



**THE EFFECTS OF PREVAILING ATTITUDES TO INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS ON HOUSING
DELIVERY IN CAPE TOWN**

by

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ABSTRACT

Informal settlements are increasing in the cities of the global South in line with the rapid rate of urbanisation that is taking place in countries of this region. The growth of informal settlements in these countries has been exacerbated by factors that are unique to this region, factors such as scarcity of resources, colonial legacies and rapid urbanisation.

Cape Town, a city that relates to the global South both in terms of geographical location and socio-economic context, has also seen a rapid growth of informal settlements, particularly in the last two decades. Like other cities in this region, Cape Town has ambitions of being regarded as a global city. Global cities are modelled on cities of the global North such as London, New York and Tokyo. Beyond the economic prestige that is generally associated with the cities of the global North, the imagery that they conjure up is also seen as an inspiration to be emulated by cities across the world, and it does not include informal settlements. As such, informal settlements generate a host of attitudes. Attitudes towards informal settlements don't just emanate from political authorities, but emanate from across the spectrum that constitutes inhabitants and interest groups in these cities, including the creators of informal settlements themselves. These individuals and interests, according to their social standing and thus influence, have varying degrees of agency in the matters related to informal settlements. The aim in this study is to probe the effect of these attitudes on housing delivery to the poor. Attitudes not only influence the choice of what is regarded as the norm, but also how any entity that is regarded as the 'other' is evaluated.

Almost without exception, cities that have been characterised by large numbers of informal settlements have attempted, without success, to eradicate informal settlements from their urban fabrics. An overarching assumption in this study is that the resilience of informal settlements says something about their necessity, and the failure by some, to recognise this necessity or the utilitarian value of informal settlements is influenced by attitudes.

This research is done by first using a literature review to elucidate on:

- the social condition, that is, the phenomenon of informal settlements,
- the relevant theories applicable to the academic field the thesis is anchored in (architecture) and other social orders impacting architecture such as modernism,
- the construct of attitudes and its impacts on beliefs, evaluations and perceptions on the affect of objects.

The Joe Slovo informal settlement is then used as an analytic case study to investigate the effects of attitudes on the dynamics that have seen the site being transformed into what had been conceived as a prototype for transforming informal settlements to formal housing. The study shows that such transformations, although often carried out in the name of changing the lives of the inhabitants of informal settlements, do not necessarily entail them remaining at the site post its transformation. In the case of Joe Slovo, it actually resulted in a sizeable number of the original inhabitants being relocated to a new, less favourable site. It is from findings such as this, that a conclusion is reached that these

transformations, as claimed by some researchers cited in the literature review, are susceptible to being more about negative attitudes towards informal settlements, and less about the professed concern for the wellbeing of informal settlements residents.

Qualitative research in the form of face-to-face interviews was conducted to assess the prevailing, on the ground, attitudes that the various vested interests, including the inhabitants of Joe Slovo; hold towards informal settlements.

Attitudes by the residents of Joe Slovo were found to be ambivalent while negative attitudes to informal settlements by state authorities were found to have an effect on housing delivery.

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List of acronyms and abbreviations

ACSA	Airports Company South Africa
ANC	African National Congress
BNG	Breaking New Ground
CBD	Central Business District
CCID	Central City Improvement District
CLO	Community Liaison Officer
COHRE	Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions
CORC	Community Organisation Resource Centre
DAG	Development Action Group
Dimp	Disaster mitigation for sustainable livelihoods programme
DoHS	Department of Human Settlements
FNB	First National Bank
HDA	Housing Development Agency
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISN	Informal Settlements Network
JSCTT	Joe Slovo Community Task Team
MEC	Member of the Executive Committee
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
PIE Act	Prevention of Illegal Evictions from and Unlawful Occupation of Land Act
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SHF	Social Housing Foundation
SEA	Sustainable Energy Africa
TRA	Temporary Relocation Area
UNECE	United Nations Economic Commission for Europe
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
WCDoHS	Western Cape Department of Human Settlements

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

This study focuses on the phenomenon of informal settlements and attitudes that are related to them. A significant aim of the study is to determine the effect of these attitudes on the housing interventions such as housing legislation and housing projects that have been directed at the communities that reside in informal settlements in South Africa generally and in Cape Town in particular. Tokyo Sexwale, the South African Minister of Human Settlements between 2009 and 2013, once described these interventions as "...dealing with a manmade disaster every day." (Tissington, 2011:8).

