaborative planners argue that planning is, above all, a collaborative activity (Healey, 2002; Forester, 2006).[vii] This planning model is based on a model of deliberative democracy (Monno and Khakee, 2012). Consequently, communicative/collaborative planning emphasises civic engagement, dialogue among stakeholders with different claims, and consensus-building (Healey, 2008). Within this model, citizens participate in the decision-making processes with the aim of reaching consensus on the appropriate course of action. The fundamental idea underpinning this turn in planning theory is that a just (read inclusive and transparent) process will result in a just outcome. Thus, within communicative/collaborative planning theory we witness the further entanglement of process and outcome (Fainstein, 2009). Therefore, to improve planning the barriers to communication must be removed in order for communication by and between the different parties to lead to just outcomes. The key assumption in communicative/collaborative planning is that planning is an interactive and communicative activity (Innes, 1995). Thus, and as Sandercock and Lyssiotis (2003: 76) state, within the communicative turn the planner's role is defined as "focusing and shaping attention, and their most important skills as talking and listening".

Communicative/collaborative planning is founded on Habermas' *communicative action,* which refers to actors' efforts to:

> [C]ooperatively define the context of their interaction in such a way as to enable them to pursue their individual plans. It is the paradigmatic form of social action oriented toward reaching understanding.
>
> (Johnson, 1991: 183 – 4)

Consequently, the planner is envisioned in this process as facilitating, and in some instances, mediating between the various stakeholders in order to reach consensus (Forester, 2006; Harrison, 2006). However, consensus is not as easily attainable as communicative/collaborative planners would have us believe.[viii] Watson (2003) uses the term *conflicting rationalities* to illustrate that struggle and conflict, not collaboration, are central to planning processes. The term *conflicting rationalities*[ix] refers to the "divergence between state and community positions" related to development projects (de

Satgé and Watson, 2018: 3). As de Satgé and Watson (2018: 3) argue, the deep differences and divergences between the everyday lived experiences of communities and the state's visions and plans:

> [D]o not easily lend themselves to resolution or generalised solutions. In some situations, we find ourselves dealing with seemingly irreconcilable gaps … where world-views and the very meaning of development or progress differ, and where people regard each other from within completely different rationalities.

The *conflicting rationalities* concept enables us to identify how "power is used (by actors in a particular context) to define what is counted as rationality and so what is counted as reality" (de Satgé and Watson, 2018: 260). Flyvbjerg (1998) argues that power is characterised by its quest to define, not discover, reality. However, power is not limited to defining reality. It also creates social, physical, and economic realities (Flyvbjerg, 1998). Flyvbjerg (1998) further argues that rationality, which is a weak form of power, is the primary mechanism for making democracy work. This means that democracy that is built on rationality (in opposition to power) is weak. This is, partly, evidenced by the inability of institutional reforms promoting democracy doing very little to alter behaviour or the lived experiences of those most in need (ibid.). Whilst conflicting rationalities can delay urban development, Myers (2010: 9) notes that they are not "insurmountable". To this, Watson (2003) adds that despite the existence of conflicting rationalities between groups, instances of *positive hybridity* present opportunities for conflicts and struggles to be addressed. Song (2016: 362) defines *positive hybridity* as the "instances where actors in the informal sector have begun to develop practices that interrelate more closely with formal urban planning and development apparatuses". Such practices highlight that government and community aspirations sometimes overlap and result in a "mutual shaping of space" (Charlton, 2013: 2). This point of overlap is what communicative/collaborative planners seek to attain in order to build consensus on an appropriate course of action around.

Communicative/collaborative planners are concerned about the manifestations and operation of power (Fainstein, 2000; Campbell, 2006). This worry is based, in turn, on the Rawlsian[x] (1958, 1971) and Habermasian (2001) conceptions of justice[xi], which are in turn based on Kant's (1992) supposition that Habermas (1995: 109) summarised as follows: "we ought to do what is equally good for all persons"[xii]. Rawls (1971) presents an inter-subjectivist version of Kant's *principle of autonomy[xiii],* which is a moral concept of autonomy. In this conception, justice like truth is uncompromising (Rawls, 1999). Therefore, embedded within communicative/collaborative planning is a concern for justice. Hence,

and as Healey (1999b: 1129) argues, communicative/collaborative planners emphasise the need for practice to be reconfigured so that it can accommodate "new perspectives on the social relations of governance processes and the reconfiguration of governance unfolding in practice". This emphasis informs the shift from an instrumental rationality to a communicative rationality, which is realised in practice through the participation of citizens in planning processes.

2.2 Radical/Insurgent Planning Model

Sandercock (1998) identifies two approaches to planning for social transformation: radical planning, and insurgency. The key distinction between the two approaches is that the latter is characterised by mobilisation against the state, market or both whereas radical planning is not always oppositional (Rangan, 1999). Friedmann (2017: 294) defines radical planning as "planning with and for small, autonomous, self-governing communities in constant tension with an all-encompassing state". Radical planning can be undertaken with and through the state, particularly in moments when political parties with a radical streak are in power. Insurgent planning, on the other hand, is, by definition, oppositional as it challenges existing power relations (Sandercock, 1999). This challenge is based on a historical understanding of the systems of oppression. Jacobs (2019) stresses the need to understand systems of oppression, particularly the need to understand how the systems have been rooted historically. This is because it is the systems – not characteristics intrinsic to the individual or group – that make one vulnerable. These systems become more apparent in times of crises or disaster (Jacobs, 2019). Subsequently, radical/insurgent planners also raise questions about the scope of entitlements, and (new) identities and practices that are met with new strategies of segregation, namely privatisation and fortification.

The use of the term 'radical' to denote this form of participatory planning positions it within a 'change perspective' (as opposed to a regulation perspective). This perspective looks for conflict and contradictions, questions domination, sees deprivation and potential, seeks emancipation, and advocates for change (Saunders et al., 2015). For radical/insurgent planners the change being sought and advocated for is "social transformation in the interests of greater social, economic and environmental justice" (Sandercock, 1999: 41). The term *social transformation* refers to changes in power relations as well as changes in values and institutions. But in order to reach its goals, planning and planning praxis must be redefined in a "broader and more politicised" manner (Sandercock, 1999:

39). Due to their challenge of and aim to transform existing power relations through mobilised community actions, neither radical nor insurgent planning are mainstream planning practices.

In both radical planning and insurgent planning, citizens are planners for themselves. Hence, the resultant planning solutions are embedded in the heterogeneous conditions in which we live (Holston, 1998). Implied in the assertion that citizens are planners for themselves are two ideas. First, and as Sager (2018) notes, radical/insurgent planning is intentional. Planners "use spatial planning as a strategy for detailing and implementing their goals, mobilising for their cause, and obtaining a legal basis for their community" (Sager, 2018: 449-450). However, and as Sager (2018: 451) further argues, cohousing arrangements such as building occupations, which are "hybrids of private and collective habitation [...] rarely develop into intentional communities"[xiv] even though they are founded on non-hegemonic worldviews or ideologies. Second, citizens are, to varying levels, self-mobilised. Mobilised communities, which are often formed in reaction to a problem, are characterised by flat decision-making structures in which consensus is sought in order to act timeously (Sager, 2018). The role of the professional planner is to assist (self-)mobilised organisations or citizens implement collectively formulated and practical solutions. These solutions are developed through the processes of social/mutual learning and co-production. Thus, through radical/insurgent planning processes we develop new ways of knowing *and* acting. However, and as Sager (2018) argues, sustaining momentum within mobilised communities is difficult particularly once a goal is attained. Furthermore, as a "mirror" of state-led planning, radical/insurgent planning can be both transformative and repressive (Beard, 2003: 19; Lupien, 2018; Sandercock, 1998). For this reason, Meth (2010) argues that insurgent practices can neither be celebrated nor condemned without question.

Insurgent planning can be in the form of resistance, reconstruction (Lane, 1999), and resilience (Beard, 1999; Douglas, 1999). The term resistance is filled with ambiguity and contradictions (Thomas and Davies, 2005). It is used to denote a set of behaviours, and reaction to repressive power. The latter, which is a narrow conceptualisation of resistance, is emblematic of the dualistic nature of debates that pit 'compliance with' against 'resistance to' (Thomas and Davies, 2005). In relation to radical/insurgent planning, acts of *insurgent urbanism*[xv] signify 'resistance to'. Insurgent urbanism is a form of participation, which challenges hegemonic approaches to problem-definition and solving (Sutherland, 2011). According to Davis and Raman (2013: 60), insurgent urbanism is "violently disrupting the status quo" in several ways. First, insurgent urbanism frames the city as the "text and the context of new debates about fundamental social relations" (Holston, 1998: 53). Within these

debates, conflict and ambiguity are valorised as key elements shaping heterogeneous urban life. Second, insurgent urbanism enables the development of alternative narratives and practices of belonging and participation, outside of institutionalised nation-building programmes. Therefore, insurgent urbanism as the spatial mode of insurgent citizenship (Holston, 1998; Davis and Raman, 2013), expands our perception of what is possible given the heterogeneous, contradictory, and conflict-ridden nature of present-day (as opposed to utopian) lived experiences. Put differently, and as Holston (1998) notes, insurgent urbanism enables us to include the insurgent forms of the social, namely insurgent citizenship, in planning.

2.2.1 Autoconstruction

A key practice within insurgent urbanism is autoconstruction (*autoconstrução*). This is the process through which millions of working class individuals have become homeowners. The homes are often built in the "urban hinterland under precarious material and legal circumstances" (Holston, 1991: 447). To this end, and as Holston (1991) further argues, autoconstruction is a spatial, political, and symbolic arena for mobilisation. Leach and Scoones (2007: 11) argue that "[m]obilisation emerges where the state fails" to protect and enforce residents' (read rational actors) rights. The term mobilisation is used in this research to refer to processes through which individuals come together, mobilise (personal) resources in order to highlight their grievances or make demands in relation to the state. Mobilisation strategies can enable movement building by providing the framework for a collective identity, rallying oppressed or dispirited groups, creating linkages between marginalised people and middle-class supporters, and attracting media attention (Madlingozi, 2014). Furthermore, mobilisation is not just a struggle to "promote a given social or political agenda, but to establish and promote certain meanings, [histories] and problem-definitions as legitimate" (Leach and Scoones, 2007: 12). These meanings, and consequently mobilisation as well as the *repertoires of contention*[xvi], are shaped by political histories and cultures (Chinigò, 2015; Leach and Scoones, 2007).

The second practice is encroachment. Bayat (2000: 536) proposes the notion of *quiet encroachment* as a framework that can be used to "examine the activism of the marginalised groups in the cities of the global South". The term refers to:

> [N]on-collective but prolonged direct action by individuals and families to acquire the basic necessities of their lives (land for shelter, urban collective consumption, informal jobs, business opportunities, and public space) in a quiet and unassuming illegal fashion.
>
> (ibid.)

This framework has been used widely to analyse marginality, specifically the self-help activities undertaken by marginalised groups, namely the urban poor[xvii], across the global South. In the particular, it has been used widely in reference to land occupations initiated by poorer urban residents on the urban edge. In emphasising the "silent, protracted but pervasive advancement of the ordinary people on the propertied and powerful in order to survive and improve their lives" (Bayat, 2000: 545), this framework avoids the essentialist and reductionist inclinations of much of the literature on marginalised groups and (political) resistance. The quest for gains at the expense of the rich and powerful is a point of convergence with the Occupy movements that have emerged in the global North despite overall differences in foci between the movements across countries (Maharawal, 2016).

The key characteristics of quiet encroachment are: (i) silent, individual, and gradual increase of necessities, and; (ii) collective, and audible defence of gains through passive networks (Bayat, 2000). But, whilst Bayat (1997, 2000) speaks of quiet encroachment, a number of theorists have noted the emergence of bold(er) forms of encroachment. Gillespie (2017), for example, argues that the nature of Ghana's multi-party system allows for bold, collective acts of encroachment on urban space by hawkers and squatters. Bold forms of encroachment have also been noted in Medellín, Colombia, by Hayes-Conroy et al. (2020). Like quiet forms of encroachment, bold encroachment is not necessarily a form of activism. Furthermore, both quiet and bold encroachment are not merely forms of everyday resistance and survival strategies (Bayat, 2000; Hayes-Conroy et al., 2020). The key distinction between quiet encroachment and bold encroachment is that the latter tends to be a youth-driven process comprising the "shifting and uncertain ways in which every day individual and community actions move against and with state/elite prerogatives" (Hayes-Conroy et al., 2020: 2).

Another concept related to the notion of autoconstruction is *retrofitting.* According to Eames et al. (2014: 2), the term retrofitting "literally implies providing something with a component or feature not fitted during manufacture or adding something that it did not have when first constructed". The term reflects the fundamental shift in the function of a space or structure, unlike concepts of repair and

maintenance. Although the term 'retrofitting' is sometimes conflated with the terms 'refurbishment', 'redevelopment' or 're-engineering' (Eames et al., 2013), it refers to substantial changes to buildings "which represent differences in the nature and extent of internal and external fabric measures, and related building services" (Dixon, 2014: 5) namely electricity, water and sanitation. According to Vinck (2019), unlike maintenance and repair, retrofitting requires engineering. This ongoing practice is not always reactively undertaken in response to damage or building obsolescence. Fyhn and Baron (2017) argue that it is an integral part of the process of turning a building into a home.

Retrofitting is a term that is primarily used in the literature in relation to the activities within the commercial property industry. But even within this sector it is used inconsistently (Dixon, 2014). Overall, retrofitting existing urban environments has become central to global policy and research agendas (Dixon and Eames, 2013).[xviii] Retrofitting is a practice that is deeply "constructed and embedded within the routines of everyday life", is generally undertaken at building level by either the building's owners or owner-occupiers (Eames et al., 2014: 3). In the case of occupations, it is residents not the property owners who are driving retrofitting practices at their expense. In so doing, as Maudlin and Vellinga (2014: 21) note, residents "endow the building with a sense of ownership, where they express their identity or self-image". Like in the commercial property sector, the bulk of retrofitting activities undertaken by residents are self-financed. This means that barring any changes that are funded externally, retrofitting within occupation buildings occurs incrementally. Often, it is driven by changes in family structure(s). As Eames et al. (2014: 3) note, "specific moments (e.g. having children, moving house, building an extension, fitting a new kitchen or bathroom, etc.) produce a new context for considering retrofit activities". However, given that participation in all forms of city-making including occupation and retrofitting is uneven and contains a certain level of contradiction, these practices can reproduce structural inequities (Caldeira, 2017).

2.2.2 Repair and Maintenance

One way in which these structural inequities are contested daily is through repair and maintenance practices. Graham and Thrift (2007: 1) argue that the oft-overlooked practices of repair and maintenance "keep [...] societies going". Or, as Denis (2020) puts it, repair and maintenance shape and preserve the material order. Keeping decay at bay, repair and maintenance activities keep buildings liveable (Graham and Thrift, 2007). Fyhn and Baron's (2017) research has found that majority

of homeowners believe that maintenance is a "continuous process of small [material] repairs". The term 'repair' refers to the "processual and incremental forms of fixing, sustaining and restoring" (Webber et al., 2022: 937). De Coss-Corzo (2021) notes that repair also entails 're-making'. Hodson et al. (2016) surmise that most references to 'remaking' in the literature are framed as responses to the challenges posed by current greenhouse gas emissions. However, as Hodson et al. (2016) further note, we can also speak of remaking the city's material fabric and remaking of place (Anguelovski, 2013, 2014). In all three instances, as Graham and Thrift (2007) argue, repair and maintenance may equate to remaking in some instances, they do not equal exact restoration. They do represent a desire to "[renew] the common world and [are] about what the common world should be" (Greene, 1982: 4). Anguelovski (2013: 233) notes that these practices also embody the residents' "emotional connection and feelings of responsibility to place".

In Black radical thought[xix] and abolitionist traditions[xx], repair is linked to reparative justice and reparations. As Mbembe (2017: 182) reflects:

> [T]he concept of reparation is not only an economic project, but also a process of reassembling amputated parts, repairing broken links, relaunching the forms of reciprocity without which there can be no progress for humanity.

Webber et al. (2022) argue that, in this regard, repair practices aim to undo unjust systems by repairing institutions, relations, and places that were destroyed by colonialism, apartheid, and capitalism to mention a few. In agreement, Graziano and Trogal (2016) argue that repair and maintenance practices present interesting opportunities to examine different regimes of ownership and the commons. The term 'common resources'[xxi], or 'the commons' as they are also referred to in the literature, refers to:

> [R]esource systems regardless of the property rights involved. CPRs include natural and human-constructed resources in which (i) exclusion of beneficiaries through physical or institutional means is especially costly, and (ii) exploitation by one user reduces resource availability for others.

> (Ostrom et al., 1999: 278)

Within the literature, debates on the commons have been narrowed down to a specific set of presumptions which pit state interventions and private-property solutions for the management of (land) resources against each other.[xxii] Harvey (2011) laments this, labelling this polarity as an oversimplification. In agreement, Ostrom (1990) highlights that individuals do frequently come up with ways to manage resources for the benefit of the collective *and* individuals. Ostrom (1990) further argues that the existence of cases that exemplify this possibility counter arguments that central regulation or the imposition of private property rights are the best measures for managing common resources, particularly natural resources as these can be used on an exclusionary basis and are subject to scarcity. Furthermore, as Harvey (2011) notes, there are several cases wherein activists exercise private property rights by purchasing spaces within which they further particular political interests or establish communes. These cases also intimate the complex governance arrangements at play in relation to the management of common resources.

Governance of the commons necessarily entails a struggle. This is particularly true as, Dietz, Ostrom and Stern (2003) argue, when those managing the resources lack legitimacy. It is also true in instances when the commons in question are exclusively used by certain groups or if they are open in principle like streets but are regulated by private entities or the police (Harvey, 2011). The struggles inherent to the governance of the commons stem from, as Harvey (2011) argues, competing social interests. It is for this reason that Ostrom (1990) concludes that the governance of the commons shared by more than a few hundred appropriators requires hierarchical decision making structures. Thus, from this supposition we can conclude that there are inevitable differences in the manner in which common property resources should be managed across different scales (Ostrom et al., 1999; Harvey, 2011).

2.2.3 Social Mobilisation Tradition[xxiii]

By way of concluding this section, the chapter briefly discusses the tradition of planning thought – social mobilisation – within which radical/insurgent planning are aligned. Social mobilisation is an ideology based on solidarity and a sense that the status quo must be changed (Friedmann, 1987). The tradition dates back to the first half of the nineteenth century and emphasises the power of collective action. It involves two kinds of politics: a *politics of disengagement* or *confrontational politics*. The former, which is the domain of utopians and anarchists, involves putting forward alternative ways of living (Friedmann, 1987). The latter, which is subscribed to by Marxists and neo-Marxists, emphasises

political contestation as a necessary element in the struggle to alter power relations and create a new social system (Friedmann, 1987). And herein lies a paradox. The idea of social mobilization has its roots in Marxist and neo-Marxist philosophies, but such mobilization is near impossible in a Communist (or absolutist) state. Therefore, social mobilisation is arguably only possible under conditions of democracy (Friedmann, 1993). That is, social mobilisation is only possible in liberal or social democracies where freedoms of expression and association are permitted.

The features of the social mobilisation tradition, which houses the critical theory component of planning theory, are: "the assertion of the primacy of direct collective action; the conception of planning as a form of politics; and the seeking of transformative processes" (Harris, 2002: 28). These features have led Friedmann (1987: 83) to refer to the social mobilisation tradition as an "ideology of the dispossessed" which asks: *What is the social ideal that is to be realised?*

Intellectually, the social mobilisation tradition draws on historical materialism, anarchism, utopianism, and other radical thought that is concerned with bringing about structural transformation through "direct action from below" (Friedmann, 1987: 83). Utopianism is the quest for the "ideal spatial form for human society" (Baeten, 2002: 144). Utopias are "socio-spatial imaginaries" (Baeten, 2002: 143). That is, a utopia[xxiv] is a "non-existent society described in considerable detail and normally located in time and space" (Sargent, 1994: 9). According to Oscar Wilde (1910) the realisation of a utopia is considered an indication of progress. At the core of the utopian agenda is the reorganisation of space, particularly the reorganisation of urban space as most utopias are envisioned within urban environments (Baeten, 2002). As Mumford (1964) and Eaton (2000) highlight, the first utopias in ancient Greek times were urban spaces in which political and social life was regulated through rational design. A number of utopian schemes have been developed, with some of the most notable being Thomas More's sixteenth century *Utopia*, Ebenezer Howard's *Garden City*[xxv], Le Corbusier's *Radiant City,*[xxvi] and Frank Lloyd Wright's *Broadacre City*[xxvii], to mention a few. These schemes have had significant impact on planning practice throughout the world, including in former British colonies such as South Africa. However, and as Pinder (2002) argues, the concept of 'utopia' has ceased to be relevant for many people. This is evidenced by a retreat, so to speak, from urban utopianism within contemporary debates. Pinder (2002) further argues that rather than retreating from urban utopianism, we should turn to it and rethink the concept in terms of the potential it holds for the development of critical urban theories.

Contrary to state-centric planning, the social mobilisation tradition emphasises the need for bottom-up, citizen-driven planning processes. However, and given the realities of planning practice, social mobilisation is often modified to attain reformist, as opposed to transformative, agendas (Harris, 2002). In the end, it shifts to a model of planning that resembles collaborative planning.

2.3 Participation: A Means to an End or an End in and of Itself?

There is ongoing debate on whether or not participation is an end in itself or a means to an end. For some, it is indeed an end in and of itself. If the conditions – voting equality, control of the agenda, and a deep understanding of the issues concerned – necessary for participation to be considered effective are met, then the characterisation of participation as an end in itself becomes possible (Beetham, 1992; Lumumba-Kasongo, 2005). The idea that all citizens must have control of the agenda implies that residents must be engaged effectively on an ongoing basis, not only when decisions need to be taken. This engagement must be carried through into the implementation and operational phases of a project (Fainstein, 2010). For others, participation is a means to an end. Their participation is predicated on the desire to influence particular outcomes, including but not limited to a place-bound utopias (Massey, 2004: 148).

Utopias are articulations of the vision of the "good" city. Through utopias, utopians and anarchists show others alternative ways of living (Friedmann, 1987; Sandercock, 1999). This is achieved through a *politics of disengagement* (cf. section 2.3.1). Utopias are sites that have an (in)direct general relation with real space (Foucault, 1967). They represent society in a perfected form but ultimately they are unreal and must be distinguished from heterotopias[xxviii]. Foucault (1967: online) describes heterotopias as "effectively enacted utopia[s]". These are likely to be present in very culture, albeit in varied forms (Foucault, 1967). They are real places which are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted. The term heterotopia literally means "of Other Places" (ibid.). Stone (2013: 3) notes that heterotopias are "alternative social spaces existing within and connected to conventional places". Heterotopias are heterogeneous in form. First, there are *crisis heterotopias*. These are spaces which are considered sacred, forbidden or privileged. Examples of these include, but are not limited to, boarding schools and homes for the elderly. Foucault (1967) contends that these spaces are reserved

for those who are in crisis. However, these forms of heterotopias are slowly disappearing and are being replaced by *heterotopias of deviation*.

Heterotopias of deviation are places "in which individuals whose behaviour is deviant in relation to the required mean or norm are placed" (Foucault, 1967: 5). Heterotopias of deviance are sometimes designed to be temporary in order to avoid these place experiments from being co-opted (Harvey, 2010). Furthermore, they are not always acts of resistance. At times they are about survival and access to basic services (Katz and Mayer, 1985; Sihlongonyane, 2005), and maintenance of livelihood strategies (Vaz-Jones, 2016). For example, a number of activists have established social centres in buildings they rent or own instead of squatting. Low impact (sustainable) developments are applying for planning permission as opposed to occupying land forcefully (Chatterton and Pickerill, 2008). The main advantage of this is that activists are able to establish longer-term relationships with neighbouring local communities. However, instability and impermanence of the dwellings remains a key characteristic of heterotopias. This is particularly true of auto-constructed (self-built) dwellings that are made of inferior materials, namely scrap metal, plastic sheeting, wood, and zinc. Whilst the structures offer some protection to their inhabitants, they also pose a real threat (Perlman, 2016). The structures are often razed down by fires, which spread rapidly, because the building materials are highly flammable and the structures are densely packed. Lastly, heterotopias of deviance are characterised by high levels of population fluidity (Perlman, 2016). Group members change drastically as people move to other parts of the city in search of opportunities, some people get arrested, others die, and new members arrive.

That being said, heterotopias have distinct functions within society. As Stone (2013: 11) further argues heterotopias often times "juxtapose in a single real place several spaces that are in themselves incompatible". As 'other', heterotopias are indicative of real contestations for space (Foucault, 1967). As history unfolds, the function(s) of these spaces can and has been changed to move them closer to the ideal, that is, the utopian vision of the good city. The question that needs to be asked in relation to informally occupied spaces is: *are they heterotopias?*

2.4 Interstices: The 'Where' of Radical/Insurgent Planning

Sandercock (1999) argues that radical/insurgent planning occurs in the interstices of space and power. An interstice is a space of possibility in which "new ways of thinking and new transformations to a different social condition" can emerge (King and Dovey, 2013: 1022). Whilst the term *interstice* is primarily used in reference to a spatial feature, the term also refers to an interval of time such as an interlude (Lévesque, 2013). Interstitial space is often characterised as "empty" or "in-between" space[xxix], which is a basic by-product of human existence (Steele and Keys, 2015: 112). Interstitial spaces are, thus, created by all as cities grow. This, according to Kärrholm (2013), is something that planning overlooks in its attribution of planning functions to professionals. It must be pointed out that the idea of interstices as 'in-between' spaces is potentially problematic because:

> [B]y offering a solution to the problem of dualism, an in-between reasserts and firmly establishes the dualist position […] In short, by accepting the possibility of an in-between, one accepts the ontological priority of the dualism and its subsequent epistemological necessity of a synthesis, however materialised.
>
> (Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos, 2013: 88)

Nevertheless, the notion of interstice as an in-between space is useful as it connotes that it is a fluid space that is in the process of 'becoming' (Talocci, 2011). They are places that, as Matos (2009) argues, have several uses. It is for this reason that Careri (2002) argues that urban interstices are parallel cities. Concurring, Phelps and Silva (2018) note that interstices are urban fragments whose political, social, and economic dimensions represent the place's potential and its meaning. However, given that each fragment's meaning is affected by the transformation of the fragments that surround it, urban interstices thus become places in which identities and meanings converge (ibid.). As Phelps and Silva (2018) further argue, this necessitates that we examine the emergence interstices across different scales as well as the different roles they play within planning agendas.

Urban interstices are also referred to in the literature as *liminal* places.[xxx] Meaning "'betwixt and between' social structures" (Garsten, 1999: 603) or "socially recognised positions" (Neumann, 2012: 473), the concept of liminality is attributed van Gennep (1960) who developed a theory of rites of passage.[xxxi] The second phase in this theory is 'liminality'. This is the phase in which, following a triggering event, an individual "passes through a realm that has few or none of the attributes of the 'before' and 'after' states" (Beech, 2011:286). As they pass through this realm, rituals are conducted

in accordance with certain rules of conduct. Since the concept was coined, the term liminality has been used to classify organisations (Tempest and Starkey, 2004), people (Garsten, 1999), and events and spaces (Sturdy et al., 2006). At the heart of these classifications is the belief that liminality is the state in which conventional practices and (socio-spatial) orders are done away with in favour of alternatives (Czarniawska and Mazza, 2003). In so doing, as Howard-Grenville et al. (2011: 522) add, the symbolic realm (where shared meanings are expressed) that constructs residents' current realities, is brought forward giving rise to the opportunities for "people to experiment with new cultural resources and invite different interpretations that hold potential for altering the cultural order". These experiments, in turn, give rise to "new ways of relating" with one's self and others (ibid., p. 523). This is particularly true, as Söderlund and Borg (2018) argue, if one has dual affiliations or has developed alternative identities. This form of liminality, which Söderlund and Borg (2018: 894) refer to as *liminality as position* or *positional liminality*, requires individuals to develop new mechanisms to deal with and benefit from their liminal position. At the collective level, it requires organisations to develop mechanisms for dealing with individuals who are "not bona fide organisational members" (ibid.). It also requires organisations, particularly transitory organisations, to find ways to navigate between two or more central institutional value systems and domains. O'Reilly (2018: 823), who refers to the "sense of *being* liminal" as *ontological liminality,* argues that these practices help people either as individuals or as a collective to simultaneously navigate prolonged situations of liminality, develop connections, and foster a sense of belonging in a plethora of ways.

Transitory organisations are organisations, such as social movements, that are specifically developed to have a short life span as their purpose is to serve an immediate need. As Palisi (1970) notes, the fact that the organisation is designed to have a short life span need not be explicitly stated even though this assumption has been built into the organisations activities. These activities are, in turn, intended to accomplish a specific goal by organising temporarily. Söderlund and Borg (2018) further argue that temporary organising, either at individual or collective level, follows a similar structure and sequence to that outlined by van Gennep (1960 [1909]). The stages are: initiation; development and implementation, and; re-integration and dismantling (ibid.). Thus, as intimated by this sequence, temporary organising is transitional. Lundin and Söderholm (1995) argue that this is due to the association of the transition (read organisational activities) with particular aspirations. Hence, the emphasis on the temporal aspects of such endeavours as once particular aspirations are realised, the organisations or networks are disbanded (Hellgren and Stjenberg, 1987; Palisi, 1970).

A second theme in the literature on liminality is that of *liminality as process* or *temporal liminality*. This theme comes through strongly in the emphasis on 'becoming' and temporality in debates on liminality. This emphasis focuses our attention on process (as opposed to structure). Temporal liminality is, according to Söderlund and Borg (2018: 894), "associated with a passing, transitional and temporary condition". That is, and similar to the concept of heterotopia (see section 2.3 above), liminality is conceived as a temporal state. However, and as Neumann (2012) notes, it may become a permanent state. This is particularly true, as Thomassen (2012) further argues, when liminality has been institutionalised. It is also important to note that whilst temporal liminality can have negative consequences, it does offer individuals with strong social support structures the opportunity to turn transitional periods into productive ones by "offer[ing] opportunities to enjoy freedom otherwise circumscribed" (Griffiths, 2014: 2003).

The third theme in the literature on liminality is *liminality as place* or *spatial liminality*. This form of liminality is "associated with a particular place or space that is outside normal contexts, conditions and everyday routines" (Söderlund and Borg, 2018: 894). And, it is frequently this association that leads individuals to label spaces as underutilised and vacant. A common indicator of spatial liminality by the transient nature of dwellings or, rather, the materials used to construct said dwellings and, inter alia, to construct liminal spaces. However, as Shortt (2015) argues, liminal spaces cease to be liminal once individuals infuse them with meanings that position these places as significant to their everyday lives. In agreement with Tuan (2001), Shortt (2015: 637) argues that meanings and value are imbued onto space through "pause, associations with identity, and with stability and attachment". To accomplish this, individuals may utilise what Fröhlich and Jacobsson (2019: 1151) refer to as "strategic ambiguity" to subvert legal regulations, official discourses, and legitimised public behaviour.

The use of 'strategic ambiguity' places these spaces and related practices, as Yiftachel (2009: 89) notes, "between the 'whiteness' of legality/approval/safety, and the 'blackness' of eviction/destruction/death". Thus, these spaces can be deemed to be *gray spaces*. Adams (2018) describes gray spaces as human-made, distinctive features of urbanization. To this, Amit and Yiftachel (2016) add that in former settler-colonies, many of the gray spaces were developed as part of the colonial project. Colloquially referred to as buffer zones, gray spaces are designed to separate different population groups from each other. In South Africa, the buffer zones have been designed to separate different race groups from each other in line with the segregationist agendas of the apartheid government (cf. figure 2.1). Many of these gray spaces persist. They are now, in many respects,

permanent. Consequently, these cities have continued to develop spatially according to the ethnic or racial lines that were established during the colonial era as a control mechanism (Yiftachel, 2009; Adams and Yiftachel, 2016).
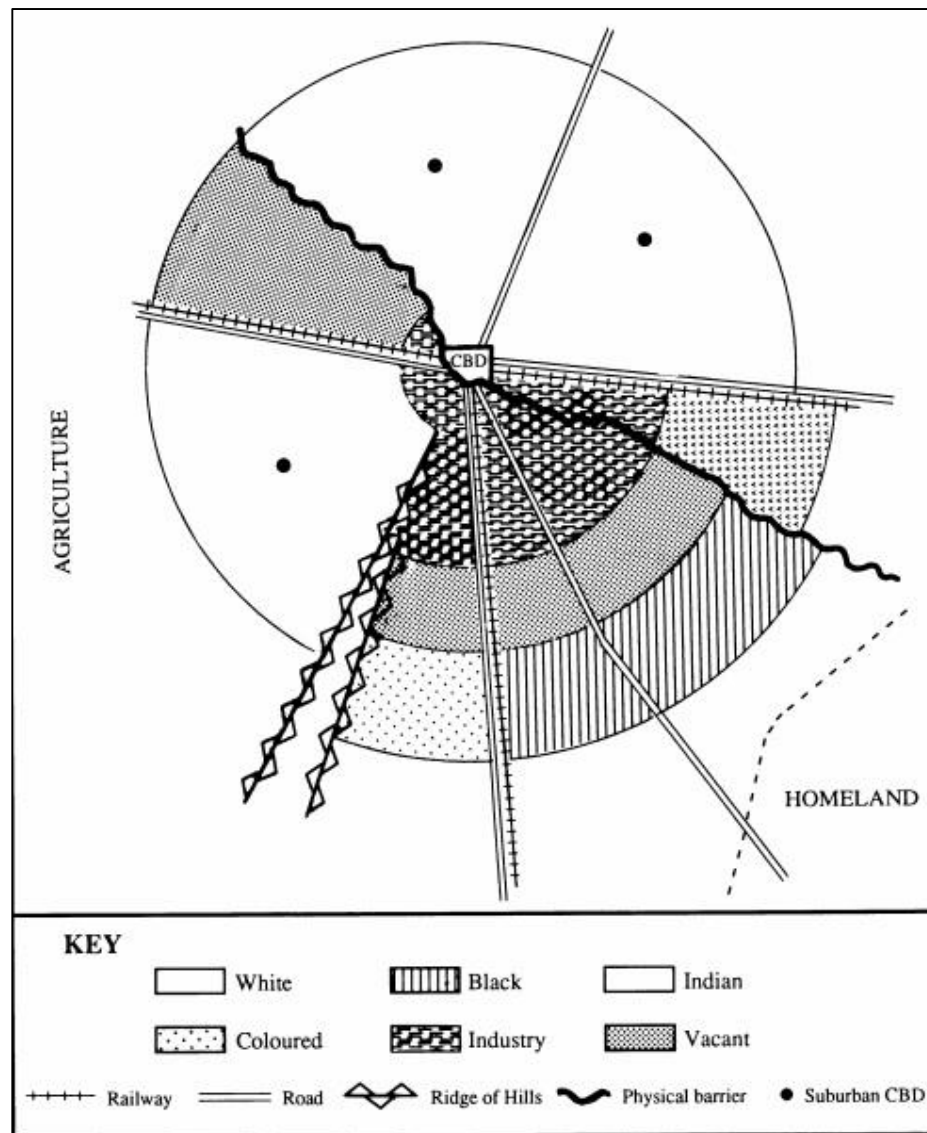
Figure 2.1: Crude Urban Zoning of Apartheid Cities

(Source: Turok, 1994: 245)

Yiftachel (2009) notes that gray spaces are sites of political radicalism. Residents of these sites pursue alternative identity projects in these places thereby disrupting existing power relations. Residents of gray spaces accomplish this, first, through slow encroachment (Bayat, 2007). Second, it occurs as (Yiftachel, 2009: 152) argues, by residents "disengaging their behavior, identity, and resource-seeking from the state and by developing an alternative vision to civil integration as citizens in an inclusive state". It is important to note, however, that this does not occur without opposition from the state. This renders gray spaces, as noted above, sites of deep contestation and political conflicts within which

an individual's sense of self and their positions within established social systems are unsettled (Ybema et al., 2011).

2.5 Conclusion

Answers to the question of how the 'public' can be included into planning processes continue to vary, as do questions on the aims of participation and the role of the professionally trained planner in the process. Whilst communicative/collaborative planning theory identifies the planner as the 'expert' who could predict and control the outside world in the interests of the undifferentiated public (Hall, 2007), radical/insurgent planning has paved the way for local, experiential knowledge to have a greater influence in shaping planning processes and outcomes. Thus, they have made it possible for citizens to be identified as planners. Through the inclusion of residents – to varying degrees – in planning processes the formation of 'good' human settlements is no longer the exclusive domain of professional planners as this chapter has shown through its discussion on participatory planning in the first section. This discussion also highlights, as Huxley and Yiftachel (2000: 339) point out, that there are "a multiplicity of ways of thinking about planning" both as theory and as practice. Vasudevan and Novoa E. (2022) argue that these different ways of thinking are not mutually exclusive. In fact, they complement each other in several respects, drawing on fields beyond planning to understand residents' everyday practices and experiences.

Table 2.1: Summary table - Criteria for assessment

	ASSESSMENT CRITERIA DERIVED FROM THE LITERATURE	SUBSIDIARY RESEARCH QUESTIONS DERIVED FROM THE ASSESSMENT CRITERIA
Social Mobilisation Tradition	Politics of disengagement	How do social movements mobilise and sustain momentum?
	Proper planning will maximise benefits for all	
	Confrontational politics	What is the role of leaders of social movements?
	Direct action from below	
	Transformative agenda	Do the visions informal land occupiers hold of occupied spaces constitute utopias?
Communicative/Collaborative Planning	Entanglement of process and outcome	
	Planning as a collaborative activity	
	Model of deliberative democracy	
	Emphasis on civic engagement, dialogue among stakeholders and consensus-building on appropriate course of action	
	A just process will lead to a just outcome	
Radical Planning	Not always oppositional	
Radical & Insurgent Planning	Citizens as planners for themselves	
	Insurgent urbanism	
	Politicisation of planning	
	Advocating for social transformation	
	Operates in the interstices of space and power	
Heteretopias	Indicative of real contestations of space	
	Juxtapose several uses in a single space	
	Function(s) evolve over time	

Chapter 3: Research Methods and Techniques

As Saunders et al. (2015) argue, my views of and assumptions about the world have had a significant influence on the research paradigm, methods and techniques that I have adopted. The choice of research methods and techniques I utilised to conduct this research has been informed, first, by my standpoint which advocates for bottom-up and participatory forms of planning. Second, it is informed by a desire for in-depth and subjective descriptions and understandings of residents' experiences and practices. It is to a discussion of the research paradigm, namely interpretivism, that the chapter turns in the first section. This is followed by a discussion on the research methods – the case study method, and discourse analysis – that were utilised in order to gain answers to the main and subsidiary research questions. In this section, the data analysis process is also discussed. The third section of this chapter, discusses the research techniques used to collect the data that has been analysed and presented in chapters 4 and 5. The research techniques I discuss in the third section are semi-structured individual interviews, focus groups, oral history interviews, field observations, and desktop research. In the fourth section of this chapter, sampling is discussed. This is followed by a discussion of the ethical considerations related to this research endeavour and a reflection on the research process in the fifth and concluding sections of this chapter, respectively.

3.1 Research Paradigm: Interpretivism

This qualitative research endeavour adopts an interpretivist standpoint. Arising from a critique of positivism in early- to mid-twentieth century Europe, interpretivism is the study of the meanings created by humans in relation to different events and phenomena (Saunders et al., 2015).[i] This research philosophy holds that, as Babbie and Mouton (2001: 643) note:

> [H]uman phenomena are fundamentally distinct from natural phenomena. Some of the critical differences refer to the inherent symbolic nature (meaning-creating) of human behaviour and the historicity of all human actions.

The distinction between natural and human phenomena necessitates the use of different approaches to study the latter. Interpretivists argue against the emulation of research practices in the natural

sciences by social scientists (Saunders et al., 2015). Lawson (1995) notes, in contrast to McIntosh (1997), that an appreciation of the socially constructed nature of knowledge does not prevent a researcher from utilising research techniques commonly associated with objectivist, value-neutral epistemological positions. However, as this research holds an interpretivist standpoint it, therefore, lies within a post-positivist research paradigm. This paradigm: (i) questions the possibility of both neutrality and objectivity; and (ii) recognises "the significance of the socio-political context of all research" (Simons and Usher, 2000: 3). Positivism is founded on a claim of value neutrality within scientific research processes (Whitt, 2009). Value-neutrality, simply put, is the:

> [C]laim (or assumption) that science is value free, unburdened by "external" ethical and political values. Science (or science proper) enjoys a certain axiological immunity, and is unaffected by the values – ethical, social, political, and cultural – which admittedly shape those who do science.
>
> (Whitt, 2009: 59)

Longino (1990) goes on to describe positivism's claims of value neutrality as a 'functional myth' as it, in turn, is based on the perceived independence of science from its socio-political context. Assumptions of value neutrality result, first, in an apolitical philosophy in which issues of power in ethics are overlooked. Philosophy, or rather philosophy-science as Mignolo (2009) refers to it, is understood in this research as one of the two major cosmological frames[ii] within the Western intellectual canon. The discipline has its beginnings in theological speculation on the nature of God, (human) freedom, the soul, and related concepts (Nkrumah, 1970). Each of these concerns, not only "reveals a different bias" (Nkrumah, 1970: 30) when thought of differently but also changes when the manner in which society is organised changes. This highlights the direct influence social contexts have on philosophy. As situated knowledge systems, philosophical systems must be understood in the "context of the social milieu which produced them" (Nkrumah, 1970: 5). They are a series of abstract systems that provide an account of the world at a particular moment in time. Put differently, philosophical systems are concerned with: (i) what there is (a type of object or substance in the world); and (ii) how 'what there is' may be explained (Nkrumah, 1970). As Nkrumah (1970: 2) further notes:

> Philosophy, in understanding human society, calls for an analysis of facts and events, and an attempt to see how they fit into human life, and so how they make up human experience.

Thus, philosophy implicitly or explicitly contains the dominant concern – a social contention – of the social context at the time of its birth. However, through the attribution of knowledge, language, and values with a zero-point origin, Western epistemology has been universalised.[iii] Second, assumptions of value neutrality mask how power is embedded in knowledge production (Whitt, 2009). This is accomplished through value bifurcation. Value bifurcation is the enforcement of a distinction between politics and ethics. The latter, according to Grosz (1989) relates to individual behaviour whereas the former pertains to the collective. In practice, and with respect to science, value bifurcation limits normative criticism by shifting focus to cosmetic issues instead of the political and issues of power. The role of power in relation to ethical considerations in the development of scientific knowledge is either completely ignored or narrowly construed in terms of "informed consent and the violation of individual autonomy" (Whitt, 2009: 69). Together, value neutrality and value bifurcation serve to shield science from direct involvement in moral and political debates,[iv] thereby muting radical critiques relating to material oppression and conceptual domination (Whitt, 2009). In fact, and as Whitt (2009: 69) further notes: "[a]lthough most characteristic of the Anglo-American philosophical tradition, the practice of value-bifurcation has left its mark even in fields with radical, oppositional commitments".

With regards to the nature of reality (ontology), interpretivism maintains that our knowledge of reality and institutions is socially constructed. Interpretivism, thus, has a constructivist ontology in which there are no givens (Goldkuhl, 2012). The world is constructed through human interactions. Subsequently, all phenomena and knowledge reflect the opinions and values of society at a particular point in history (Houston, 2001). That is knowledge is situated (read relative). Situated knowledge, that is 'knowledge *in situ*', is "knowledge as it lives and grows in context" (Ackermann, 1991: 368). Knowledge is created as the meaning of actions, words, material artefacts, and situations are negotiated (Pike and Gahegan, 2007). As such, knowledge is situated not only in the dynamics of interactions but in language, the body, and the physical context. It is for this reason that Gherardi (2008: 517) argues: "to know is to be capable of participating with the requisite competence in the complex web of relationships among people, material artefacts, and activities".

Situated knowledge offers "partial perspectives, offering situated accounts, as do all figures involved in knowledge production" (McDowell and Sharp, 1997: 16). It is, therefore, imperative that we ask, as Mignolo (2009: 160) does: "who, when, why is constructing knowledges?" Whilst answering these questions is beyond the scope of this research, the 'who' question does, however, merit brief

consideration here. Notably absent in Friedmann's (1987) account of the intellectual traditions of planning thought are intellectual traditions developed outside of the global North or by indigenous communities. A number of these intellectual traditions, namely African nationalism, Pan-Africanism, and Black Consciousness, to mention a few, underpin the politics of 20th century South Africa (Vale, 2014). As the discussions in chapter 5 will illustrate, these intellectual traditions including (modern) African philosophy[v] and ethnophilosophies[vi] or their intellectual traditions have influenced present-day informal land occupation processes.[vii] The discussion of these intellectual traditions in chapter 5, subsequently, broadens the range of actors who are involved in knowledge production and what we understand as the crux of the issue.

The aim of interpretivist research is not to explain but to "create new, richer understandings and interpretations of social worlds and contexts" (Saunders et al., 2015: 140). Guided by the conceptualisation 'people as conscious as opposed to biological beings', interpretivism has, first, what Babbie and Mouton (2001: 33) have labelled an "idealist epistemology". The researcher, therefore, must collect data on both observable behaviour and non-observable attributes such as descriptions of research participants' reasons, intentions, and meanings (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). An idealist epistemology further necessitates that the phenomenon under study be examined from multiple perspectives, in order to capture the different realities experienced by different groups in relation to the phenomenon. Doing so allows us to capture some of the complexity of reality through various research methods and techniques (Saunders et al., 2015). These are discussed in the next section.

3.2 Research Methods

The research questions, as well as the desire to describe and understand the processes of informal land occupation from the point of view of the key actors involved, influenced the choice of research methods utilised in this research. Hence, to gain an emic perspective this study employed the following research methods: the case study method, and discourse analysis.

3.2.1 Case Study Method

The case study is used in planning research more frequently, replacing communicative planning theory as the approach of choice for empirical research since the 1990s (Lauria and Wagner, 2006). Although it is considered a "'soft' form of research", the case study has enabled us to improve our knowledge of various phenomena (Yin, 2009: 2). This is possible because this method, through the use of several data collection techniques, enables in-depth examination of a phenomenon (Abercrombie et al., 1984). This use of the term "case" is one of the more widely used. However, it must be noted that the term is used in a variable manner (Flyvbjerg, 2011; Gerring, 2004; Ragin, 1992). Furthermore, Abercrombie et al's (1984) definition of a case study is, in Flyvbjerg's (2006: 220) words, "oversimplified" and misleading. It has given rise to the notion that the case study is a pilot method. Flyvbjerg (2006) and Duminy et al. (2014) disagree with this characterisation of the case study. They argue that the case study has value in and of itself because it yields information about the broader class of phenomena under study.

Yin (2009: 18) has put forward a more technical definition of the case study:

1. A case study is an empirical inquiry that

- investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when

- the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident.

2. The case study inquiry

- copes with the technically distinctive situation in which there will be many more variables of interest than data points, and as one result

- relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion, and as another result

- benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis.

This definition highlights that, in practice, the case study method entails research design, data collection techniques, and data analysis procedures. Case study research is, consequently, a linear

albeit iterative process (Yin, 2009). The first step – plan – entails developing the research question(s). This is preceded by a review of the literature, which will help to define the research objectives. Second, is the design phase. This is the step in which the research is operationalised. To accomplish this, the researcher must: (i) define the unit of analysis, that is, the case; (ii) determine what data needs to be collected; (iii) determine how the data will link to the research questions; and (iv) outline the procedures through which validity and credibility can be maintained (Yin, 2009). Whilst credibility and validity are discussed in section 3.3.4, it bears mentioning that these concerns, alongside concerns about theory, are at the heart of the five misunderstandings of the case study method (Flyvbjerg, 2006, 2011).[viii]

The first misunderstanding is that we cannot generalise findings from single cases[ix] (Babbie and Mouton, 2001; Dumity et al., 2014). Consequently, it is argued that the single case method "cannot contribute to scientific development" (Flyvbjerg, 2011: 302). In contrast, Bacon (1878) argues that the general can be uncovered through an examination of the particular, namely the case. That is, Bacon (1878) argues that the findings from a single case study are generalizable. Furthermore, and with respect to theory development, the case study method has been systematically established for the development of theories in the social sciences (George and Bennett, 2005; Duminy et al., 2014). This is achieved, first, through falsification (Flyvbjerg, 2001). Popper (1963) argues that we must look for evidence that is contrary to our hypotheses.[x] That is, evidence that negates our hypotheses (Jeffrey, 1975). The converse to this is verification. Verification is argued to be the "real work of science", read as quantitative research (Denzin, 2009: 150). Sentiments have shifted somewhat, and qualitative research, specifically the case study now stands accused of having a tendency towards verification. Flyvbjerg (2006, 2011) notes that this misconception is based on perceptions that qualitative research methods are less rigorous than quantitative methods. It casts doubt on the scientific value of case study research by assuming that the researcher tends to look for evidence that supports her predetermined ideas. Ragin (1992) argues, however, that case study research requires researchers to revise their hypotheses during key moments in the research. Campbell (1975) argues, in agreement with Ragin (1992) and Flyvbjerg (2011), that falsification is at the heart of the case study method.

Theory development using the case study method is also accomplished through *process tracing.* Process tracing is the analysis of data from different sources to uncover the "causal process a theory hypothesises or implies [which] is in fact evident in the sequence and values of the intervening variables in that case" (George and Bennett, 2005: 6). Tansey (2007: 765) states that the "goal of

process tracing is to obtain information about well-defined and specific events and processes". Therefore, through process tracing, new variables and hypotheses are generated inductively from the data (Blatter and Haverland, 2012). The data to be collected is determined by the research goals. It ranges from biographies, academic and non-academic literature, interviews, and archival works. Process tracing requires vast amounts of data from different sources (Tansey, 2007). It, therefore, influences the choice of sampling methods. The sampling methods are discussed at length in section 3.4 below.

The case study is, according to Duminy et al. (2014: 9, emphasis in original), a "useful approach to the study of *all* cities". The method enables researchers to examine complex phenomena in the real world (Crowe et al., 2011; George and Bennett, 2005). This is one of the key advantages of the case study method. A second advantage of this method is the use of multiple sources of evidence (Yin, 1994). That being said, each research technique that is used to collect data from these different sources has its own advantages and disadvantages (Landman, 2014). Lastly, the method offers the added advantage of "allowing comparisons to be made across several cases" (Crowe et al., 2011: 6). This research examines four cases (cf. chapter 1). Heeding Yin's (2009) advice, I have selected two cases – Graceland and Silvertown – that can be considered typical or representative of informal occupations in Cape Town. The Green Point and Woodstock cases, are somewhat atypical in the Cape Town context. Whilst the occupation of vacant buildings has been documented widely in Johannesburg, this is a recent phenomenon in Cape Town.[xi] Furthermore, the Woodstock and Green Point occupations differ from the norm as they are located in the inner city. This is unlike "typical" occupations, which occur on the periphery. Each case has been selected, primarily, on the basis of the fact that I have been following the occupations since they were initiated in 2017.

Together, the cases through their respective chronological narratives can help us to understand key processes during informal land occupations in reference to theory. In so doing, they can help us to nuance existing theories or build new ones by helping us answer questions about "timing, sequence, and pacing" (Walton, 1972: 76). Furthermore, their nonconformity with existing theoretical accounts of occupations as occurring through processes of quiet encroachment (Bayat, 2000; Bartels, 2020), offer the opportunity to gauge the extent to which planning theories accurately explain the occupation processes in the present day South African context and their intended outcomes (Bennett, 2004). Third, through their involvement of a wide range of actors across the city, including both local government and provincial government actors the cases under study provide us with the opportunity

to examine the complex relations and interactions between different actor groups as well as amongst actors within the same groups across time and space within the city (Ngwenya and Cirolia, 2021).

The advantages of the case study method outlined above can be enhanced through the use of the case study method in conjunction with other research methods (Merriam, 1998). Each method, as Krusenvik (2016: 2) notes, illuminates "something special about the phenomenon being studied". The use of the case study method, with several other research methods further addresses the misconceptions about the case study. The chapter now turns to a discussion of the second research method employed – discourse analysis.

3.2.2 Discourse Analysis

Fischer and Forester (2003) note that there has been a *linguistic (argumentative) turn* in philosophy, which has been accompanied within planning theory by an emphasis on "language and 'making meaning' through language" (Allmendinger, 2002: 88). [xii] As Wittgenstein (1953) argues, the composite meaning of the concepts we use is also encapsulated in the circumstances and contexts within which we deploy each concept. Therefore, to understand the meanings inscribed through language on informal occupations and the surrounding circumstances Wittgenstein (1953) refers to, I have undertaken discourse analysis. Jørgensen and Phillips (2002: 1) define a discourse as the:

> [I]dea that language is structured according to different patterns that people's utterances follow when they take part in different domains of social life, familiar examples being 'medical discourse' and 'political discourse'.

Discourse analysis is the analysis of these patterns. Discourse analysis can have one of two foci. First, it can focus on, as Mills (1997) notes, one event or moment in which language is used such as a speech for example. Such references are often made in relation to spoken language, not written texts. In this instance, discourse analysis is an examination of why particular rhetorical strategies and vocabulary are used during the discursive event under study, and what is achieved through the use of these strategies (Hastings, 1999). Second, the term discourse can refer to "groups of utterances or texts which appear to originate or belong in the same social domain", for example a court room or a class

room (ibid., p. 9). In this second use of the term, discourse analysis is used to examine the rules governing language use patterns within each setting, how these rules position participants in relation to each other, and how the manner in which language is used reinforces existing power relations (Hastings, 1999). Discourse and power are, therefore, intimately linked.

Howarth (2009: 310; emphasis in original) argues that the "exercise of power *constitutes* and *produces* practices and social relations. But it is also involved in the sedimentation and reproduction of social relations". Flybvjerg (2003) adds that power determines what constitutes rationality and knowledge. There is an inverse relationship between power and rationality. As power increases, rationality decreases. Rationality is replaced by rationalisation through the exercise of power's freedom to define reality through language. According to Foucault (1977), power precedes language. Language is, consequently, considered a reflection of power (Fairclough, 1992a). Language is also the key mechanism through which power is exercised (McHoul and Grace, 1993). Democracy, on the other hand, is the tool with which power (or the abuse thereof) can be controlled (Flyvbjerg, 2003). There are two forms of power: 'power over' and 'power to'. The former, according to Berger (2005: 6), refers to relations between various actors in which "decision making is characterised by control, instrumentalism, and self-interest". Dahl (1957) argues that an individual has the *power over* another in so far as that can get person B to do what they would not have done ordinarily. This notion of power is associated with disciplinary control undertaken by institutions such as the police (Kamete, 2011). This zero sum conceptualisation of power has been critiqued for offering a one-sided view of power relations that is only based on the visible aspects of power (Flyvbjerg, 1998). Elshtain (1982: 605) urges that we move beyond the simplistic notion of language as "power over" and also search for emancipatory speech. This does not mean, however, that we must overlook the ways in which language is used in the service of power within the public and private spheres. The latter, in contrast, refers to a model of relations between actors that is concerned with the degree to which an actor can influence decision making. This conceptualisation of power draws on Foucauldian thinking[xiii] on the relational nature of power.[xiv]

There are several approaches to discourse analysis.[xv] These approaches share the basic assumption that language is not neutral (ibid.). That is, language actively (re)constructs identity, social relations, and the world (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002). Furthermore, language is central to urban processes. This can be seen, for example, in studies that examine "how spatial phenomena are represented in literature" (Hastings, 1999: 8). To understand how the meaning(s) of informal land occupations are

discursively created and constrained, I employed Laclau and Mouffe's (1985) *discourse theory*. It is to a discussion of this approach to discourse analysis that this section turns.

3.2.2.1 Discourse Theory

Discourse theory has Marxist and structuralist theoretical foundations (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002; Jacobs, 2006). Whilst the former is a lens through which the social can be analysed, the latter is a "theory of meaning" (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002: 25). For structuralists, the relationship between concepts and the words (signifiers) representing those concepts is arbitrary (Shefer, 2004). The relationship between the concept and the signifier is cemented through repeated use of that particular word in relation to that concept. This means, as post-structuralists argue, different signifiers can be used to denote the same concept. Signifiers acquire new meanings by being placed in different relations to other words during conversations (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002). The process of creating meaning is, therefore, a socio-political process through which social activities and identities are performed (Gee, 1999). This process can be mapped through discourse analysis.

Discourse theory is, as Dahlberg (2011) notes, a theory of politics. Its basic tenet is that:

> [S]ocial phenomena are never finished or total. Meaning can never be ultimately fixed and this opens up the way for constant social struggles about definitions of society and identity, with resulting social effects. The discourse analyst's task is to plot the course of these struggles to fix meaning at all levels of the social.
>
> (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002: 24)

Subsequently, Laclau and Mouffe (1985: 112) understand a discourse as the "partial fixation of meaning around certain nodal points". This structure is never complete; they are temporary closures (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002). The aim of discourse theory, therefore, is to analyse how these structures – discourses – come into being and change (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985). To begin this analysis, we must ask the following questions in relation to specific concepts: "what meanings do they establish by positioning elements in particular relationships with one another, and what meaning potentials do they exclude?" (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002: 29).

Strictly speaking, discourse theory is a systematic approach to textual analysis. Textual analysis is the mapping of "systematic analyses of spoken or written texts onto systematic analyses of social contexts" (Fairclough, 1992b: 193-4). Textual analysis entails analysing the manner in which texts are structured (form) in addition to analysing the content and meaning of said texts. Here, the term 'text' is used in reference to both spoken and written texts.[xvi] There are two forms of textual analysis that can be undertaken by interdisciplinary researchers: intertextual analysis or intertextuality[xvii] as it is also referred to as, and linguistic analysis.[xviii] The former examines how a text positions itself in relation to other texts, which ideas the author draws on, and how certain actors are included in the story (Bazerman, 2004). Within intertextual analysis, each text is not treated as a closed system. Thus, symbols, structures, and relationships thereof extend beyond a single text to interrelated texts, actors, readers, and languages (Kristeva, 1980). Bazerman (2004) outlines the following steps for analysing intertextuality: (i) Identify all instances of intertextuality in a given text; (ii) note whether each instance is expressed in the form of a direct or indirect quote, described or paraphrased; (iii) note whether or not the source or author of each instance is attributed, and; (iv) analyse and interpret the intertextuality in terms of the manner and purpose it serves in the text.

The term linguistic analysis refers to several descriptive techniques – morphology, syntax, phonetics, and phonemics – that are used to analyse the nature of linguistic phenomena (Reed, 1949).[xix] Linguistic analysis, according to Fairclough (1992b: 194), illustrates the manner in which "texts selectively draw upon linguistic systems". Therefore, linguistic analysis can highlight how language is used to by those in power to maintain social control (Caldas-Coulthard and Coulthard, 1996). Furthermore, and as Howley et al. (2013) argue, linguistic analysis may also serve as a bridge between different theoretical and methodological positions. Kress and Threadgold (1988) argue that the two forms of textual analysis are complementary. Fairclough (1992b) further argues that the use of both within discourse analysis, as has been done in this research, serves to resolutely ground the research findings.

First, a systematic analysis of each text, namely the interview transcripts, meeting minutes, and policy documents to mention a few was conducted. Each text was first analysed to identify instances of intertextuality. It was then noted if these instances are based on direct or indirect and whether they explicitly name or identify the source or author they are drawn from. These instances were then analysed to determine on the one hand how this text positions itself in relation to other texts. They were also analysed to determine, on the other hand, the purpose(s) which the text serves. Each text

was then (re)analysed to ascertain how the language used in the text is utilised to maintain or gain (social) control of the narrative of occupations in particular by fixing, albeit partially, meaning in specific discourses. This required analysing the instance of intertextuality within its context, that is the text with the aim of identifying shared knowledge, identifying (in)direct speech acts such as questions, requests, and commands to mention a few, and the different theoretical and methodological positions that are drawn on within each text.

At the same time, each text underwent a discourse theoretical analysis. First, key signifiers – nodal points, master signifiers, and myths – were identified. These are the elements that organise discourse, identity, and social spaces, respectively (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002). The second step was to ascertain which key signifiers are combined with others as well as how they are combined. For example, the term 'land' obtains its meaning through its association with the terms 'invasion', 'occupation', 'housing', and 'expropriation'. The meanings are then unpacked, so to speak, to determine which version(s) of reality they support. Third, the extent to which the meanings, and subsequently the discourses they are embedded within, operate side-by-side or conflict was also determined. Where discourses conflict, each text is then analysed to determine, first, the social and material consequences of each conflict as well as how such conflicts are resolved, if at all (ibid.).

Discourse theory is based on four premises. The first is that the social is discursive. Second, knowledge is not an objective truth. Neither is it a reflection of the world 'out there' Rather, as Jørgensen and Phillips (2002: 5) elucidate, knowledge and reality are the "products of discourse". Third, discourse theory is based on the premise that how we understand the world is historically and culturally specific (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002). Therefore, as culture evolves our worldviews change. Fourth, knowledge and social processes are linked (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002). It is through social interaction that knowledge is created and maintained. Meaning is also created and ascribed to social phenomena during social interactions (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002). The meanings change, however, as discourses related to the social phenomena in question come into contact with other discourses in what Laclau and Mouffe (1985) refer to as a *discursive struggle.* This is a struggle over the "definition and framing of the problem, public understanding of the issues and shared meanings which motivate action" (Albrecht, 2018: 177). It is also a struggle to shape the institutional field (Hardy and Phillips, 1999). During this struggle, alternative discourses are displaced and marginalised by deploying a political logic of discourse (Martin, 2002).[xx] This logic, which presents dominant discourses as 'common sense', informs:

> [H]ow political projects formulate demands, interpellate and mobilise subjects, construct political identities and in so doing claim power. It is aimed at understanding how regimes of social practices come into existence and are institutionalised; how they are transformed and contested; as well as how their political nature is made invisible, and their contestation pre-empted.

> (De Cleen, 2018: 17)

It is important to note, however, that even with the deployment of the political logic of discourse, hegemonic discourses only fix meanings partially and temporarily. Lastly, discourse theory is premised on the idea that knowledge and social action are linked. Differences in (social) actions can be accounted for, to an extent, by differences in world views. The result is that actions linked to hegemonic[xxi] discourses are considered the 'norm'. Therein lies discourse theory's biggest advantage. Through its emphasis on power and conflict in the (re)creation of identities and (social) meanings, discourse theory allows us to critically analyse socio-political processes as they have been (re)constructed in key texts (Crowe, 2005).

3.3 Research Techniques

This section discusses the research techniques that have been used to collect the data. The techniques, which include interviews, participant and non-participant observation, and desktop research, are discussed below.

3.3.1 Semi-structured Interviews

Fontana and Frey (1994) argue that interviewing, in one form or another, has been used since ancient Egyptian times. An interview is a conversation between the interviewer and a research participant (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). In practice though, it is not a simple as this (Roulston et al., 2003). Interviews are one of the most commonly used research techniques in qualitative research projects. The aim of an interview is to elicit information that will help the researcher answer their research questions. Whilst the initial research plan was to conduct individual interviews, many of the interviews

ended up being focus groups with 2 - 4 individuals.[xxii] This was the case because of how the residents across the different sites have organised themselves. It also has to do with the systems of transparency and accountability that residents have developed to maintain trust amongst themselves. These systems require that more formal engagements, such as interviews with individuals outside of the movements, be attended by more than one member. Morgan (2011) argues that focus groups of this size present a number of opportunities, whilst solving the challenges associated with not being able to recruit enough participants to form larger groups. Smaller focus groups retain the key advantage of focus groups, namely the interactive discussions between participants. During smaller focus groups, each participant has more time to share and compare their experiences to other participants' experiences. This is unlike in bigger groups. However, and regardless of size, power differentials amongst the participants exist. Whilst Gibbs (1997) argues that focus groups can ultimately be empowering, I am wary of this romantic view of focus groups. It is a view that is underpinned by the kind of "faith in the power of dialogue" (Kamberelis and Dimitriadis, 2011: 550) exhibited by communicative/collaborative theorists. In total 5 focus groups were conducted. These complemented 14 individual interviews and innumerable conversations with research participants between 2017 and 2022 during participant and non-participant observations (cf. section 3.3.3).

Babbie and Mouton (2001) note that interviews enable research participants to speak for themselves. They also allow the participants' voices to be included verbatim into research outputs. Thus, and as Collins (1986) argues, strengthening the researchers' arguments. Interviews also enable the collection of deep insights into the phenomena under study through probing. Probing, which is a mechanism with which to get participants to elaborate or clarify on answers to previous questions, is possible because of the interview technique's inherent characteristics. Interviews are "flexible, iterative, and continuous" (Rubin and Rubin, 1995: 43). This is one of the key advantages of interviews. However, these characteristics also present a number of challenges. Roulston et al. (2003) argue that these challenges, particularly for those new to interviewing, include: handling sensitive information, dealing with one's own subjectivities and actions, and unexpected behaviour by the participants. Such unanticipated events were recorded in a fieldwork journal. These journals also contain extensive notes on each stage of the research process, and reflections on each interview. The journals also serve as a record of interview responses that were contrary to my construction of events relating to each occupation.

All the interviews were semi-structured and conducted face-to-face. The exceptions to this are 5 follow-up interviews, which were conducted telephonically due to COVID-19 related restrictions. Semi-structured interviews are interviews which maintain a conversational tone even though the researcher has prepared a few questions to pose to the participant. Subsequently, semi-structured interviews offer the participant less opportunity to direct the interview unlike unstructured interviews (Fontana and Frey, 1994). This means that interview respondents have fewer opportunities to highlight the events that had the most significant impact on their lives. Semi-structured interviews do offer the interviewer the opportunity to probe both what is said and unsaid. A participant's silence on a particular issue or event raises a number of questions to be posed to the participant, not forgetting that silence is data in itself. It is imperative that the researcher listens closely to both the visual and unspoken (Roulston et al., 2003).

Brayboy et al. (2012) argue that researchers need to engage in multisensory listening during the interview. That is, we must listen not only with our ears but through our other senses – touch, smell and sight (observation) – as well as our gut feelings (ibid.). Multi-sensory listening was pivotal to this research given that whilst the interviews were conducted in English or a mix of English and isiXhosa, the majority of the participants were either isiXhosa or Afrikaans first language speakers. Thus, participants would switch languages throughout the interview, and engaging in multi-sensory listening helped me to read between the lines, so to speak. It is important to note, that whenever participants used expressions or phrases in their first languages that I was not familiar with, I immediately asked for a translation. These became teaching moments between the research participants and I that extended beyond the interview setting. Whilst I acknowledged my role as a researcher, I also emphasised my role as a student with a desire to learn not only of the residents' lived experiences but also how they have addressed some of the most pressing challenges they have faced in their lives through occupations. I feel that these moments were pivotal not only to the development of trust between the research participants and I, but also to the diffusion, to some extent, of the power differentials between us.

In addition to translating words and phrases from Afrikaans or isiXhosa to English, two other forms of translation were undertaken. First, I translated what I saw and experienced on an aesthetic level – the eye witness account – into my mother tongue (isiNdebele). Second, I translated modes of expression that I had observed or read in order to understand the respondent's philosophy (Bell, 2002). This made

these modes of expression meaningful from a first person perspective. As Bell (2002: 4) further argued, in order to understand someone else's philosophy I must be:

> [A]ttentive to their modes of expression and sort out both how their concerns and interests are expressed – what concepts and categories are used – and then translate those within myself to sufficiently see and understand such concerns in my own human language situation.

Another advantage of the semi-structured interview is that it gives interview respondents the opportunity to tell stories of how and why past events occurred in addition to "future-oriented stories" (Throgmorton, 2003: 127). Stories are relational (Etherington, 2007). Furthermore, stories are products of broader socio-cultural, material, political, historical, intersubjective, and personal currents (Sonn et al., 2013). Stories can, therefore, help us understand past and present responses to power relations, and how identity and subjectivity is formed (ibid.). This is possible because storytelling enables the recall and articulation of memories, which are shaped by stories in turn. Storytelling, as part of the interview process, is a powerful tool. The researcher can get a lot of detailed information including "localised historical information" that other research techniques cannot yield (Thomas, 2004: 51; Sonn et al., 2013). Stories also reveal critical insights into an individual's subject positioning (Collins, 1986, 1999). This insight is vital when conducting research with individuals from marginalised groups. Yet, and as Sandercock (2003: 12) notes, storytelling is believed to be "a woman's way of knowing, as inferior, lacking in rigor". Not only has storytelling been criticised for being inaccurate, some critics have gone so far as to equate it to lying. Sandercock (2003) disputes this. Throgmorton (2003) argues that criticisms of storytelling stem from concerns with accuracy (truth), not normative evaluation. Whilst facts are important, as Throgmorton (2003) further argues, the meanings attached to these facts are more important. That being said, meaning as it relates to past events is difficult to corroborate in the absence of photographic or other textual evidence. This is particularly true for contexts in which the stories, and related experiences, remain unacknowledged by the broader society (Hackett and Rolston, 2009). This lack of acknowledgement can result in the (further) marginalisation of the storytellers and their stories. Whilst this research does offer participants the opportunity to tell their stories, its status as an academic text means that the audience is small. Therefore, whilst the possibility of this text leading to wider acceptance of the participants' stories is limited, this thesis does serve as a step towards the participants' stories being shared more widely, across a different sector beyond the local media.

Lastly, I must note, as Fontana and Frey (1994) do, that the spoken (and written) word possesses an element of ambiguity. Regardless of how either the research participant or the researcher word their sentences, misunderstandings can arise (Roulston et al., 2003). I have dealt with this by paying careful attention to how I phrase questions. I also made sure that each question was phrased in the simplest manner possible. I believe that what was particularly key to minimising misunderstandings between the research participants and myself was the fact that I had engaged with most of the research participants over the course of several months prior to me requesting a formal interview. In this period, trust was established as we got to know each other and the research participants got to know more about my research aims. This was possible because of the extended length of time I have spent in the field. Even after the formal interviews, conversations between myself and research participants continue.[xxiii]

3.3.2 Oral History Interview

> People have always told their histories in conversation. Throughout the ages, history has been passed on by word of mouth.
>
> (Grele, 1991: xv)

The oral history interview is one such conversation. Oral history interviews enable the researcher to collect personal narratives detailing how participants have experienced particular events (Boschma et al., 2003). Truesdell (2001: 1) argues that oral history interviews facilitate the collection of "information about the past from observers and participants in that past". To this end, and as Grele (1979) and Tyson (1996) note, oral history interviews have a documentary aspect which when used creatively can give insights into seemingly insignificant or unintelligible historical moments. Such insight arises not only from what is said, but also from the strategies employed by participants during the interview. One such strategy is *reticence*. Layman (2009) notes that participants use *reticence* during oral history interviews to shift the conversation away from a particular issue. In so doing, the narrator asserts their authority within the context of the interview by limiting dialogue on a specific matter. Reticence is an insightful conversational strategy. as it highlights points of tension (Layman, 2009).

First, reticence highlights moments when the conversation extends beyond the subject and themes participants agreed to discuss during the interview. Included in this practice, are topics that participants consider irrelevant or inappropriate. Thus, and this is the second point of tension, reticence indicates when the discussion borders or transgresses the "narrators' bounds of social discourse" as dictated by cultural conventions on what constitutes polite conversation (Layman, 2009: 216). Grele (1985) argues that such cultural conventions also hinder interviewers from asking difficult questions in an attempt to avoid offending the participant or making the participant feel uncomfortable. Third, reticence is employed when the conversation touches on embarrassing, painful or traumatic experiences. Layman (2009) notes that interviewers sometimes ask questions that evoke painful memories without knowing that their questions will do so. It is, therefore, imperative that the interviewer desist from probing extensively once they encounter reticence if there is the possibility that the events being recalled are traumatic. This also holds for moments during the interview when a participant is evidently uncomfortable, particularly since the interviewer is unable to predict how long the participants' distress will persist even after the interview (Corbin and Morse, 2003). Lastly, reticence indicates differences between personal memory and collective memory (Layman, 2009). Differences between personal and collective memory[xxiv] arise because, as Olick (1999: 342) notes "[p]owerful institutions clearly value some histories more than others, provide narrative patterns and exemplars of how individuals can and should remember". When such differences arise, reticence occurs as individuals fear that they will not be believed or will be perceived as being disagreeable. Cumulatively, and as Layman (2009) further argues, reticence highlights how power is negotiated throughout the interview.

The oral history interview can be conducted either in the same manner as an unstructured interview (Fontana and Frey, 1994; Thomas, 2004) or as a semi-structured interview (Buehlman et al., 1992). A key advantage of the oral history interview technique is the potential it holds to include the voices of those who are usually silenced (Sandercock, 2003; Thomas, 2004; Tyson, 1996). The notion of voice is imbued with assumptions of a "mouth, eye and finally face" (de Man, 1979: 926). Additionally, and as Henry (1998) notes, the notion also imbues the individual with the power to speak. Yet, the power to speak can be, and often is, taken away from the poor by those who benefit from speaking on their behalf (Collins, 1986; Slim, 2002). Through the exercise of power within asymmetrical relations, the voices of the poor are captured by those who are more powerful. According to Field (2012) and Thomas (2004) these powerful groups utilise the poor's voices to legitimise their own agendas as they pertain to the planning of cities. This notwithstanding, the power of the oral history technique lies in

its ability to collect both master and subversive narratives. The dynamicity of the interview process allows the researcher to, as Field (2012: 10) argues, "[l]ocate people's lives in different imaginings of historicity, not merely slotting popular memories or stories into the pre-given Grand March of History".

Another advantage, as Tyson (1996) argues, is that oral history interviews do not only provide insight into the causes of certain events. Instead, they provide insight into the range of choices available to individuals involved in these events. This is a key reason underpinning the use of the oral history interview in this research. From the outset, it has been imperative for me to understand what led to an occupation **and** what alternative courses of action were available to residents. In other words, and as Tyson (1996) argues further, the oral history interview enables the researcher to examine both the process and the outcome of decision-making within its specific context. Third, Thomson (2007) notes that memory is now an accepted historical source. As Perks and Thompson (1998: ix) reiterate, there is merit in gathering rich, individual accounts of "events of the past for the purposes of historical construction". The researcher's focus during the oral history interview, though, must not be on asking the right questions. Rather, the researcher's focus must be on storytelling. This focus does raise the 'so, what?' question once the interviews have been conducted. The question of what to do with the audio recordings is one that I continue to grapple with in conjunction with the residents, many of whom have expressed the desire to have their stay on the respective sites documented. What format this documentation will ultimately take, I cannot say for now but we will decide over the course of the next few months, which format is best suited for evoking the emotions that the residents' stories convey.

Although oral history interviews are subjective, Tyson (1996) argues that the subjective nature of the data dissuades researchers from erroneously arguing about the objectivity of the past. This does not mean, however, that I as the interviewer have not been affected by the interview. Thinking back, one word I would use to describe the oral history interviews is 'heavy'. In many of the interviews, I was repeatedly struck by just how much each resident, several of whom were younger than me, had endured as a result of being part of an occupation. Indeed, many of the experiences evoked feelings of sadness and, many a times, anger too. The stories that come to mind are those relating to law enforcement units' very heavy handed responses to occupations on each of the sites. There is, therefore, no denying that the interviews did have an impact me; they served to increase the level of care with which I approached the research and engaged with the residents. Moreover, the at times

overwhelming emotions, both happy and sad, that I felt during different moments of the oral history interview have enabled me to gain a more nuanced understanding of the residents' lived experiences. As Harris (1991: 81-82) states:

> I think that to become emotionally involved, while it's true that it violates the first canon of the historian, which is objectivity, nevertheless, puts you intimately into a situation and thus enables you to understand it in a way, I think, you can't understand it if you remain outside the situation.

A third advantage of the oral history interview is its connection of the "present with the past as 'living history, the remembered past that exists in the present'" (Frisch, 1990: xxxii). Not only do oral history interviews provide insights into this connection, they also provide insights into the paradoxes that constrain choices. These insights, which Tyson (1996) contends are missing in written records, are pivotal for understanding the issue under study in contexts such as Cape Town where the spatial legacies of colonial and apartheid planning continue to determine access to opportunities and services in the city. Allowing individuals to tell their own stories minimises *belief transference* (Tyson, 1996). *Transference* is defined by Merino and Mayper (1993: 240) as the "imposition of current beliefs on a prior period" or different culture. Another, and related form of transference, occurs when we assert that past beliefs are different from current beliefs (ibid.). Consequently, individuals or groups are attributed with qualities that they do not possess (Andersen and Berk, 1998; Andersen et al., 1995).[xxv] It is for this reason that triangulation is critical since participants may "embellish their actions and misrepresent their influence on particular events" (Tyson, 1996: 85). This is confounded by some participants' inabilities to accurately recall the chronology of events. Lastly, oral history interviews face limitations related to sample composition and, inter alia, the extent to which findings can be generalised. The concern with generalisation has been discussed above in section 3.2.1 It is to a discussion of the third research technique utilised in this study – field observations – that the chapter turns.

3.3.3 Field Observations

Glaser (2001, 2002) advocates for passive (non-participant) field observation in addition to interviewing. McCall (1984) and Lüders (2004) argue that field observation is a technique through

which the researcher can take part in and closely observe the performance of the everyday practices under study. Weick (1968: 358) defines field observations as the "process of 'planned, methodical watching that involves constraints to improve accuracy'". This definition alludes to the preparation involved before one goes into the field. This preparation involves thinking through which sets of behaviours on the site will be selected, recorded, and coded (McCall, 1984). That is, preparation involves determining the system of observation. The selection of behaviours to be observed, is informed by how interaction between participants is conceptualised. In this research, interaction has been conceptualised through a *constructivist approach.[xxvi]* In this approach, interaction is conceptualised as a social accomplishment. The emphasis is on the analysis of "how the actions of multiple participants are jointly organised to produce or to manage some socially recognisable episode or event" (McCall, 1984: 269). In this research, the event is the informal occupation of vacant land or underutilised buildings. This approach utilises *field-format systems of observation.* This system advocates for the detailed and systematic description of different characteristics as well as the principles of organisation of the behaviour under observation (McCall, 1984). Once described and recorded, the observational data is then coded. As an "open, multi-dimensional system that can be codified in multiple, flexible and self-regulating ways", this format is suitable for use when complex processes and interactions are under observation (Belza et al., 2019: 136). The term interaction is used here to refer to events or aspects thereof that are realised through collective action by different actors (McCall, 1984). This system, which has made it easier to analyse the relations between different activities and processes, was a key structuring element for the notes that I took whilst in the field (appendix A). These notes were then analysed alongside other pieces of data that were collected as part of the research.

By undertaking field observations, I addressed the critique that social research is too reliant on questionnaires and interview techniques (McCall, 1984). I conducted both participant and non-participant observations in the occupation sites, from the initial (attempts at) occupation in 2017. For the most part, I conducted non-participant observations[xxvii] during occupation-related meetings, including the Advice Assemblies hosted by Reclaim the City. My participation was limited to joining residents during marches to the offices of key government officials, namely to the Mayor's and the Premier's[xxviii] offices at the Civic Centre and Wale Street, respectively. The extent of my participation outside of such coordinated activities can be characterised by the term 'hanging out'. One of the fondest memories I have of being in the field, is spending the afternoon with Siziphiwe and her friend on the sidewalk bordering the southern edge of Graceland chatting as we watched the world go by. In addition to conducting observations on the occupation sites, I also conducted participant

observations in various workshops and meetings hosted by non-governmental organisations (NGO) and various spheres of government during the period of the fieldwork.