Sexwale's statement clearly suggests that he viewed informal settlements not as a solution, but rather, a disaster. The word 'manmade' in the statement suggests that there are culprits and in all likelihood refers to the inhabitants of informal settlements as the culprits in this "manmade disaster". The hypothetical construct of attitude becomes significant in this context because by probing this statement through the lens of the attitude construct, one can comprehend the statement by Sexwale as just someone's perspective rather than a fact. In this way it is then possible to counter-argue that, informal settlements, instead of being disasters are actually a solution from communities that do not have many options at their disposal. One can go further to suggest that inhabitants of informal settlements are not the transgressors, but instead are the aggrieved party in a setting that limits their choices and thus forces them into living in the conditions that they live in. What this reveals is that the statement that was made by the former minister is not actually a fact but an expression of his attitudes towards informal settlements. What is also very significant about the expression of this attitude is that it was made by someone who was at the apex of the department that is tasked with the interventions related to informal settlements. Not only because it is arguable whether the statement does pass the criteria of truth, but also because of the weight behind the point of view and the possible consequences from it.

It is posited in the study that attitudes such as the one cited above play a significant role in not only driving housing policies that are geared towards the poor but also affect how these policies are interpreted and implemented. As such, the study involves in-depth studies on the subjects of informal settlements, attitudes and a case study of an informal settlement to link the two subjects to answer the questions that are contained in the study.

1.2 THE CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

The city of Cape Town, like so many in South Africa, is confronted by a major crisis in providing housing for its inhabitants, especially the poor. This is partly due to a historical lack of planning and focus in the provision of low-cost homes (Moolla et al, 2011:138). Consequently, there is now a substantial housing backlog. In all likelihood, this lack of

planning and focus in the provision of low-cost homes would have resulted in a housing backlog, but in addition to that, in recent decades Cape Town has been host to a significant immigration of poorly trained migrants who do not have the financial resources to acquire privately financed housing. This combination has resulted in the "...growth of informal settlements far outstripping the rate of housing supply" (Smith, 2005:16).

As a city in a country that is part of the geo-political region known as the global South, Cape Town has been exposed to the effects of the rapid pace of urbanisation occurring in this region. The city has about 146 488 shacks (City of Cape Town, 2014:39) and the number is increasing. The efforts of both the national and local authorities do not match the constantly increasing demand for housing. As a result, driven by a natural instinct to shelter themselves, the poor build their shelter with whatever means is at their disposal. "In general, self-help housing is depicted as a cost effective response to mass urbanization and the inability of the state to house growing urban populations." (Landman & Napier, 2010:300).

In Cape Town, this has resulted into many newly settled families, often lacking skills necessary for prospects of formal employment and therefore the financial resources necessary to acquire land and access to private housing, having to construct their shelter with recycled materials. This has resulted in the mushrooming of informal settlements across the city, at a pace that is not only driven by the growth in urbanisation, but by the city's natural population growth as well. "It is estimated that about 22.4 per cent of households in Cape Town live in informal dwellings of which about 58.2 per cent are situated in informal settlements while about 41.8 per cent are informal dwellings in backyards." (Goven, 2010:148).

The provision of housing for the poor in Cape Town has for many years since 1994 been guided by the national vision contained in the Reconstruction and Development Programme. This vision has led to a "...hegemony of RDP houses" (Steenkamp, 2012:4). The government's approach to housing the poor, inspired by the RDP, has also been described as a width versus depth approach (Charlton, 2004:6). What this implies is that there has been more focus on the quantity of houses provided rather than the quality of the houses.