My presence in the field undoubtedly influenced participant behaviour, particularly in the early stages of the research when participants did not know me or what my intentions were. For example, upon my first visit to the Graceland site (which was vacant at the time following an operation to evict residents by the Anti-Land Invasion Unit), participants thought I was a law enforcement official. Within minutes of me arriving at the site, I met four members of the then leadership committee. One of the residents who, at the time, resided in a backyard structure overlooking the site, had spotted me arriving and contacted fellow residents to let them know that someone was on the site. I immediately introduced myself and explained my presence on the site. I reassured residents that I was not a law enforcement official who was there to make sure that residents were complying with the eviction order.

During and immediately after each engagement, I took extensive notes on participants' views of the issue, the process of decision making, and observations on the organisation of occupations. These notes added nuance to the data I collected through interviews. Prolonged engagement is termed a *strategy of credibility.* It enabled the establishment of rapport between the residents and I (Fontana and Frey, 1994; Babbie and Mouton, 2001). Second, reactivity was addressed in this research by conducting the research with participants. That is, in this research three of the residents – 2 residents from the Woodstock Hospital and 1 from Graceland – were co-researchers in the first year of the research. This was particularly useful because it gave me additional opportunities, outside of the follow up interviews, to check if my understanding of what research participants' said was accurate. It was also a mechanism to guard against verification bias (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Unfortunately, and presumably due to time constraints and the general demands of life such as job searching and looking after family members, the nature of the relationship shifted back to a researcher-research participant dynamic after approximately a year (mid-2018 onwards). [xxix]

Roulston et al. (2003) argue that, for better or worse, the researcher's presence in the field influences participant behaviour and, subsequently, the type(s) of data collected. This is referred to as reactivity. Reactivity, which is referred to in post-positivist research as the Hawthorne effect, poses a threat to the research's internal validity.[xxx] The term validity refers to, as Creswell and Miller (2000: 124) define

the term, "how accurately the account represents participants' realities of the social phenomena and is credible to them". In post-positivist research approaches, reference is made to credibility as opposed to internal validity. In this research internal validity, that is credibility, has been addressed through triangulation, which is discussed in the next section. As Babbie and Mouton (2001) posit, reactivity makes it difficult to ascertain whether or not the meanings ascribed to data are the actual meanings of the content. This has been accounted for, first, by conducting follow up interviews during which research participants have been asked to clarify certain statements, particularly those whose meaning was unclear to me. In addition to the follow up interviews, time spent engaging with research participants in the field has also afforded me the opportunity probe further and gain deeper insights into the responses given during the interviews.

3.3.4 Desktop Research

Desktop research, or secondary research, entails the collection and analysis of existing data. This archival-style research answers questions of "who, what, where, how many, how much?" (Yin, 2009: 8). Whilst this is a cost- and time-effective research technique to utilise, this data – documents, videos, social media content, maps, and photographs to mention a few – has been created for purposes that are not necessarily related to this research's main question. Second, the data has varying levels of credibility. This issue has also been addressed through triangulation. Triangulation is the process through which researchers utilise several data sources to gain deeper understanding of the issue (Creswell and Miller, 2000; Pandey and Patnaik, 2014). As Denzin (1978) argues, if two or more data sources or types of data that have been collected reach the same conclusion, the conclusion drawn is more credible.

The data I collected consists primarily of grey literature. Grey literature is defined as content that is:

> [P]roduced on all levels of government, academia, business and industry in electronic and print formats not controlled by commercial publishing i.e. where publishing is not the primary activity of the producing body.[xxxi]
>
> (Lawrence et al., 2015: 230)

Although, and as Alberani et al. (1990: 358) argue, grey literature is a form of "nonconventional communication", it is acknowledged as a significant data source. The literature reviewed included, but was not limited to: reports, discussion papers, presentations, legislation, policies, budgets, technical specifications and guidelines, speeches, statistical reports, memos, conference or workshop proceedings, press releases, and meeting minutes[xxxii]. The bulk of this data was available online. Older government publications, that were unavailable online, were accessed through the library's Government Publications department. In addition to the grey literature, I also reviewed press reports and commentary on housing development in Cape Town, occupations, public debates on the expropriation of land without compensation, and basic services delivery. Both sets of literature were analysed using the procedures outlined above. Lastly, I also analysed a range of (social) media content such as maps, photographs, sketches, and videos.

Whilst written words and photographs are static, videos more accurately capture interactions between the research participant and their environment (Wang and Lien, 2013). As Shrum et al. (2005) argue, video like photographs, sketches, and maps, is just one mode of documentation. The advancements in mobile technology have made audio and video documentation in the field easier. I must note that permission was sought from participants before any audio or video recordings were made. On many occasions, participants themselves have remarked mid-conversation: "you should be recording this". If permission was granted by all who were present, I would begin recording the conversations. As Shrum et al. (2005) further note that this is only possible when trust has been established between the participants themselves, but also between the participants and the researcher. The trust is developed through working closely together and getting to know each other as the research unfolds.[xxxiii] However, even with trust, there is always the possibility that the researcher's presence alters participants' behaviour or how they express themselves.

3.4 Sampling

Tansey (2007: 765) argues that the "most appropriate sampling procedures are […] those that identify the key political actors – those who have had the most involvement with the processes of interest". In this research, purposive (judgemental) sampling and snowball sampling have been used to select both the cases and the research participants. The former is a criterion-based sampling technique that enables the researcher to use their knowledge of the population, the research aims, and processes to

select the sample (Ritchie et al., 2003). Purposive sampling is defined by Etikan et al. (2016) as the selection of participants on the basis of the attributes, such as participation in an occupation for example, the researcher knows they possess. That is, the key requirement for the selection of participants is their knowledge and experience. As a non-random sampling technique, purposive sampling does not require a set number of participants. It does, however, require that participants be available and willing to participate in the research. Etikan et al. (2016) further argue that purposive sampling also places emphasis on saturation. That is, it requires that the researcher to continue sampling until no new substantive information is being uncovered.

Snowball sampling, or chain sampling as it is also referred to as, is a sampling technique in which existing research participants are asked to identify potential, additional research participants who possess the attributes that are of interest to the research. This is not an automatic process though. Biernacki and Waldorf (1981) argue that the development of a snowball sample requires deliberate and continuous involvement by the researcher to check, amongst other things, the eligibility of potential respondents. Furthermore, the enlistment of research participants to identify additional participants in this manner makes them de facto research assistants or co-researchers (ibid.). Sharma (2017) notes that snowball sampling is particularly useful when the research involves hidden, inaccessible populations or populations that cannot be delimited. It is important to note, as Dragan and Isaic-Maniu (2013) do, that the term 'hidden' does not mean 'illegal'. Rather, the term is used with reference to populations that are under the radar. Consequently, and as Dragan and Isaic-Maniu (2013: 161) further argue, the term refers to populations that are:

> [D]ifficult to identify, to study and to recruit for the imposed investigation because of the attributed social stigmata, the legal status and the lack of visible consequences of the activity of their members.

Both purposive sampling and snowball sampling are non-probability sampling techniques. Tansey (2007) argues these non-probability sampling methods are ideal for research projects undertaking process tracing. Acharya et al. (2013: 332) define non-probability sampling techniques as sampling techniques in which "the probability that a [participant] is selected is unknown and results in selection bias in the study". The selection bias arises from the subjective nature of the sample selection process (Etikan et al., 2016; Jawale, 2012). This subjectivity, which leads to a lack of representivity in the sample, is a limitation of both sampling techniques (Acharya et al., 2013). As Babbie and Mouton

(2001: 172) contend, non-probability sampling techniques create a sample whose "[a]ggregate characteristics [… do not] closely approximate those same aggregate characteristics in the population". In light of this, Tyson (1996) cautions against the indiscriminate generalisation of findings. In this research this is evidenced in the gender distribution of the research sample, which consisted of 17 men and 7 women across the four occupations. It must be noted, that these figures only indicate the number of individuals I interviewed formally. Interestingly, I have engaged with more women outside of the formal interview context than men.[xxxiv]

With regards to the selection of the cases, physical access to the site has been a key consideration. Crowe et al. (2011) argue that access is a central consideration in the selection of case studies. This applies, first, with respect to the site's location in the city. It also applies with respect to whether or not I would be able to gain entry onto the site upon arrival. Graceland and Silvertown are approximately 32 kilometres from the central business district (cf. figure 1.7), the boundaries of both sites are permeable. The Woodstock Hospital and the Helen Bowden Nurses Home, on the other hand, lie behind high fences and locked gates, which are manned by security personnel. Furthermore, when I began the research I knew that I wanted the cases to vary somewhat despite not knowing the variable along which the cases would vary initially. I did not, however, necessarily need the cases to be extremes. Once I had decided that the variable would be the nature and location of the site in relation to the CBD, I selected the four cases. This gave rise to a heterogeneous sample, which was comprised of both building and land occupations in the inner city and periphery, respectively (Patton, 2002). The key criterion informing the selection of each case was the occupation of vacant or underutilised land and buildings by a group of individuals without the property owner's permission. The key criterion for selecting the research participants was direct participation in the occupation. Again, the aim was to obtain a heterogeneous sample across all four sites. It bears mentioning that the participants selected through purposive sampling were all part of the occupation leadership structures. This does not mean, as Ritchie et al., (2003) point out, that the use of purposive sampling in this instance introduced any bias into sampling procedures.

3.5 Ethical Considerations

As with any research project, I obtained ethical clearance from the university's Ethics Committee (appendix B). This process, however, raised questions about the motives underpinning our, and the ethics committees' in particular, concern with protecting research participants. For example, one of the comments I received following my application for ethics clearance was concerned with my decision to use the research participants' real names, if they so wished. However, the comments I

received indicated that this was not advisable. It was suggested that I should, instead, use aliases for all respondents as the activities they are involved in could have adverse legal implications. There was a concern that the research findings could implicate and lead to the prosecution of the research participants.

Undoubtedly, this is a valid concern. However, the paternalism reflected in the Ethics Committee's comments can do greater harm if applied uncritically in research involving competent, informed adult participants (Garrard and Dawson, 2005). This concern needs to be weighed against the harm that can be done when research participants' lived experiences and words are attributed to fictional individuals through the use of pseudonyms. In some instances, the restriction of individual autonomy through the use of pseudonyms when explicit consent has been given for the participant's real name to be used can result in greater harm (Resnik, 2015). In giving me permission to use their names, participants are claiming ownership of their stories. This challenges the assumption that research participants prefer anonymity or should be kept anonymous for their protection (Grinyer, 2009). Research participants' claim of ownership is an integral part of the reflexive and ethical relationship between the research participant and I (Etherington, 2007). It is, in part, an indication that the potential for harm as a result of actions by authorities, such as the state for example, has been assessed and is interpreted as negligible by research participants (Grinyer, 2009). Furthermore, in asserting ownership of their stories through their desire to have their real names used in the research, research participants are exercising their power to define not only themselves but their narrative(s) within the socio-cultural context in which consent is given (Corrigan, 2003). The participants' desires to use their real names also reflects the level of investment they have made in their real identities within their respective communities. This investment is contrasted to the minimal investment, or lack thereof, in pseudonyms.[xxxv] Therefore, for me to decide on the use of pseudonyms on behalf of research participants, who are all adults, results in a negation of individual choice and, consequently, their power (Corrigan, 2003; Pittaway et al., 2010). It also amounts to the delegitimisation of one's lived reality and silencing of the individual (Allen and Wiles, 2015; Berkhout, 2013).

It is for these reasons that I chose to utilise research participants' real names where participants have explicitly indicated that they would prefer I do so. This indication was given orally, before the interview and during the *member checking* phase, and in the form of a 'check mark' in the relevant box on the consent form (appendix C). *Member checking,* which is also referred to as *participant validation,* offered an opportunity for me to increase the credibility of the research by highlighting any discrepancies between my understanding of the issue and the research participants' understanding

(Birt et al., 2016; Lincoln and Guba, 1985). As Crowe (2005) notes, the researcher's interpretation of data is subjective and reflects their own beliefs and values. Returning to the field to present my initial analyses addressed this potential limitation. This enabled me to check if my findings speak to participants' experiences. It also provided participants with another opportunity to withdraw or confirm their participation in the research as well as to decide if they are still comfortable with me using or not using their names in the write up. It must be noted further that since the research participants' names and those of fellow residents appear in court records and the media, I have not indicated which names are aliases. This was done in a bid to offer an additional modicum of protection to those research participants who elected not to have their real names used in the research. Pseudonyms have, consequently, been used for those who did not consent for their real names to be used. In hindsight, and as part of the research protocol, I should have asked these participants to select their own pseudonyms. As Grinyer (2009) asks, who gets to decide what the pseudonym is?

The discussion in this section underscores the need for confidentiality and informed consent. The term *informed consent* refers to the participants' knowledge of what the study is about. It also refers to the participants' knowledge of their role in the research process. Two types of consent are sought from research participants. The first, is consent for the interview. This is sought when written and/or oral requests for the interview are made. This request is accompanied with information on the scope and purpose of the research. At this point, participants are also informed that they can withdraw from the research process at any time, should they wish to do so. On the day of the interview, each research participant was again informed about the nature of the research and was given the opportunity to ask me any questions they may have had regarding the research process and product. On this day, additional consent was then sought from the research participant for the use of their name in the thesis. The research participant was made aware that they are also free to withdraw this consent.

I must note, as Boschma et al. (2003) do, that the procedures for gaining consent for oral history interviews, differs slightly particularly if the intention is to archive the information. In such instances, it means that the oral history interview is, in principle, not confidential nor can the participant's anonymity be guaranteed. This presents a complex set of legal and ethical considerations. However, since the aim of the research was not to create an archive, I was able to address confidentiality and anonymity challenges in the manner outlined above. Furthermore, these potential challenges have been addressed by keeping interview audio and transcripts securely. Only I, the researcher, have access to these and they will not be made available to anyone else.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the research methods and techniques utilised to gather and analyse the data presented in the subsequent chapters. The different methods bring to the fore the residents' lived realities within a socio-economic context that is haunted by the colonial and apartheid legacy. Together, the research methods and techniques that I have used have enabled me to examine how 'formula stories' shape the experiences of residents who participate in occupations. Formula stories are the narratives that have become templates for explaining residents' experiences. These experiences are the basis for several discursive struggles that the residents are engaged in. It is to a discussion of the research findings that the thesis turns.

Chapter 4: Informal Land Occupation – The Process

The current wave of occupations, which the four cases are a part of, continues apace. According to the Democratic Alliance's[i] Shadow Minister of Human Settlements Emma L. Powell (2022: online), the "City of Cape Town has responded to more than 14,500 land invasions, and cleared almost 180,000 pegs and structures" between September 2020 and September 2022. Whilst the moratorium on evictions imposed by the courts during the stricter lockdowns related to the COVID-19 pandemic has contributed somewhat to this spike, new occupations continue to spring up across the city. The moratorium on evictions has also been pivotal to the longevity of the four occupations. This is discussed in the second section of this chapter, which discusses the processes and activities through which claims to vacant or underutilised land are made and sustained. The chapter concludes with a discussion on the nature of occupied spaces. The discussions in this chapter outline, through the residents' voices, the process of informal land occupation. In particular, the chapter presents key findings on the various strategies – mobilisation, discursive struggle, autoconstruction, retrofitting, repair, and maintenance – residents utilise to claim and sustain claims to land.

4.1 The First Step: Mobilisation

Mobilisation activities such as *ukukhwaza* (calling out), speak outs, and meetings are pivotal to the occupation processes. It is through these activities that, first, additional residents are 'recruited', so to speak, to participate in the occupation. Many of these potential residents join the occupation within a matter of days of the original group of residents having settled on the site. Speaking of the slow pace at which the June 2017 occupation attempt in Graceland was unfolding, one resident states that although people had heard that "kuzobethelwa nam' hlanje" *[we will occupy tonight]* the low number of residents who had autoconstructed their *hokis* by 9pm that evening was dissuading others from bringing their materials and also putting theirs up (personal communication, 28 June 2017). Similarly, in Silvertown, as another resident reflects, it was after seeing other residents put up their structures that they then decided to also put theirs up. Indeed, the number of residents begins to grow quite swiftly once more than 10 residents are on each site. The majority of these residents, with the exception of the building occupation cases, establish themselves on the sites within a matter of days. Rooms are allocated to individuals or households within the buildings by interim leadership committees whilst during the occupation of vacant land, sites are demarcated using pegs before individuals beginning constructing their houses. Whilst this process is overseen by the occupation leaders, comprised of the residents who were amongst the first to occupy the land, there are no

limitations set on the plot sizes. That is why, plot sizes differ quite markedly. However, as the occupation gains momentum, plot sizes decrease as the amount of open land available for occupation also decreases. Regardless, residents drawing on their own experiences and those of others, ensure that roads for emergency services vehicles and other services are not encroached upon. This illustrates, as Sager (2018) and Sandercock (1998) note, that occupation is an intentional practice that has emerged from experience.

The occupations are able to gain such momentum since a lot of preparation, namely mobilisation, is undertaken prior to occupation. Through mobilisation, individuals have come together to highlight their grievances. But in the four cases under study, individuals have not only highlighted their grievances, they have also acted to address these grievances by laying a claim to a space in an occupation site. Therefore, whilst law enforcement and government officials may not know about the plans for occupation, many of the residents particularly those within the respective neighbourhoods know of their fellow residents' plans to occupy the respective sites. In fact, across all four cases residents utilized mobilization activities to also gain the support of allies as well as to gain additional resources to support occupation activities. It is for this reason, and the finding that residents occupied the sites in numbers within a truncated space of time, that I argue that the four cases are bold(er) forms of encroachment.

But, given the diverse cultural, educational and social backgrounds of residents, activists and friends of the movements, sometimes there is disagreement on the best strategies to employ to mobilise neighbours. These differences, as Leach and Scoones (2007), further note have resulted in some residents being mobilised during certain moments over the course of the occupations' duration. One such moment is during eviction proceedings (RTC Leader, meeting, 1 March 2019). This selective participation in RTC activities is the reason why, for the first year of the Woodstock Hospital occupation, only one of the floors was occupied. Not all who needed "emergency housing", as one House Leader (personal communication, 22 September 2017) at the time states, are granted access to live there. This is because, as a RTC supporter (personal communication, 5 April 2018) further notes, once settled some people may not participate in RTC activities.

Residents are also quick to lay the blame at each other's feet when mobilisation efforts do not bring people to a meeting or an occupation attempt in droves. For example, on the 20th of October 2017, Graceland residents had planned to occupy the site that night. But, when the allocated time came, fewer than anticipated numbers of potential residents arrived to the site. This led a few members of

the then leadership committee to the conclusion that the three women who had been tasked with mobilising their neighbours had mobilised "wrong" (Graceland resident 5, Occupation meeting, 22 October 2017).

Whilst the occupations themselves are fixed spatially, mobilisation activities are not. Mobilisation activities occur across various parts of the city. For example, under the banner of Reclaim the City, many mobilization activities related to the Woodstock Hospital and the Helen Bowden Nurses' Home have taken place at the Sea Point Methodist Church. But, equally so and in the cases of all four sites, the streets have also become key sites for mobilisation. However, once the sites have been claimed through occupation, the sites themselves become key spaces for mobilisation.

4.2 Claiming and Sustaining Claims to Land

The coordination of the early occupation of each sites prompts the conclusion that the occupation is not quiet but seemingly so. This conclusion has been drawn based on the fact that a lot of preparation in the form of mobilization is undertaken by potential residents prior to the occupation. In all but the case of the Helen Bowden Nurses' Home, all the occupations began literally under the cover of darkness. Small groups of between 4 – 6 residents, began the occupation on each site trying not to attract the attention of security personnel. In the case of the Helen Bowden Nurses' Home, the initial groups of residents had to gain access to the site under false pretences as the gates were manned by security personnel (Activist D, personal communication, 18 May 2021). At the Woodstock Hospital, it was a matter of "cutting the lock" (Williams, 2018: online) whereas on both the Silvertown and Graceland sites residents had to bring their building materials onto the site and begin construction. Figure 4.1 below shows two of the first structures to be constructed during the failed attempt to occupy Graceland in June 2017.

Figure 4.1: The first hokis to be constructed in Graceland during the June 2017 occupation attempt

4.1.1 A Politics of Direct Action and Confrontation

A politics of confrontation has been a key strategy utilised by residents to claim and maintain claims to land. This has been a strategy that activists in South Africa in the struggle against colonial and apartheid forces also utilised. Like these activists, residents draw on Gandhi's messages on civil disobedience, residents undertake direct action in the form of marches, sit ins, protests, and the act of occupying itself. Direct confrontation with law enforcement, including the Anti-Land Invasion Unit (ALIU), is also sometimes taken by residents to prevent the demolition of structures. Councillor Limberg (interview, 13 December 2017) stipulates that the ALIU are:

> [R]esponsible for monitoring any, uh, potential land occupation activities. We have identified hotspots where there are vacant City or other government or either private land that we understand could be at potential risk. So we play … uh … we have our Anti-Land Invasion Unit doing surveillance and if required we, obviously, proceed with anti-land invasion operations.

According to Limberg (interview, 13 December 2017), the ALIU operations follow due process and work within the guidelines stipulated by the *Prevention of Illegal Eviction from and Unlawful Occupation of Land Act, 1998* (hereafter 'the PIE Act'). These processes are, where possible, fast tracked (ibid.). Limberg (interview, 13 December 2017) further notes, the City acts on behalf of Provincial and National government departments as well as private property owners with whom it has signed agreements with. These agreements ensure that the City is able to act swiftly on behalf of these

parties to, as Councillor Limberg (interview, 13 December 2017) argues, "assist them in protecting their land".

But, unlike as Dennis and Dennis (2020) observe, not all law enforcement officials are seen by residents as the enemy. In fact, residents argue that some officials and municipal workers want to help them. Xolani (interview, 27 November 2017), a Silvertown resident, notes: "Sine lucky cause abantu bonke bayafun' ukusinceda. Even the guys from ilantuka pha zatsho, zathi uba ninga yuza le MacGyver ngalohlobo, soze sizicithe izindlu zenu. Which is basinika i-advice" *[We are lucky because everyone wants to help us. Even the guys from what's this place there [Anti-Land Invasion Unit] told us that if we use this trick and MacGyver it like this, they won't demolish our houses. That is, they gave us advice]*. Therefore, in conjunction with a politics of direct action, confrontational politics can "bear fruit" (Dennis and Dennis, 2020: 17).

It is important to note that although residents practice a politics of direct action and a politics of confrontation, which is philosophically underpinned by anarchism, residents do not advocate for anarchy. What we do see are calls for greater redistribution and less conformity with the market. It is also accompanied by a reformist agenda that aims to humanise capitalism. As Twani (interview, 27 November 2017) argues: "this is the system called capitalism that is operating. So if we have to deal with this, we have to deal with the system". A RTC supporter (meeting, 28 August 2017) concurs during a mass meeting on 'State Violence against South African Land and Housing Activists', that capitalism is the issue. This reformist agenda has been developed through the recognition that any immediate systemic changes will, in the interim, occur within a capitalist system. Therefore, residents appear to sub-/un-consciously be in agreement with Giddens' (1998) argument that capitalism must be confronted and humanised.

DYING FOR A HOME IN THE CITY

Mass Meeting on State Violence Against South African Land and Housing Activists

During a protest in Town 2 Khayelitsha last month, a car pulled up next to Mthunzi 'Ras' Zuma. The driver asked Ras to identify himself, and then shot him in the head. He died on the scene. His killers remain at large.

A few weeks earlier, Ras led hundreds of Izwe Lethu community members in a land occupation opposite Khayelitsha's central train station. Despite its prime location and size - equivalent to sixteen rugby fields - the city-owned land had been vacant for decades. Soon after Ras's execution the occupation was suppressed by police, and the land is once again vacant.

Mthunzi 'Ras' Zuma is not alone. In cities across the country, thousands of poor and working class activists are being threatened, assaulted and in some cases murdered for challenging spatial Apartheid and property power.

In Durban, Abahlali baseMjondolo have long endured state-sponsored violence, with six murders in recent years including the death of two-week old Jaden Khoza in June 2017. In Johannesburg, a new mayor is using a private security force – known as the Red Ants – to lawlessly and violently evict hundreds of residents to make way for new, wealthier tenants. Elsewhere in Cape Town, occupiers from Reclaim The City were last month instructed by men with rifles and pangas to leave a vacant inner-city building because they "don't belong there".

Join us in learning about the struggle for homes in South Africa's three biggest cities, the challenges posed by state violence, and how we as activists can together respond to it.

Speakers will include leaders from:

Abahlali baseMjondolo Durban
Inner-City Housing Federation Johannesburg
Izwe Lethu Community Khayelitsha
Reclaim The City Sea Point

The mass meeting will be chaired by **Mandisa Dyantyi**, Deputy General-Secretary of the **Social Justice Coalition**. Time will be provided for other activists to speak of the challenges they face in their respective struggles.

Monday 28 August from 5:30 – 8:00 pm
Isivivana Centre, Khayelitsha

For more information or to RSVP please contact:

Ntebaleng Morake (SJC): 0781819974
Nkosikhona Swaartbooi (NU): 0724859826
Nomvuyiso Dyani (Tshisimani): 0216853516/
nomvuyiso.dyani@tshisimani.org.za

Tshisimani Centre for Activist Education

NDIFUNA UKWAZI DARE TO KNOW

SOCIAL JUSTICE COALITION

Figure 4.2: Mass Meeting on State Violence against South African Land and Housing Activists poster

(Source: Ndifuna Ukwazi, 2017: https://twitter.com/NdifunaUkwazi/status/902093405508968453)

4.1.2 Sustaining Land Claims

From the moment a claim to land has been made by residents establishing themselves on the sites through either gaining entry into the buildings and allocating rooms to each other or through the demarcation of the plots and construction of houses, the process of sustaining the claims to each site begins. A key strategy for sustaining momentum within the movements is continuous mobilisation through the development of specific campaigns. These campaigns have specific goals, which can be realised in the short- to medium-term. For example, residents are actively engaged in campaigns to resist their eviction from occupation sites. Another example, is RTC's 'Stop the Sale' campaign which sought to reverse the sale of a government-owned property. These campaigns not only mobilise new members, they also help to re-mobilise existing members. Thus, re-energising the movements through campaign-related activities. Routine mobilisation of new members and supporters, outside of campaigns, also helps to sustain the movements' momentums. The additional support helps to maintain and, in some instances, increase participation rates. The findings indicate that participation rates do ebb and flow, depending on how imminent the threat of eviction is. In moments when the threat of eviction is perceived by residents to be low(er), residents' participation in movement activities decreases. This decrease can, in part, be attributed to the need for residents to devote time to managing their households, caring for family members, working or searching for jobs. This means that the amount of time most residents can devote to movement activities on a daily basis decreases as the pressures of life increase. However, when the threat of eviction increases, most residents increase their participation in movement activities.

Momentum is also sustained through continuous reminders about the one of the overall aims of the occupations – to secure formal housing for each of the participating households. Whilst the movements have managed to sustain their momentum thus far, it remains to be seen whether or not the movement will continue once the members gain formal housing. That is, it remains to be seen whether or not the movement will continue to pursue the broader goal of (spatial) justice once the original members have realised their rights to access to adequate housing. It also remains to be seen how long the movements can maintain the support of activists and supporters who are not residents. These individuals are engaging in movement activities from an arm's length, so to speak, as they do not live on the occupation sites.

4.1.2.1 Retrofitting and Repair

Claims are also sustained through the processes of repair and retrofitting as well as through discursive strategies. Each site is constantly, incrementally being reorganised in order to make it more hospitable for residents. These incremental practices are undertaken, primarily by residents themselves some of whom are skilled (but not necessarily certified) tradespeople such as builders, plumbers, and electricians to mention a few. In the Woodstock Hospital residents continue to retrofit the building so that it can better accommodate residential uses as Cirolia et al. (2021) found. Therefore, residents have put a lot of work into retrofitting the building in order to carve spaces for individual households through the erection of dry walls for example. In contrast, the bulk of retrofitting and repair activities that have been completed in the Helen Bowden Nurses Home, which was designed for residential use, is being done to accommodate higher numbers of residents and other uses such as spaza shops (figure 4.3). Thus, in the Helen Bowden Nurses' Home, some of the spaces are being repurposed in order to accommodate these new uses (cf. section 4.1.2.1.1).

Figure 4.3: Spaza shop in the Azania section of the Woodstock Hospital

In both the Woodstock Hospital and the Helen Bowden Nurses' Home, retrofitting activities are reshaping internal spaces on two levels. At the building scale, the spaces are being reshaped to accommodate all the residents who have moved into the building. At a smaller scale, that is, at the household scale, rooms are being subdivided in order to meet the individual household's needs, bearing in mind the constraints that the building's design might pose to retrofitting activities. In the case of Graceland and Silvertown, land has been divided into plots upon which residents have built their houses. In Graceland and Silvertown, this entails (re)blocking parts of the settlement as

necessary to minimise the spread of fires. In the course of (re)blocking, residents are also making sure that they create roads that are wide enough to allow emergency services vehicles to access all parts of the settlements. In so doing, the settlements are becoming more grid like in their layout. These actions signify the overlap of the state's and residents' aspirations, which if harnessed can be the bases for dialogue and consensus on the appropriate way forward on each site. In short, they can be the bases for positive hybridity.

Although the number of residents on each site has increased since the first day of occupation, the population on each site has remained relatively stable. This is in contrast to Perlman's (2016) observation that group members in heterotopias of deviation change drastically. This is due, in part, to the fact that most of the residents in each of the cases are participating in occupations that are within neighbourhoods they were born in or grew up in. This allows residents to maintain kinship and social ties. As Randall (interview, 22 September 2017) states:

> Yes, we *all* know each other. These people that's staying on this floor, it's people that we … I used to stay by the one lady and now look we both staying at the same place. The other lady that's also working now today, [NAME], she used to be my neighbour in Cornwall Street. And we all … we've all been evicted by one landlord down there. She had the, she had the, uh … she was staying in one building and we were renting in the other house after my cousin kicked us out.

Thus, to maintain these ties residents of the Woodstock Hospital, are using the names of streets within Woodstock to name the different sections of the hospital (figure 4.4). This example highlights the affective ways in which the occupation sites are connected to the rest of the neighbourhoods, and the broader city, they are nested in. Spatially, the four sites exist and are connected to, as Stone (2013: 3) argues, "conventional places" such as the shops and hospitals within their respective neighbourhoods and the city at large through various infrastructure networks, namely the road infrastructure. All four occupation sites are also now connected, to varying extents, to the rest of the city through several other infrastructure networks, namely water and sanitation infrastructure.

Figure 4.4: Sign Post for 'Lower Albert Road' Section of Woodstock Hospital

With the exception of Silvertown where the City has provided communal toilets and a communal tap, residents across the other sites under study have grouped (financial) resources to install water and sanitation services on the occupation sites. Residents on each site who have trained as plumbers offer their services to install the necessary infrastructure and connect it to the grid. In the Helen Bowden Nurses' Home, however, some residents have accepted portable toilets offered by the Provincial Government who is reluctant to heed residents' calls for the pipes in the building to be repaired in order to accommodate the higher number of residents (figure 4.5). As Gooch (interview, 19 November 2019) argues:

The site is destined to be developed, and actually that particular building needs to be demolished for that to happen. So, I can't in all good conscience use tax payers' money to redo electrical wiring cause the wiring's been stripped, to sort out water systems, sewer systems because sewer pipes have been broken and water pipes broken and so on ... I can't in all conscience go and spend our tax payers' money to fix something for illegal occupants, and I go back to the point, illegal occupants that I'm then going to go and demolish. I'm sorry that's fruitless and wasteful expenditure and I can't justify that.

Figure 4.5: Some of the portable toilets provided for residents of Helen Bowden Nurses' Home

Whilst there is a conflict of rationalities between government and residents on whether or not investments should be made to repair the building's infrastructure so that it is more habitable for residents, the sometimes oppositional nature of the process, which makes it more like radical than insurgent planning, does give rise to additional instances of positive hybridity. As Watson (2003) and Song (2016) found, some of the practices and processes developed during occupations are closely interrelated to formal, state-led planning processes. For example, residents in Graceland pay careful attention to the positioning of new structures in each section of the plot in order to ensure that no one builds their *hoki* on spaces they have designated as roads. This is done so that emergency services personnel or police officials conducting routine patrols of the area can access different parts of the settlement in their vehicles with ease (Graceland resident 7, personal communication, 16 November 2020). This illustrates that there is some overlap between government's and the residents' aspirations for the area insofar as crime and safety issues are concerned. This overlap can be seen in the Helen Bowden case by the Provincial Government's decision to include social housing in the future

development of the site (Gooch, interview, 19 November 2019).[ii] Further evidence of this overlap, can be seen in the identification of eleven inner city sites including the Woodstock Hospital for the development of social housing (figure 4.6). As former Mayoral Committee Member for Transport and Urban Development (TUD) Brett Herron (2017: 2) states in the request for proposals: "the City [aims] to leverage its assets – these well-located parcels of developable land – and open them up to the social and affordable housing development companies".[iii]

But, given that the development of the sites is being handed over to private developers the extent to which the development of the sites into social housing can be termed a "mutual shaping of space" (Charlton, 2013: 2) by residents, government, social housing institutions, and private developers remains to be seen. This is because, first, government is actively trying to halt further occupation of the sites, and to evict existing residents on all four sites. In an opinion piece, Mayoral Committee Member for Human Settlements in the City of Cape Town, Malusi Booi (2020: online) argues that "[i]f these properties are not vacated by all the RTC-enabled occupants, redevelopment, including the provision of social housing units, is impossible". Despite this interruption, Booi (interview, 15 November 2019) states that "we are in motion and on track". To this Mayoral Committee Member for Informal Services, Water and Waste Services, and Energy, Xanthea Limberg (interview, 13 December 2017), adds:

> [W]e do believe that you can't just build out in the outskirts. There needs to be a balance so that we can stop the … the, um, spatial outflow of the city and actually densify where there are opportunities, where there is already existing infrastructure. It also ensures that we build a far more sustainable city.

Figure 4.6: The 11 sites identified by the CoCT for the development of social housing

4.1.2.1.1 Accommodating New Uses and Increasing Personal Space

A central element of the re-organisation of occupation sites is the retrofitting and repair of structures in order to accommodate new residents and new uses. This is indicative of the piecemeal, that is, incremental nature of the occupation process. The new uses include, but are not limited to, child care facilities, and places for cultural and spiritual practice. For example, in the heart of Graceland is a traditional healers' *indumba* (hut). Here, the traditional healer conducts consultations with their clients. The traditional healer also trains young healers who are undergoing *intwaso* (spiritual emergence). Just beyond the traditional healers' yard is an open space, which the community uses for meetings (figure 4.7). This space, which is almost in the middle of the settlement, is reminiscent to *isibaya* (cattle kraal). Surrounded by houses, the space is used for community building purposes as Banda and van der Merwe (2017) note. It is in this space for gathering that fellowship, solidarity and kinship are fostered as any issues that need attention are collectively addressed.

Figure 4.7: Location of Traditional Healer's Compound in Graceland

(Image Source: CoCT, 2022)

The Woodstock Hospital has a similar space, namely the dining hall in the section of the building that was a nurses' home (figure 4.8). This hall is used to host church services, a day care, a soup kitchen, meetings, and celebrations such as weddings. Theses gathering spaces have been imbued with a similar institutional and socio-cultural value that, as Banda and van der Merwe (2017) further note, has been imbued to kraals in African worldviews. However, the presence of these spaces has not negated residents' need for personal yard spaces in which family units can perform specific rituals. As S'bali (interview, 22 November 2017) states: "umuntu masab'enespace eyadini yakhe" *[a person must have space in their yard]*. This sentiment is also expressed by a homeowner who was, at the time of the interview, renting his backyard to one of the Graceland residents. Tired of renting out his backyard, Homeowner 1 (interview, 22 November 2017) has supported the occupation in order to get his yard space back so that he can, amongst other things, garden.

Figure 4.8: Community Hall in Woodstock Hospital

Consequently, occupation sites host many mixed-use spaces. This mixture of land uses, in conjunction with the nature of the materials used to construct the structures, has given rise to a visual order and aesthetic on occupation sites that is considered chaotic. As Jacobs (1964) notes, this 'chaos' does make the urban landscape interesting. But, the overall diversity added to the mix of land uses in the neighbourhoods is minimal given that the primary land use (residential) on occupation sites is the same as the predominant land uses on the surrounding blocks in each of the respective neighbourhoods. Furthermore, the relative compatibility of the land uses on each occupation site limits the extent to which the cases of occupation under study can be considered heterotopias. This

limitation exists even though the cases juxtapose the residents' hope for a better life against the precariousness that stems from tenure insecurity, and the enactment of violent state agency during evictions. Reflecting on the potential threat of eviction if they lost the eviction case, Graceland resident 5 (occupation meeting, 22 October 2017) states: "If asiwinanga ngu-shoot to kill. Asizobeka ihoki zethu thina and ndizobaxelela abantu ukuba sizadutyulwa sife because likhona iphepha elithi alis'funi apha" *[If we don't win, it's shoot to kill. We won't put up our shacks and I will tell people that we will be shot and die because there is a paper [court interdict] that says it doesn't want us here].*

4.1.2.2 Discursive Strategies

Whilst retrofitting and repair are material processes through which land claims are sustained, residents also engage in a discursive struggle. Claims to space are made and sustained through discursive and performative repertoires. The discursive repertoires include renaming occupation sites. For example, the Helen Bowden Nurses' Home and Woodstock Hospital have been renamed after prominent anti-apartheid activists. They have been renamed Ahmed Kathrada House and Cissie Gool House, respectively. Graceland, on the other hand, was initially renamed Izwelethu during early attempts at occupation in 2017. But, the site has since been renamed Level 2 as discussed in chapter 1.

Figure 4.9: Sign at the main entrance of the Woodstock Hospital

The use of traditional and new (read social) media plays an integral part of residents' discursive strategies. To this end, and as Thompson (1984) argues, the stories are actions in and of themselves. As Fortmann (1995) notes, residents' stories have shaped their understanding of the past and present, resulting in the creation of discursive strategies and performative repertoires through which residents justify their actions. The performative repertoires, as Leach and Scoones (2007) note, include songs, imagery, and dances. For example, a *gwijo* (folk song) that residents often sing during meetings and marches states:

> Let me tell you about the story of my life
> My mother was a kitchen girl
> My father was a garden boy
> That's why I'm an occupier.

This *gwijo* intimates that residents' understanding of their plight is historically grounded. It is also based on class relations, and social conflict(s) that structure present day material conditions, namely landlessness and, inter alia, inequality. Speaking to Palm (2021), Faghmeeda Ling states that:

> Because of gentrification, we had to vacate the only place I knew as home, in Albert Road, Woodstock. The city failed me because it could not offer me alternative accommodation other than a place called Wolwerivrier.

Wolwerivier is also the site to which some Silvertown residents might be moved to following a devastating fire in the settlement. To minimise the loss in the event of a fire breaking out in the settlement again, residents have embarked on a process of re-blocking with the help of the City of Cape Town. However, a key challenge stalling this process is the fact the re-blocking requires de-densification. It is anticipated that the City will offer to move some Silvertown residents to Wolwerivier. Adressing the Cape Town Magistrate's Court, Herron (2018a) states that Wolwerivier is the only option available from the City for those who are facing eviction. Reluctance to relocate is also expressed by residents at the Helen Bowden Nurse's Home and the Woodstock Hospital despite both groups of residents and the state being in agreement that in order for the sites to be developed as social housing residents would need to move out. Tyalana (2018), reflecting on the possibility of being evicted from Helen Bowden Nurses' Home, says: "Where do we go? What provisions have been made for us within this area?"

Discursive strategies are also used as the basis for further action, such as occupations of other government-owned public land or buildings and resisting evictions. When analysed, it has been found that residents rely primarily on the following discursive strategies: referential nomination, argumentation, and perspectivation (Wodak, 2005). The usage of the RTC slogan "where people live matters" by Herron (2017, 2018b) serves as a good example of the deployment of the referential nomination strategy. Herron (2018b) has announced that this slogan encapsulates the nature of the shift that Cape Town's housing policy was undergoing at the time. But, as Maregele (2018) recounts, RTC activist Maxine Bezuidenhout told Herron during a picket outside his home: "In your speeches you always say that where people live matters, but the courts are saying different things". This statement serves to position the courts as the out-group. Simultaneously, acknowledgement of Herron's use of the RTC slogan positions him alongside residents in the in-group. In so doing, residents are using referential nomination strategies.

As Ramanathan et al. (2020) note, residents rely on perspectivation to get more supporters actively involved in the movements' activities either through donations or by joining a protest or a march. These calls to action are often imbued with a sense of urgency. For example, a tweet by RTC (26 March 2017a, emphasis in original) reads: "#OccupyHelenBowden comrades will appreciate any **help** and support. Pull through! Bring as many bodies as you can! We will resist!" (figure 4.10). Thus, the stories residents tell through the media also play a role in building consensus and mobilising the broader citizenry. Lastly, it is through an argumentation strategy that residents try to justify their actions. For example, Khanya (interview, 27 November 2017) notes that it was only after they had erected their structures that "sifumanise senze into ewrongo" *[that we realised we did something wrong]*. Zackie Achmat (2016: online), a social activist and RTC advocate, states in an open letter to then Premier Helen Zille: "Our work and submissions must be seen not only as citizens participating in the governing of a beautiful city but as resistance to an unjust system".

Figure 4.10: Screenshot of tweet by Reclaim the City

Cumulatively, the discursive strategies residents use serve to cast residents in a positive light by strategically reframing, as Mignolo (2009) argues, the terms and content of the conversations. In particular, these strategies enable residents to reframe their positioning as 'bad' citizens who are unwilling to patiently (and quietly) wait for their turn to receive a government-subsidised house or emergency housing. Implicit in this positioning is the assumption that residents qualify for such assistance, which many do not. As the Head of the Department of Transport and Public Works, Jacqui Gooch (interview, 19 November 2019) notes:

> [P]reviously when we've done […] the needs assessment, and there aren't many people [at the Helen Bowden Nurses' Home] that actually meet the criteria of requiring emergency housing. Many of them, have the means in terms of their income.

A key discursive strategy utilised by the City that residents seek to counter is their silencing *through criminalisation* and *delegitimisation*. Through the repeated portrayal of residents as criminals and 'bad' citizens, residents' needs for housing and access to basic services is delegitimised. Commenting on a parliamentary reply by MEC Simmers, Western Cape Member of Provincial Legislature Matlhodi Maseko (2021) states:

> Orchestrated land invasions are often used as a way to jump the queue on the Housing Demand Database with individuals hoping to force government to place them ahead of other law-abiding beneficiaries who are often elderly, people living with disabilities, military veterans, or those that have been on the Demand Database for more than 15 years.

The same discursive strategy is utilised by City officials to, as Bhan (2016) finds, frame evictions as though they are in the public's interest. For example, in a media release Plato (2020) states: "We will not desert the residents of our City now and we will act to prevent land invasions". But, as Purcell (2016) notes, this 'public' remains undifferentiated. Residents repeatedly challenge the City's assertion that they are the "guardian of public interests" (Friedmann, 1987: 7). This assertion is reflected in the City's previous tagline, which was *'The City works for you'*. Former mayor Patricia de Lille (2014: online) has noted that this tagline "instil[led] a culture of dependency […] that is misaligned to our strategic intent". Hence, this tagline has been replaced by the following one: *'Making progress possible. Together.'* [i] Residents argue that, regardless of the changing taglines, the "City [still only] works for a few" (Advice Assembly attendant, meeting, 8 April 2018).

Figure 4.11: Democratic Alliance Local Government Elections 2021 campaign poster

The residents' need for housing and services is further delegitimised through references, by government officials, to a 'third force' being behind the occupations. Councillor Booi (2020) argues that RTC's campaigns are:

> [L]awlessness [disguised] as a 'protest' […] RTC's actions are not 'protests'. Rather, these coordinated property invasions were a destructive and desperate attempt to unlawfully appoint themselves as gatekeeper and arbiter of these properties.

Gooch (interview, 19 November 2019), reflecting on the extent of the engagement she has had with RTC, says: "my concern is that Reclaim the City and others become gatekeepers". These sentiments may stem, in part, from the observation that "land invasions, especially in the 1980s, were being driven by and large by more political forces that were geared towards undermining the apartheid state" (Wotshela, interview, 16 October 2019). Nevertheless, this framing of occupations gives rise to the notion that occupations are a practice to fill one's time. Interestingly, activists such as Themba (interview, 25 August 2017) also argue that the Graceland occupation "gave [residents] something to do". This framing does somewhat quell the notion that occupations are a disruption of the power relations dictating the current eco-relationalities within the city. That is, and as Kaunda and Kaunda (2019) observe, this framing reinforces existing, western human relationships to the land. Conversely, occupations help us, as Professor Ntsebeza (2018) argues, to begin imagining a different set of power relationships as well as different kinds of freedoms than those which were established in 1994. For

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example, residents argue that instead land must be imbued with different non-economic meanings. One resident (2018: online) argues that "land means heritage". For another (2018: online), "land […] means life". Yet another (2018: online) says: "land to me means freedom". By imbuing land with different meanings, residents are critiquing both the City's and the Provincial Government's views of land as an (economic) asset for which the highest price (read market value) must be sought. It is such critiques of current policies and practices that position residents' activities as a form of radical/insurgent planning.

4.2 Occupation Sites: Spatial and Temporal Interstices

As a resident-led mode of (re)organising people and space, informal land occupations can be characterised as a form of radical planning that occurs in the city's interstices. The sites can be defined as spatial interstices since they were either empty or underutilised at the time of their initial occupation. They, therefore, are residual in nature and non-synchronous. These spaces can also accommodate new or atypical performances, create uncertainty, and new rules as King and Dovey (2013) argue. It is important to note that unlike earlier occupations, as Huchzermeyer (2009) observes, the occupation sites under study are suitable for a range of land uses including housing even though the buildings on each site need to be auto-constructed or retrofitted (cf. section 4.1.2.1). The former is true of Graceland[ii] and Silvertown. However, in the Silvertown case, topographical considerations have also played a role in parts of the site remaining vacant. These considerations continue to play a role in determining the spatial extent to which the Silvertown slope can be occupied.

All four sites have gained their interstitial nature as a result of city growth. As Steele and Keys (2015) argue, many urban interstices are created in this manner. Land remains vacant as the plots around it are developed as in the Graceland case. Although Graceland has been earmarked for the development of housing by the City of Cape Town in partnership with the Khayelitsha Community Trust (KCT), the development has been at a standstill for years (Ward Councillor Gabuza, interview, 1 December 2017). Former Chief Executive Officer (CEO) Mkhululi Gaula (interview, 10 September 2019) states that the KCT is a non-profit organisation that was "formed in 2003 with the sole purpose of developing Khayelitsha CBD". Initial delays were related to the issues pertaining to the transfer of the land from the CoCT to the KCT; but, current delays are due to disagreements between KCT and the residents on the nature of housing to be built on the land.

According to S'bali (interview, 22 November 2017), Khayelitsha residents were under the impression that only free-standing, Breaking New Ground (BNG) housing is to be built on the land. BNG housing,

which is still widely referred to as Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) housing, is fully-subsidised housing for beneficiaries earning R3,500 or less per month. However, as Gaula (interview, 10 September 2019) notes, only 6 hectares (out of 23 hectares) of the land has been earmarked for BNG units. The remainder of the land is earmarked for finance-linked individual subsidy housing (4 hectares) and gap housing as well as social housing units. The finance-linked individual subsidy programme (FLISP) housing, which is also referred to as gap housing, is housing that is sold to individuals earning between R3,500 and R15,000. Through the programme, individuals are offered a partial subsidy, which they can leverage to get a bond and access a house through the formal market. A further 3 hectares has been reserved for the development of 100 units for military veterans (ibid.). It is upon completion of the show house that residents learnt this (cf. figure 1.10). The show house is a double storey building that contains nine apartments intended to be social housing (Gaula, interview, 10 September 2019). The income requirement means, as S'bali (interview, 22 November 2017) bemoans, most of the Graceland residents do not stand to benefit from the development as most do not have a source of income. Despite protests in Graceland, Gaula (interview, 10 September 2019) argues that they have "buy in" for the development.

Interstitial spaces also develop in response to changing needs. As populations grow and needs change, the activities undertaken in certain buildings are reduced until eventually they are emptied. Once empty, these spaces like other vacant spaces across the city await (re)use. It is during these temporal interstices or 'use interludes', so to speak, that opportunities for occupation arise. For example, whilst the Helen Bowden Nurses' Home was empty prior to its occupation, the Woodstock Hospital was underutilised as only one section of the building was being used to fulfil its purpose as a day hospital when the occupation was initiated. As temporal interstices, occupation sites offer residents places within which they can wait for a formal housing opportunity. Occupation sites differ from the City's temporary relocation areas, primarily in terms of location and purpose. Temporary relocation areas (TRAs) are areas that have been established to, first, provide temporary accommodation for residents whose settlement is undergoing in situ upgrading.[iii] Second, TRAs are used to provide accommodation for those who have been permanently displaced by in situ upgrading projects. Lastly, TRAs are used to accommodate residents whose houses have been destroyed by severe weather events or fires and, subsequently, cannot be safely accommodated with an on-site emergency housing response.[iv] It is for this reason that TRAs are closely associated with the emergency housing programme. According to the Housing Development Agency (2012: 2), the emergency housing programme "provide[s] temporary assistance in the form of secure access to land and/or basic municipal engineering services and/or shelter in a wide range of emergency situations of exceptional housing need". But, as an individual (meeting, 3 April 2018) remarks during an Advice Assembly following the screening of a

short film on a TRA: "By-laws create places like this and make it seem like it is fine […] but this is how places like Mitchell's Plain were built during apartheid".

The four cases under study also dispel government's implicit understanding of the act of waiting for formal housing as a passive activity (Oldfield and Greyling, 2015). In fact, the cases show it is anything but passive. As each cases illustrates, and in agreement with Oldfield and Greyling (2015), those who cannot afford to rent or buy houses for themselves in the formal (read private) housing market are often left with very little choice but to subvert the law in order to address the challenges they face as a result of not being able to access a house through formal channels. This subversion of the law further solidifies the labelling of occupation sites *heterotopias of deviation*.

4.2.1 Occupation Sites as Heterotopias of Deviation

As heterotopias of deviation, the cases can be characterised as spaces of illusion and compensation. On the one hand, and similar to Stone's (2013) findings, the four occupations provide the illusion that the space, despite being aesthetically out of sync with its surrounds, is regulated, and under control. This illusion of control is maintained in the Helen Bowden Nurses Home and the Woodstock Hospital through the control of access to each building. The gates are locked in the evenings, limiting movement into and out of the grounds without knowledge of the occupation leaders who keep the gate keys. This has caused some contention between residents who are against efforts to, as Mazibuko (interview, 26 October 2019) argues, "control a human being like that, [you] only [do that to] animals". The presence of government appointed security officials on both sites also adds to this illusion of regulation and control. The appointment of security guards is necessitated by, as Gooch (2018) notes in a letter addressed to residents: "[v]iolent outbreaks of a physical and very serious nature [that] have taken place from time to time, when attempts have been made to halt unlawful occupations and/or fights and theft". Ironically, one of these security guards is alleged to have stabbed Zamuxolo 'Rasta' Dolophini, a Helen Bowden Nurses' Home resident and activist, who succumbed to these injuries in hospital.

In Graceland, the illusion of control is maintained through the neighbourhood watch committee, which has been formed by residents. The neighbourhood watch works with the police to conduct routine patrols across the settlement, day and night (Graceland resident 7, personal communication, 16 November 2020). As Stone (2013) argues, the resultant illusion of control limits the extent to which each site is freely acceptable. But, whilst each site is not freely accessible the boundaries of the broader neighbourhoods in which the cases are located are, for the most part, porous. This means

that residents, as Fainstein (2010) argues, are able to move freely to other parts of their neighbourhoods and the city bearing in mind that the existence of a wetland park along the N2 highway in Khayelitsha as well as the R300 railway line serve as dead ends. In Woodstock, both the N1 and the N2 as well as the railway line act as dead ends. These barriers do cut the neighbourhoods off from the rest of the city to some extent as Jacobs (1964) argues.

The illusion of control is not widely accepted at least not by City officials who continue to see occupation sites as sites of violence and lawlessness. Former Mayor of Cape Town and current Minister of Public Works, Patricia de Lille (2018), states:

> I also want to place it on record that the City of Cape Town will not tolerate land invasions in the city and law enforcement agencies will not hesitate to act against those who incite violence.

Therefore, unlike as Stone (2013) contends, the space's 'otherness' does not elude the senses. Rather, the cases bring present day concerns around housing and land restitution to the fore. Unlike the Graceland and Silvertown occupations, the Helen Bowden Nurses' Home and Woodstock Hospital cases bring these concerns to the inner city. The cases serve as a counterbalances that make inequality visible. Yet, and paradoxically, occupations have the potential to reinforce the status quo. For example, RTC and NU are arguing for the development of social housing in the inner city. In so arguing, they are (inadvertently) arguing for a solution that could see the development of enclaves for working class residents dotted around the CBD that do little to foster the integration of wealthier individuals with working class individuals outside the workplace. Therefore, whilst the occupation of the buildings does give rise to mixed-income neighbourhoods, at the building/precinct scale this diversity is not created. RTC and NU appear to have self-corrected, so to speak, by arguing for the development of inclusionary housing. The Graceland and Silvertown occupations, on the other hand, reinforce the status quo by virtue of their location – in a township on the urban periphery. As Fernandéz et al. (2021) argue, this is due to the lack of alternatives. But, as Twani (2021) states, the Level 2 residents are: "trying to show other communities that they do have alternatives and we are claiming back our power from the City of Cape Town". Pastor Skosana (interview, 15 March 2018), however, asks:

> What does it mean, you know, to take a piece of land and build more shacks and create more hazard? […] So even what we call successful occupation, comes with more problems.

These problems include, amongst other things, figuring out how to provide basic services on each site as discussed in section 4.1.2.1 above. The quest to get access to basic services on the occupation sites

is undoubtedly complicated by the fact that residents do not have permission from the land owners to occupy the sites. In terms of the *Problem Building By-Law (2010)*, each occupation is "illegal" (CoCT, 2010: 1084). According to the CoCT (2010: 1084-5), a problem building is:

> [A]ny building or portion of a building –
>
> (a) that appears to have been abandoned by the owner with or without consequence that rates or other service charges are not being paid;
>
> (b) that is derelict in appearance, overcrowded or is showing signs of becoming unhealthy, unsanitary, unsightly or objectionable;
>
> (c) that is the subject of written complaints in respect of criminal activities, including drug dealings and prostitution;
>
> (d) that is illegally occupied;
>
> (e) where refuse or waste material is accumulated, dumped, stored or deposited with the exception of licensed waste disposal facilities; or
>
> (f) that is partially completed or structurally unsound and is a threat or danger to the safety of the general public.

Discourses on occupations espoused by municipal officials refer to occupations as illegal. This can be seen in continual reference to occupations as 'land invasions' during parliamentary committee meetings, and in comments made to the media and the public. For example, the former Mayor of Cape Town, Patricia de Lille (2018), released a statement which says: "Land invasions are illegal and pose fire, health and flood risks to our communities". Expressing similar sentiments, the current Mayor, Dan Plato (2020: 1), says: "The knock-on effect of the large-scale orchestrated land invasions we have seen is simply devastating for Cape Town, its communities, residents in general and the City". These statements illustrate the enduring nature of perceptions that occupations are not only illegal but are not desirable. This positions occupations, specifically the cases under study, as *heterotopias of deviation*.

As Harvey (2010) notes these heterotopias of deviation are designed to be temporary. Residents hope, however, that in due course their stay on the sites will be sanctioned by the state. This will enable either government or the residents to formalise the dwellings and renovations undertaken by residents on each site. This hope persists despite residents on all four sites having anticipated being (forcibly) evicted since the first day of their respective occupations. Thandi Tyalana (2018), reflecting further on the possibility of being evicted from Helen Bowden Nurses' Home, says: "a lot of these people that live with us here, they work in these fancy buildings. They keep these buildings up and looked after". Tyalana (2018), like many of the residents, is negotiating their presence in the Helen

Bowden Nurses Home by highlighting that residents participate in the (economic) activities in the neighbourhood.

Interestingly, whilst municipal and provincial discourses denote informal land occupations as illegal, one of the key pieces of legislation governing the processes for evicting residents refers to occupations of both land and buildings as *unlawful.* This piece of legislation is the 1998 PIE Act.[v] This act defines an 'unlawful resident' as a "person who occupies land without the express or tacit consent of the property owner or person in charge, or without any other right in law to occupy such land" (RSA, 1998: 4). Thus, although the terminology used by various actors is different, the practice of informal land occupation is understood as a practice which is not undertaken with the consent of the land owner. This has resulted, at times, in the terms 'illegal' and 'unlawful' being used interchangeably in public discourse even though there is a slight distinction between the two terms. The term 'illegal' conveys that an activity is expressly forbidden by the law. The term 'unlawful', on the other hand, denotes that an activity is not expressly authorised by the law. It denotes a desire, on the part of various national government officials including the South African Police Services (SAPS), to balance the rights of both the land owner and the residents. Captain Stephanus (2020) who, in response to questions posed during a sitting of the Western Cape Provincial Parliament (WCPP) Human Settlements Committee meeting states that the SAPS:

> [H]as to look at the constitutional and human rights of the occupee as well as the owner. So, it needs to be brought clear to all involved that the land invasion as referred to needs to be dealt with in a very, um, sensitive way because at the end of the day it's not just the owner that has to be looked at, the police has also an obligation to look at the occupee (*sic*).

Residents also use these rights-based discourses when calling on government to ensure that their activities have the best outcomes for all, including residents involved in occupations. In these discourses, the concept of 'justice' is a node against which the costs and benefits of interventions are weighed by residents. These elected leaders pledge to represent residents' interests. Leaders play two distinct roles in the social movements[vi]. First, leaders are responsible for recruiting members. This entails conducting activities to not only attract support and new members but to motivate old and new members and supporters to volunteer the use of their resources, namely time and skills, for the movement. This is central for the maintenance of the action-oriented nature of occupations, which results in real changes on the ground. Second, leaders are also responsible for organising the movement. This entails determining the structure and functioning of the movement in addition to allocating resources where they are needed. In determining the movements' structures, leaders are

also responsible for determining the parameters for decision-making, accountability, and participation within the movements. Inherent in the leaders' organisational role is the establishment of the movements' collective identities. It must be noted, however, that in the case of the occupations under the RTC banner, the role of organising activities also lies with NU staff, a significant number of whom are not residents of either occupation houses themselves. Lastly, the leaders are tasked with representing their movements on public fora and engaging with elected officials. However, given the concerns around how representative some movements' leadership structures are, some elected government officials as noted above have opted not to engage solely with movement leaders who they perceive as gatekeepers. This has paved the way for dissenting voices within each movement to engage directly with government officials outside of the movements' organisational structures.

Part of residents' interests lie in the implementation of mechanisms to counter market and property excesses. One of these mechanisms residents and activists are arguing for is the development of an inclusionary housing policy. NU (2018b) defines inclusionary housing as secure, and affordable housing that can be leased or bought by individuals earning R15,000 or less per month. Such housing, as NU (2018a) further argues, must provide those most in need with greater access to land and housing in well-located areas so that it can begin addressing apartheid's spatial legacy. An inclusionary housing policy would serve as a municipal land use planning tool that mandates developers seeking to develop property within well-located areas that have high property values to reserve some units in each residential development for affordable housing (Department of Environmental Affairs & Development Planning [DEA&DP], 2021a). These units can be leased or sold for less than other units in the same development in order to provide, as Minister of Local Government, Environmental Affairs, and Development Planning Anton Bredell (2021: 10) states: "[l]ower income households and lower to middle income households [with] easier access to economic opportunities and social amenities". Whilst, residents in the Helen Bowden Nurses Home and Woodstock Hospital agree with Bredell's sentiments, the occupations in Khayelitsha call to question the notion that access to economic opportunities is the primary consideration when individuals, particularly working class individuals, are determining where in the city they can and want to live. Thus, the Khayelitsha occupations also leads us to question the current understanding of what constitutes 'well-located' land.

RTC and NU's voices on the debate around the lack of affordable housing, have brought into sharp focus the lack of affordable housing in the central business district (CBD). In highlighting this, RTC and NU have also raised the question of what type of housing belongs in the inner city. Consequently, RTC and NU raise the question of who belongs in the inner city. This question lies at the heart of the quest

for socio-spatial transformation, which also seeks to restore residents' dignities. Mandisa Shandu is quoted in a tweet by Ndifuna Ukwazi (2019) as follows: "Government is saying the poor people do not belong in the city, that there can never be RDP in the city". During a radio interview, Nkosikhona Swartbooi (30 May 2018) echoes this sentiment by arguing that:

> We know that there are domestic workers and security guards that have existed in Sea Point for decades and we haven't seen a plan from the City to accommodate them and that's an insult.

In highlighting that no affordable housing has not been provided in the CBD since 1994, RTC and NU are reinforcing economic perspectives that assume the concentrated nature of financial and related infrastructure investments in CBDs, make CBDs optimal locations for housing. The Graceland and Silvertown occupations, on the other hand, challenge this assumption by highlighting that living in the CBD, inevitably in an apartment, requires one to live and conduct themselves in qualitatively different ways; ways that further disrupt indigenous eco-relationalities (cf. chapter 5). Another such mechanism is the expropriation of land without compensation. RTC's constitution states that the movement "support[s] the expropriation of property which aligns with the vision, objectives, principles, and values of Reclaim the City". The list of demands made by RTC (2017b: online) also urges government to "expropriate private land where people are already living, as at Marikana, so that these residents may have secure tenure and have services delivered to their communities". But, although the initiation of debates on land expropriation without compensation has been welcomed by residents, residents have some reservations about whether this will come to pass since, as Friedman (2018: online) notes, the ANC adopted the land expropriation resolution with the condition that expropriation "must not threaten food security or impact on the rest of the economy". Such privileging of individual freedom, particularly section 25(1) of the Constitution,[vii] over collective action or state control of land in South Africa coupled with the declining pace of housing delivery (figure 4.12) means that some residents may not get formal housing in their lifetime. This is despite the affirmation in the Constitution's preamble that "South Africa belongs to all who live in it" (RSA, 1996: 1).

No. of housing opportunities completed or under construction
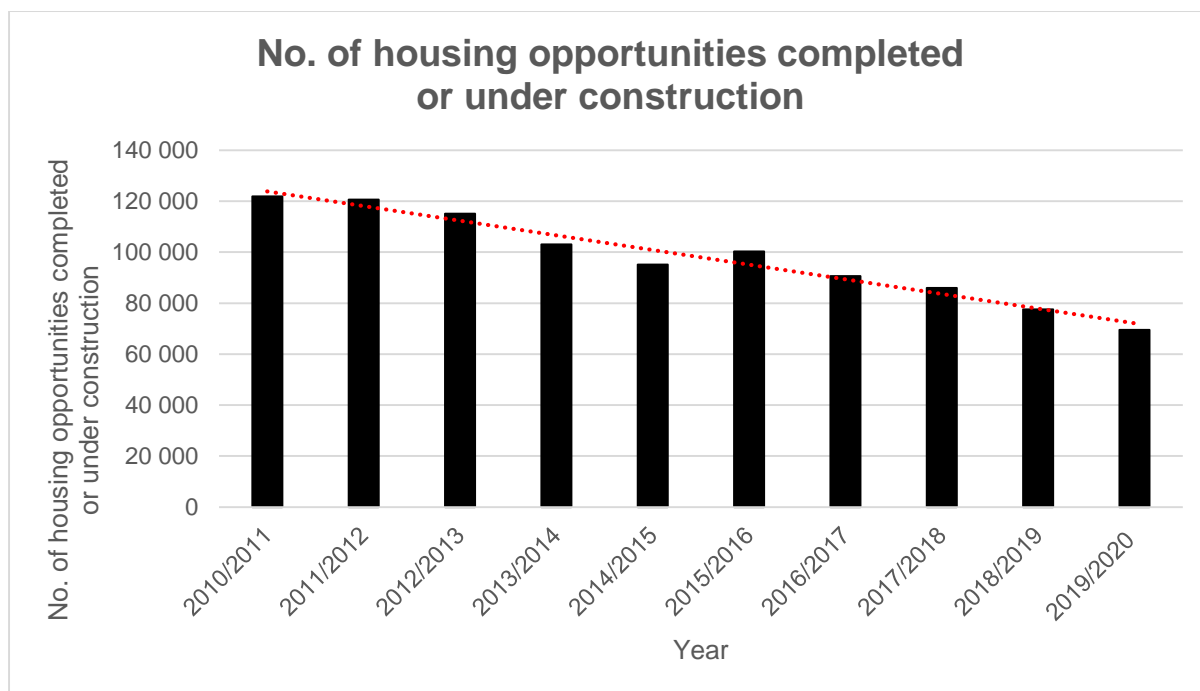
Figure 4.12: Number of government-subsidised housing opportunities delivered in Cape Town, 2010/11-2019/2020

In arguing for the development and implementation of inclusionary housing policy and land expropriation, residents are not only arguing for the recognition of their rights to the city. They are, as Lefebvre (1968) argues, actively planning and shaping the city through their participation in occupations. However, residents' participation is replete with internal contradictions. These contradictions also play out within the representative structures on each site. There have been some internal struggles amongst residents stemming from perceptions that elected leaders do not represent certain groups of residents. These internal struggles are the result of the unequal distribution of power that stems from the need for residents to relinquish most of their power to the occupation leaders. Thus, the cases contradict the egalitarian and universalistic rhetoric within liberalism. This is similar to Mouffe's (1997) observations on the disjuncture between praxis and ideology. A case in point is the assertion made by Twani (occupation meeting, 22 October 2017) to an activist that: "Com, nabani na othunywa ngabahlali kwi-meeting situation, kufuneka ayamukele lento le. Uthunywa ngabahlali" *[Com[rade], whoever is sent by residents during a meeting situation, they must accept that thing. You are being sent by the residents]*. Such restrictions of power, as this quote illustrates, make it possible for 'us' (those who govern) and 'them' (those being governed) distinctions to be drawn by residents. These restrictions of power also intimate that residents understand, as Pickerill and Chatterton (2006) note, that autonomy is a collective form of power that is grounded in the historical struggle against colonisation. Therefore, whilst individual autonomy is respected, collective autonomy is privileged.

4.4 Conclusion

The act of doing holds residents together. By not only mobilising themselves to occupy the four sites but also through making significant financial and time investments in order to (re)connect the sites to municipal infrastructure networks, autoconstruct, retrofit, and repair the buildings on the respective sites residents are reimagining service delivery. Residents are also building the future city through occupations. In so doing, residents are aiding in the development of the collective capacity for aspiration particularly at the neighbourhood scales. Residents are also changing the stories told about themselves and their positionality within the city through various discursive strategies. Through these discursive strategies, residents are changing the conversation about underutilized and vacant buildings in the city. In particular, residents are highlighting that instead of merely seeing these buildings as problems, their potentials can be realised through practices such as retrofitting and repair; highlighting, in turn, a different possibility for working with the current realities. This, consequently, opens up the idea that it is not just (conflicting) rationalities (and the exercise of power) that are at play in these cases; imagination is also at play. In particular, similar socio-spatial imaginaries of Cape Town are competing for realisation in different parts of the city and at different temporalities. These imaginaries, and their intellectual underpinnings which are the actual sources of conflicts between residents and the City's rationalities, are discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 5: A Radicality Rooted in Inherited Imaginations

In chapter 4, the process of land occupation is discussed. Beginning with mobilization, it is followed by bold(er) forms of encroachment which see the numbers of residents on each site increase rapidly. As chapter 4 intimates informal land occupations are not driven by top-down, strategic logics. Rather, they are driven by logics that enable residents to respond to their current realities in a manner that state-led planning mechanisms are unable to. As Judges Gamble and Samela (2020: 194) state in the Tafelberg judgment, we must always bear in mind:

> The historical anomaly that today central Cape Town is less diversified that *(sic)* it was 50 years ago under apartheid […] it is evident to this Court that the Province's policies in relation to the reversal of apartheid spatial planning, and the promotion of social housing are, to all intents and purposes, non-existent.

This quote intimates a concern, similar to that held by Roy (2016), about how we are currently planning cities in the global South. This concern enables residents to not only critically interrogate established (theoretical) categories but to question how the normative aspects of planning should impact planning praxis in Cape Town. In this place, residents are creating new territories for political engagement within which, as Bhan (2016: 1) argues, they are "negotiat[ing] their presence in as well as right to the city". Residents are also creating and acting to realise alternative socio-spatial imaginations of the city.

This chapter unpacks the socio-spatial imaginaries that underpin residents' occupation activities. This is done by, first, briefly outlining the visions of the 'good' city that residents hope to realise. These visions, whilst being similar to the City's vision as noted in the first section of this chapter, privilege collective power. The second and third sections of this chapter bring the findings into conversation with the literature on radical/insurgent planning and communicative/collaborative planning, respectively. In these sections, I argue that whilst informal land occupations do draw on some of the intellectual currents underpinning both these models of planning specifically, and the social mobilisation tradition more broadly as outlined by Friedmann (1989), the radicality within informal land occupations stems from several additional intellectual *and* theoretical strands that Friedmann's (1989) account does not consider. These intellectual and theoretical strands, which bring the related notions of an African sense of self, being, and dignity to the fore of conversations are discussed in the third section. Cumulatively, these intellectual and theoretical currents enable residents to better deal

with the challenges they face through situated practices and strategies that emphasise belonging, dignity, and rights.

5.1 Realising a Visions of the 'Good' City

Local government's vision for Cape Town is outlined in its 2017 – 2022 Municipal Spatial Development Framework (SDF). As the Transport and Urban Development Authority (2017: 2) notes, "[f]undamental to the MSDF is the vision of achieving spatial transformation". The residents and the City are in agreement that the prevailing spatial form must be transformed. However, where the two groups of actors differ is in their understanding of when this vision can realistically be realised. Government officials argue that, with the available resources, it is not possible to realise this vision immediately. Residents on the other hand, whilst agreeing that it may not be possible to meet everyone's needs immediately, government officials can do a lot more in the interim to fulfil their responsibilities. These responsibilities, as argued by the applicants' legal representatives in the *Adonisi and Others v Minister for Transport and Public Works Western Cape and Others; Minister of Human Settlements and Others v Premier of the Western Cape Province and Others* (hereafter the 'Tafelberg case') in the Amended Notice of Motion, are outlined in sections 25(5), 26(1), and 26(2) of the Constitution.[i] These responsibilities are also outlined in the Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act (SPLUMA), which mandates the City to adhere to the principle of spatial justice. Section 7(a)(i) of SPLUMA stipulates that "past spatial and other development imbalances must be redressed through improved access to and use of land" (RSA, 2013: 18). For residents and government alike, this principle can be realised through the provision of housing to those in need. In the absence of access to government-subsidised housing, residents have facilitated access to land and housing for themselves through occupations.

Residents' visions of the 'good' city are similar to that of the City's. One construction is that of a city in which, as Ndifuna Ukwazi (2018a: 7) states:

> Black and Coloured people [are brought] back into our city, to own, access and occupy the best land, to live close to work, [and] to benefit from the best services.

To this ideal, Twani (interview, 22 October 2017) adds some sustainability considerations which will ensure "that everyone can … live in harmony together with animals and other species". This utopia, which is underpinned by a concern for spatial justice, has been realised, albeit ineffectively, through

occupations. Consequently, residents' verbal constructions of the ideal city do not remain, as Manuel (1973: viii) describes, "speaking pictures". Rather, they come to life through residents' collective actions. That is, they come to life as a result of bottom-up activities. The bottom-up nature of informal land occupations enables us to bring the cases in conversation with the literature on radical/insurgent planning. It is to this conversation that the chapter turns.

5.2 Informal Land Occupations: Forms of Radical and Insurgent Planning?

As a resident-led model of planning, informal land occupations meet several criteria for radical and insurgent planning. First, during informal land occupations, residents are planning for themselves, often without the input of professionally-trained activist, spatial planners. A key aspect of their roles is to facilitate mutual learning within these invented spaces of citizenship. In advocating for mutual learning and co-production, residents draw on critical rationalism, which acknowledges that, as Parton and Bailey (2008) argue, knowledge grows through reason and experience. Residents participating in informal land occupations are characterised by their emphasis on collaboration and co-production. They pursue new models of delivery that are similar to those envisioned in the *Enhanced People's Housing Process (ePHP)* and the *Upgrading of Informal Settlements Programme (UISP)*. The Department of Human Settlements (2009) states that the primary aim of the ePHP is to incrementally "deliver better human settlement outcomes (at household and at the community level) based on community contribution, partnerships and the leveraging of additional resources through partnerships". Whilst there is no agreement between different groups of residents on the extent of their participation in the delivery of the final housing product, the idea of incrementality has been accepted by many residents. As Abdullah (2021: online) states:

> I'm gonna put my foot down and say start with one block. Put those people on a spot and when that is finished, it is going to take some time but they must hurry up, they mustn't take their own time and then put people back. Then, put the next block in.

As a participatory model of planning, informal land occupation does not restrict planning practice to residents. Professionals or formal institutions are invited to support resident-led processes in several ways. For example, the Helen Bowden Nurses' Home and the Woodstock Hospital residents are supported by NU. NU (n.d.: online) describes itself as a "group of activists that use research and strategic litigation to campaign for justice and equality in poor and working class communities". In addition to offering legal assistance, NU through their network of consultants and researchers, are also tasked with conducting studies to determine the feasibility of some of the proposals made by

residents. For example, NU has commissioned consultants to undertake a study to establish how feasible it would be to develop social housing on the Tafelberg site.[ii] Not all residents movements have this level of support from NGOs. As a result, the Graceland and Silvertown residents have faced greater difficulties in accessing the courts. It is important to note that, initially, Graceland residents did not want any NGOs to be involved in their occupation. The few relationships that have since been established between Graceland and Silvertown residents and support organisations are described by Twani (interview, 22 November 2017) as "not a money relationship". To this, Andile Lili, the founder of the Ses'khona People's Rights Movement[iii], adds that "through money we can be captured very easily as an organisation". Agreeing with both Twani and Lili, Timbela (interview, 22 November 2017) argues that the aim is to ensure that residents drive their own agendas.

As noted in chapter 4, mobilisation is a key strategy through which claims to space are made. A key aspect of the planner's role during informal land occupations, therefore, is mobilisation in order to increase the number of people within the movements. Reflecting on why the occupation of Graceland had been unsuccessful until then, S'bali (interview, 22 November 2017) argues that "sibethwa linani" *[we are being defeated by [low] numbers].* A fair bit of mobilisation occurs through social media, and increasingly through WhatsApp (Graceland resident 3, meeting, 22 October 2017). But, the bulk of the mobilisation also occurs through low(er) technology means, namely through a process referred to as *ukukhwaza*. This entails residents driving around the neighbourhood in a bakkie with a loud hailer or a microphone and a speaker through which upcoming activities such as meetings or court appearances are announced.

5.2.1 Occupations as Invented Spaces of Citizenship

Occupation sites can be characterised as invented spaces of citizenship (Miraftab, 2009). It is in these invented spaces of citizenship that residents can, to an extent, exercise their right to self-determination at the metropolitan scale. As Themba (interview, 25 August 2017) argues, occupations are, ultimately, a quest for self-determination. Section 235 of the Constitution establishes this right. It reads:

> The right of the South African people as a whole to self-determination, as manifested in this Constitution, does not preclude, within the framework of this right, recognition of the notion of the right to self-determination of any community sharing a common cultural and language heritage, within a territorial entity in the Republic or in any other way, determined by national legislation.

Some residents have interpreted this right, as McCorquodale (1994: 4) has defined it, as a right to at the very least "participate fully in decisions concerning the political, economic, social and cultural rules by which their society operates" at both the local (precinct) and metropolitan scales. Reflecting on the importance of collective decision making, Graceland resident 2 (occupation meeting, 22 October 2017) states: "Zonke ezi-decisions ezithathwayo siyazi ukuba ... at least siyayazi ukuba sitheth' intwe nye" *[We know that all the decisions taken are ... at least we know we are all saying the same thing].* However, residents do not always speak with one voice. The lack of consensus amongst Woodstock Hospital residents has resulted in cleavages between residents. This has led to the formation of a separate leadership committees for the Azania section of the occupation, although efforts have been made to bring this leadership committee into the fold of the broader leadership committee of the RTC movement. The development of alternative leadership committees within the Woodstock occupation can also be seen in the other cases. It is an effort to counter the tendency within existing structures to, as Friedmann (1989: 305) notes, "concentrate information, knowledge, and decision-making in a small leadership elite".

The invention of spaces of citizenship in empty or underutilised parts of the city disrupts the notion that no politics can come from the (institutional) void. This finding correlates with Hajer's (2003a) observation that solutions to some of the world's most pressing challenges are emerging from institutional interstices. These are spaces in which there are either governance gaps or spaces in which their inclusion in governance processes is symbolic. Therefore, insofar as the development of alternative leadership structures within the occupation is a response to governance gaps, it is reactive. Within these invented spaces, residents also challenge their symbolic inclusion in governance processes through collective action.

This finding, which is similar to Miraftab's (2009) findings, highlights that residents do not feel included in governance processes despite government's espousal of their adoption of a 'whole of society' approach (Department of the Premier, 2014; 2019). Through this approach the government "mobilises the resources, knowledge, creativity, and concerns of all role players in government, the private sector, and civil society to drive socio-economic development and address policy challenges" (Department of the Premier, 2019: 9). According to the Department of the Premier (2014), this approach will help the Western Cape Provincial Government (WCPG) to achieve its priorities.[iv] Furthermore, the invention of spaces in empty or underutilised land and buildings also disrupts notions of working class apathy or silence through their concern with the "practical application of ideas" by humans in order to make the world better for the most disadvantaged (Harrison, 2002: 158).

Whilst residents argue that 'better' (read as progress) is the only moral end, they do not define it as growth. Instead, residents define progress as (land) restitution or redistribution and, inter alia, socio-spatial transformation, which can be attained through strategic, social experiments such as informal land occupations. The notion of *social experimentation* as it relates to informal land occupations is akin to the trial and error approach that Popper (1945) argues must be adopted within *critical rationalism*. Indeed, trial and error alongside flexibility is central to strategies utilised by residents to claim and sustain claims to land. For example, in Graceland residents had to repeatedly try to occupy the site, varying the time of night attempted occupations occurred in order to minimise the possibility of being detected by municipal law enforcement officials. Eventually, the residents managed to sustain their occupation. They have been on the site continuously since August 2020.

However, key to their stay on the site is the renaming of the settlement from Izwelethu to Level 2. This serves two purposes. First, it helps residents to stave off eviction as it indicates unequivocally that the settlement was established during Level 2 of the COVID-19 pandemic lockdown during which a moratorium on evictions was in place.[v] This is important because, should the City try to evict residents under the guise of conducting counter-spoilation activities, residents are able to resist such efforts and demand a court order in line with the regulations outlined in the PIE Act since the settlement is, at the time of writing, just over two years old. Second, the naming of the settlement to Level 2 also served to stave off eviction using an old court order, which makes reference to the settlement as Izwelethu. By renaming the settlement, residents are trying to impede the City's efforts to evict them despite the temporary moratorium on evictions that was gazetted by the Minister of Justice and Correctional Services Ronald Lamola on the 26th of March 2020.[vi] Instead of referring to their actions as 'evictions' the City has taken to refer to them as 'counter-spoilation' activities. In a media statement, Member of the Executive Council (MEC) Tertius Simmers (2021: online) refers to counter-spoilation as "an owner's right to immediately retake possession of unlawfully seized property, without first having to approach a court". However, following successful litigation by the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC), an interim interdict has been handed down by the Western Cape High Court preventing any evictions or demolitions, including counter-spoilation activities, without a court order.[vii] Through various engagements and collaboration with organisations such as the SAHRC, residents are able to get temporary reprieves. Such reprieves are gained through a narrowing of the list of concerns (to evictions in this instance), which is evidence of the strategic nature of occupations.