Set against the government's provision of RDP housing for the urban poor, the growth of informal settlements has continued unabated; "The recent proliferation of public construction, public squares and public housing along the N2 towards the airport is little more than a mirage compared with the direction of more underlying trends." (Pieterse, 2010:13).

In 2013, Trevor Manuel, then a minister in the Presidency, admitted that the number of people living in shacks then, was more or less, the same as what it was pre 1994. This, in spite of the government having provided more than three million houses to low-income households since 1994 (Anon, 2013). Key to the government's drive in providing housing to the poor has been the aim of eradicating shacks; the elimination of informal

settlements is one of the key principles of the Housing Act of 1997. Quite clearly, the government's has not been as successful as it had planned, in this regard. The World Bank estimates that in the next thirty years, the number of people living in shacks globally, will double (The World Bank, 2008:8).

Even in cases where households have been recipients of RDP houses, the familiar sight of informal structures added on to the RDP structures puts into question the success of the RDP house model in meeting the recipients' needs. By 1996, around 92 per cent of formally constructed houses in Cape Town's townships had backyard shacks (Lombard, 1996:11). Given the challenges outlined above, the question arises as to why the approach to the provision of housing for the poor has remained unchanged. In policy, a lot has changed, at least on paper, judging by proclamations in the Breaking New Ground policy, which was launched in 2004. In the Breaking New Ground policy, intentions of embracing informal settlements are proclaimed, "There is however a need to acknowledge the existence of informal settlements... There is also a need to shift the official policy response to informal settlements from one of conflict or neglect, to one of integration and co- operation..." (HDA, 2004:17). In practice, however, the approach and attitudes seem to have remained the same. What are the underlining attitudes that inform this steadfastness in approach?

The seemingly uncontrollable growth of informal settlements in Cape Town and elsewhere does not happen in a void. It occurs in a context of an era that is defined by cities- particularly in the global South-jostling for recognition as competitive and global cities. To attain this recognition these cities strive to emulate standards and norms that are usually found in cities of the countries that are commonly identified as the global North, countries with contexts, cultures and historical backgrounds that are different from those of the global South. In addition to the aspirations of a global city status and being regarded as a competitive city, there is the concept of modernism that cities want to be associated with. Modernism, in general terms, refers to a state of being congruous with current trends. In architecture, it is a reference to a style inspired by technology and is marked by uniformity and the quest for order in city and building form.

A quick way for cities to project their status as technologically advanced, competitive, modern, global cities is through their physical infrastructure. This creates a legibility that suggests that the technological proficiency made palpable in the structures and the formal arrangement in cities' built environments communicates something about a city's level of technological development. The inference being that, the more technological proficiency that can be read in cities' built structures and the formal and 'logical' arrangement of their built environments, the more advanced the cities and their citizens must be deemed to be.

In this language, informal settlements communicate the direct opposite, and hence, informal settlements and their continued growth have generated and continue to generate negative attitudes. These attitudes are often justified on the basis of an almost universal depiction of informal settlements as places of dire living conditions. The

reactions to informal settlements, therefore, are often put forward - especially by the authorities- as utilitarian attitudes, that is, attitudes borne out of concern for the welfare of people who live in informal settlements. Some researchers, however, have approached such declarations of concerns with cynicism. The researchers suggest other intentions as the real reasons behind actions that are pronounced as being geared towards addressing the stated concerns. The informal settlement that is used as a case study in this thesis, offers such an example, wherein researchers have questioned the real intentions of the authorities, dismissing the interventions that have been directed at the settlement as a beautification exercise (Newton, 2009:94). Such intentions are actually driven by affective rather than utilitarian attitudes, resulting from the mere sight of informal settlements, especially in the context of what has been discussed in the above paragraphs. Informal settlements also generate attitudes that are related to cognitive processes, often held by the general public and business or residential communities that neighbour informal settlements. These attitudes are based on beliefs about informal settlement communities and often lead to the tendency of seeing informal settlement communities as the other.

1.3 PROBLEM STATEMENT

Over the years, there has been a substantial body of literature on the subject of informal settlements going back to John FC Turner, the architect who laid the groundwork for the subsequent theoretical discourse that challenges the mainstream views on informal settlements and their utilitarian value (Willis, 2009:405). More recently there have been contributions from authors such as Hamdi (1991, 2004) who also champions the recognition of the resourcefulness ingrained in informal settlements. Mike Davis (2006), on the other hand, has highlighted the harsh conditions in informal settlements across the globe and their continued proliferation. His book, 'Planet of Slums', does however give significant insights into the causes of informal settlements and the common patterns that can be observed from informal settlements across the globe. Locally, in the context of the growing numbers of informal settlements despite stated intentions by the government to eradicate them, authors such as Marie Huchzermeyer (2004, 2006,2010) have challenged the government's reactions and approach to informal settlements.

The publications by the above authors and many others, do shed light on attitudes towards informal settlements, naturally because informal settlements elicit strong attitudes from various sections of the relevant societies. In writing about informal settlements, therefore, it is almost unavoidable to allude to attitudes. In a lot of instances, the writing reveals the author's own attitudes towards informal settlements as in Tshikotshi (2009). Huchzermeyer has written much on official housing policies towards informal settlements in particular. Her publications do give some insight into government attitudes, but do not look at the attitudes of the broader community. This is the case with many other authors.

There is very little evidence of detailed research into how attitudes impact housing policies for the poor, globally or in the local context. Lombard (1996) has detailed the various housing policies pre-and post -1994 and has looked at the subject of informal settlements against the backdrop of these policies. Outside of South Africa, Tighe (2010)

has looked into attitudes and low income housing in the United States. This has limited effect in answering the problems that are faced in South Africa, as low cost housing, in contexts like the United States, is vastly different to what is experienced in South Africa. Closer to South Africa, Arimah (2006) has looked at informal settlements in Africa as a consequence of the social exclusion of the urban poor. Steyn et al (2009) have looked at attitudes and housing for the poor in South Africa but this only related to earth construction in small towns.

Over and above the facts mentioned above, the literature on informal settlements -even when alluding to attitudes- has not addressed the issue thorough the lens of attitudes, that is, shedding light on informal settlements through a comprehensive understanding of the construct of attitude. There is, therefore, a gap in the research, of understanding informal settlements and the interventions and reactions related to them through understanding attitudes and how they impact such interventions and reactions.

1.4 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

According to Babbie (2011:13), social patterns are reflections of collective actions and situations of many individuals and are thus, deserving theoretical and empirical study. Accordingly in this study, the case study and various individuals were selected to represent voices from the relevant interest groups. Whilst understanding that other individuals who emanate from the same interest groups but were not part of this study might have provided different views from those that participated in the study; looking at the research results holistically, the observed patterns can reveal much that can be generalised.

Henerson et al (1987) pointed out that it is impossible to measure attitudes directly because of their abstract nature. "We can only infer that a person has attitudes by her words and actions" (Henerson et al, 1987:12). In conducting the interviews therefore, a large portion of the questions about the research participants' attitudes were not direct questions about held attitudes, but were instead framed to explicate their attitudes. Another reason for choosing this approach is that respondents are unlikely to give honest answers that they may feel would put them in a bad light.

It is not the aim in this study to determine that an "x" number of people in informal settlement "X" have a particular attitude, and that a certain percentage of officialdom holds a particular attitude. It is, instead to gauge prevailing attitudes by the various stakeholders and thus try to ascertain the resultant effect of those attitudes on housing delivery for the poor. It is for this reason that a qualitative study, as opposed to a quantitative one, is better suited for the purposes of this study. It is also for this reason that the study will rely on interviews for recording these attitudes, instead of scales which rely on quantitative methods to interpret the collected data. Here inference has been drawn from the answers given by the interviewees.

1.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The aim in the study is to look at the attitudes that influence existing paradigms in South Africa, "Paradigms are often difficult to recognize as such because they are so implicit,

assumed, taken for granted. They seem more like “the way things are” than one possible point of view among many.” (Babbie, 2011:33). It is hoped that, by adding to the existing body of knowledge on informal settlements, and exploring the subject from an attitudes context; the possibilities of paradigm shifts can be widened.