5.3 Informal Land Occupation: A Communicative and Collaborative Praxis

Informal land occupations are an interactive and communicative activity. As such, Habermas' communicative action is used as a normative principle against which interactions within and between different actor groups are evaluated. As discussed above in section 5.1, residents' long(er) term visions for the site intimate residents' desires to work with government to realise their visions for each site. Within each vision, government is assigned a regulatory, enabling, or developer role. These envisioned roles for government are realistic, insofar as they are the roles that the City sees itself playing already. In the Human Settlements Strategy (2021), the CoCT (2021: 15) acknowledges that its "ability to influence human settlements is based on three primary roles: as a provider (of state subsidised housing), as enabler (of urban upgrading that convenes a wide variety of actors), and as a regulator (of the built environment)". By envisioning a complex role for government within the broader quest for socio-spatial transformation, residents indicate that they have taken uncertainties, complexity, competing values, and power structures into account. This further highlights the strategic nature of informal land occupations.

It must be noted that the National Department of Human Settlements has recently limited its role as a housing provider. Speaking to News24 (2014) on the side lines of the Planning Africa Conference, former Minister of Human Settlements, Water and Sanitation, Lindiwe Sisulu states that "[a]nybody below the age of 40 will need to understand that they are not our priority unless they are special needs or are heads of child-headed households". Sisulu goes on to say that the unsustainable nature of the housing programme does not make it feasible for government to provide free (read subsidised) houses for those under the age of 40. Following this pronouncement, the Department of Human Settlements (2020) has issued a directive mandating that housing programmes be downscaled to focus on the delivery of serviced sites to qualifying beneficiaries so that they can build their own homes. The elderly, persons living with disabilities, military veterans, and child-headed households are exempt from this policy shift. They will continue to receive houses since they, according to News24 (2014) reports' on Sisulu, experienced the "wrongs of the past" that the national housing programme aims to make right.

Residents across all four sites, majority of whom are below the age of 40, disagree and argue that government must fulfil its obligations in terms of sections 25 and 26 of the Constitution. The observation that majority of the residents are under the age of 40 is in line with Professor Ruth Hall's (2018) findings. Citing a study by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) on land demand, Hall

(2018) notes that the strongest demand for land is amongst those between the ages of 20 and 35 years; this is the demographic within which many of the residents fall. In agreement with residents, Advocate Ngcukaitobi (2018) notes during a debate on the land question, that government's mandate in terms of s25 applies:

> Regardless of whether or not you could prove that you lost your land or you lost property, you were entitled to what was called 'equitable access to land'. You would be entitled even if you can't prove any claims, even if you can't prove any dispossession. As long as you can show that you are hungry for land you are entitled to get it.

It remains to be seen, however, whether this provision will be tested further in the courts by residents given that a lot of uncertainty about how the proposed sites-and-services type scheme announced by Sisulu will be rolled out. Regardless, Sisulu's announcement has raised perceptions of the lack of transparency and the justness of the housing programme. The basic premise of communicative/collaborative planning that a just process will give rise to just outcomes is believed by the residents who have levelled several accusations against the City and its officials in particular for being dishonest. Similar accusations are also levelled against the City by elected officials in different spheres of government. Responding to Mnkentane and Siyo's (2020) questions, Sisulu's spokesperson, said the "City of Cape Town must have therefore evicted people without authority [of the court] or lied to the court". de Lille (2021: online) has also accused the Democratic Alliance's (DA) Western Cape Committee Spokesperson, Mathlodi Maseko, of telling "blatant lies" as well as "playing politics with land". These accusations have been made in response to Mathlodi's statement laying the blame for the lack of affordable housing opportunities in the CBD on the National Department of Public Works and Infrastructure (DPWI), which De Lille currently heads.

These statements and accusations belie the politics and lack of consensus amongst government actors on the appropriate responses to occupations, particularly in times of crises such as the pandemic. Thus, government actors, in this instance, have not met the aim of communicative/collaborative planning, which is to reach consensus of the appropriate course of action. Residents' governance arrangements are designed to meet this aim. However, instead of modelling their governance arrangements on a system of deliberative democracy, residents mix a majority-rules system of decision-making and a consensus-based system. The example cited earlier whereby an activist was told that they cannot refuse to do something residents have decided must be done is illustrative of the application of the majority-rules system. In this particular instance, the individual the statement was being directed to was out voted. As another resident (meeting, 22 October 2017) states: "Baninsi

abantu abayithetha lento bayayivuma, kutheni ungazoyivuma wedwa comrade? And you have to support into ethethwa ngabahlali" *[There are a lot of people agreeing to this, why are you the only one disagreeing, comrade? And you have to support what residents say]*. On the other hand, residents also adopt a consensus-based system for decision-making. This consensus-based system together with the action-oriented nature of resident groups is, as Timbela (interview, 22 November 2017) states: "helping us a lot in terms of assisting some movement, or some movement that is starting through this occupation here".

Residents welcome opportunities for meaningful engagement. As Hendricks et al. (2020) state in an open letter: "we have always believed that it is through meaningful engagement that we will be able to address the issue of housing in Cape Town". Within this statement, is a concern with the manifestation and operation of power. For residents, as Rawls (1999) argues, justice is uncompromising. Hence, and as Healey (1999b: 1129) adds, residents like communicative/collaborative planners emphasise the need for practice to be reconfigured in order to accommodate "new perspectives on the social relations of governance processes and the reconfiguration of governance unfolding in practice". Healey (1999b) further argues that this emphasis informs the shift from an instrumental rationality to a communicative rationality, which is realised in practice through the participation of citizens in planning processes. Participation is understood by residents in political terms. This is because, as Carpentier (2016) states, the interrogation of power is of paramount importance to residents. It is, therefore, on the basis of a critical, historical assessment of the status quo and power relations that residents act. This assessment challenges not only government's definition of the problem but the solutions that they have put forward (or withdrawn in this case). It is precisely this challenge to government's problem definition, and inter alia, its power that makes informal land occupations acts of insurgent urbanism that draw on communicative/collaborative planning through their concerns for participation and engagement.

5.4 Conversing with Past, Present and Future Generations

Residents are acutely aware of the manner in which global forces have and continue to shape property dynamics in the city. This is evidenced, in part, by repeated references to the expropriation of vacant, second or third homes owned by international entities and individuals in wealthy neighbourhoods such as Camps Bay and the Waterfront. By framing evictions as dispossession and displacement (figure 5.1), residents have revealed another way of thinking about planning in this situated context. Furthermore, by identifying the root causes of present day struggles in historical events such as the

arrival of van Riebeeck, residents are contextualising the issues within the broader political context; a context in which the historical origins of present day injustices remain unaddressed despite being widely acknowledged. As Mzi Matigari Sibeko (2018), popularly referred to as Comrade Matigari-NewRoad, laments during the land debate, "[h]istory chose for us to be here".

Figure 5.1: Placard held during a march in 2018 that reads "Dispossessed in 1652, 1913, 1950"

An elderly member of Reclaim the City (RTC) adds that residents need to understand that it is both repealed and current bylaws that "handicap us" (personal communication, 8 April 2018). This understanding, has led some activists such as Pastor Skosana (interview, 15 March 2018) to refer to occupations as a "struggle for Black [mental] liberation". In agreement, Matigari-NewRoad (2018) adds that "unfortunately we not only carry the burden of liberating ourselves but also the burden of liberating those who hate us". In framing occupations in this manner, we are compelled to engage with the question of informal land occupations beyond the material, that is, beyond questions about land (and housing) in the city. Although these questions are important, this reframing of occupations highlights that for residents these questions cannot be narrowly construed and divorced from questions related to identity and, inter alia, questions of belonging in a city where the devastating effects of colonialism on the lives of Black and Coloured communities continues to be downplayed even by senior political figures such as the former Premier of the Western Cape Helen Zille. Helen Zille (2017, emphasis in original) states, via a tweet: "For those claiming the legacy of colonialism was ONLY negative, think of our independent judiciary, transport infrastructure, piped water etc.".

Figure 5.2: Zille's tweets on colonialism

(Source: @helenzille, 2017: https://twitter.com/helenzille/status/842260539644497921)

Zille (2017b), whilst responding to questions on this series of tweets on colonialism (figure 5.2), further states: "Our ruling party is scapegoating minorities in order to conceal their failures to govern this country honestly and efficiently without consequences". The shifting of the blame onto the ANC is echoed by several members of opposition parties, including Julius Malema (2016b) who states that:

> There is no white man who brought poor service delivery to the people. It's the ANC and they keep blaming the apartheid legacy even after 22 years of being in leadership.

It is through Marxist analysis that such comments are debunked and the historical roots of present day injustices are made visible by residents. Marxism provides residents with, as Nash (2014) notes, a

lens through which the race-class dualisms that structure socio-spatial relations in South Africa can be examined. However, residents depart slightly from historical materialism, and Marxism broadly, by addressing local government officials not just the working class residents who form the majority of residents. These messages, such as "land for housing not for profit" and "#DyingForaHome", are framed within a rights-based discourse that foregrounds residents' rights to access to adequate housing as guaranteed in s26 of the Constitution. These messages are shared mainly during marches, sit ins, and on social media. The messages highlight some of the internal contradictions of the property market, which is skewed towards the high and luxury end of the markets and the challenges this poses for working class residents. As figure 5.3 from the Centre of Affordable Housing Finance in Africa (2022) illustrates, in 2021 43% of residential property in Cape Town is luxury property, that is worth over R1.2 million. This is in contrast to the 16% and 18% of residential properties which are in the entry market (less than R300,000) and affordable markets (R300,000 – R600,000), respectively (ibid.). The bias towards the luxury end of the market has resulted in a substantial decrease in the amount of affordable housing stock as plots across the city, particularly those in the inner city, are being bought and consolidated for the construction of luxury apartments. A similar trend is observed in townships, including Khayelitsha.
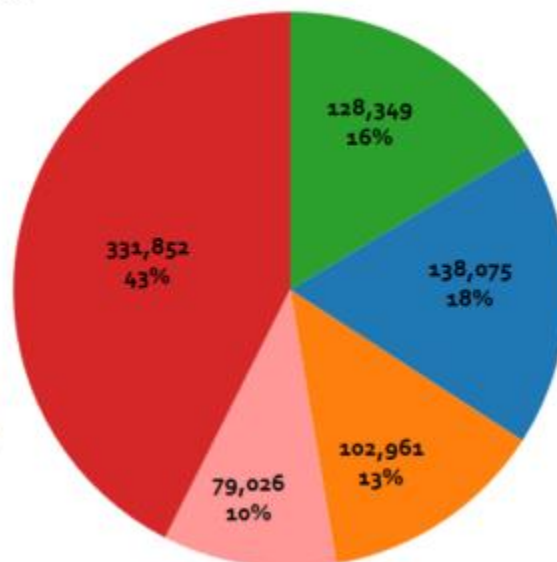

Figure 5.3: Number of residential properties by market segment in Cape Town, 2021

(Source: CAHF, 2022: 1)

By addressing local government officials and, to a lesser extent, property developers and wealthier residents, residents lose some of the radicalness that is emblematic of Marxist praxis. Nevertheless, Marxism also offers residents with a lens through which the dark side of state-led planning can be unveiled. Planning is understood as a political function of the capitalist state (Yiftachel, 1989). It is for this reason that NU is actively involved in Cape Town's Municipal Planning Tribunal (MPT). The MPT is a body that adjudicates land use and development applications within the City's boundary. It is through MPT processes that NU lobbies private developers to incorporate inclusionary housing into the developments. They have had some success, with their first win being in 2018 when Zero2One was mandated by the MPT to ensure that 20% of the units to be developed are reserved for households with an income between R3,500 and R15,000 per month.

This type of lobbying also reveals a neo-Marxist slant within residents' theoretical foundation. This neo-Marxist slant underpins a reformist agenda that operates in tandem with the agenda for socio-spatial transformation. The reformist agenda is exemplified by calls for gradual changes to existing institutions as opposed to a revolution that could lead to the development of a Paris Commune-type governance arrangement at a city level. At the precinct scale, none of the occupations have closely mirrored the Paris Commune-type governance arrangements. Although in all four cases, residents argue that the movements are apolitical, politics is inherently ingrained in activities on the sites. Therefore, and contrary to Held's (2006: 116) assertion, the cases are not characterised by the "end of politics" like the Paris Commune. By definition, so to speak, informal land occupations are a political praxis. Additionally, unlike in the Paris Commune there has not been blanket disregard of government's – local, provincial or national – authority. That is, residents are not anti-state nor are residents seeking to secede. Governments' authority is questioned for the purposes of ensuring each sphere of government fulfils their roles and responsibilities as defined in the Constitution and various pieces of legislation. Furthermore, such questioning of government's authority in addition to the questioning of comments by political figures such as those by Zille and Malema further serves to highlight how political and economic elites use their power to remain in power, exclude, and marginalise the 'Other'.[viii] Yet, it is these Eurocentric version(s) of history politicians put forward that continue to dominate media narratives. Within these version(s) of history, residents are unable to theorise the African 'self' or affirm their humanity and dignity. This has led residents and activists alike to call for political conscientisation.

5.4.1 Political Conscientisation

Conscientisation is undertaken in the Helen Bowden Nurses' Home and Woodstock Hospital cases through weekly advice assemblies. During these advice assemblies, residents and interested individuals from across the City learn about tenants' rights and legal procedures related to eviction cases. In August 2017, Reclaim the City and Ndifuna Ukwazi also held an 'occupation school'. Over the course of several days, residents alongside urban land justice movements from Johannesburg, Durban, and Cape Town learn planning history and how change in cities can be brought about through activism. Attendees also discuss possible solutions to the housing question such as expropriation, social housing, and rent control.

Whilst the Silvertown and Graceland residents do not run similar conscientisation efforts, their partners in solidarity such as the Fees Must Fall activists and Pastor Skosana from the *Way of Life Kilombo Village* do.[ix] Through its respect for African communal values and critique of the exploitation of the poor, Kilombo Village is, as Walshe (1991: 37) notes, able to offer activists with a broad base of support. This base is partly founded on prophetic Christianity (see section 5.4.3.3.). Both residents, activists, and interested individuals including those who attended Way of Life church before it became Kilombo Village[x] are welcome to attend these sessions and learn a "contextual" and "public" theology (Skosana, 2020).[xi] By linking Pan-Africanism and Black Consciousness[xii] to Black theology[xiii] in the struggle for liberation Skosana is, as Egan (2014) argues, ensuring that religion is less of an obstacle to the liberation struggle.[xiv]

5.4.2 A Politics of Difference

In arguing for the need for programmes for conscientisation, some residents are engaging in a politics of difference as observed by Friedmann (1989). It is intricately linked to how people perceive and define themselves highlighting that whilst the land question is important, the struggle residents are engaged in is not solely about land or housing; it is also about self-definition. However, hegemonic planning theories do not enable us to see bottom-up planning processes such as informal land occupations as processes of self-definition. These processes are not only grounded in intellectual currents within the Western canon, like hegemonic planning theories. They are, in the South African context, grounded in the philosophies and theologies of several canons.

First, they are grounded in a broader shift to *nativism* and *Afro-radicalism* to further economic liberation agendas.[xv] According to Mbembe (2002: 629) nativism and Afro-radicalism are "discourses of self". The former is the privileging of native inhabitants of a country or region over immigrants.

Nativism is evident in slogans such as "Africa for Africans", for example. By using the same vocabulary and categories employed by hegemonic discourses, nativism is able to subvert and decentre these discourses (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009).[xvi] According to Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009: 66), Afro-radicalism is the belief that:

> [C]itizenship in post-apartheid South Africa was to be rooted in black communal identities, values, and virtues. A true citizen of South Africa was to be an 'Azanian' fully compatible to the right of African people to self-rule and the reclamation of all their ancestral land.[xvii]

The naming of the one section of the Woodstock Hospital, *Azania,* indicates that residents also draw on Afro-radicalism to affirm not only their identities but their citizenship. In so doing, residents not only assert they belong in the city/country but also de-centre discourses, from an Afrikaner nationalist standpoint, which link citizenship to (solely) whiteness. It is from this intellectual strand that the "reclaiming the city" discourse emanates. Within this discourse, the true citizens are referred to as the "sons and daughters of the soil" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2010: 66). Thus, there are residents whose, as Agozino (1999: xv) notes, struggle for self-determination includes the realisation of Africans' rights to land and mineral resource ownership. This argument draws on Pan-Africanist thought, which entered South African public discourse in the 20th century.[xviii] Reddock (2014: 59) defines Pan-Africanism[xix] as the:

> [C]onscious identification with Africa and critique of European domination and racism, as well as […] the mutual responsibility of persons of African descent dispersed throughout the world, to each other, wherever they may be located.

Pan-Africanism is both a quest by the continent for the end of Africans' subservience to colonial masters, the assertion of the importance African interests, and a quest for an identity and the restoration of dignity by Africans both on the continent and in the diaspora (Legum, 1965; Ackah, 1999). Residents' self-identification as *abahlali* as opposed to occupiers is a redefinition of occupations as a political struggle for dignity, as Mignolo and Walsh (2018) note. Since July 2020, the images of Bulelani Qolani being dragged naked from his shack in Empolweni, Khayelitsha by law enforcements officials during eviction proceedings have been used to frame discussions on the multi-dimensional (mind-body-soul) nature of the experience of eviction. But, as S'bali (interview, 22 November 2017) muses, each day is a struggle to retain one's dignity given the lack of privacy within shacks: Sihlala nabantwana abayi-four so akho privacy esiyenzayo ngisitsho, yonk'into kufuneke uyenze apha, uyabona? *[We live with four children so there is no privacy, I'm saying you must do everything here].*

According to Legum (1965), Pan-Africanism's superstructure is underpinned by a number of themes, namely: (i) alien and exile, that is, feelings of oppression, persecution, rejection and dispossession; (ii) sense of a lost past; (iii) African personality (negritude); (iv) rejection of inferiority; (v) Black solidarity; (vi) Africa for Africans, and; (vii) ambivalence towards the West. As a "movement of ideas and emotions" (Legum, 1965: 14), Pan-Africanism has evolved since the 1800s in response to racial prejudice in the United States of America. Today, it is no longer purely about place of birth and skin colour. It is also a struggle for self-determination, within which history is used, as in the third wave of occupations (cf. chapter 1), as the basis of political engagement (Stolten, 2007).[xx,xxi]

Pan-Africanist thought has been employed not only by residents but by South African-based social movements more generally with the aim of liberating the nation and instilling a sense of self-respect, dignity, and unity amongst all African people (Campbell, 1994; Munslow, 1999; Ndletyana, 2014). Pan-Africanism disrupts the grand colonial narrative that indigenous, African communities were merely recipients of imported intellectual traditions without intellectual or philosophical traditions of their own. Moreover, Pan-Africanism seeks to bridge the dichotomy between searches for Black identities to serve as positive role models in either post-independence Africa and the Caribbean or amongst Black people in the developed world, namely musicians, sportspeople, and actors to mention a few (Ackah, 1999; Munslow, 1999). Consequently, and as Ackah (1999) argues, Pan-Africanism is a project of recovery of being (in racial identity) much like Garveyism. But Garveyism and Pan-Africanism, which embodies Garvey's ideas, have been critiqued for their belief that individuals or collectives can base their sense of being solely on 'race' or racial identity. The oft cited examples in the literature illustrate how Black people, namely soldiers and Black elites for example, have been complicit in the victimisation, continued oppression and underdevelopment of their own people.[xxii] Residents criticise particularly the political elite, particularly members of the two biggest political parties – the African National Congress (ANC) and the Democratic Alliance (DA) – of being complicit in reproducing inequality largely due to them being out of touch with residents' lived realities and by virtue of their age as the majority of senior government officials are in their 50s and 60s. With almost no representation by their peers in Parliament, it is unsurprising that youths are the majority of participants in the occupations.

Youth participation in occupations is unsurprising given the history of youth participation in politics in South Africa. A pivotal moment in this history is the 1976 Soweto Uprising. As Maldonado-Torres (2016) notes, the youth are considered the future. This future orientation, which also highlights the

temporality of occupations, is an integral element of conscientisation efforts. As Skosana (2020: online) states during a live Facebook broadcast, "we are in conversation with you but we are also in conversation with future generations". However, this conversation is also with past generations who are repeatedly called upon through various spiritual, religious, and cultural practices to guide residents. Many of these cultural and spiritual practices can be classified under the banner of *African Traditional Religion*.

5.4.2.1 African Traditional Religion

The term African traditional religion[xxiii] refers to the endogenous religion(s) of African origin (Awolalu, 1976a, 1976b). Dopamu (1991: 21) defines African traditional religion[xxiv] as:

> [C]ompris[ing] the religious beliefs and practices of the Africans which have been in existence from time immemorial, and are still adhered to today by many Africans which have been handed down by their forebears.

Widely condemned by missionaries during the early colonial period, African traditional religions and spirituality encompass a wide array of beliefs and practices, which are grounded within local communities not formal church bodies (Norris and Inglehart, 2004). It is, therefore, unsurprising that a traditional healer's *ndumba* (hut) is located, rather symbolically, practically in the middle of Graceland for example. These beliefs and practices are underpinned by indigenous[xxv] value systems. Consequently, African traditional religions are characterised by a strong association with one's ancestors, the environment, and the soil. It is between these natural and supernatural elements, including a Supreme Being[xxvi] that African traditional religion seeks to maintain cosmological harmony and equilibrium (Awolalu, 1976a; Kaunda and Kaunda, 2019). This concern has been echoed by various residents, particular those of isiXhosa heritage, who argue against that the apartments, instead of free standing houses, hinder them from effectively communing with the ancestors through various practices such as slaughtering of an animal as this practice requires the animal's blood to be spilt onto the ground within the yard. The need for personal yard space (cf. section 4.1.2.1.1) for these purposes has seen Graceland residents protest against the proposal to develop apartments, instead of free-standing houses on the plot. As lawyer and activist Luleka Flatela (2018) argues during a land debate, these practices which are integral to an Africanist perspective and way of life must determine the manner in which (land) restitution occurs. In agreement, Professor Lungisile Ntsebeza (2018) states, during a talk at the Decolonial Winter school, that it is necessary for land to be reorganised and rethought through synthesised cultural normative frameworks as the residents have done. These

frameworks are the synthesis of the normative frameworks of those who have and those who have not (ibid.). Through these synthesised frameworks, the land question is no longer a political or economic question. It also becomes a cultural question.

Thus, African traditional religion delineates specific human relationships to the land within which belonging itself becomes a practice that is realised through occupation and various spiritual and cultural practices. Kaunda and Kaunda (2019) argue that this eco-relationality, from an African traditional religion perspective, is premised on the notion that the land belongs to a Supreme Being. The land is, furthermore, under the guardianship of the ancestors. Consequently, and as Yalae (2008) argues further, land is inalienable and all should benefit equally from it. Furthermore, in this worldview it is argued that "people belong to the land" not vice versa (Kaunda and Kaunda, 2019: 92).

Land is, therefore, central to human interaction with a Supreme Being as an earlier quote intimates and wealth creation. This (human) relationship with the land and, consequently with a Supreme Being, has been disrupted by colonialism and apartheid (Kaunda and Kaunda, 2019). This does not mean that African traditional religion is no longer practised. As Mndende (1994) argues, there is a level of continuity, not a static state, between the practice of African traditional religion today and yester year. Opoku (2013: 67) refers to African traditional religion as an "enduring heritage". It is important to note, however, that in the present day the practice of African traditional religion has been Christianised (Mndende, 1994). That is, its observance has been altered through its encounter with Christianity (see section 5.4.3.3) to such an extent that African traditional religion "no longer remains in pristine form anywhere in Africa". This, Lephakga (2013, 2015) notes, has led to further disruption of the relations that Black Africans have with their ancestral lands as well as a loss of Being (or self). This loss of Being has influenced both the resurgence in the practice of African traditional religions in the present day and amplified calls for political conscietisation such as those made by residents. It has also influenced the adoption of several intellectual traditions, namely Black Consciousness and Pan Africanism in later parts of the twentieth century.

Through various rituals those who practice African traditional religion communicate with the ancestors who, in turn, serve as intermediaries between people and a Supreme Being (Mndende, 1994). The rituals include, but are not limited to, rites of passage, thanksgiving ceremonies, funeral rites, and ceremonies to appease the ancestors, to mention a few. Thus, African traditional religion is intimately woven with various moments and aspects of life even the seemingly mundane ones. For many of the residents, these rituals are a part of daily life with, for example, a song or prayer being

offered and *imphepho* (liquorice plant) being burnt before a meeting begins. As Pobee (1976: 5) argues that each of these rituals as well as dreams, art, myths, dances, and proverbs to mention a few, "constitute the scriptures of pre-literate [African traditional religion] and are by and large, oral traditions".[xxvii] Furthermore, and as Opoku (2013: 67) argues, it is through the residents' experiences in addition to the "experience and deep reflection of our African forebears" that African Traditional Religion is (re)birthed. It is also through experience and reflection that indigenous political thought is also (re)developed. It is to a discussion on the various currents within South Africa's intellectual terrain, of which indigenous political thought is a part, that the chapter turns. The intellectual and theological currents discussed in the next section have also had a profound influence on 20th century social movements in South Africa, broadly, and on residents' activities across the four cases.

5.4.3 The 'Triple Heritage'

South Africa's intellectual terrain has indigenous, Islamic, and Western legacies. This 'triple heritage', as Mazrui (1984) and Nkrumah (1963) [xxviii] refer to it, continues to have a significant influence on political activities, including planning, across South Africa. In the preceding section, part of the indigenous legacy, namely African Traditional Heritage has been discussed. The other part of this legacy – indigenous political thought – is discussed in this section which also discusses the Islamic and Western legacies, namely Christianity and feminism. It is to a discussion of these that the chapter turns.

5.4.3.1 Indigenous African Political Thought

A second part of the indigenous legacy of South Africa's intellectual terrain is indigenous political thought. According to Martin (2012: 1), the term African political thought[xxix] refers to the:

> [O]riginal ideas, values, and blueprints for a better Africa that inform African political systems and institutions from the ancient period (Kush, sixth century BCE) to the present.[xxx]

The term indigenous African political thought, as Martin (2012) further notes, refers to the ideas developed by Ibn Khaldûn, Ibn Battuta, and Leo Africanus amongst other scholars. The works of these scholars informed the governance structures of ancient empires and kingdoms, namely Songhay, Egypt, Kush/Nubia, Ghana, Kanem-Bornu, Mali, and Axum. Indigenous African political thought makes no distinction between the secular[xxxi] (read the state) and the sacred in the conceptualisation of

political power (Martin, 2012).[xxxii] This gives rise to specific state-church relations that differ markedly from the state-church relations in liberal democratic societies. Consequently, as Aminzade and Perry (2001: 155-6) argue, "religious and sacred elements figure in social movements and other types of contentious politics". As noted above, the church has figured significantly in occupations. For example, churches such as the Kilombo Way of Life Village and the Sea Point Methodist Church continue to serve as venues for key meetings held by residents. Even within occupation sites, space permitting, room is created for the practice of key rituals such as the initiation of new sangomas in Graceland.

Indigenous African political thought is founded on a relational worldview and culture. Behrens (2010) argues that this stems from:

> An ethic that values harmonious relationships between humans and other, particularly, living aspects of nature, based in the belief that everything in nature is interconnected and interrelated.

As Behrens (2010) further notes, morality is also understood in terms of relationality. That is, it is also understood as enmeshed in a web of relations between living and non-living entities. The notion of *Ubuntu[xxxiii]*, which is expressed as *umntu ngumntu ngabantu* (a person is a person through persons) in several Nguni languages captures this enmeshment. Consequently, and as Kaunda (2021) argues, community is the locus of eco-relationality. An individual's value and dignity is intrinsically tied to the common good (Gould et al., 2019; Metz, 2011). This, according to Nkrumah (1970) and Nyerere (1968), is the basis of communalism in Africa. Second, within indigenous African political thought property rights are communal (Martin, 2012). Bromley (1991) highlights that common property (*res communes*) must not be conflated with open access property[xxxiv] (*res nullius*). Ostrom (1999) notes that common property regimes have a longer history than private property regimes.[xxxv] Ciriacy-Wantrup and Bishop (1975) further note that institutions based on a communal property rights regime have and continue to play an important role in natural resource management. However, and as Quiggin (1988: 1081) notes, common property rights are only effective if "they can be enforced both against intrusion by persons outside the groups of common owners and by abuse from within the group".[xxxvi]

Although informal land occupations are experiments that operate at a smaller scale, the occupations can and have been likened to the Paris Commune.[xxxvii] By organising and mobilising themselves in order to take over the delivery of housing into their own hands, residents have designed a place-based, social experiment that treats urban land as the commons. This common property regime, as Ciriacy-Wantrup and Bishop (1975) note, gives residents a greater role in the management of the city's natural resources. The cases disrupt processes, such as gentrification, which have very little

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transformative potential (Healey, 2009). These processes have resulted in the continual displacement of working class residents in Woodstock to the city's periphery. As Herron (2018b) notes during a presentation on the City's housing policy shift: "[s]patial planning in post-apartheid South Africa has continued to entrench Apartheid's economic exclusion patterns". In Khayelitsha, the rise of micro-developers[xxxviii] has led to an increase in backyard rental prices in the area even though some of the properties being rented do not have any improvements. This is in contrast to McGaffin et al's (2019) findings highlighting that backyard rental prices are only increased once improvements to backyard structures are made. For example, a male resident (personal communication, 20 October 2020) laments that he had a hard time finding a backyard space to rent because prices have risen so sharply. Some housing owners are now charging a minimum of R800 for someone to put up their own structure in their backyard. The increase in backyard rental prices has led to the displacement of former tenants who cannot afford to pay the increased rentals. Consequently, displaced residents like those who have decided to venture from home and establish their own households have very few options but to occupy land.

The occupations, as Harvey (2011) argues, disrupt the idea that alternative property regimes, besides the private property regime, can be used to manage urban land. In fact, residents go so far as to highlight that the private property regime was introduced by colonial settlers. However, residents' thinking and governance of the commons sways from conventional thinking about the commons that Harvey (2011) laments juxtaposes private-property solutions, which limit control of land to the property owners against authoritarian state intervention. The residents do so by, as Ostrom (2015) notes, establishing structures to manage common property resources for the benefit of the collective and individuals. Therefore, governance within occupation sites works on a temporal scale as Cram (2011) notes. Different people are in charge at different times of the year or periods because the tasks to be fulfilled are different. On each site, a leadership structure is elected on an annual basis. This gives rise to struggles, on each site, for these positions. It also gives rise to struggles in instances where a group of residents on a particular site feels that they are not represented by the leadership structures. In the Woodstock Hospital, for example, such struggles have led to the separation of residents living in the section of the hospital referred to as Azania from those living in Cissie Gool House (the main hospital section; see figure 7.4). Interestingly, this cleavage mirrors racial cleavages within broader society. It pits Black African residents, who reside in Azania against Coloured residents who reside in the main hospital section. As Mazibuko (interview, 26 October 2019) notes, "you cannot run away from the fact that in South Africa you cannot speak politics and land issues without raising

race issues. That is impossible". Yet, other residents argue that their movements are non-racial, non-sexist, and non-partisan.
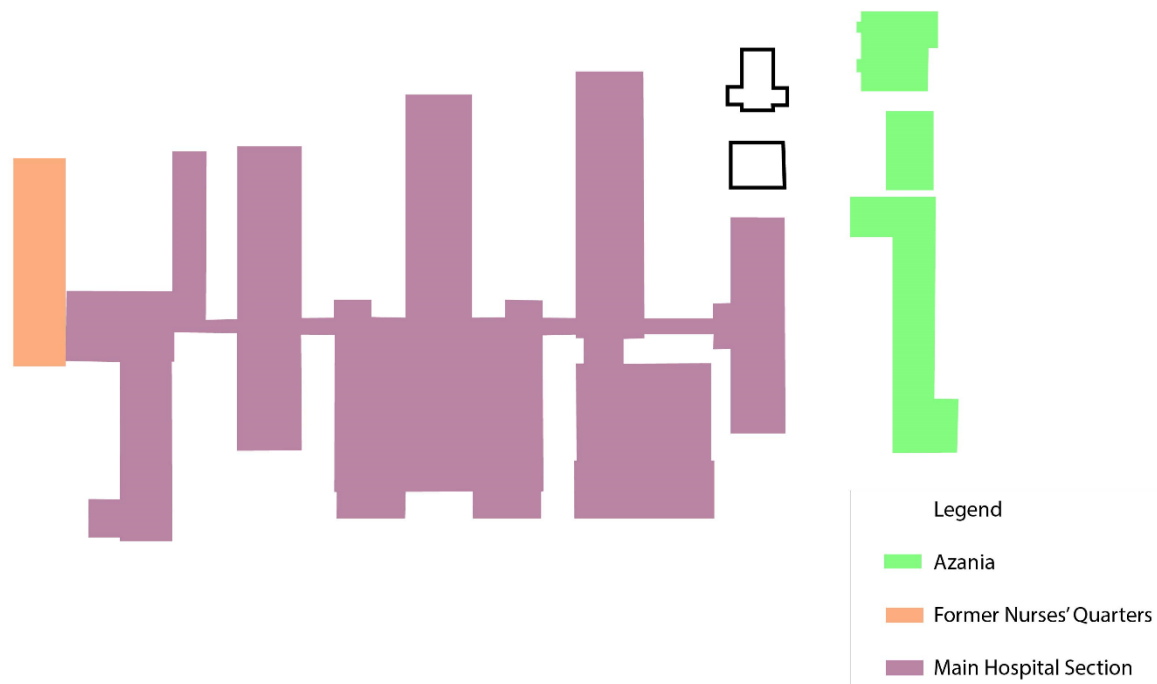
Figure 5.4: The different sections of theWoodstock Hospital occupation

By breaking the rules, so to speak, and treating vacant or underutilised land as commons, the cases give rise to an external struggle to govern said commons as Dietz et al. (2003) note. This struggle not only plays out in each site through the arrival of law enforcement agencies to conduct raids or surveillance (Xolani, interview, 27 November 2017) but also in the courts and on the streets. For example, the RTC residents, with the assistance of Ndifuna Ukwazi have made repeated appearances in court to fight against their eviction by the City. Graceland residents have also seen their struggle to determine both the nature of development that will occur on the site and the development's beneficiaries go to the courts. However, without any legal representation, their case was heard whilst they were waiting outside on the court steps (Xolani, interview, 27 November 2017).

The residents' daily activities and struggles within and without occupation sites, as Harvey (2011: 103) contends, "create the social world of the city". That is, they create a cultural commons within which the global commodification of property, particularly housing, is vehemently challenged. Specifically, this cultural commons highlights the manner in which the hegemonic individual property regime is unable to meet working class residents' common need for affordable housing – be it for rental or to own. There are a few residents who are willing to pay rent within social housing developments, should

such opportunities become available. Social housing is government-subsidised, rental housing for households earning between R1,501 – R15,000 per month. Rent for social housing units is determined by how much an individual earns. Noting this, Thozama Adonis (2019) states: "We know that people have to pay rent, we won't stay for free. We will pay". Other residents, on the other hand, want fully-subsidised housing (Zola Booi, 2017: online). Others still want plots of land so that they can build their own houses (Lindsay Maasdorp, 2017: online). These different positions highlight conflicting rationalities (cf. chapter 2) between different groups of residents as Ngwenya and Cirolia (2020) found.

5.4.3.2 The Islamic Legacy

Matthee (2008) notes that Islam[xxxix] was introduced to South Africa when the first Muslim slaves arrived at the Cape of Good Hope in 1667.[xl] Haron (2014) notes the important contributions by Shaykh Yusuf al-Khalwati[xli] and Qadi Abd-us-Salam[xlii] (d. 1807) even though Shaykh Yusuf al-Khalwati's contribution towards shaping Muslim engagement in South African politics is contested. Both figures contributed to the establishment of an "overtly politicised Islamic parallel authority" in Cape Town (Matthee, 2008: 66). However, and as Naudé (1985) argues, credit for the establishment of Islam in South Africa and for shaping Muslim engagement in public life (read politics) must be attributed to former slaves, particularly those who were involved in the *Viyezwarten* (*Free Blacks*) movement. As a result of their efforts, the colonial government changed its policies in order to, first, free Muslim slaves. Second, policies were changed to allow those who had been convicted of minor offences to relocate to the Cape from the Eastern Batavian Empire[xliii] once they had completed their sentences. Lastly, and in response to efforts by the *Viyezwarten movement*, the government published an ordinance[xliv] in July 1804 permitting religious freedom. This ordinance enabled Muslims to publicly practice Islam (Naudé, 1985). This ordinance also enabled continued institutionalisation of Islam, a process which began in 1780 when Abdullah ibn Kadi Abdus Salaam[xlv] transcribed the Quran from memory. But, the doctrines were transmitted orally.

Matthee (2008) argues that the long term political strategy adopted by most Muslims, and Christians, in the 19th century is assimilationist. This strategy has been shaped by "Cape nineteenth century liberal values, environmentalist conceptions of racial difference, Christian and Muslim discourses about the equality of people, and the idealisation of the dominant bourgeois culture" (Matthee, 2008: 78).[xlvi] It must be noted that although assimilationism is an influential strand within Islam, Christianity and the Pan-Africanist movement, African cultures, religions and political thought have not been completely replaced by the western (read the colonisers) corollaries. Abidogun (2014: 18), speaking of the

experiences of the Black diaspora, argues that a duality exists whereby elements of the coloniser's culture(s) are drawn on when necessary to "meet the survival needs of the larger society". The argument for assimilation is made most strongly by intellectuals and political elites (Munslow, 1999).

A number of organisations including the Muslim Youth Movement (MYM), the Qiblah[xlvii], the Call of Islam, and Al-Jihaad to mention a few have carried forward socio-political and Islamist ideas to support resistance to the political system put forward by young Muslims, together with Imam Abdullah Haron (Matthee, 2008).[xlviii] The MYM, Qiblah, and Call of Islam[xlix] represent more mainstream ideological positions within Islam. Günther and Niehaus (2002) note that unlike the MYM, Qiblah and the Call of Islam have clear political aims. The MYM shifted from its initial strategy to Islamise South Africa to a strategy of "positive neutrality". Tayob (1995) states that this strategy enables the MYM to take part in struggles without committing to particular political ideologies or organisations. Günther and Niehaus (2002) further note that this strategy also enables the MYM to accommodate the disparate political standpoints of its members, such as the ANC, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), and the New Unity Movement (NUM)[l] that have also influenced Muslim organisations and activists. Similarly, the residents' have adopted the principle of non-partisanship. As Timbela (interview, 22 November 2017) argues:

> If you are from PAC, DA or COPE [Congress of the People][li] you can come to the organisation. But, there's a but on that. Don't come influence the organisation with party politics agenda *(sic)* you must be on the programme. If I say now, we're gonna block the road next to the Khayelitsha Magistrate's Court, you must come to us and we block the road. If we're arrested, then when we're all arrested don't say 'no I'm a COPE or ANC [member]. I can't be arrested'.

Matthee (2008: 96) notes that the majority of Coloured and Indian Muslims have continued to support "quietist positions and non-involvement in politics". Those who are involved in politics have, for the most part, maintained the attitudes of Muslim organisations in the 1980s (Günther and Niehaus, 2002). Nevertheless, it is worth noting as Martins (2012) does that Islamic discourses have exerted significant influence on indigenous African political institutions, particularly those in Eastern Africa. However, as Naudé (1992) argues, the relatively small size of the Muslim population pre-1994 means that its influence on the political arena in South Africa has been limited.

5.4.3.3 The Western Legacy - Christianity

With respect to the contemporary triple heritage, Masuku (2014) argues that Hinduism must be considered as part of this heritage since it has a high number of followers. But, as Masuku (2014) further notes, Hindus fought apartheid through organisations outside of their religious structures. Despite not having direct prophetic messages to the apartheid government, the two Hindu movements in South Africa at the time reinforced the need for the recognition of the divinity of all humans and their unity (Sooklal, 1991; Masuku, 2014). As Sooklal (1991: 84) notes, this association of humans with divinity gives rise to an "identity that transcends all relative differences of ethnicity, culture, nationality, and so on". Whilst Hinduism, has had a smaller impact on South Africa's intellectual terrain in the 20th century, western religions namely Christianity which also recognises the "being as the image of God", have and continue to have significant influence on political activities.

Kaunda and Kaunda (2019) note that institutional Christianity, specifically Afrikaner Calvinism, has been and continues to be an influential intellectual current in South Africa. Matthee (2008) notes that Christian identity not only unified the culturally diverse – German, French, and Dutch – white population, it also offered them psychological, material, and symbolic advantages. But, as Lephakga (2015) further notes, Christianity provides the ethical and moral foundation for colonialism, particularly the enslavement of Black Africans, which was based on a "sense of divinely inspired superiority" (von Veh, 2012: 5). Institutional churches such as the Dutch Reformed churches not only supported segregation but tried to legitimise apartheid as well.[lii] Egan (2014) argues that this support emanated from narrow, fundamentalist readings of certain scriptures in the Bible, and the appropriation of nationalist Reformed theology. This is the ideological base, as Walshe (1991) argues, upon which majority of the white-dominated churches sat, unable to speak out (loudly) against capitalism, racism, and the empire.[liii] Consequently, and as Walshe (1991) further argues, there was a noticeable absence of clergy during the launch of the Defiance Campaign in 1952.

As churches increasingly became a site of struggle, prophetic Christianity's fight against apartheid became more resolute.[liv] By the 1980s, prophetic Christianity was better articulated and offered a broader base of support for anti-apartheid activists. *Prophetic Christianity* is a theology that is:

> Characterised by a respect for African communal values, a preferential option for the poor, and a commitment to the analysis of social sin – that is, of the structures and effects of race and class exploitation.
>
> (Walshe, 1991: 37)

Walshe (1991) argues that prophetic Christianity originated from the 1960 Cottesloe Conference, which was held in the aftermath of the Sharpeville Massacre. Its ontological foundation contradicts

apartheid. Egan (2014) argues that in the 1960s and 1970s, Christian intellectuals in South Africa broke from European and conservative traditions. These scholar-activists have embedded theology into the liberation agenda. As Walshe (1991: 34) further notes, the prophetic Gospel is founded on the "good news that in Christ, God had broken down the walls of division between God and man, and therefore also between man and man". Therefore, Christians are called to "work for 'the salvation of the world and of human existence in its entirety'" (Walshe, 1983: 61). This strand of black theology can be found in the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) whose theological foundations were developed by theologians such Bonganjalo Goba, Allan Boesak, Manas Buthelezi, and Sabelo Ntwassa (Walshe, 1991). As von Veh (2012: 8) argues, these theologians spread a "biblically based critique of racism and other colonial policies that erode indigenous cultures".[lv] Drawing on the works of BCM leaders such as Steve Biko and Fanon, activists and residents strive to awaken the emotive sensibilities of residents and affirm Black people's humanity and dignity by imbuing blackness with positive meanings particularly at a moment in time globally where Black lives continue to be treated as though they are disposable.

In Graceland, Mthunzi 'Ras Moziah' Zuma was shot and killed on the 28th of May 2017 whilst he along with other residents were barricading one of the roads bordering the site. A few weeks later, Philela Gilwa, who was also an activist supporting Graceland residents was stabbed during an altercation. This altercation did not occur on the Graceland site. In March 2018, Zamuxolo 'Rasta' Dolophini one of the residents at the Helen Bowden Nurses' Home was stabbed and died from these injuries in hospital. His death was, sadly, followed by the tragic shooting Ayanda Denge in her room in the Helen Bowden Nurses Home in March 2019. These tremendous losses continue to be felt. They did, temporarily slow down mobilisation as residents' fears for their personal safety heightened. As Themba (interview, 25 August 2017) notes, the loss of lives resulted in "a dark cloud hanging over this thing […] that's really going to affect people's psyche and the resolve to continue with the whole thing". It has affected some activists and supporters of the occupations in Graceland and Silvertown to such an extent that they are no longer a part of the movement. Agreeing, a homeowner (interview, 22 November 2017) observes: "bayoyika ukufa okungaka. Lento ayina nyaka le iqalile, zinyanga but sokusweleke abantu abayi-two" *[they are scared of so much death. It hasn't even been a year since this thing [occupation] started, a few months but two people have died].* A former occupation supporter (meeting, 22 October 2017) states: "Hayi! Asifuni ukuva ngalento. Yaphela […] We lost two very important people because of landawo [Graceland]" *[No! We don't want to hear about that. It ended […] We lost two very important people because of that place].* Here, the former supporter is making reference to the deaths

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of Mthunzi 'Ras Moziah' Zuma and Philela Gilwa, who were intimately involved in the land occupation processes in Graceland.

Although the loss of life is still felt strongly, aspirations for long(er) term occupation of each site remain. These aspirations are exemplified by the investments into the construction, retrofitting, and repair of buildings on each plot as residents become more settled on each site (cf. chapter 4). However, the impermanence of the auto-constructed dwellings in Graceland and Silvertown, which is a result of the nature of the buildings materials used—namely zinc sheets, wood, and plastic—pose a real threat to residents' lives should a fire break out, as Perlman (2016) argues. This threat, which is also across all four occupations because of the nature of some of the materials used to subdivide spaces within each building, has been realised in the Woodstock Hospital and in Silvertown. On the 2th of January 2022 a fire broke out in the Woodstock Hospital. Eights rooms on the third floor were damaged as a result. In Silvertown, however, the damage caused by a fire on the 20th of October 2018 was more extensive. More than 300 households were left homeless. Whilst residents have since rebuilt their homes using building kits provided by the City through the *Emergency Housing Programme*, the fear of a fire breaking out again remains since houses remain densely packed and others are made of flammable materials. Speaking to Smit (2018), Vulisango Mbela (2018) states: "it's going to be difficult again. We will lose everything again".

As a "Christian theology of liberation" (Maluleke, 1998: 60), Black theology is both public and political. It has elicited a different range of responses from activists, the most radical of which is to reject Christianity completely. Highlighting the links between Black poverty and the observance to Christianity by Black people, this group argues for the need for knowledge co-creation to develop "emancipatory methods that take what the people know seriously" (Cooper and Ratele, 252). Others call for a more tempered approach, through the correct interpretation and application of the Bible (Maluleke, 1998). Regardless of which of these two positions adopted, the religious leaders that have led many of the civil rights movements in South Africa draw, like Dr Martin Luther King, on Gandhism[lvi]. As Mazrui (1986) notes, Gandhi's messages, particularly Gandhi's messages on civil disobedience and passive resistance, are considered to be one of the closest approximations of Christian ethic.

Passive resistance in the form of strikes, boycotts, civil disobedience, sit-ins, and marches has been a key strategy that is used by social movements since the 1940s.[lvii] Gandhi's passive resistance[lviii] is related to a form of non-violent resistance referred to *Satyagraha* (the force of truth).[lix] Dhupelia-Mesthrie (2014: 197) argues that *Satyagraha* contains several ideas about how individuals should live

their lives. These include, choosing a simple life instead of seeking material comforts, working towards poverty alleviation, fighting for the welfare of all, loving one's enemy, and "living in harmony with the environment". Thus, *Satyagraha* enables the linking of personal (inner self) development to political and social activism (ibid.). Yet, as Brown (1993: 233) argues, Gandhi did not have a "clear blueprint for political action for people in other turbulent times and places". Hence, whilst passive resistance as a strategy is still used today, Dhupelia-Mesthrie (2014) argues that the notions of 'conscience' and 'truth' espoused by Gandhi have since been replaced by the notions of 'democracy' and 'equality'. However, the repeated reference to conscientisation activities highlights the contrary; Gandhi's notions of 'conscience' and 'truth' have not been totally eclipsed by the notions of 'democracy' and 'equality'. But, as Dhupelia-Mesthrie (2014) argues, it is used selectively when it is believed it will be effective.

The 'triple heritage', is the zenith of an earlier triple heritage of indigenous, Greco-Roman, and Semitic, namely Judaism, legacies. Shimoni (1988) argues that the South African Jewish community has played an important role in the country's cultural and economic development. This influence stems from the intra-communal stance that unifies the different strands of Judaism in South Africa (Gross, 2014). In the political arena, as Mazrui (1984) notes, it is the story of the Jews' release from Egypt that has inspired African nationalists such as Albert Luthuli[lx]. Interestingly, the Dutch see their trek north to escape British control as similar to this journey by the Jews under the leadership of Moses. Shimoni (1988: 6) notes that the patterns of the Jewish communities' political involvement "reflect[s] their acculturation mainly to the English-speaking segment of society". It is important to note, as Hellig (1986) does, that contemporary Judaism is characterised by conservative traditionalism. But, as Shimoni (1988) also notes, a number of prominent Jewish individuals joined the white opposition against apartheid. These individuals, nevertheless, reflected a minority sentiment within the Jewish community.

5.4.4 Modern African Political Thought

The establishment of African political thought as a field of study coincided with the attainment of independence from European colonial rulers by a number of African countries in the 1960s. Modern African political thought, though, was developed in the late nineteenth century by scholars such as James Africanus Horton, Edward W. Blyden, and Kwame Nkrumah (Martin, 2012; Mudane, 2018).[lxi] Martin (2012) notes that some of the ideas put forward by these seminal thinkers have been articulated by politicians in various texts, namely policy statements, speeches, and autobiographies.

Some of these ideas have been captured in various slogans and catchphrases. However, and as Clapham (1970: 1) argues:

> [A]ny attempt to use such ideas to interpret or explain political reality raises acute problems concerning the relationship between the actual practice of politics and the language which its practitioners use to describe it.

Scholars examining this distinct system of thought focused initially on *African nationalism* and *African socialism*. Before we define African socialism, it is necessary to understand what socialism is. Lange (1938: 73) defines *socialism* as an economic system "which socialises production alone". Socialists aim to establish a system characterised by equality of opportunities for political influence, social status, and human flourishing and welfare. This is to be achieved through centralized (economic) planning, ownership, and production except for labour (Lange, 1938; Verdery, 1996). However, and as Roemer (1994) contends, the fall of communist states[lxii] has led many to believe that socialism is not possible even as an ideal. However, this belief has not swayed African leaders. According to Akyeampong (2018), therefore, African socialism is a "search for an indigenous model of economic development". This search has seen many countries adopt African socialism as a goal in their social and economic policies (Mboya, 1963; Mohan, 1966). But, as Akyeampong (2018: 70) notes, the countries that adopted African socialism upon gaining independence were quick to stress that they were not Marxist or communist. This is despite, first, Roemer's (1994) assertion that socialists adopt the Marxian definition of 'human flourishing'. Marx juxtaposes the notion of human flourishing with that of the incomplete and contradiction ridden notion of political emancipation. Whilst the latter has been achieved to varying extents across the world, the former has not (Leopold, 2007). Second, the denial of links with Marxism or communism persists despite Engels' ([1908] 2012) observation that it is Marx's materialist conception of history that has enabled socialism to become a science.[lxiii] Thus, as Metz (1982) concludes, socialism and, inter alia, African socialism must be understood as a descendent of Marxism.

African socialism's main advocates included Julius Nyerere and Leopold Senghor[lxiv] whose work was developed in an intellectual context that, Metz (1982: 377-8) argues, was characterised by:

> (1) the ethics of pre-colonial Africa which were based on humanistic values and often on an egalitarian method of production and distribution; (2) the colonial past which challenged the ethics of the pre-colonial system with those of capitalism; and (3) the present, representing a stage of incomplete synthesis, mixing elements of the colonial and pre-colonial past.

Not only is African socialism considered to be the key to economic self-reliance, it is also argued to be central to nation-building (Mohan, 1966). Nation-building, as an ideological project, is undertaken through education (read conscientisation) in order to unite individuals of different backgrounds (Akyeampong, 2018). As discussed above, conscientisation efforts are central to the 'reclaiming the city' discourse (cf. section 5.4.2). Second, within African socialism the liberation of specific countries is argued to be part of the broader political project of decolonisation of the entire continent. Part and parcel of this process is said to be the "revival of the cultural values of an African past" (Akyeampong, 2018: 78). Overall, as Mohan (1966) argues, African socialism affirms Africa's distinctiveness, ideological and political independence, its rejection of oppressive ideologies, and its eclecticism.[lxv] Residents' calls for political conscientisation are part of broader efforts to build a collective identity are based on African socialism. Efforts are made to maintain cultural values and ways of being from the pre-colonial and early colonial era. But, despite its rejection of oppressive ideologies, African socialism has remained largely silent on the question of gender. To interrogate this question, scholars and residents have turned to African feminisms.

5.4.4.1 Black African Feminisms

Moffett (2014) notes that African feminisms[lxvi] specifically, and proto-feminist philosophies broadly, fully entered South African intellectual thought in the late twentieth century.[lxvii] Thus, it is difficult to discuss feminism in South Africa without discussing women's contributions in the fight against apartheid. But, as Hassim (1991) cautions, we must make a distinction between feminist organisations and women's movements in the global South context. Often, and particularly in South Africa, feminism is "blurred with activism by women" (Moffett, 2014: 219). The former is a political organisation that actively fights all forms of patriarchy and women's oppression. The latter, such as the ANC Women's League, on the other hand, whilst "organising on the basis of their identities as women" may, due to their conservative nature, not address questions on power (ibid., p. 72). As Hassim (1991) argues, this has reinforced patriarchal relations. Moffett (2014) further notes that patriarchy remains unchallenged, for the most part, under the guise of 'culture'. This has, however, carved space for feminist movements to challenge existing women's organisations. Feminist movements have also challenged African nationalism, which like other forms of nationalism, is gendered (McClintock, 1991). McClintock (1991: 105) argues that within nationalist discourses men are given:

> [P]rivileged access to the resources of the nation-state […] The needs of the nation are identified with the needs, frustrations, and aspirations of men.

Consequently, women are materially excluded from the national body politic. To counter this, a movement advocating for women's liberation grew in the 1950s. One of the pivotal moments in the history of women's movements in South Africa is the August 9, 1956 women's march. On that day, up to 20,000 women from across the country[lxviii] marched to the Union Buildings in Pretoria to protest against proposed amendments to the *Urban Areas Act.* The government wanted to extend pass laws to include women.[lxix] Although the women failed to prevent the introduction of this amendment, the march signals the pivotal role women have and continue to play in the political sphere. The march also gives us the opportunity to think about women's influence (intellectually) on the BCM and other resistance movements in the country. Moreover, it gives us the opportunity to centre women such as Phyllis Ntantala (1920 – 2016) and Ellen Kuzwayo (1914 – 2006) amongst others in political struggles. Despite the seminal contributions these women have made to our intellectual traditions, they continue to be treated as marginal figures because of the inherent sexism in scholarship (Moffett, 2014).

Fayola (2019) notes that feminism and planning have been in conversation with each other for years. However, as Fayola (2019) further notes, Black feminism is absent in mainstream planning conversations. According to Collins (2009: 39), Black feminists aim to realise a just society through a "process of self-conscious struggle that empowers women and men to actualise a humanist vision of community". Black feminist thought lays emphasis on the connection between power and knowledge. This connection, according to Collins (2009), extends beyond national boundaries. Acknowledgement of the global nature of the connections between power and knowledge necessitates that we acknowledge the broader context within which Black feminist movements are fighting for social justice. Ultimately, this raises questions about Black women's positionality within the global Black feminist movement. As a critical social theory that takes the form of poetry, music, and essays, Black feminist thought "is designed to oppose oppression" (Collins, 2009: 9). That is, and as Collins (2009: 9) further argues, this collective body of thought seeks to "find ways to escape from, survive in, and oppose prevailing social and economic injustice". Black feminist movements – both within and without political organisations – have been actively campaigning for full citizenship since the apartheid era. The campaigns by these movements have progressed over time, in a non-linear manner, from a demand for inclusion to a demand for transformation (Hassim, 1999). As Kolawole (2002) argues, in order to address gender inequities in Africa feminist movements have heeded the specificities of the cultural and historical contexts. Consequently, and as Mekgwe (2003: 16) notes, African feminist discourse:

[T]akes care to delineate those concerns that are peculiar to the African situation. It also questions features of traditional African cultures without denigrating them, understanding that these might be viewed differently by the different classes of women.

Writing on Black feminisms, Fayola (2019) argues that community knowledge and experiences must be at the heart of processes being used to identify intersectional oppressions and community activism. The intersection of oppressions in South Africa has enabled various groups to come together to fight apartheid. For example, opposition politics in the 1980s have been characterised by efforts to mobilise women for the national liberation struggle not for women's liberation (Hassim, 1991). Mobilisation efforts have also brought religious communities, grassroots organisations, women's organisations, and Marxist groups together (Moffett, 2014).

Despite the recognition that multiple identities intersect to give rise to very specific experiences of oppression for women of different backgrounds, the notion of 'gender privilege' has yet to be interrogated to the same extent as the notion of 'racial privilege'.[lxx] Thus, as Moffett (2014: 222) further argues, gender equity has come to be understood as the:

'[S]oft' liberal notion that women should have the same rights as men, without necessarily scrutinising or destabilising the position afforded men, or the patriarchal social structures that underpinned gender relations.

It is partly for this reason that the courts play a pivotal role in securing and extending women's rights. As Albertyn (2005: 217) argues, the Constitutional Court and the Supreme Court of Appeal, in particular, have passed several judgements that "have begun to redraw some of the social boundaries of inclusion to extend rights protection to the private sphere and to a wider set of relationships". However, as Banda (2006) notes, the power of the law to change behaviour is limited. Nevertheless, women continue to experience high levels of violence against their personhood, particularly where the issue of land is concerned. As Kaunda and Kaunda (2019: 90) argue:

Land issues are sources of racial violence, and at worst violence against women and children […] Women, especially black women, have historically been marginalised in various aspects of life. With marginalisation, there has also been exploitation and violence, and land tenures are another aspect where women's lives are met with violence.

This violence is emblematic of the failed marriage between women and government in South Africa (Moffett, 2014). Women are still, as McClintock (1991: 105) notes, only symbolically included within nationalist discourses as active members of national movements and community organisations or "bearers of the nation".

5.5 Conclusion

Residents do not only draw on the (Western) intellectual strands that underpin radical/insurgent planning and communicative/collaborative planning. Rather, they draw on several indigenous and Western intellectual and theological streams the majority of which have shaped South Africa's intellectual terrain in the 20th century (Vale et al., 2014). It is this element of the foundation that makes it difficult to define the cases strictly as forms radical and insurgent planning or forms of communicative/collaborative planning. Yes, they can be understood – to an extent – in terms of the radical/insurgent planning and communicative/collaborative planning theories but it is not solely from their bottom-up nature or their quest for (spatial) transformation that the radicality exhibited in informal land occupations originates.

It is from these additional intellectual foundations that the radicality of informal land occupations emanates. These intellectual and theological strands focus not only on the material (land or housing) but also the immaterial (being). In fact, these alternative foundations go so far beyond linking the two together by arguing that they are inextricably linked to each other *and* the divine/spiritual. Put differently, these alternative foundations highlight the interdependence between humans and nature as well as between natural and supernatural elements. With this in mind, it becomes clear(er) that through the discursive struggles discussed in chapter 4, residents are not only changing the conversations about the potential of underutilised or vacant land in the city, they are also changing the conversation about themselves. They are also re-humanising conversations on basic service delivery and (spatial) inequalities and injustices in Cape Town, which are often reduced the number of units required to meet demand. In so doing, residents are imploring the City to do away with 'governance by numbers' in favour of a model of governance characterised by dignity and care for fellow humans.

Informal land occupations offer a glimpse into eco-relationalities that cannot be theorised solely from within the Western canon or captured adequately in current discourses on '(spatial) transformation'. And, it is these eco-relationalities that informal land occupations offer us a glimpse of once we begin

engaging with the broader questions of being and belonging (read narrowly as 'citizenship'). However, as has been shown in this chapter, the extent to which these eco-relationalities can be realised is limited. This is because, first, informal land occupations are structured by all kinds of exclusions and inequalities which are in many respects gendered. Whilst, as a female Graceland resident (personal communication, 15 October 2017) states, women bear the burden of living in inadequate housing. It is for this reason that they proactively participate in occupation related activities including mobilisation. Yet their participation remains largely unacknowledged by men who end up outnumbering women in leadership structures. Second, these eco-relationalities may not be fully realised since residents utilise the very same mechanisms, namely rights discourses and the courts, to make and sustain claims to land, their humanity and dignity.

	ASSESSMENT CRITERIA DERIVED FROM THE LITERATURE	SUBSIDIARY RESEARCH QUESTIONS DERIVED FROM THE ASSESSMENT CRITERIA	SUMMARY OF RESEARCH FINDINGS
Social Mobilisation Tradition	Politics of disengagement Proper planning will maximise benefits for all Confrontational politics Direct action from below	How do social movements mobilise and sustain momentum? What is the role of leaders of social movements?	Through continuous mobilisation of new members, support and resources as well as re-mobilisation of existing members through campaigns Leaders play two roles: mobilisation and organisation of movemement activities
	Transformative agenda	Do the visions informal land occupiers hold of occupied spaces constitute utopias?	Occupiers' visions do constitute utopias. However, these visions have not been effectively realised on the respective sites.
Communicative/Collaborative Planning	Entanglement of process and outcome Planning as a collaborative activity Model of deliberative democracy Emphasis on civic engagement, dialogue among stakeholders and consensus-building on appropriate course of action A just process will lead to a just outcome		Conflicting rationalities exist between and within the various groups of actors. Between government actors, the conflict of rationalities is rooted in divergent political agendas. Amongst occupiers, conflicting rationalities reflect striations amongst occupiers along income lines (between those who have an income and those who do not). The conflict of rationalities between government actors and occupiers is centred on whether or not expenditure on occupation sites is a worthwhile investment or wasteful expenditure.
Radical Planning	Not always oppositional		
Radical & Insurgent Planning	Citizens as planners for themselves Insurgent urbanism Politicisation of planning Advocating for social transformation Operates in the interstices of space and power		Occupations are considered by residents as 'resistance to' the status quo that is founded on colonial and apartheid logics as well as capitalism.
Heteretopias	Indicative of real contestations of space Juxtapose several uses in a single space Function(s) evolve over time		Occupation sites can be considered heterotopias to the extent that they: (i) symbolise the contestation for space in Cape Town, and (ii) are ineffectively realised versions of residents' visions for the city.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This thesis examines the processes through which claims to vacant or underutilised land and made and sustained in Cape Town, South Africa. In particular, this thesis examines the processes within four cases of informal land occupation, namely Graceland, Helen Bowden Nurses' Home, Silvertown, and the Woodstock Hospital. Consolidating the findings presented in chapters 4 and 5, this chapter answers the main research question. This is followed by a set of recommendations for professional planners and policymakers in Cape Town, specifically. The chapter concludes with a reflection on this study's limitations as well as a delineation of further avenues for research.

6.1 Answer to the Main Research Question

The main research question asks: *What strategies and tactics are used by residents to claim and sustain urban spaces in Cape Town, South Africa?* The findings illustrate that residents use a range of direct strategies and tactics, including occupation itself and discursive struggles to claim and maintain claims to various pieces of land across the city. A key strategy, which is integral to the establishment of residents' discursive repertoires, is *political conscientisation*. Efforts to raise fellow occupier's awareness of the systemic and historic roots of the challenges they face in the present day are being undertaken in all four occupations. Efforts to (politically) conscientise and educate residents are being undertaken across all four sites. These conscientisation projects seek to liberate residents from mental enslavement thus regaining control of their subjectivity and knowledge. This is accomplished by introducing residents to delinked logics that, first, reposition residents at the centre from the margins and (re)affirm their dignity. Second, political conscientisation also gives residents insights into how to disrupt the Western world's privileges by shifting the biographies and geographies of knowledge. These shifts allow for the questioning of established meanings, and conceptualisations of the body and human experiences. In particular, these shifts allow for the questioning of the worldview that is at the heart of colonialism; a way of seeing the world that enables the subject-object distinction which is the basis of western property regimes. This subject-object orientation also enables for a level of abstraction that obscures the qualitative interdependencies between humans and the land that are integral to many residents' worldviews. Therefore, by embarking on conscientisation projects, residents are re-centering their worldviews and an African sense of self.

Other strategies used by residents are protests, marches, and sit-ins. These strategies, which are similar to those used by social movements, particularly those fighting against (social) injustice since

the 1940s in South Africa, are oftentimes posited as being the only responses that residents have to engage with the state and realise their rights to access to adequate housing and related basic services. These rights create a normative benchmark from which people advocate for change. It is upon this normative benchmark that a particular vision of the 'good' city – a (spatially) just and inclusive city in which the past injustices have been satisfactorily addressed, and all citizens being is (re)affirmed – is developed. This collective ideal, which is yet to be realised, is constructed on the basis of what residents know in this moment in time, including the experiences of their ancestors, and what they argue is feasible. It is this ideal that also spurs efforts by both the state and residents to address the legacy of colonialism and apartheid. The attainment of this ideal will lead not only to the improvement of the residents' quality of life through the access to formal housing, it will also lead to the restoration of residents' dignities and indigenous eco-relationalities.

The visions that residents' have of the occupation sites do, in many respects, constitute utopias as they are predicated on ideas of "ideal spatial form[s] for human society" (Baeten, 2002: 144). The residents' visions for a (spatially) just and sustainable precincts (cf. chapter 5) require, to varying extents, the reorganisation of both space, particularly the interstices, and people. Although, as I note below, occupations are fiercely and, often, violently resisted by government, we have witnessed residents' impacts on planning primarily in the form of the release of eleven sites for the development of social housing in the inner city. The residents' impacts on state-led planning can also be seen in heated debates in the media, including social media, on how state land should be used to fulfil governmentsl 'and restitution, redistribution, and housing-related mandates. The residents' visions bring them together to act collectively on the basis of a few key strategic issues around which residents have mobilised themselves. Although residents are aware that due to their lack of financial muscle, so to speak, they hold less power in a number of situations. However, they are aware that this does not make them completely powerless. The power residents hold is used to gain an audience with ward councillors in the respective neighbourhoods. During these meetings, residents hold councillors to account. This has had varying levels of success as some councillors are not easy to get hold of. In such instances, residents have devised new strategies for influencing planning processes. These strategies include litigation, sitting in on Council meetings, and lodging objections to development applications through the Municipal Planning Tribunal. Through all these strategies residents have been challenging the City's management, or the lack thereof as some residents might argue, of spatial changes across Cape Town. In so doing, residents are embedding different ideas about how spatial change can, and should, be managed not just by the City but by all major stakeholders.

But, as the findings indicate, residents are aware that the strategies they employ may not yield the desired results given how harshly the government usually reacts to residents' activities. Although the strategies employed by residents are non-violent, the response by law enforcement officials is often violent. Water cannons and rubber bullets have been used by law enforcement officials on occupation sites to disperse residents during protests in Graceland and Silvertown, in particular. Law enforcement officials have conducted a number of raids in the Woodstock Hospital, often in the early hours of the morning. Law enforcement officials are also often called in to remove residents when they gather outside the courts or when they stage sit-ins during Council meetings or auctions of state-owned property. Second, residents are also aware of the manner in which current state-led planning praxis aids the market to reinforce these legacies not only at a metropolitan scale but also at the global scale. This adds to the complexity of planning; which residents contend is an inherently political activity. As an instrument with which to achieve political goals, planning is thought to be complicit in the maintenance of the colonial and apartheid spatial legacy by residents. Indeed, as discussed briefly in chapters 4 and 5, state-led planning in South Africa has been pivotal for the realisation of the apartheid government's segregation agendas. In the present day, planning maintains this legacy in its operation as a handmaiden of capital, as exemplified by the contested trade-offs that the City makes when it disposes of its property (without adequate consultation) to private developers. Such contestation highlights, as McCann (2001) notes, that planning is a site of struggle in and of itself.

6.1.1 Contested Problem Definitions, Conflicting Rationalities

For residents, legitimate problem-definitions are those which acknowledge the historical and systemic nature of the housing backlog and the injustices they face in the present day. Consequently, residents argue that the root cause for their homelessness is the displacement of their forebears by colonialists in the 1600s. This has been compounded, first, by the forced removals of their families by the apartheid government in the 1950s and 1960s to further the segregation agenda (cf. chapters 4 and 5). This has been compounded further by their displacement in the present day by global market forces. According to residents, present day homelessness and, subsequently, occupations are symptoms of these systemic and historically grounded forces, which operate at both the local and global levels. Whilst residents do sometimes argue that the democratic government is to be blamed for the slow pace of housing delivery. The apportionment of blame on the present day government does place them at loggerheads with government officials.

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Although there are moments of consensus between the state and residents such as the example cited above, there are conflicting rationalities between the two groups. The key conflict of rationality centres around the question of whether or not government should invest money to improve conditions on occupation sites. Whilst residents across all four sites argue that the state is obligated to provide them with basic water and sanitation services in particular, government officials argue that the provision of such services constitutes wasteful expenditure since said services will need to be torn down when construction of the formal housing begins on each site. This assertion has not deterred residents from making their own investments to connect themselves to the water and sanitation grids. The second conflict of rationalities stems from the question of whether or not residents qualify for government-subsidised housing. Government officials argue that not all residents qualify for government-subsidised housing be it fully-subsidised BNG housing or social housing. Residents, on the other hand, argue that they do qualify for housing on the basis of their need and as evidenced, for many, by their registration on the housing database. Some government officials question this need, arguing that occupations are being used by criminal elements to either jump the housing waiting list or destabilise governance within the City. Once again, residents dispute this assertion arguing that they are neither criminals nor working with criminal elements.

Simultaneously, there exists several conflicts of rationalities between government actors across and within the different spheres of government. Some of these conflicts stem, in part, from the push to deliver housing at scale; a drive, which given the nature of existing housing subsidy mechanisms exacerbates urban sprawl. This drive goes against the desire expressed in the SDF to make the city more inclusive, compact, and increase densities within the existing urban footprint. However, given that cheaper land lies on the urban periphery, the dwindling nature of resources, and some residents' desires for free-standing houses, it seems that this drive will continue. Second, conflicting rationalities also exist between officials within the City. Although some officials – both elected and non-elected officials – support the idea that vacant and under-utilised land and buildings that are owned by the state, particularly in the inner city, should be used to provide (social) housing for those in need, others argue that the land should be sold, at market rates, to the private sector in order to generate revenue to subsidise service provision for poorer residents across the city. This conflict of rationalities is underpinned, in the case of some officials, by the perception that certain types of housing, namely BNG housing, does not belong in the inner city (read wealthier suburbs). This is despite the inner city being a designated restructuring zone[i], which necessitates the development of medium density, multi-unit social housing complexes. This leads us to the final conflict of rationalities between government actors. It is a conflict around who is responsible for housing delivery. Although the City of Cape Town

is designated as a Category A municipality, which can plan and develop its own housing projects, there are some officials within the City who argue that housing delivery is not the City's responsibility. Other officials, at the local sphere, argue that the City does have a responsibility to develop houses. These conflicts of rationalities, together with the fear of negative audit outcomes, have contributed to the slow pace with which housing delivery in the inner city is occurring.

Lastly, there are also conflicting rationalities between residents. First, there is disagreement between different groups of residents about the nature of the housing product to be provided. As the findings indicate, this conflict is between residents who currently have some form of income and those who have no income at all (besides a social grant). The former, are happy for the government to provide them with social housing, which they can rent. The latter group, on the other hand, want fully-subsidised housing as they do not have money for rent. There is an additional conflict of rationalities between residents who do not mind living in apartments and those who want free-standing houses. This conflict of rationalities has seen development in Graceland being stalled. Additionally, within the group of residents who want free-standing houses, there is no consensus about who should build those houses. Some residents argue that the state should build their houses, whereas other residents have stated that they are will build their own houses. That is, this set of residents simply want serviced plots. This, interestingly, is in line with the current policy shift within the human settlements department.

6.2 Recommendations

The key, interrelated recommendations put forward in this section are distilled from the research findings. This list of recommendations is intentionally not exhaustive in order to maintain the adaptability and flexibility that is emblematic of informal land occupations. As such, the first set of recommendations put forward below are directed at planners within the local government and elected officials. First, and as the research findings show, the radicality inherent within informal land occupations stems from their foundation in both Western and indigenous theological and intellectual thought. This foundation has yielded an ontological position that embraces the intertwined and interdependent character of nature, humans and the divine/spiritual, namely a Supreme being. This necessitates, on the part of the City's planning officials, the development and incorporation of alternative worldviews and sensibilities into SDFs. That is, we must think about and understand the city from Western and indigenous perspectives. These perspectives can potentially provide insights into more contextually informed responses to the wicked problems the city currently experiences. It

also necessitates improving public participation processes to ensure that more individuals, particularly marginalised urban residents, can participate meaningfully in these state-led processes without too much effort and cost on their side or closure of citizen-led participation processes.

Related to the point above, the research findings demonstrate that, for many residents, ward councillors are inaccessible. The findings further indicate that most residents find it very difficult to contact their ward councillors. Therefore, if ward councillors are more easily available, it will be easier, on the one hand, for citizens to share their diverse, changing interests with ward councillors. This will enable residents to participate in state-led processes as, in theory, ward councillors are based in their constituencies. But, this is not to assume that all residents want to take on this additional responsibility. As the findings indicate, not all residents have the capacity to do so given the myriad of responsibilities on their plates. It is simply to make the option available for those who would like to exercise it. On the other hand, it also makes it easier for ward councillors to report back to their constituents on council meetings and resolutions in a timeous manner as mandated by various bodies of legislation, specifically the *Municipal Structures Act,* the *Municipal Systems Act,* and the *Batho Pele White Paper*. That is, provided ward councillors are extensively trained on how to facilitate inclusionary planning and decision-making processes. It is also imperative that prospective ward councillors be vetted to ensure that they not only possess the competencies required to fulfil their mandates but that they also understand the municipality's planning and infrastructure provision processes.

Third, it is necessary for policymakers at the national government level to rethink and reframe the dominant understanding of the terms *spatial justice* and *spatial transformation* within policies. Whilst there appears to be broad consensus on the need for these principles, as part of a broader project addressing the colonial and apartheid legacies, the meaning infused into these terms will determine the steps to be taken in order to achieve these goals. The findings indicate that the dominant thinking is that in order for spatial transformation to occur, affordable housing needs to be developed in wealthier parts of the city, namely the CBD. However, as the findings also indicate, not all residents necessarily want to live in the CBD especially if they must live in apartments as this will further disrupt their established livelihood strategies, as well as spiritual and cultural practices. Hence, as these findings suggest, the realisation of spatial justice for some citizens will have to be undertaken in what is considered to be the urban periphery. The findings also suggest that we need to further the debate on what constitutes 'well-located land'. In particular, there is a need to broaden the definition of this

concept, accepting that economic considerations are not necessarily the primary concerns for many residents when deciding where to live.

Fourth, the finding that it is possible to retrofit existing vacant or underutilised buildings to make them more suitable necessitates the development of policies to encourage such practices, which stand in contrast to the practice of developing new buildings even on brownfield sites. Current policies and by-laws support, in the main, the retrofitting of existing buildings to make them green(er), which is often narrowly construed as energy efficient.[ii] Therefore, there is scope for policies to be developed to broaden the spectrum of retrofitting activities across the city. This may prove key to increasing the pace of affordable housing delivery. However, this must be accompanied by the development of new or refinement of existing housing subsidy mechanisms to ensure that housing developers can also access financing in order to undertake this alternative form of development at a greater scale. Overall, the findings urge professional planners and architects, amongst other built environment professionals, to think differently about the lifecycle of buildings within their municipal boundaries. It also urges planners to think differently about 'left over' spaces across the city, particularly if the goal of densifying the existing built environment is to be realised. However, this thinking must not be done by city officials alone. It must be done together with as many citizens as possible to ensure that the resultant vision and plans offer residents a springboard from which they can actively be and live in a diverse range of ways.

Fifth, although residents' visions for the occupation sites are fairly well articulated, there is a need for a clearer articulation of how these visions are nested within the SDF. Integral to this articulation is the development of a (spatial) plan for each site, with a budget and implementation plan. This plan can be co-developed with neighbours, and local government officials who, ultimately, will be involved in approving the plans and financing certain aspects of the plan. The development of such a plan may require consultants to facilitate the process. One of the consultants must be a skilled mediator so that they can facilitate the development of a negotiated plan that offers something for everyone.

Lastly, there is a need for occupation leaders to develop more inclusive mechanisms for mobilisation in the digital realm. Given the restrictions of face-to-face interactions and limitations on the size of gatherings in light of the COVID-19 pandemic, occupation leaders have had to shift mobilisation activities online.[iii] However, given the high data costs and the fact that a significant number of

residents are unemployed, there are many residents who are not connected to any social media platforms. There is, subsequently, a great risk of mobilisation activities as well as pivotal information not reaching these residents. Subsequently, occupation leaders must devise strategies to ensure that these residents are included in mobilisation activities. Furthermore, occupation leaders must also devise strategies to address misinformation (popularly referred to as *fake news* in recent years) which is easily shared online. As the findings indicate, misinformation has resulted in many instances in de-mobilisation by instilling fear amongst residents. Thus, it is necessary for occupation leaders to devise strategies to counter it.

6.3 Avenues for future Research

Given that the focus and outputs of any research such as this thesis are primarily directed by the main research questions and time considerations, it has not been possible to explore additional avenues of research that arose during the course of the research journey. One of this research's key contributions is the finding that the radicality of informal land occupations stems from its intellectual and theological foundation on African indigenous and Western thought, not necessarily its quest for (spatial) transformation or its bottom-up nature. This foundation, in turn, supports specific constructions of our relations to land. These eco-relationalities serve as the basis for challenges to current property ownership regimes in the form of informal land occupations and, to varying degrees, in the form of calls for land expropriation (with or without compensation). There is, therefore, a need to examine the extent to which informal land occupations constitute a decolonial planning approach. Here, decolonisation is understood not simply as de-westernisation but as part of a broader collective project of epistemic and aesthetic restitution.

Second, the findings illustrate that residents draw on rights discourses as articulated in the Constitution and use the courts, for example, as one of their sites in the struggle to maintain their collective claims to land. Yet, these are the same mechanisms that the private sector and government utilise to maintain private property rights. There is, therefore, a need to conduct research on the suite of alternative approaches that are required to buttress the commons from a policy and regulatory perspective. Such a research endeavour can be linked to research on: (i) the legitimacy of indigenous law in South African cities where there are no communal areas under politically recognised traditional authorities, and; (ii) alternative forms of land ownership. The findings indicate that some of the occupation sites resemble 'commons', to an extent. There is a need, therefore, to examine how in

urban contexts such as Cape Town (or elsewhere in the global South) these alternative, more bottom-up, approaches of property ownership and management existing laws and regulations need to be amended in order to support them. This research can also examine the additional laws and regulations that are required to support these alternative property regimes. This research can also examine what state-led planning needs to be in order to support a more relational approach to land given the state's current harsh response to citizen-led planning activities.

Third, and given the recommendations above, which aim to improve local participatory practices by, amongst other avenues, making ward councillors more accessible, there is a need to revisit Benit-Gbaffou's (2007) argument on the impacts of the limitations on ward councillors' powers on local participatory processes in Cape Town. According to Benit-Gbaffou (2007) these limitations lead to incompetence and the development of alternative social orders such as clientelism. Therefore, in pursuing this avenue of research one can examine the kinds of social orders that have arisen in specific cases across the city. There is also scope, within research examining these social orders, to unpack the extent to which professional planners assume that presence equates to participation. The findings illustrate that the residents' presence in occupation sites does not necessarily translate into participation in occupation-related campaigns as evidenced, partly, by the need for continuous re-mobilisation.