Rather than postulate solutions to the challenge of housing the poor, of which there have been extensive contributions; the study will seek to take a different approach by critically exploring the attitudes that have informed the actions towards addressing this issue and thereby help in understanding and probing current policies.

1.6 PRIMARY RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In solving the problem identified in the Problem Statement, the research will approach the issue by answering the following main question:

- How do prevailing attitudes towards informal settlements affect housing delivery for the poor?

It will unpack the main question by answering the following sub-questions:

- How can attitudes be understood?
- How can the phenomenon of informal settlements be understood in the South African context?
- What is the relation between attitudes and housing interventions for the poor?

1.7 RESEARCH DESIGN

This is an exploratory qualitative research. The main purpose of exploratory research is to identify what the case is (Mouton, 1996:122), with the aim of providing greater understanding of the identified issue. Although the results from this type of research are not definitive, they can dispel some misconceptions (Babbie, 2011:18).

The research aims to identify patterns that relate to attitudes and housing delivery, and from that formulate a theory. This will therefore be an inductive research.

1.8 RESEARCH DELIMITATIONS

The research study focuses on informal settlements in the city of Cape Town. Backyard shacks do not form part of the study. The research focuses purely on attitudes and makes use of the concept of attitude as a lens to evaluate housing delivery for the poor in Cape Town. In evaluating the issue of attitudes, the research is confined to the parameters of typology, politics and the social aspect.

The social aspect relates to the inhabitants of informal settlements as a community and how they might be labelled as the ‘other’ (their interactions with the broader community), rather than social aspects such as ethnic dynamics, locals vs. foreign immigrants dynamics or attitudes towards crime, service delivery etc.

The political aspect is confined to attitudes towards policies aimed at housing, attitudes behind policies such as the policy to eradicate informal settlements, informal settlements residents’ attitudes towards housing policies directed at them.

Typology relates to attitudes towards settlements that have the physical characteristics of an informal settlement.

1.9 OUTLINE OF CHAPTERS

In **chapter one**, I introduce the topic by describing its context. I explain the reasons why it is necessary to study the topic, what has been covered so far in terms of researching the topic, and identify what has been lacking. In the same vein the introductory chapter discusses, in brief, the interventions that have been done to address challenges that are related to the research topic, and highlights their shortcomings. By identifying what has been lacking in research on the topic and the shortcomings in the interventions that have been associated with informal settlements, the introductory chapter introduces a new way of looking at the topic, that is, through the lens of attitudes. In this chapter, I touch briefly on the concepts that I discuss in greater detail in the following two chapters, that is, modernism, the concept of a global city, othering, and affective and cognition based attitudes. The chapter spells out the research questions that the subsequent chapters are aimed at answering.

Chapter two is an in-depth discussion on informal settlements. I set out by disambiguating the meaning of the term 'informal settlement', especially for the purposes of discussing it here. The typology of informal settlements is discussed from a global phenomenon perspective. I then discuss the general trends that contribute to the formation and growth of informal settlements in the global South region of which, South Africa is a part. As mentioned elsewhere in chapter one, when writing on informal settlements, it is almost impossible to avoid alluding to attitudes, either within the written topic itself or the attitudes of the author himself. As such, a discussion on attitudes related to informal settlements crops up in chapter two, in the context of what cities are idealised to be. I then zone in into the South African context, particularly that of Cape Town with a brief discussion on the apartheid history of South Africa that has also contributed to the status quo as far as informal settlements are concerned.

In **chapter three**, I set out by covering the contestations around the attitude construct so as to explain the reason for choosing particular models over others. I then move to describe the more universally accepted constructs related to attitudes, that is, affect, behaviour and cognition. Having discussed these constructs the discussion moves to how the constructs affect evaluation of objects and can result in the othering of those objects. The discussion also includes other attitude related concepts such as dichotomy and world-views. This is then tied back to the phenomenon of informal settlements with the aim of illuminating how the grand visions of societies that are incompatible with the reality of informal settlements end up producing certain attitudes.

In **chapter four** I describe the methodologies used to explicate attitudes from applicable participants. I highlight the significance of understanding the complexities of extracting attitudes and ensuring that the interpretations that I attached to responses to my appraisals, were accurate. Bearing in mind that the topic of informal settlements is a highly contentious one, I explain the strategies that I used to ensure that I received truthful accounts of participants' attitudes. A discussion on the logic behind the choices of research participants that were approached for this study follows from a justification of the case study choice.

Chapter five is an in-depth portrayal of the case study, the Joe Slovo¹ informal settlement. Starting with the social background, the discussion moves to describe the physical location of the case. This is done to give a contextual background for the contestations that are chronicled later on in the chapter. In the description of the case, I describe the typology and demographics of the case. Following this description, I then discuss how the typology of the settlement has been morphing over the years as a response to the interventions that have been made in the settlement. These interventions relate to the concepts discussed in chapters two and three. The connection between these concepts and the chronicle is not discussed immediately in chapter five. This is done in chapter six, the chapter where in I also discuss the research findings.

In **chapter six**, I discuss the research findings, but start off by explaining the events that are chronicled in chapter five from an attitudes interpretation, as these events reveal much about attitudes towards the case study. Following that, the aspect of discussing informal settlements is discussed because the topic is a charged topic and there is often a link between attitudes towards objects and sensitivities to discussions on those objects. The following section is a discussion of the findings from the main research instrument; interviews, and this is discussed under the themes of attitude related constructs, discussed in chapter three. The final discussion before the summary of this chapter focuses on changes in attitudes related to informal settlements and the causes of those changes in attitudes.

Chapter 7 is a reflection on how through the research document I have responded to the research question. Based on data from chapter five and six I provide an answer to the main research question as well as the question on the relation between attitudes and housing delivery for the poor. I also explain how evaluations, informed by certain attitudes impact housing delivery. I conclude chapter seven with lessons from informal settlements and a recommendation for further research.

¹ Joe Slovo was an anti-apartheid ANC activist who became democratic South Africa's first minister of housing

CHAPTER TWO

UNDERSTANDING THE PHENOMENON OF INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The aim in this chapter is to unpack the phenomenon of informal settlements. It sets out by narrowing the definition of the term 'informal settlement' for the purposes of this thesis and describing the typology of informal settlements. The subsequent sections expound on the causes of informal settlements, their historical background as it relates to the colonial legacy of some of these cities that have large numbers of informal settlements and the cultural factors that pertain to informal settlements. Moving from that, a discussion on informal settlements within the context of prevailing conceptualisations of what cities should be, the subsequent reactions to the phenomenon of informal settlements is then discussed. The last section looks at the Cape Town experience of informal settlements.

2.2 DEFINING INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS AND DESCRIBING THEIR TYPOLOGY

In identifying attitudes towards informal settlements, it is necessary to describe the typology that this term refers to. This will be done with two objectives in mind. The first objective is to be clear about the use and meaning of the term 'informal settlement' in this thesis. The second one is based on the assumption that an understanding of the typology of these settlements is fundamental in unlocking attitudes directed towards them as the two aspects are interlinked.

2.2.1. Definition

According to Napier (2002:8), the general agreement on the main attributes of informal settlements is that they are created by the end-users themselves, without the intervention of professional or institutional help. In addition to that, most of the dwelling structures in informal settlements are constructed with temporary materials, they are illegal in some way- be it in terms of land tenure or in terms of being constructed out of the official building codes or both. Informal settlements are also characterised by the lack of services.

It is common practice in the literature to interchange the terms 'slums', 'informal settlements' and 'squatter settlements' even though they do not always refer to the same phenomenon. In Mike Davis's "Planet of Slums", the 'slums' are inclusive of settlements in places ranging from Johannesburg to Hong Kong, places in which the social contexts and the processes that lead to the formation of what are termed as slums, manifest differently.

In Pacione (2005) the slum is defined as "An area of overcrowded and dilapidated, usually old, housing occupied by people who can afford only the cheapest dwellings available in the urban area generally in or close to the inner city." (Pacione, 2005:674). According to Suditu and Vâlceanu (2013), slums are "...permanent, legally built buildings where living

conditions are precarious due to the building's age, its advanced physical and structural degradation, insufficient living space and overcrowding; in time, the living conditions in slums tend to deteriorate." (Suditu & Vâlceanu, 2013:67).

Whilst Pacione's definition implies that slums emanate from old and neglected housing, Suditu and Vâlceanu's definition makes no reference to a particular type of building. What is clear from both definitions is that slums emanate from buildings that arise from the formal paradigm of construction and occupation.

The fact that informal settlements are characterised by self-built structures that are constructed with makeshift materials is the main distinguishing aspect between informal settlements and slums. Informal settlements as discussed in this thesis, do not include slums as defined by Pacione, Suditu and Vâlceanu, but reference will be made to authors that have written about informal settlements under the umbrella of slums.

The term 'squatter settlement' can describe both the phenomena of informal settlements and slums. The term refers to occupying land that the occupiers have no legal right to. This can be in the form of building new structures on the land or occupying existing structures on that land.

2.2.2. Typology

The physical attributes and cultural contexts found in settlements across the world identified as informal settlements vary. The construction materials used in the favelas of Brazil -often re-enforced concrete and brick- are different to those used in the informal settlements of South Africa (usually a combination of scrap metal, timber and plastic). The villas miseria of Argentina (with multi storied dwellings) have characteristics that distinguish them from the musseques of Angola.

Güney Y. argues that "Typology ...does not and cannot incorporate user participation, and therefore it is antithetic to participation." (Güney, 2007:15). The term typology in this sense refers to design approaches drawn from a formal classification of design elements. It is a reference to a process that writers like Grahame Shane have argued against because of its inflexibility. Shane writes that,

" Authoritarian regimes or other governments threatened by sudden change have often used the typological approach as a reductive instrument to try to quickly create cities." (Shane,2011:128). From these citations, it would seem that because of the spontaneity of the formation of informal settlements, they are the antithesis of typology, and can therefore not be described within a typological paradigm.

It is true that the processes involved in the creation of informal settlements are spontaneous and driven by necessity, and do not draw from formally established design approaches. It can also be argued, however, that the similarity in the agencies that drive the formation of informal settlements results in common patterns emerging. "...the dynamics of the informal land market in all developing countries is remarkably consistent..." (Vigier in Allen, et al. (Eds), 1992:56). Regardless of the type of materials used or cultural context, informal settlements invariably exhibit features of overcrowding, the structures are constructed from or include makeshift materials, often in a

rudimentary fashion. The overcrowding, lack of services, the ambiguity of public spaces, the materials used and the construction methods that lead into people associating informal settlements with poverty, produce the typology that describes these settlements the world over, in spite of local variations. Regardless of the local expression that this typology may take, informal settlements are almost invariably regarded as undesirable, especially by the authorities.

In addition, the fact that the design approaches and construction methods of individual dwellings in informal settlements are not recorded in some formal processes, should not imply that these processes do not exist. They exist in an informal manner in the sense that people observe and learn from what their neighbours have constructed before them, and proceed more or less in the same manner. "In time, people build a substantial body of experience about how best to build, to connect to utility lines..." (Hamdi,1990:13). Informal settlement dwellings in South Africa tend to look the same, as is the case for dwellings in the informal settlements of Brazil. "A notable observation that can be made in a large number of informal settlements in developing countries is the similarity between dwelling types in individual settlements." (Majale,1993:50).

2.3 THE LOCATION OF INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS ACROSS THE WORLD

Though it is mostly cities in the countries of the global South that are characterised by large numbers of informal settlements, they are not necessarily confined to the global South. In 'Informal Settlements and Squatting in Romania: Socio-Spatial Patterns and Typology', Suditu B. and Vâlceanu D.G. write about informal settlements in an eastern European country. The United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE), in its 2009 report titled 'Self-Made Cities', reported that more than fifty million people in its region-mainly in Eastern Europe- lived in informal settlements. The importance of being precise about what one terms as an informal settlement takes a special significance here, because in their reference to informal settlements in Europe, the authors include settlements that have residents that "... are not necessarily poor; rather, the informality of the development is used as the only way to overcome existing complex and time-consuming planning..." (UNECE, 2009:8). Certainly, there are informal settlements in Europe fitting the definition given in the preceding section, but the UNECE's broad definition calls into question the figure of more than fifty million people, in the context of the definition adopted in this thesis.

Though informal settlements are not exclusively confined to the countries of the global South, it is significant that the drivers that are most associated with the formation of informal settlements - rapid urbanisation, growing populations and growing poverty-are most acutely experienced in the global South. Countries of the global South are also most likely to have been colonies. The implication from this is that their cities have a history of not having been designed for the entire populations as they stood during the early planning stages, or for future growth but for the settler colonial elite.

2.4 FACTORS DRIVING THE FORMATION OF INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS

2.4.1. Rapid Urbanisation

The global population is urbanising at an unprecedented rate. This rate has resulted in the number of the world's urban population surpassing that of the non-urban in 2007. The ramifications of this milestone are so immense that the United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UNHabitat) described it-in the African context-as probably the most decisive phenomenon since independence (UNHabitat, 2014:17). On a global scale, Davis (2006:1) compared this transition to the Neolithic and Industrial Revolutions. Whether this transition will have the same gravity, remains to be seen, but already in the global South, the region that has seen much of this urbanisation (ninety-five per cent, according to Davis (2006:2)) cities are exhibiting its physical manifestations.

In much of the literature, the proliferation of informal settlements in the cities of the developing world is presented as a negative consequence of this rapid urbanisation.

Mike Davis, whose portrayal of the phenomenon of informal settlements/slums has been described as thoroughly pessimistic and almost apocalyptic by Nuisl and Heinrichs (2013:106); describes this urbanisation as the urbanisation of world poverty in his book, 'Planet of Slums' (Davis, 2006:50). The UNHabitat's 'State of African Cities' 2014 (UNHabitat, 2014:10) report sees the intensification of poverty, informality (which includes informal settlements) and inequality as a consequence of the rapid urbanisation occurring in Africa.

Whether informal settlements-as an outcome of this rapid urbanisation-should be seen in a positive or negative light can be contested. The link between the rapid urbanisation and the growth in informal settlements, however, cannot be disputed.

The pull to the cities has to a large extent, been fuelled by the perception that cities offer good job prospects and opportunities for economical progress. This perception is not based on any false logic; because " [in theory], The concentration of major economic activities in urban areas ... [should lead] ...to various social and economic benefits like employment." (International Federation of Surveyors, 2010:20) especially when considering the decline in agricultural employment, over the years. The reality, however, has been that industrialisation in the global South has been capital intensive rather than labour intensive (Macdonald, 1978:108). According to Davis (2006:13) some of the leading industrial cities in the global South have seen massive plant closures and deindustrialisation since the mid-1980. But even the employed have been faced with falling real wages and soaring prices (Davis, 2006:14).

This has had an adverse effect on the affordability of housing, especially for the poor. The situation is much worse for the new immigrants, with little or no skills. They have had to resort to building their shelter with whatever means available to them. This has largely translated into salvaged materials assembled with no professional skills to produce the typology described at the beginning of this chapter.

2.4.2. Limited Resources

Historically, if the urban poor could not afford to fund their shelter through formal channels, depending on the country, states took it upon themselves to provide the poor with subsidised housing. This model, defined as the 'Provider Paradigm' by Hamdi, has been the most dominant approach in housing the poor (Hamdi, 1990:26).

It has proven to be unsustainable because of the high costs associated with the standards that need to be met in order to provide what is regarded as adequate shelter (Hamdi, 1990:32).

It has not just been costs that have posed as a challenge to