Fourth, informal land occupation has been a feature of Cape Town's landscape since the 1830s when a l'aissez-faire approach to governance was in place. This approach turned a blind eye, so to speak, on informal land occupations. During the apartheid era, however, tighter restrictions on population movement curbed informal land occupations. Still, there were moments during the history of informal land occupation in Cape Town when the rate of informal land occupations peaked noticeably. Therefore, another avenue of research is concerned with the specifics of the political moments in which each wave of occupations occurred. It is imperative we ask, and compare, what it is about each specific moment in history that has led to people mobilising and occupying land at such heightened rates. That is, this research could compare and contrast the triggers – both local and international – of the four waves of occupation.

Lastly, the findings indicate that it is potentially more cost-effective to retrofit existing vacant or under-utilised buildings for the purposes of social housing. This needs to be examined in greater detail,

with the costs of retrofitting being compared to the costs of building new buildings of various types on both greenfield and brownfield sites. The findings of such research can help to structure future subsidy mechanisms to finance retrofitting of buildings as part of the housing programme. More importantly, the findings from this research could also help policymakers establish the business case for the retrofitting of existing buildings, particularly government-owned buildings, for housing purposes.

6.4 Reflections: Unlearning to Relearn

I am a young, Ndebele woman; born free yet still a colonial subject. In positioning myself as such I am, as Tuhiwai Smith (1999: 12) notes, "claiming a genealogical, cultural and political set of experiences". This claim brings to the fore the tension between my body-political standpoint, geopolitical positioning, (Western) education, Ndebele heritage, and Christian spiritual upbringing. This tension, as have my experiences, has undoubtedly impacted my PhD journey. Thus, and drawing on my experiences I reflect on the difficult work of navigating Eurocentrism when using Western theory in the global South during the course of my PhD journey.

As a BIPOC individual, I am 'Othered' in hegemonic discourses. Yet, by virtue of my role within academia as a researcher, I am positioned as the 'expert' whilst out in the field. This simultaneous insider-outsider positioning creates tension within me; a tension that is exacerbated by the realisation that in many respects I am complicit in the production of knowledge that can be used to reinforce oppressive structural relations and inequality (cf. Denzin, Lincoln, and Tuhiwai Smith, 2005). For me, this realisation struck early on in my PhD journey when the Ethics Committee saw fit to note in their response to my application for ethics clearance that the University does not provide legal assistance should the need for it arise. This point was raised in relation to the fact that the activities under study – informal land occupations – are illegal. Thus, with this word of caution in mind, I went into the field where I have repeatedly had to confront questions on truth from my personal, cultural, and discipline-related knowledge. This confrontation cannot be avoided when trying to navigate the Eurocentrism of Western theory.

Central to the process of navigating Eurocentrism in my journey has been unlearning – unlearning how I see and hear the world. A key aspect of unlearning is the practice of *self-reflexivity*. By turning the research lens back onto myself (Berger, 2015), and accepting my positionality in relation to the research, I have been able to engage in a more *critical reflexivity*. Mao, Akram, Chovanec and Underwood (2016: 1) define critical reflexivity as:

> [A] form of researcher critical consciousness that is constant and dynamic in a complex spiral-like process starting within our own experiences as racialized, gendered, and classed beings embedded in particular sociopolitical contexts.

This consciousness has helped me to reveal additional insights into how I have shaped the research process and, consequently, the data and the findings (Connolly, 2008). Furthermore, engaging in *critical reflexivity* has enabled me to question how my actions contributed to the continual marginalisation of residents. It has also enabled me to begin reimagining the research processes and tools from a critical standpoint in order to produce and resurface alternative knowledge(s) that is meaningful to BIPOC individuals. The quest for alternative knowledge(s) is an integral part of the (re)learning process that runs in tandem to the unlearning process. In practical terms this requires that I, as Usher (2000: 38) argues, put on "different ears to hear those who speak in a different voice" for indeed the so-called subaltern does speak. That is, it requires that I (re)learn to read resistant texts. Resistant texts are "everyday expressions of endogeneity" (Winkler, 2018: 589) through which systems of oppression and power can be comprehended and challenged (Kessi and Boonzaier, 2017). Through these stories we can make sense of the facts and their meanings (Gabriel, 2004). This is only possible though, as Hallen and Sodipo (1997) advises, if we are listening with the aim of positioning the life and languages of others within their broader socio-cultural milieus. This is in contrast to how we have been taught to listen in research interviews. We have been taught to listen with the aim of analysing and passing judgement. Unlearning this is, however, easier said than done. Nevertheless, it is a practice that I continue to consciously unlearn as I, from a decolonial standpoint, strive to pluralise possibilities of knowing (epistemologies), being (ontologies), and moving through the world.

Undoubtedly, I am not the first BIPOC researcher to be faced with the challenges I outline above (see Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999 and Brayboy et al., 2005). And, in all likelihood I will not be the last. I make no claims of originality in this regard. This reflection captures part of my journey as a young, BIPOC woman trying to negotiate the spatial and hierarchical power/knowledge relations that the geo- and body-politics of knowledge production have positioned her in. By acknowledging my positionality, I am renegotiating how I have been embedded within the prevailing power/knowledge relations. This process of renegotiating is complicated by my constantly shifting positionality. To what extent then, one may wonder, am I engaging in acts of epistemic disobedience? The rather opaque answer to this question is: to the extent that I have shaken off my training (unlearning). That is, to the extent of my ability to "speak 'our own' ways of being" (Mignolo, 2009: 13). The un-/re-learning process I have

embarked on is, and always will be, in progress for as long as Eurocentrism remains ingrained in mainstream academia.

A central component of the unlearning process is asking questions; asking questions of myself, the discipline, and the world at large. One question that I have repeatedly come back to is: what is lost when we narrowly construe various phenomena purely through a technical lens as we are wont to do in the planning profession? Furthermore, how does this enable or constrain our ability to tell different stories about our and others' relationships to land? The findings highlight the need for us as planners, urban geographers, urbanists or however we refer to ourselves, to move beyond the moral and political certainties provided by polarized positions or disciplinary boundaries in order to explore the contradictions, tensions, and conflicting positions that make up the complex lived realities of urban residents. This reality includes the emotional geography (read culture) that we tend to pay not enough, if any, attention to at all in the built environment. To undertake such an examination, pluriversality will have to be the point of departure if we are to get to the myths (about the city) that are not necessarily captured by hegemonic planning theories or that cannot be expressed in planning's precise terms; terms which simplify and abstract. It is our inability to paint current realities, the city, and residents' activities in these terms that closes off the possibilities and opportunities to create truly just cities that are offered by different imaginaries.

6.5 Conclusion

Informal land occupations play a pivotal role in shaping not just the urban landscape but also participatory planning processes in Cape Town. As a complex process, informal land occupations as undertaken in the four cases under study, intimate a new model of planning that not only takes place in spatial and temporal interstices but draws on a number of intellectual and theological currents. Hence, whilst it does meet some of the criteria for radical/insurgent planning, informal land occupation it's radicality stems from its intellectual and theological underpinning that gives rise to eco-relationalities in which the material and immaterial are intertwined. Consequently, informal land occupations also signify a resistance to the status quo. Consequently, residents seek to disrupt this status quo, which has resulted not only in them being repeatedly displaced leaving residents landless and homeless. The status quo is also founded on the backbone of a colonial logic that positions residents, because of their race and income status, as 'other'. In disrupting the status quo, informal land occupations bring into sharp focus the unjust and dehumanising manner in which prevailing social relations position them. The findings indicate that residents use this focus to begin the debates on alternative narratives and practices of belonging and participation that do not necessarily subscribe

to the prevailing 'rainbow nation' discourses that are integral to nation-building programmes. It is important to note, that whilst developing alternative narratives which re-centre residents and their experiences, residents do draw quite heavily on rights-based discourses to support these narratives and their claims to land and housing, amongst other services. And, although residents have invested a lot of time, labour, and money into improving conditions on the occupation sites, the conditions therein are far from ideal. Thus, residents are yet to effectively realise their spatial visions for the different occupation sites.

Some of the repurposed materials used to partition existing rooms or build structures are potential fire hazards. This is compounded by the presence of exposed electrical cables in some parts of the different occupation sites and the lack of adequate water and sanitation facilities. Overall, and given that residents lack tenure security, the conditions on occupation sites are inadequate. The precarious and wanting conditions in which residents currently reside require significant investments in order to realise the ideal. These investments need to be coupled by additional investments by the local government in particular, in order for the broader, city level aspects of the residents' vision of inclusivity and integration to be realised. Despite arguing for greater involvement of (working class) residents in planning processes and governance, residents are aware that they lack the financial resources to deliver basic services at the prescribed minimum levels and to drive (spatial) transformation at the metropolitan scale. It is this awareness that has resulted in the state, and particularly the City of Cape Town, being prescribed a significant role in the realisation of the residents' visions.

	ASSESSMENT CRITERIA DERIVED FROM THE LITERATURE	SUBSIDIARY RESEARCH QUESTIONS DERIVED FROM THE ASSESSMENT CRITERIA	SUMMARY OF RESEARCH FINDINGS	SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS
Social Mobilisation Tradition	Politics of disengagement	How do social movements mobilise and sustain momentum?	Through continuous mobilisation of new members, support and resources as well as re-mobilisation of existing members through campaigns	Reframe the dominant understanding of the terms spatial justice and spatial transformation within policies
	Proper planning will maximise benefits for all			
	Confrontational politics			
	Direct action from below	What is the role of leaders of social movements?	Leaders play two roles: mobilisation and organisation of movememnt activities	
				Development of more inclusive mechanisms for mobilisation in the digital realm
	Transformative agenda	Do the visions informal land occupiers hold of occupied spaces constitute utopias?	Occupiers' visions do constitute utopias. However, these visions have not been effectively realised on the respective sites	
Communicative/Collaborative Planning	Entanglement of process and outcome		Conflicting rationalities exist between and within the various groups of actors. Between government actors, the conflict of rationalities is rooted in divergent political agendas. Amongst occupiers, conflicting rationalities reflect striations amongst occupiers along income lines (between those who have an income and those who do not). The conflict of rationalities between government actors and occupiers is centred on whether or not expenditure on occupation sites is a worthwhile investment or wasteful expenditure	On the City's part, planning officials must incorporate alternative worldviews and sensibilities into SDFs
	Planning as a collaborative activity			
	Model of deliberative democracy			
	Emphasis on civic engagement, dialogue among stakeholders and consensus-building on appropriate course of action			Improving public participation processes to ensure that marginalised urban residents can participate meaningfully in state-led planning processes
	A just process will lead to a just outcome			
Radical Planning	Not always oppositional		Occupations are considered by residents as 'resistance to' the status quo that is founded on colonial and apartheid logics as well as capitalism	Development of policies to encourage the retrofitting of underutilised or vacant buildings for housing use
Radical & Insurgent Planning	Citizens as planners for themselves			
	Insurgent urbanism			
	Politicisation of planning			
	Advocating for social transformation			Clearer articulation and spatialisation of residents' visions for each site. Such articulation should also illustrate how these plans are nested into the SDF and are informed or related to international policy frameworks that have influenced spatial planning in South Africa.
	Operates in the interstices of space and power			
Heteretopias	Indicative of real contestations of space		Occupation sites can be considered heterotopias to the extent that they: (i) symbolise the contestation for space in Cape Town, and (ii) are ineffectively realised versions of residents' visions for the city	
	Juxtapose several uses in a single space			
	Function(s) evolve over time			

Endnotes

Chapter 1

[i] Cape Town, which is located on the south western coast of South Africa (figure 1.1), comprises an area of 2,461km². With a population of 4,004,793 people, Cape Town is the second largest city in South Africa (CoCT, 2016). Cape Town's socio-spatial segregation is a remnant of apartheid spatial planning. This legacy is continually reinforced by both local and global property market trends (Marais et al., 2016; Schensul and Heller, 2011). The result has been the entrenchment of inequality, which is compounded by the slow rate of delivery of affordable housing by government. The current housing backlog in the city is estimated to be between 360,000 and 400,000 units with a projected household growth rate of 1.5% - 2% per annum (McGaffin, 2018). Therefore, the number of individuals in need of housing in the city increases almost daily, at a faster rate than housing developers are able to meet. This is the context within which the informal land occupations, which are the cases for this study, occur.

[ii] Oliver and Oliver (2017) identify four phases in South Africa's colonial history, which they refer to as: unofficial colonisation; phase one of official colonisation; phase two of official colonisation, and; internal colonisation. The term *unofficial colonisation* refers to the invasion and migration of farmers and metalworkers southwards between 400 and 800 CE (Oliver and Oliver, 2017). The first and second phases of *official colonisation* saw the colonisation of South Africa by the Dutch and the British respectively. The last phase of colonisation, that of *internal colonisation,* involved colonisation of the country by Afrikaners via the promulgation of apartheid land laws amongst other discriminatory legislation. For a lengthier discussion on all the phases of colonisation refer to Oliver and Oliver (2017).

[iii] The 1913 Natives Land Act, according to Mabin (2005), was promulgated to enable the addition of land to the former reserves in which the majority of the African population resided as squatters or tenants.

[iv] District Six, which has been renamed Zonnebloem, is an inner city residential area. Until the forced removals, this vibrant neighbourhood was home to working-class individuals – merchants, freed slaves, artisans, immigrants and labourers – of all races.

[v] The Natives Locations and Commonage Act of 1879 (promulgated under British colonial rule) which led to the 1913 Land Act and the 1936 Native Trust and Land Acts (promulgated under Union), which, in turn, led to the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 and the Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959 (promulgated under apartheid).

[vi] Between 1976 and 1981 the apartheid government declared Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei independent. The rest of the homelands remained self-governing but not independent.

[vii] Although it is now widely accepted that race is a social construct and not a biological reality (Andreasen, 1998; López, 1994; Witzig, 1996), it does continue to have significant material impacts on the lives of South Africans, particularly Black South Africans. The term 'Black' is used here broadly as is used in the South African census data and literature to refer to Black African, Coloured and Indian population groups.

[viii] The differentiation of the Black African population was done on the basis of ethnic and linguistic categories defined by colonial ethnographers. The process of locating ethnic and linguistic groups in a specific cartographic space (ethnic mapping/ethnographic cartography) was an integral part of the subject-formation and domination processes of the colonial (Jones, 1997; Worby, 1994) and, subsequently, the apartheid administrations.

[ix] The establishment of Ndabeni was followed by the establishment of what Harrison (1992: 15) describes as a "'model township' for blacks" – Langa – following the 1918 influenza epidemic. Thus, epidemics played a central role in highlighting the untenable living conditions of urban blacks and spurring municipalities to provide housing for this demographic.

[x] *invadere*: *in-* (into) + *vadere* (go)

The term 'invasion' has, for the most part, held on to its meaning since its derivation from the Latin word *invadere*, which means to "enter violently" (Online Etymology Dictionary, n.d.) in the late 15th century.

[xi] As the Surplus People's Project (1983: xiv) points out, the term *squatter* refers to:

> [P]eople living illegally on land without the permission of the landowner. The official use of the term is far broader and looser and it may be used to describe any black person whose presence on a particular piece of land is not approved of by authorities, regardless of the nature of the agreement between the occupant and the landowner.

It has been used to describe people living on white-owned land, on black-owned land, both within and without the Bantustans, on tribal land and on State land".

For a lengthier discussion on squatting in Cape Town, see Ellis et al. (1977).

xii Keith Hart, an economic anthropologist, first used the "informality" concept in the 1970s to describe the "unregistered labour practices of poor city dwellers in Accra, Ghana" (Steenberg, 2016: 295).

xiii Grabouw is a small town located 65 kilometres south-east of Cape Town.

xiv The Khayelitsha Community Trust (KCT) is a non-profit organisation (NPO) that, through a land availability agreement signed with the City of Cape Town, is mandated to develop community, residential and commercial facilities in Khayelitsha. KCT was established in 2003 by the City, and was a municipal entity until 2013 when it was registered as an NPO.

xv The remaining 4 hectares, which will be developed during phase 2 of the development, will consist of gap housing.

xvi See section 5(f) of the Directions issued by the Minister of Justice and Correctional Services on the 26th of March 2020. These directions were confirmed by those published on the 31st of March 2020, which described evictions as a non-essential service.

xvii Ahmed Mohamed Kathrada (1929 – 2017), widely regarded as one of the veterans of South Africa's liberation struggle was one of the accused during the Rivonia Trial (1963 – 4) alongside former President Nelson R. Mandela and Walter Sisulu to name a few.

xviii Whilst initially envisaged as an in-situ upgrading project, the City ended up relocating residents to two undeveloped sites in Makhaza and Town II, upon realizing that they would not be able to accommodate all the residents in Silvertown once the upgrade was complete.

xix Following a reblocking process, the City provided residents with 263 communal toilets across all three sites (179 of these were planned for Silvertown but only 63 were built) during the initial phase of the upgrading project. Unhappy about the provision of communal instead of individual toilets, the residents challenged the City in court. The High Court then ordered the City to provide each household with an individual toilet. See *Beja and Others v Premier of the Western Cape and Others (21332/10) [2011] ZAWCHC 97; [2011] 3 All SA 401 (WCC); 2011 (10) BCLR 1077 (WCC) (29 April 2011).*

xx During the sod-turning event in November 2021, Human Settlements Member of the Executive Council (MEC) in the Western Cape Provincial Government, Tertius Simmers (2021), states that the provincial government will build emergency housing to accommodate not only those affected by the fire but also any other households who might need temporary housing opportunities. In total, 1,542 temporary housing units, of approximately 22m², are to be developed.

xxi The building has been renamed after Zainunnisa 'Cissie' Gool (1897 – 1963), an anti-apartheid political and civil rights leader. Gool, who was the first Black woman to serve on Cape Town's City Council in 1938, is the founder of the National Liberation League and also helped found the Non-European United Front (NUEF).

Chapter 2

i Two approaches to participation – a sociological approach and a political approach – can be distinguished within the literature on participation. Participation is defined in the sociological approach as "taking part in particular social processes" (Carpentier, 2016: 71). This broad definition, which incorporates most types of human interaction including consumption culture for example, is contrasted with the more restrictive definition of participation put forward within the political approach. In the latter, participation is defined as the "equalisation of power relations between privileged and non-privileged actors in formal and informal decision-making processes" (Carpentier, 2016: 72). Whilst the sociological definition does not preclude an interrogation of power within participatory processes, power is positioned as a primary consideration in the political definition. Undeniably, for theorists such as Arnstein (1969), meaningful participation can only occur if power is (re)distributed. It is important to note that although Arnstein's (1969) 'ladder of participation' is one of the more widely known typologies of participation, it is by no means the only one. See Pretty (1995), and White (1996) for alternative typologies of participation.

ii Dados and Connell (2012: 12) argue that the terms southern and global South "[mark] a shift from a central focus on development or cultural difference towards an emphasis on geopolitical relations of power". This shift, as Roy (2016) argues, gives rise to a new relationality of theory. The southern turn questions assumptions about the universality of theories, particularly those that are based on the experiences and ideas of the global North. According to Bhan (2019), we do not know enough about the everyday realities in many parts of the world as a result of the universaliation of theories developed in the global North. The southern turn questions the

assumption that the characteristics of cities across different regions of the globe are so alike that there is no need for the specification of the relevance of ideas for different places. De Satgé and Watson (2018) argue that the subsequent generalisation of theory and policy on the basis of this assumption has resulted in grave planning failures. These failures arise, as de Satgé and Watson (2018: 2) further argue, because:

> [T]hose parts of the world termed the global South are firstly, sufficiently different from global North regions as to require entirely new theoretical concepts and secondly, are still shaped by their histories of colonialism which set them apart from the global North and locate them in particular and ongoing relationship to the global North (and its processes of knowledge production).

For southern theorists, this link between power and knowledge is critical (de Satgé and Watson, 2018). The challenges that make global South cities different from those in the global North include, but are not limited to, rapid urbanisation, resource poor, weak and fractured civil society, urban economies that are primarily informal, and high levels of unemployment, poverty and inequality.

De Satgé and Watson (2018) further argue that the notion of a southern planning perspective is often misconstrued as a geographically bounded approach to theorising that reproduces the global North – global South binary. However, a number of theorists point out that the term 'southern' refers to ideas that are from different parts of the world, not necessarily the geographical South. That is, the term is deterritorialised in order to encompass all relational geographies that call out hegemonies of knowledge and dominant forms of practice. As Mahler (2017: online) notes, the term 'global South' is used to "'address spaces and peoples negatively impacted by globalisation', including subjugated peoples and poorer regions within wealthier countries". As a parallel logic (de Satgé and Watson, 2018), the Southern perspective is still being developed. It has, therefore, failed thus far to establish alternatives. Furthermore, Southern planning theory corroborates aspects of social learning via Watson's (2014) and others arguments on co-production, for example.

[iii] The term *government* refers to the systems that vest power in a group of people to make and enforce laws within a defined territory. The term *governance* refers to the exercise of power, through traditions and institutions, to achieve development goals. Subsequently, the term *participatory governance* refers to the mechanisms through which public (read citizen) participation is realised. Bariechievy et al. (2005) argue that participatory governance is utilised to deepen representative democracy.

[iv] This shift is based, in part, on the observation that the nature of the planning process simultaneously shapes and reflects "dominant conceptions of what places *are* and *should* be like" (Healey, 1999a: 111). Hence, the institutionalisation of participatory planning through planning legislation in most Western-style democracies since the 1940s (Monno and Khakee, 2012). Public participation has been institutionalised in the United Kingdom, whose planning system South Africa's is modelled after, since the system's reform in 1968 (Cherry, 1974).

[v] Friedmann (1973) argues, in the book titled *Retracking America: A Theory of Transactive Planning*, that since neither the so-called experts nor the clients have all the answers, the two groups must be brought together in a process of *mutual learning*. Mutual learning, which was reframed as *social learning* a decade later, is learning by doing. It is also learning by sharing knowledges between 'experts' and residents (hence, 'mutual' learning); or, what is termed 'co-production' in much of the contemporary planning literature. Social learning theorists argue that "knowledge is derived from experience and validated in practice, and therefore it is integrally a part of action" (Friedmann, 1987: 81). Hence, the beginning and end of social learning is action, which is entwined with values, theories of reality, and political strategy and tactics. These four elements constitute *social practice*.

[vi] There are slight differences between the collaborative planning model (Healey, 1999, 2002) and the communicative planning model (Forester, 2006). However, the differences are outweighed by the commonalities, namely that both models draw on Habermas' concept of *communicative rationality*. It is because of this commonality that the models are jointly referred to as communicative/collaborative planning in the literature.

[vii] This planning model stems from criticism of earlier planning models, namely the rational comprehensive planning (RCP). RCP dominated the field after World War II (WWII). It is a decision-centered planning model in which planning is defined as the "correct decision-making concerning future courses of action" (Faludi, 1986: 54). RCP is based on an *instrumental rationality* that is characterised by the belief that objective knowledge can make the world better (Etzioni, 1967; Lindblom, 1959; Meyerson and Banfield, 1964). Within this model planners, as the experts, develop and implement rational and technically sound master (blueprint) plans or policies. In South Africa, the Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) are developed, more or less, within a rational comprehensive framework.

viii Innes (2004) disagrees, noting that this misconception is borne from the assumption that consensus-building is grounded in communicative rationality. Rather, as Innes (2004) argues, it is in interest-based negotiation and mediation practices and theory.

ix Conflicting rationalities are also referred to as *competing rationalities.* Harrison (2006) uses the term *multiple rationalities*, which allows us to examine both points of consensus and conflict.

x Rawls' (1958, 1971) conception of justice is a generalisation and abstraction of the social contract theory advanced by Locke and Rousseau. Rawls (1958) posits that fairness is the fundamental idea in the concept of justice. It must be noted that Rawls (1958, 1999) considers justice as a virtue of social institutions or rather their practices and not of individuals. Rawls (1958, 1999) further argues that justice is but one part of the conception of a good society.

xi The Habermasian conception of justice is a political one (Harbermas, 2005). Habermas (1976) maintains that matters relating to justice (evaluative statements) are also as objective and decidable as empirical ones. That is, evaluative statements are also "knowable or rationally believable only by experience" (Everitt and Fisher, 1995: 73). Furthermore, for Habermas (1976) truth and argument (rationality) are connected. True statements are those which people engaged in a conversation can argue about. For a decision to be considered rational, it must be supported by evidence. Rationality is a cognitive function as Weber (1976) notes. However, and as Campbell (2006: 103) argues, the reliance on practical reasoning (rationality/reasonableness) alone does not give rise to an adequate concept of justice and, consequently, a clear "formula for action" for planners. This is because questions of morality are not addressed in epistemology (Feldman, 2003). The evidence must be presented in descriptive or naturalistic terms alone. Put differently, the evidence must be presented without the use of any evaluative or normative terms (Campbell, 2006). Friedmann (1987) argues that this means scientific and technical knowledge provide simplistic views and understandings of the world. Therefore, the notion of justice cannot be determined through practical reasoning alone (Campbell, 2006). What is just must not be determined only on the basis of evidence (Feldman, 2003). It must be determined and evaluated morally. That is, on the basis of right and wrong or good and bad (Lynch, 1981; Feldman, 2003).

xii This supposition is referred to as the categorical imperative.

xiii Rawls (1971) argues that "[w]e act autonomously when we obey those laws which could be autonomously accepted by all concerned on the basis of a public use of their reason".

xiv An intentional community is defined in this research as a "group of people who have chosen to live together in order to achieve a common purpose, cooperatively trying to create and uphold a lifestyle reflecting their shared core values and ideas of the good society, and underlining their difference from the mainstream" (Kozeny, 1995: 1).

xv Finn (2014) refers to *insurgent urbanism* as *do-it-yourself (DIY) urbanism* to highlight the local (small-scale) nature of most bottom-up interventions in public spaces. The term *insurgent urbanism* is used in this thesis instead to highlight the political aspects of the process, and its relation to citizenship.

xvi Repertoires of contention are the "culturally encoded ways in which people interact in contentious politics" (Leach and Scoones, 2007: 10).

xvii Although often attributed to the activities of the urban poor, the term *quiet encroachment* has been used in reference to activities by the middle class. For example, Bartels (2020) argues that peri-urbanisation, and the subsequent development of informal settlements in the Greater Accra Metropolitan Area's urban edge, is the result of quiet encroachment by the middle class.

xviii The focus is on how urban environments can be re-engineered to mitigate or adapt to climate change. In this literature, retrofitting is a practice which aims to "improve energy, water and waste efficiencies" (Eames, 2011: 2).

xix Robinson (1983: 167) defines Black radical thought (BRT) as the "ideological, philosophical, and epistemological natures of the Black movement whose dialectical matrix […] was capitalist slavery and imperialism". Thus, this (oppositional) consciousness is founded on the collective's experiences of the struggles against race-based systems of oppression.

xx Black abolitionist theories can be traced back to Du Bois (1935), who argued not just for the end of slavery but for racial justice and equality too. However, as Pulido and De Lara (2018: 80) argue, there is growing recognition that present day struggles cannot be "defined by the same spatial-temporal realities" articulated by seminal thinkers such as Du Bois speak about.

xxi Also referred to as 'common property resources' and 'common pool resources'.

xxii This polarization is expressed in Hardin's (1968) *The Tragedy of the Commons*.

xxiii Friedmann (1987) traces the history of planning thought in the global North to Claude Henri de Rouvroy (1760 – 1825) who outlined the provisions needed for the establishment of a new polity. Friedmann (1987) identifies and groups influential figures into one of the four major traditions of planning thought, namely: the social reform

tradition, the policy analysis tradition, the social learning tradition, and the social mobilisation tradition. The intellectual traditions and, consequently, the authors "are placed along a continuum of social values, from conservative ideology on the left-hand side of the figure to utopianism and anarchism on the right" (Friedmann, 1987: 54). Although Friedmann's (1987) four traditions of planning thought are useful for understanding the planning landscape, it must be noted that Friedmann (1987) adopts a teleological understanding of these traditions of planning thought and their relationship. Such an understanding fortifies the notion of "theory as progress" (Allmendinger, 2002: 81). That is, it reifies the idea that social inquiry is cumulative in nature.

xxiv Sir Thomas More (1805 [1516]) coined the term 'utopia', which is a neologism of the terms *eu-topia* (good-place) and *ou-topia* (non-place).

xxv The *Garden City* concept concept integrates the advantages of urban and country living in order to address the (social) ills of the industrial city (Beevers, 1988). Six, self-contained new towns are positioned in a ring around a large main city. Each of the new towns is further divided into wards, which are separated by radial boulevards and designed to accommodate a maximum of 5,000 people each. Land uses are separated within Garden Cities, with work and retail activities being located along the central avenues. Ideologically, the Garden City concept is based on Edward G. Wakefield (1849) and Professor A. Marshall's (1890) proposed organization of population movement, the land tenure system first proposed by Thomas Spence (1775), which was modified by Herbert Spencer (1851), and Buckingham's (1849, 1884) model city (Howard, 1902).

xxvi The *Radiant City* model, which is also referred to as *Ville Radieuse,* was developed by Charles-Édouard "Le Corbusier" Jeanneret (1887-1965) in 1924. The model follows modernist design principles, and is meant to be developed on a greenfield site (tabula rasa). The master plan, whose geometric layout is repeated on a Cartesian grid, is strictly zoned. The residential, commercial, entertainment, and business land uses are separated, with the business district being at the centre of the grid. This model has influenced the design of high-density housing developments across the world. Le Corbusier has brought this utopia to life in Chandigarh, India.

xxvii *Broadacre City*, first introduced by Frank Lloyd Wright (1867-1959) in 1932, is a libertarian community designed for human flourishing (Frank Lloyd Wright Foundation, 2017; Nevlus, 2017). This utopia has very wide streets, consisting of multiple car lanes; streets, and consequently the blocks, are designed in a grid, and; large, widely spaced buildings between ten and one hundred stories tall. The buildings are set back from the roads or sidewalks in order to accommodate some landscaping or paved plazas. Although the concept was not brought to life by Wright, it continues to influence urban planning across the world, particularly in the United States of America (Nevlus, 2017).

xxviii Foucault adopted the term 'heterotopia' from the medical field, where it is used to refer to the "displacement of an organ or part of the body from its normal position" (Sudradjat, 2012: 29). The term is derived from the Greek words 'heteros' and 'topos', which mean other or different, and place respectively.

xxix The term "in-between space" (*zwischenmenschliche*) was coined by Martin Buber (1906). The term was subsequently brought into architectural discourse by Aldo van Eyck (1962).

xxx The term liminal is derived from the Latin word 'limen', which means threshold (Czarniawska and Mazza, 2003).

xxxi van Gennep (1960 [1909]) argues that certain rites of passage have a liminal phase, which, in a number of cultures, boys have to pass in order to become men.

Chapter 3

i Interpretivism is founded on three strands – phenomenology, hermeneutics, and symbolic interactionism. *Phenomenology* is, as Boland (1985: 200) argues, a "way of study that respects the intentionality of actors, the symbolic nature of language and the universal hermeneutic problem". Hermeneutics, as a philosophical discipline, is concerned with human understanding, particularly how ideas and messages are translated, interpreted, and understood within the bounds of existing relations that are meaningful to us. The word *hermeneutics* is derived from the Greek word *hermeneuein* which means to explain, utter or translate. The word has been used by ancient Greek philosophers such as Plato (427-347 BCE) and Aristotle (384-322 BCE), who wrote a treatise illustrating how words – spoken and written – are expressions of inner thoughts. Lastly, *symbolic interactionism* is founded on the premises that: (i) human behaviour in relation to certain objects depends on the meanings that have been ascribed to said objects; (ii) objects and phenomena are ascribed with meanings through social interactions between humans, and; (iii) meanings are (re)inscribed or modified through the actor's interpretive processes as they engage with the object or phenomenon (Blumer, 1969).

ii The second cosmological frame is *theology*.

iii Universalisation is underpinned by the assumption that societies in the global North and the global South are homogenous. Yet, as Rittel and Webber (1973: 167) note, "[i]t was *pre*-industrial [Western] society that was culturally homogenous". Nowadays societies in the global North (read West) are heterogeneous and are increasingly more so as international migration increases (Abel and Sander, 2014).

iv A distinction is made between scientific knowledge (pure science) and its use (applied science). Pure science lays claim to neutrality. Theorists argue that it is, therefore, not subject to moral evaluation unlike applied science. The distinction between scientific knowledge and applied science is, however, tenuous at best as knowing and valuing are construed as "discreet, autonomous, and closed processes within the dominant system of knowledge" (Whitt, 2009: 66).

v The term *African philosophy* is used in this thesis to refer to the:

> [I]ntellectual inquiry which raises universal and particular fundamental questions in relation to African experiences be it in the area of religion, politics, socio-cultural life, morality, art, economy, technology, and intellectual heritage among other aspects of philosophical concerns.
>
> (Fayemi, 2017: 305)

At times, the term is used in a narrower sense to refer to the philosophical texts which have been produced either orally or in writing by Africans. However, it is not used in this narrower sense in this research.

vi The term *ethnophilosophy* is believed to have been coined by Paulin Hountondji (1970) with reference to a brand of African philosophy (Serequeberhan, 1991). However, Ochieng-Odhiambo and Iteyo (2012) argue that the term was first used by Kwame Nkrumah. The term, and the epistemological status it attributes to elements of African cultures in particular, has been challenged by a number of African scholars such as Oruka (1990), Hallen and Sodipo (1986), Gyekye (1995, 1996, 1997), and Masolo (2003) to mention a few. See Hallen and du Bois (2010) and Bell (2002) for a lengthier discussion on this matter.

vii This question is predicated on the assumption that indigenous African epistemologies, and consequently African philosophy, exist. As Higgs (2010: 2414 - 5) notes, the assumption of:

> [A]n indigenous African epistemology or knowledge system, that is, of an African philosophy with a distinctive African epistemic identity is not unproblematic. In the light of Africa's colonial legacy, African philosophy is confronted with the problem of establishing its own unique African order of knowledge.

For a discussion on the question of whether or not there is what I have here referred to as African philosophy and what it is, see Wiredu (1980), Bodunrin (1981), Hountondji (1983), Mbiti (1990), and Kaphagawani and Malherbe (2002).

viii The third and fourth steps in case study research are preparing to conduct case study research, and the collection and analysis data, respectively. The final step in case study research is the dissemination of findings. This is accomplished in a variety of ways, including but not limited to, conventional academic outputs such as theses, journal articles, and book chapters.

ix In some disciplines such as public administration and political science for example, a distinction is made between single case studies and multiple case studies (Yin, 2009). Within these disciplines, the latter are referred to as comparative case methods. These, according to Yin (2009) are stronger than single case studies.

x Kuhn's (1962) socio-historical approach is, for many, an alternative to Popper's (1962) *logic of falsification.* This approach is outlined in Kuhn's (1962) work titled *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions.*

xi Informally occupied buildings are referred to as 'problem' or 'bad' buildings in policy discourses. In the literature, they are referred to as 'hijacked' buildings. For an account of the phenomenon in inner-city Johannesburg, see Winkler (2013), Hoogendoorn and Giddy (2017), Wilhelm-Solomon and Pedersen (2017), and Wilhelm-Solomon (2017).

xii My use of discourse analysis locates this research within planning's linguistic turn. Within this turn, the "role of discourse as a component of urban processes and change" is foregrounded (Hastings, 1999: 7).

xiii Within the planning literature, three strands of analysis exemplify Foucault's (1977) work. These strands highlight how planning is implicated in the circulation of power (Huxley, 2018). That is, they exemplify the dark side of planning. First, power outdoes technically optimal solutions and socially desirable democratic outcomes in planning processes. Second, discipline and surveillance are embedded in planning regulations such as land use regulations, and zoning for example. Therefore, as Huxley (2018) argues, we need to examine the disciplinary and normalising effects at work in seemingly 'neutral' technical regulations. Lastly, power shapes fields of action towards certain ends.

xiv Pansardi (2012) argues, however, that *power over* and *power to* should not be thought of as representing two distinct concepts. Rather, they represent two aspects of a single concept – social power. Pansardi (2012) further argues that the *power over* presupposes a *power to,* without which one cannot exercise *power over* another individual.

xv Alternative social constructionist approaches to discourse analysis include Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), and discursive psychology.

xvi Whilst acknowledging the linguistic differences between spoken and written language, these differences have not been analysed in this research.

xvii The term *intertextuality* is derived from the Latin term 'intertexto', which means to "intermingle while weaving" (Xie, 2018: 1010).

xviii Fairclough (1992b) argues that the use of these two forms of textual analysis can enhance any approach to discourse analysis, not just discourse theory.

xix Thus, through linguistic analysis I can, as Duminy et al. (2014: 2) note, get my research "to speak to phronetic knowledge about how to understand and intervene in urban areas".

xx Martin (2002) argues that unlike other approaches to discourse analysis, discourse theory unveils the political logic of discourse.

xxi There is debate within the literature about whether or not this concept is still useful for critiquing present day society. Beasley-Murray (2003), for example, argues that the concept of 'post-hegemony' is more suitable. See also Johnson (2007), and Lash (2007). In contrast to these authors, I argue that the concept is relevant for understanding power in contemporary societies.

xxii It is worth noting that the size of the focus groups is much less than the ideal, which is argued to be between 4 – 8 participants (Morgan, 2011).

xxiii I am still in direct contact with many of the research participants across all four sites even though, due to the restrictions on face-to-face engagements imposed by the COVID-19 pandemic, we have not seen each other face-to-face for several months.

xxiv Crane (1997) argues that collective memory must be distinguished from historical memory (history). The former is held by specific groups, within which personal memories can be recounted. These groups, which are located in particular places and times, have a living relation with collective memory. The latter, on the other hand, is abstracted from its social milieu and is anchored in chronological and factual frameworks (Halbwachs, 1980).

xxv Transference is not only limited to the research setting. Andersen et al. (1995) point out that there is ample evidence of the application of transference in mental representations of an individual's significant others.

xxvi Interaction can also be conceptualised through the *Behaviour Variables Approach* and the *Behaviour Element Approach*. In the former, the researcher selects behaviours to observe and interrelate to each other on practical or theoretical grounds. Often adopted in applied research, the researcher then uses a *sign-code system* of observation to note the occurrence of the pre-identified behaviours, the frequency of occurrence, or the duration of the behaviour (Medley and Mitzel, 1963). Within the latter approach, social interaction is conceptualised as a "finite set of 'repeatable patterns of behaviour'" (Kendon, 1982: 474-475). Together, the patterns of behaviour that form a sequence such as the periodic table, for example, are studied using *category systems of observation* (Medley and Mitzel, 1963). This system enables the researcher to classify each pattern of behaviour in a sequential manner as well as its on- and off-set.

xxvii The roots of participant observation lie in both late 19th and 20th century social reform movements in the United States and Britain, and anthropogology (Lüders, 2004).

xxviii A Premier is the head of the Provincial Government, which is the second sphere of government. The provincial government sits between the local and national spheres of government.

xxix It is primarily for this reason that I have hesitated to use the term co-production to characterise the relationship between the three residents and I.

xxx Reactivity manifests as either the Pygmalion effect, experimenter bias, or the Hawthorne effect. The *Pygmalion effect*, which is also referred to as the *Rosenthal effect*, is the fulfilment of the researcher's expectations of participants' behaviour. Participants' do better or worse in line with the researcher's expectations of them. Second, *experimenter bias* is the unconscious introduction of bias into the research process through differential treatment of different groups of research participants, namely the control group and the experimental groups. Such bias can be addressed through the use of double blind studies and the standardisation of methods and procedures between the researcher and the research participants, to mention a few.

xxxi This definition is an economic perspective that is centred around publishing and distribution models (Schöpfel, 2010).

xxxii Meeting minutes are, according to Lawrence et al. (2015) considered 'black' literature like emails, letters, personal notes, and conversations.

xxxiii Shrum et al. (2005) further argue that the routinisation of surveillance, for example in the form of security cameras in public places, also plays a role in individuals' willingness to have their interactions or parts thereof recorded. The more pervasive surveillance becomes, the less notice individuals take of recording devices.

xxxiv This is due, in part, to concerted efforts on my part to engage with women having noticed that women were not equally represented in earlier leadership committees. This lack of representation was worsened by a partial withdrawal by some women from the forefront of occupation activities, after they were accused of having mobilised incorrectly. Lastly, I ended up engaging with more women outside of the interviews due to the fact that on many occasions, I went to the occupation sites during the course of the day. At those times, it was mainly women who were on the site fulfilling various duties, including childcare in their homes.

xxxv Frankel and Siang (1999) note, however, that individuals do invest significantly in the pseudonyms they use online as they do in their 'real' identities in the physical world.

Chapter 4

i The Democratic Alliance (DA) is one of the largest opposition parties in the country.

ii Whilst speaking to a journalist Stevens (2014), Green Point Rate Payers Association (GPRPA) chairperson, states: "The Helen Bowden Nursing site contains one of the ugliest buildings in the city – we will be delighted to see it demolished" it remains to be seen whether or not Green Point residents will support the development of social housing on the site. The Helen Bowden Nurses' Home is an example of early modernist architecture in Cape Town. Its raw concrete appearance is not sensitive to the local context as much modernist architecture of the 1960s has been critiqued for.

iii When this statement was made, Herron was a member of the DA. Herron resigned from the DA in 2018 and joined the GOOD party, shortly thereafter.

i This new tagline was revealed in 2014, following a rebranding exercise that raised the ire of many politicians and residents alike due to its exorbitant costs.

ii Following a series of unsuccessful attempts at occupation, the Graceland residents managed to successfully stave off eviction following their occupation of the plot in August 2020. The plot, which until then residents had referred to as Izwelethu has now been renamed Level 2.

iii In situ upgrading is the on-site construction of formal housing within informal settlements with as little disruption as possible to residents (Huchzermeyer, 2009).

iv See judgement handed down in *Residents of Joe Slovo Community Western Cape v Thubelisha Homes and Others (CCT 22/08) [2011] ZACC 8; 2011 (7) BCLR 723 (CC)* sets the standards for community engagement, temporary relocation areas, structures, and relocation processes.

v The promulgation of the PIE Act resulted in the repeal of the *Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act (1951)*, which was one of the apartheid government's influx control measures. The Act enabled the removal of residents from private and state-owned land, gave land owners and local authorities the power to demolish structures, and also gave local authorities the power to establish informal settlement areas (O'Regan, 1989). As a result of this act, homelessness increased across the city.

vi Social movements are understood, in this research, to be "organized and territorially based movements of the […] urban poor who strive for 'social transformation' (according to Castells), 'emancipation' (Schuurman and van Naerssen) or an alternative to the tyranny of modernity (in Friedmann's perception)" (Bayat, 1997: 55) and colonialiy (for the purpose of this study), where coloniality continues to be enforced via "current structures of globalisation" (Mignolo, 2000: 82).

vii Section 25 is referred to as the property clause. Section 25(1) reads as follows: "No one may be deprived of property except in terms of law of general application, and no law may permit arbitrary deprivation of property" (RSA: 1996: 10, as amended).

Chapter 5

i Section 25(5), which is part of the property clause, says that the "state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to foster conditions which enable citizens to gain access to land on an equitable basis" (RSA, 1996: 10). Section 26(1) states that "[e]veryone has the right to have access to adequate housing" (RSA, 1996: 11). Lastly, section 26(2), which is also part of the housing clause, stipulates that

the "state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realisation of this right" (ibid.).

ii This site has been at the heart of litigation by Ndifuna Ukwazi against the City, who had sold the site to the Phyllis Jowell Day School. In 2020, the High Court set aside the sale. The feasibility study indicates that 270 social housing units can be developed for households earning less than R7,500/month. It is estimated that these units can be rented for between R1,000 to R2,300/month.

iii Ses'khona People's Rights Movement is a Cape Town, rights-based movement. The movement identifies itself as a socialist movement. Infamously referred to as the 'poo throwers', Ses'khona People's Rights Movement engages in various civil disobedience activities including occupations, marches, and protests to highlight service delivery challenges in the city.

iv The Western Cape Provincial Government's priorities for the 2019-2024 period are: safe and cohesive communities; growth and jobs; empower people; mobility and spatial transformation, and; innovation and culture. These priorities are, for the most part, similar to the strategic goals set in the 2014-2015 period. These strategic goals are to: (i) Create opportunities for growth and jobs; (ii) Improve education outcomes and opportunities for youth development; (iii) Increase wellness, safety and tackle social ills; (iv) Enable a resilient, sustainable, quality and inclusive living environment; and (v) Embed good governance and integrated service delivery through partnerships and spatial alignment (Department of the Premier, 2014).

v During alert level 2 lockdown restrictions, most restrictions on the movement of people and activities are lifted, provided COVID-19 related requirements for social distancing and sanitisation can be adhered to.

vi Section 5(f) of Government Gazette No: 43167 states that:

> All evictions and execution of attachment orders, both movable and immovable, including the removal of movable assets and sales in execution is (*sic*) suspended with immediate effect for the duration of the lockdown.
> (Department of Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs, 2020: 7)

vii See *South African Human Rights Commission and Others v City of Cape Town and Others (8631/2020) [2020] ZAWCHC 84; 2021 (2) SA 565 (WCC).*

viii In the past few years, the term *radical economic transformation (RET)* has risen meteorically in political and popular discourse. This term, which Rudin (2017) defined as "BEE [Black Economic Empowerment] on steroids", has been articulated by the ruling party since 2017. During a lecture at the GIBS Business School, President Cyril Ramaphosa (21 June 2017) notes that the call for RET is a "call for the people to share in the wealth of the country as set out in the Freedom Charter". Speaking at the launch of the District Development Model (DDM)viii, Dlamini-Zulu (2021) reiterates that RET is a "path that seeks to make sure that the wealth is not carried by a few but that out people become prosperous". RET is further articulated by some politicians as a challenge to *white monopoly capital (WMC)*. That is, it is articulated as a mechanism to disrupt the "overwhelming white monopolisation of economic power" (Niehaus, 2021). Andile Mngxitama (2016) refers to WMC as the "real source of the South African problem". Whilst RET rhetoric has gone some way to reassure some political allies including trade unions about the ruling party's commitment to addressing economic injustice (McKaiser, 2017; Rudin, 2017), this rhetoric has done very little to shift the ownership and control of the economy to the broader BIPOC population. Although residents rarely employ the terms RET or WMC in their diagnoses of the problems they seek to address, they do agree with Mngxitama (2016) that inequality is rooted in colonialism and apartheid.

ix Pastor Skosana has, in fact, been repeatedly accused of being the instigator behind the Fees Must Fall protests in the Western Cape.

x Kilombo Village is also described as a "space for slaves" (Skosana, interview, 15 March 2018).

xi Coincidentally, RTC residents have termed their vision, as outlined in their manifesto as 'heaven'.

xii Dussel (1996) argues that the origins of Black Consciousness (BC) can be traced to the beginning of the African slave trade, anti-black racism, and colonialism. That is, its origins lie in the 'underside of modernity' (ibid.). In South Africa, BC arose as a reaction against experiences of alienated consciousness during apartheid (More, 2014). The BCM has reclaimed a Black identity by re-appropriating the term 'Black' and imbuing the term with positive meanings. In so doing, the BCM has addressed the mental conflicts that arise when one has a dual identity. Du Bois (1903) referred to this conflict as a double consciousness. Fanon (1967) also writes about this conflict in *Black Skin, White Masks.* BC is one of the few liberation movements that are described as a philosophy. Philosophy is understood in Hegelian terms as referring to "consciousness come into its existence" (More, 2014: 177). As a movement and a philosophy, BCM has been given expression through a philosophical tradition referred to as *Africana (existential) philosophy* (More, 2014)*.* Gordon (1997: 3) argues that Africana existential philosophy is "premised upon concerns of freedom, anguish, responsibility, embodied agency, sociality, and liberation". Africana existentialist philosophers such as Steve Biko and Frantz Fanon draw on the lived

experiences of Black people in a world that is anti-black in order to develop pathways to freedom (Sithole, 2016). As Black political thought, BC is part of an established philosophical tradition whose focus is:

> [B]lack resistance to white racism and white supremacy, black racial solidarity, group self-reliance, pride in black (African) heritage, black self-love, de-alienation and de-colonisation of the black mind, black cultural and racial identity.
>
> (More, 2014: 177)

More (2014) notes that BCM is concerned with questions of liberation and identity through self-definition and self-consciousness. The origins of the BCM parallel the origins of the intellectual tradition that has had the most significant influence on it: Negritude. The *negritude movement*, which was formed in the mid-1930s by African and Afro-Caribbean students in Paris' Latin Quarter, is intellectually grounded in the works of W.E.B. Du Bois (1903), Claude McKay (1919, 1921), Countee Cullen (1924, 1927), Langston Hughes (1926, 1940), and James Weldon Johnson (1927) to mention a few. The negritude movement has played a pivotal role in the delineation of "an all-encompassing concept of Black identity, [and] the sense of the African's separate cultural and spiritual inheritance" (Irele, 1986: 129). For Senghor (1939) *negritude*, which is one of two major influences on modern African philosophy, is an attribute, an essence not an attitude, of the Black individual (Irele, 1965). In so arguing, scholars within the negritude movement have cemented the idea that there exists a singular Black cultural identity and consciousness (Bell, 1989). In this we see the movement's tendency to universalise by "identifying common, fundamental cultural characteristics that were thought to be specifically African" (Bell, 2002: 24). This collective African consciousness is characterised by *emotive sensibility.* Thus, as is argued by Mazrui (1968) and Odi (1991), the emotive sensibility observed within African consciousness stands in contrast to the (scientific) rationality that is argued to characterise collective western consciousness. But, in arguing that there is a collective African consciousness, Senghor (1986) amongst other scholars, undermines the argument for the plural nature of African cultures.

[xiii] Christianity has provided the foundation for a prophetic movement that became enmeshed with the liberation struggle in the 1980s (Walshe, 1991). For many of the Black political leaders involved in the liberation struggle, the Christian values of egalitarianism and non-racialism are aligned with the communal values of traditional societies, the Cape liberal tradition, and the civil rights movements in America (Walshe, 1991). As Walshe (1991) argues, many political leaders such as John Dube, Zacheus Mahabane, and Dr. A.B. Xuma to mention a few within the ANC believed that Christian values would enable the construction of a bigger political community. It is from this belief that an indigenous liberation theology – prophetic Christianity – emerged.

[xiv] Skosana remains critical of Christianity for its tolerance of oppression.

[xv] The shift to *Afro-radicalism* and *nativism* follows the decline of *African nationalism* since the 2000s in South Africa due to concerns about the limitations of this intellectual tradition's national projects and global liberal democracy.

[xvi] For a critique of nativism in Africa, see Appiah (1992) and Mbembe (2002).

[xvii] Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2010) cautions that Afro-radicalism and nativism are transmuted forms of (Afro-)nationalism. They can, as Fanon (1967) argues, degenerate into xenophobia, chauvinism, and racism. This is because, as McClintock (1991) argues, "[a]ll nationalisms are gendered, all are invented, and all are dangerous". Regardless, of their potential to degenerate Afro-radicalism and nativism have been employed by various leaders such as Robert Mugabe to further the political project of decolonisation, namely land reform and restitution.

[xviii] Pan-Africanism emerged most forcefully in South Africa during the 1950s, with the Pan-African Congress being founded in 1959.

[xix] Narrowly construed, Pan-Africanism is the Africa-for-Africans movement. It is important to note that when the term was coined by Henry Sylvester Williams (1900) it was presented as another term for what is often referred to as Ethiopianism. As we moved into the twentieth century, the same concept came to be known as *African Personality* and *Negritude*. Ndletyana (2014) notes that in South Africa, the concept of Pan-Africanism was first articulated by Tiyo Soga (1865) in an article titled *What is the Destiny of the Kaffir Race?* The term *kaffir* is an Arabic word, which means 'unbeliever', that was imbued with racist undertones to describe the Xhosa people in the 1700s. The derogatory term has since been used to refer to Black Africans broadly, particularly during apartheid.

[xx] As a type of nationalism, Pan-Africanism combines modernist ideology and traditional culture (Simala, 2003). However, the manner in which it combines these has given rise to contestation partly because it maintains the temporal rift between rural and urban areas. As Fanon (1963) notes, the colonial administration has worked hard to enforce this rift in order to ensure the separation of urban interests from rural interests, which were

primarily the interests of Black people under colonial administration. This ideological project, which splits 'modernity' from 'tradition', has juxtaposed indigenous self-understanding with colonial identities in a manner that continues to influence thinking on African identities, knowledge, and racial theories by Blacks in the diaspora even in post-independence South Africa (Kanneh, 1998). Contestation over the manner in which nationhood, the self, and the relationship between culture and race have been conceptualised within Pan-Africanist frameworks has seen the rise of two contrasting ideological strands within the movement – exclusivism and assimilationism (Legum, 1965; Ndletyana, 2014).

The latter, which is at the heart of African Nationalism, is reflected in the tradition's conceptualisation of citizenship and nationhood. As Ndletyana (2014: 162) argues, early Pan-Africanists "envisaged a non-racial franchise in a common society". This vision is informed by the Christian doctrine of non-racialism and mission education (Karis and Carter, 1972). In the present day, and as Legum (1965) notes, Pan-Africanism, when viewed within its wider political context, is no longer racially exclusive. However, whilst arguing for a non-racial society, Pan-Africanists do discriminate on the basis of culture not race (Ndletyana, 2014). As W.E.B. du Bois (1919) states during the Second Pan-African Congress: "The African movement means to us what the Zionist movement must mean to the Jews, the centralisation of race effort and the recognition of a racial fount". Hence, the scope of interpretation when one attempts to practically apply Pan-Africanism is limited.

[xxi] Stolten (2007) notes, this spurred the broad distribution of popular history materials in the two decades leading up to the end of apartheid. These materials, which were used by unions as alternative teaching materials, narrated *counter histories* with an emphasis on non-racial group solidarity and popular culture. Counter histories are also referred to as *people's history* and *history from below* (Stolten, 2007). The distribution of these materials illustrates adherence to Gandhi's ideas on the importance of newspapers as educational tools in society (Dhupelia-Mesthrie, 2014). Non-racialism has been a key thread in liberation discourses since the 1950s both locally and internationally. However, and as Everatt (2009) posits, despite being a key principle in both the 1955 Freedom Charter and the Constitution, the term *non-racialism* has yet to be defined. In fact, as Everatt (2009) points out, whilst the ANC and the UDF adopted the principle of non-racialism the party practices *multi-racialism*. This is due, in part, to the exclusive African nationalism propounded by many high ranking leaders of the ANC Youth League of the time (Glaser, 2012). It is also due to calls by Marxists within the South African Communist Party amongst others for class-based struggles to precede national liberation struggles. It is important to note that these calls came at a time when the apartheid government had halted housing development outside of the homelands even though migration into cities was increasing again despite the tightening of influx control regulations. This decision led to the establishment of 66 towns within homeland boundaries from 1960 – 1970. The pressure on existing housing stock was exacerbated by natural population growth. Furthermore, the demolition of housing stock resulted in an overall net loss of new housing stock. As Ellis, Hendrie and Maree (2000) note, for example, 942 houses were demolished or recommended for demolition in the period between 1971 and 1974. Yet, only 7 160 houses were built by the City Council in the same period. Ellis et al. (1977) note that of these new houses, 3 579 were used by the Department of Community Development for Group Areas resettlement. As a result, townships became overcrowded, leading to large scale land occupation and backyard dwelling construction in the 1970s (Bank, 2007), which was intellectually grounded in the prevailing thought at the time.

[xxii] The question thus becomes whether or not Pan-Africanism, by helping Black people rediscover their being, can give rise to a 'better' development model for Africa (Ackah, 1999).

[xxiii] Although I make reference to 'African traditional religion' it is important to note from the outset that this term has been attached to a specific set of pre-colonial beliefs and practices by those who have studied them (Idowu, 1973). According to Chidester (1992), Richard Hooker, a Protestant theologian, was the first to use the term 'religion' in the English language in 1953 to distinguish between Protestantism and Catholicism. This has introduced the biases that are inherent in religious studies to the study of African philosophy and theology. Shaw (1990) argues that not only has the designation of African philosophies and theologies as religion introduced bias into the study thereof, it has potentially misrepresented what is now understood to be 'African traditional religion'. For further insight into this, see Shaw (1990) and Mudimbe (1988).

[xxiv] Idowu (1973) argues that the common belief in a Supreme Being and ancestors necessitates that we speak of African traditional religion in the singular not the plural. This position, as Mndende (1994) notes, stems from a focus on the similarities and not the differences in indigenous beliefs that have been across the country for centuries.

[xxv] In using the term 'indigenous' I am not implying that the philosophies and intellectual traditions referred to as such are uniform across the continent or static. Indeed, there are many forms of African traditional religion and African political thought, which embody multiple meanings, values, and worldviews. I must also note that the term is not used in the essentialist manner, which equates the term to 'natives'. Rather, the term is used in

this dissertation to highlight the relation of the theologies and thought under study to Western theologies and thought.

xxvi Ekeke and Ekeopara (2010) argue that the Supreme Being is referred to using several names in Africa. For example, the Yoruba refer to the Supreme Being as *Olodumare* or *Edumere* whereas the Igbo of Nigeria refer to the Supreme Being as *Chukwu.* The former means:

> The King or Chief unique who holds the sceptre, wields authority and has the quality which is superlative in worth, and he is at the same time permanent, unchanging and reliable.
> (ibid., p. 212)

The latter, according to Ekeke and Ekeopara (2010: 212), means the "'Source Being' which connotes 'the Great one from whom being originates'."

xxvii In agreement, Chilisa and Ntseane (2010) contend that it is through these mediums, which are infused with religious doctrines and moral judgements, that traditional ideologies are reinforced through vernacular language. The oral nature of these "living and active" scriptures (Idowu, 1973: 83) makes it, in the words of Ekeke (2011: 6), "prone to experience exaggerations, modifications and distortions". However, as Ekeke (2011) argues further, the fundamental tenets remain unchanged. These scriptures not only speak of the Supreme Being's greatness but also serve to convey facts about one's origins, meaning, and purpose from one generation to the next (Ekeke and Ekeopara, 2010; Ekeke, 2011; Scheub, 1985). The scriptures also portray a world (read utopia) that is free of oppression. Such a framework can be used to challenge colonialism, racism, and patriarchy to mention a few systems of oppression.

xxviii Kwame Nkrumah (1963) also speaks of the 'triple heritage' in *Consciencism.*

xxix African political thought emerged as a field of study in the late 1960s.

xxx A distinction must be made between indigenous and modern African political thought. The latter has been developed in the late nineteenth century by scholars such as James Africanus Horton, Edward W. Blyden, and Kwame Nkrumah.

xxxi A distinction must be made between *secularism* and *secularity.* The former, according to Burchardt et al. (2013: 3) refers to the "explicit ideology of separation […] and related political practices". The latter is an analytical term that refers to the "institutionally, culturally and symbolically anchored forms of differentiation between religion and other social spheres" (ibid.).

xxxii According to Gulbrandsen (2001), the division of the secular from the sacred is emblematic of institutionalised, monotheistic religions such as Christianity, Islam, and Judaism. These religions, which see their faiths as incompatible with others and as referring to distinct communities, are discussed later sections in this chapter.

xxxiii The term "Ntu" refers to the original Black nation in southern Africa (Mqhayi, 1931). This intimates that Black people have a common origin, which differs as Mqhayi (1931) further argues, from the origin stories in the Christian Bible. The term is also associated to rituals or traditional practices once the prefix 'isi' is added to it.

xxxiv Also referred to as non-property.

xxxv Ostrom (1999) argues that economists privilege private property regimes because they believe that common property regimes are inefficient. Inefficiency is argued to stem from, first, rent dissipation. That is, from the race to harness the products of a collectively owned resource before anyone else (Ostrom, 1999). Second, inefficiency is the result of the high transaction and enforcement costs that communal owners have to pay in order to decrease externalities linked to overuse of the property. Lastly, low productivity is believed to give rise to inefficiencies. Ostrom (1999) further argues that it is believed that communal owners lack the motivation to work hard in order to increase private returns. It is for these reasons that Smith (1981: 467) lamented on the "tragedy of the commons". However, despite private property rights being advanced as a solution to this tragedy, questions remain about whether or not private property regimes do indeed solve the issues. Questions also remain about the usefulness of the distinction between private and common property regimes considering that the systems have similar structures (Rose, 1994). For example, and as Quiggin (1988) argues, whilst the processes through which the various rights regimes are instituted differ, processes for enforcing the different sets of rights are similar. Third, within indigenous African political thought various advisory bodies and village assemblies limit the (ab)use of political power by rulers, namely kings, chiefs, and emperors (Martin, 2012). Gumede (2017) notes that the shifts in power relations within African societies have significantly affected the role and power bases of these indigenous leaders, particularly in relation to the manner in which matters of succession, transfer of power, and conflict resolution are concerned.

xxxvi The change from common to private property is identified to be a significant factor contributing to the rise of the modern, Western societies.

xxxvii See Accone's (2021) article titled *Cissie Gool House, A Modern-day Commune.*

xxxviii Spiropoulos (2019: 7) defines micro-developers as "individuals or companies in townships that invest their own savings and take personal loans to build flats or rooms to let".

xxxix In South Africa, Islam is expressed in diverse ways (Dangor, 1997). This diversity, according to Matthee (2008), stems from the diversity of doctrines that different Muslim groups adhere to. There are, however, some commonalities between the doctrines. One such commonality, is the absence of institutional mediators between God and individuals in Islam. Rather, as Matthee (2008: 25) argues, the individual that is, the active self, has to interpret God's message in order to attain "salvation and create a just society".

xl Whilst this was the year in which the first shipment carrying a large number of Muslim slaves arrived at van Riebeeck's request, the first Muslim slave to arrive at the Cape of Good Hope was a stowaway from Batavia in 1653.

xli Shaykh Yusuf al-Khalwati (d. 1699) is also known as Abidin Tadia Tjoessop,

xlii Abdullah ibn Qadi Abd-us-Salam is also known as Tuan Guru. The latter has been influenced by Abu Hamid Al-Ghazali (d. 1111) who emphasised the significant role that scholars have to play in preserving Muslim religious and cultural identity.

xliii The Batavi are an ancient Germanic tribe that lived in the Dutch Rhine delta area that was previously referred to as Batavia.

xliv This ordinance is referred to as the *Die Kerkode van de Mist 1804* (*Church Order of de Mist 1804*).

xlv Abdullah ibn Kadi Abdus Salaam Tuan Guru is a prince from Tridore which is in the Trinate Islands. Tuan Guru, who was imprisoned on Robben Island for 12 years, has made seminal literary contributions on Islamic Jurisprudence, which have become a key reference for Muslims in the 19th century (Matthee, 2008).

xlvi Since the early 1900s, there has been a well-established Cape liberal tradition (cf. section 5.1). Haron (2014) notes that several Muslim social welfare, educational, and religious organisations were established in the 1940s and 1950s. The organisations established then include the National Muslim Council (1943), the Cape Muslim Judicial Council (1945), the Arabic Study Circle (1950), and the Muslim Teachers Association (1950) to mention a few. As Tayob (1995) further notes, whilst these organisations had their own distinctive agendas they formed part of the international Muslim resurgence. Some of these organisations, particularly the Muslim Judicial Council (MJC) and the Call of Islam movement, helped to develop "mosque-transcending discourses" in order to resist, albeit partially, the Group Areas Act (Matthee, 2008: 93). I use the term 'partial resistance' in this sentence as majority of the MJC's members were of the opinion that although the political system was not the most ideal, they could not "deny that at present the Muslims enjoy the privilege to practice a good amount of the observances of Islam without any hostility or persecution" (MJC, *fatwa*, 22 April 1966).

The MJC is considered to be a conservative and traditional body, which represents the *ulamā* or the religious scholars (Günther and Niehaus, 2002: 96). The more aggressive resistance politics practiced by Imam Abdullah Haron and Fatima Meer, as well as the more secular politics of the likes of Zainunnisa 'Cissie' Gool , did not gain major support amongst Muslims. In fact, as Naudé (1985) notes, Meer and Imam Haron faced critique because their opposition was rooted in movements such as the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) not Islam. But, they did have the support of young educated Muslims, some of whom began to use Islam as a foundation for opposition.

xlvii Also spelt as Qibla or Kiblah.

xlviii The movements were formed in 1970, 1980, 1984, and 1960, respectively. Naude (1992) notes that Qiblah has fallen out of the political scene in South Africa. Günther and Niehaus (2002) argue that Qiblah and Al-Jihaad represent more marginalised religious and political positions. Having been inspired by the Iranian revolution and sympathetic to Shi'ism, both organisations were involved in the armed struggle against apartheid with the aim of establishing a theocratic state (Lehmann, 2006). *Shi'ism* or *Shi'a Islam* is a branch of Islam which Dabashi (2011: 24) describes as a "religion of protest". Kramer (2019) and Winters (1996) describe Shi'ism as a minority, yet global, branch of Islam that believes that the Prophet Muhammad was instructed by God to designate Imam 'Ali ibn Abi Talib as his successor.

Al-Jihaad and Qiblah are, nevertheless, considered to have played a lesser role in the fight against apartheid. Al-Jihaad, however, has not pursued alliances with mainstream resistance movements. Qiblah, in contrast, supported the ANC and later went on to join the United Democratic Front (UDF). Therefore, whilst they pursued an Islamic social order and state, Al-Jihaad and Qiblah have been influenced by secular ideologies. Günther and Niehaus (2002) further argue that these two movements differed ideologically from the ANC and the UDF. Al-Jihaad has been influenced by the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) and Pan-Africanist Ideology.

<superscript>xlix</superscript> The failure to get a clear political affiliation to the UDF by the MYM led to the formation of the Call of Islam. Günther and Niehaus (2002: 92) argue that, the "Call of Islam moved the Islamic struggle into the context of the wider struggle of South Africans to overthrow the apartheid regime".

<superscript>l</superscript> The NUM, in particular, has been particularly influential in Cape Town. The NUM, which is also referred to as the Unity Movement, is the successor to the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM). It was established in 1985 by those who, dissatisfied with weaknesses within the ANC, sought to create an alternative mass movement for oppressed groups (O'Malley, n.d.). Braam (2018: 2) argues that the NUM aimed to create an alternative world order through a "discourse that set out to counter the oppressive forces of a capitalist-apartheid system". Founded on the principles of non-racialism and non-collaboration, the NUM has drawn significant support from young, educated, and predominantly Coloured Muslims who opposed the more moderate stance held by ANC's charterist partners, such as the UDF (Günther and Niehaus, 2002). According to Sanders (1989), the charterists hold a communitarian vision for South Africa. This vision is to be achieved by attaining a consensus on societal values. These values are to be identified through a bottom-up process, similar to the process through which the Freedom Charter was formed (ibid). The Freedom Charter is the alternative constitution adopted by citizens, namely the African National Congress (ANC), the South African Indian Congress (SAIC), the Coloured People's Congress (CPC), and the Congress of Democrats, who opposed apartheid. It is in this charter, which was adopted during the Congress of the People in Kliptown, that the oft cited phrase "[t]he people shall govern" originates. Despite ideological differences, these activist organisations were spurred by the collective experience of being forcibly removed and, consequently, losing their homes and livelihoods in District Six (Cape Town), Sophiatown (Johannesburg), and Cato Manor in (Durban) during the 1960s and 1970s. Furthermore, each organisation's role in the fight against apartheid has been informed by Islamic texts and beliefs. As Günther and Niehaus (2002: 90) note, the:

> *Din-ul-Islam* teaches us that mankind is but a single community and that differences in man on the basis of colour and language are no less than *ayat* (sign) of Allah i.e. proof of His existence and cannot be used as a basis for discrimination between man and man.

The heterogeneity of organisations and groups within Islam illustrates, in part, the diversity of ideologies within Islam. This diversity is unsurprising in the sub-Saharan context where, as Otayek and Soares (2007: 2) argue, "religious pluralism is the norm". Such diversity is also found within Muslim organisations as the split between the MYM and the Call of Islam indicates.

<superscript>li</superscript> COPE is one of the smaller opposition political parties in South Africa.

<superscript>lii</superscript> Egan (2014) notes that the Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk (NHK) became the official state church in 1853.

<superscript>liii</superscript> Notable exceptions to this are Father Trevor Huddleston (1913-1998), Reverend Arthur Blaxall (1891-1970), Bishop Ambrose Reeves (1899-1980), and Archbishop Denis Hurley (1915-2004).

<superscript>liv</superscript> Hermeneutics has played a pivotal role within prophetic Christianity and Judaism in addressing the challenges around the critical interpretation of religious texts. Recurring debates amongst liberals and orthodox Afrikaners in the South African context on whether the Bible must be interpreted in an orthodox or a historical-critical manner have given rise to a strong sense of anti-naturalism, which has been carried well into the twentieth century.

<superscript>lv</superscript> But, as Egan (2014) argues further, linking Black Consciousness to Black theology has not exempted Christianity from being critiqued by the likes of Biko (1979) for public conformism, being too tolerant of oppression, passive, and intellectual inwardness.

<superscript>lvi</superscript> According to Dhupelia-Mesthrie (2014), Gandhi has not developed a systematic ideology. This argument is based partly on Gandhi's own assertion that: "Gandhism is a meaningless word for me. An ism follows the propounder of a system. I am not one; hence I cannot be the cause for an ism" (Iyer, 1991: 62). Consequently, a number of scholars speak of *Gandhian ways* instead of *Gandhism*.

<superscript>lvii</superscript> The 1952 Defiance Campaign is a key example of Gandhi's influence on the political arena in South Africa.

<superscript>lviii</superscript> Passive resistance, as a political strategy, has been criticised since by young MJC members.

<superscript>lix</superscript> Dhupelia-Mesthrie (2014) notes that the following texts have influenced Gandhi's ideas on civil disobedience: Henry Thoreau's (1849) *Resistance to Civil Government*; Leo Tolstoy's (1894) *The Kingdom of God is Within You* which advocates for non-cooperation with state violence*;* Joseph Mazzini's (1898) *On the Duties of Man,* and*;* Hindu religious texts such as *Ramayana.* Dhupelia-Mesthrie (2014: 203) argues further that the following individuals served as examples of courage and "forces of good" for Gandhi: Socrates (469-399 BCE), Martin Luther (1483-1546), Wat Tyler (c. 1320/4-1381), John Hampden (1595-1643), John Bunyan (1628-1688), William Lloyd Garrison (1805-1879), women suffragettes, and African women resisting pass laws in the Orange Free State in 1913, to mention a few.

<superscript>lx</superscript> Cf. Luthuli's (1960) book titled *Let my People Go.*

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[lxi] Additional key figures within the modern African political thought system include Frantz Fanon, Steve Biko, Thomas Sankara, J. Jerry Rawlings, Muammar Qaddafi, and Robert Mugabe as well as early thinkers such as Cheikh Anta Diop, Joseph Ki-Zerbo, and Anton M. Lembede.

[lxii] Lange (1938) argues that these are states in which both consumption and production have been socialised.

[lxiii] Scientific socialism is argued by Nkrumah (1970) to be the only socialism.

[lxiv] See Senghor (1964) *On African Socialism.*

[lxv] It is important to note, as Martin (2012) does, that scholars such as Edward W. Blyden, James Africanus Horton, and Joseph Casely Hayford have tried to reconcile Western liberalism with African democracy.

[lxvi] This umbrella term encompasses activists and scholars who self-identify as Black feminists, post-colonial feminists, African feminists, diaspora feminists, or womanists (Moffett, 2014).

[lxvii] This is not to say that feminism did not exist in the country before then. Moffett (2014) argues that one of the earliest and most well-known feminists in South Africa is Olive Schreiner (1855-1920). Some of Schreiner's most eminent works include *The Story of an African Farm* (1883) and *Women and Labour* (1911).

[lxviii] The women were part of various organisations such as the ANC Women's League and Black Sash. Interestingly, the ANC did not allow women to join the organisation until 1943. The latter, on the other hand, was formed in 1955. Its membership consisted primarily of white, liberal women at the time.

[lxix] This was not the first time there had been an attempt to force women to carry passes. In 1913, an attempt was made to enforce pass laws on women living in urban areas. However, women resisted this attempt through various acts of civil disobedience. Defeated, the government did not make further attempts to enforce pass laws against women until 1956.

[lxx] Gender, like race, is understood in this research as a social construct. That is, it is not biologically determined.

Chapter 6

[i] Restructuring zones are geographic areas that, having been identified by local authorities and declared as such through a Council resolution, are prioritised for targeted subsidies and investment. The following places have been provisionally declared restructuring zones in Cape Town:

- CBD and surrounds (Salt River, Woodstock and Observatory)
- Southern Near – Claremont, Kenilworth, Rondebosch
- Southern Central: Westlake – Steenberg
- Northern near – Milnerton
- Northern Central – Bellville, Bothasig, Goodwood and surrounds
- South Eastern – Somerset West, Strand, Gordons Bay
- Southern – Strandfontein, Mitchells Plain, Mandalay and surrounds
- Eastern – Brackernfell, Durbanville, Kraaifontien, Kuils River
- Cape Flats – Athlone and surrounds (Pinelands to Ottery)
- Far South – Fish Hoek, Simonstown
- Northern – Parklands and surrounds

The City of Cape Town has expressed its intention to have the entire city declared a restructuring zone in order to, amongst other things, speed up the rate of affordable housing delivery.

[ii] See the *City of Cape Town Green Building Guidelines* and the *City of Cape Town Smart Building Handbook: A Guide to Green Building in Cape Town*.

[iii] Granted, as Hiremath (2020) notes via a Twitter thread, social distancing is a privilege. However, the use of military personnel to enforce 'stay-at-home' orders during stricter levels of lockdown meant that residents could not hold their face-to-face mobilization activities.

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Appendix

Appendix A: Field Observation Form Template

	REFLECTIVE NOTES
Date: Time (Arrival): Length of observation: Location: Activity/Setting: **DESCRIPTIVE NOTES**	

Appendix B: UCT EBE Ethics Approval

Application for Approval of Ethics in Research (EiR) Projects
Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment, University of Cape Town

APPLICATION FORM

Please Note:
Any person planning to undertake research in the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment (EBE) at the University of Cape Town is required to complete this form **before** collecting or analysing data. The objective of submitting this application prior to embarking on research is to ensure that the highest ethical standards in research, conducted under the auspices of the EBE Faculty, are met. Please ensure that you have read, and understood the EBE Ethics in Research Handbook (available from the UCT EBE, Research Ethics website) prior to completing this application form: http://www.ebe.uct.ac.za/usr/ebe/research/ethics.pdf

APPLICANT'S DETAILS		
Name of principal researcher, student or external applicant		Nobukhosi Ngwenya
Department		Architecture, Planning and Geomatics
Preferred email address of applicant:		nobukhosingwenya@gmail.com
If a Student	Your Degree: e.g., MSc, PhD, etc.,	PhD
	Name of Supervisor (if supervised):	Tanja Winkler
If this is a research contract, indicate the source of funding/sponsorship		Click here to enter text.
Project Title		Citizen Resistance in Liberalism's Interstitial Spaces: A Case Study of Informal Land Occupation by the Ses'khona People's Rights Movement in Cape Town, South Africa

I hereby undertake to carry out my research in such a way that:

- there is no apparent legal objection to the nature or the method of research; and
- the research will not compromise staff or students or the other responsibilities of the University;
- the stated objective will be achieved, and the findings will have a high degree of validity;
- limitations and alternative interpretations will be considered;
- the findings could be subject to peer review and publicly available; and
- I will comply with the conventions of copyright and avoid any practice that would constitute plagiarism.

SIGNED BY	Full name	Signature	Date
Principal Researcher/ Student/External applicant	NOBUKHOSI NGWENYA		20/01/2017

APPLICATION APPROVED BY	Full name	Signature	Date
Supervisor (where applicable)	T. WINKLER		20/01/2017
HOD (or delegated nominee) Final authority for all applicants who have answered NO to all questions in Section1; and for all Undergraduate research (including Honours).			
Chair : Faculty EIR Committee For applicants other than undergraduate students who have answered YES to any of the above questions.	G. Sithole		27/02/2017

Page 1 of 1

APPLICATION FORM

Please Note:

Any person planning to undertake research in the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment (EBE) at the University of Cape Town is required to complete this form before collecting or analysing data. The objective of submitting this application prior to embarking on research is to ensure that the highest ethical standards in research, conducted under the auspices of the EBE Faculty, are met. Please ensure that you have read, and understood the EBE Ethics in Research Handbook (available from the UCT EBE, Research Ethics website) prior to completing this application form: http://www.ebe.uct.ac.za/ebe/research/ethics1

APPLICANT'S DETAILS		
Name of principal researcher, student or external applicant		Nobukhosi Ngwenya
Department		Architecture, Planning and Geomatics
Preferred email address of applicant:		nobukhosingwenya@gmail.com
If Student	Your Degree: e.g., MSc, PhD, etc.	PhD
	Credit Value of Research: e.g., 60/120/180/360 etc.	360
	Name of Supervisor (if supervised):	Dr. Tanja Winkler
If this is a research contract, indicate the source of funding/sponsorship		
Project Title		Informal Land Occupation as Planning: A Case Study of Informal Land Occupations in Cape Town, South Africa

I hereby undertake to carry out my research in such a way that:

- there is no apparent legal objection to the nature or the method of research; and
- the research will not compromise staff or students or the other responsibilities of the University;
- the stated objective will be achieved, and the findings will have a high degree of validity;
- limitations and alternative interpretations will be considered;
- the findings could be subject to peer review and publicly available; and
- I will comply with the conventions of copyright and avoid any practice that would constitute plagiarism.

SIGNED BY	Full name	Signature	Date
Principal Researcher/ Student/External applicant	Nobukhosi Ngwenya		20/02/2018

APPLICATION APPROVED BY	Full name	Signature	Date
Supervisor (where applicable)	T WINKLER		20/02/18
HOD (or delegated nominee) Final authority for all applicants who have answered NO to all questions in Section1; and for all Undergraduate research (including Honours).			
Chair : Faculty EIR Committee For applicants other than undergraduate students who have answered YES to any of the above questions.	R Behrens		26 Apr 2018

Appendix C: Interview Consent Form

SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE, PLANNING AND GEOMATICS
University of Cape Town
Private Bag x3, Rondebosch 7701
Centlivres Building
Email: Janine.Meyer@uct.ac.za   Tel: 27 21 6502359

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

STATEMENT TO BE READ OUT TO AN INTERVIEWEE BY A STUDENT ABOUT TO UNDERTAKE AN INTERVIEW FOR THE PURPOSES OF RESEARCH, AS A REQUEST FOR PERMISSION FOR THE NAME AND/OR IDENTITY OF THE INTERVIEWEE TO BE REVEALED IN A DISSERTATION.

A copy of the form can be given to the respondent if they request it.

My name is Nobukhosi Ngwenya and I am studying towards a Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) degree in the University of Cape Town's Architecture, Geomatics and Planning department.

I am doing research on how Cape Town-based social movements increase spaces for citizen participation through acts of resistance such as informal land occupation. As part of my PhD programme and I would like to ask you some questions to help me with my research, which is tentatively titled *Informal Land Occupations as Planning: A Case Study of Informal Land Occupations in Cape Town, South Africa*.

I would like to use your name, designation and possibly direct quotes in my essay/ report/ dissertation as a source of information. Please indicate yes or no below to give or withold your permission for me to do this.

☐ Yes, I give permission for you to use my name / designation / words in your dissertation

☐ No I do not give permission for you to use my name / designation /words in your dissertation

If you want to end the interview at any point you are free to do so.

My supervisor is Dr. Tanja Winkler, and her contact details are: (021) 650-2360 or tanja.winkler@uct.ac.za.

Name of interviewee (optional)

---   ---
Signature of interviewee   Signature of student
Date: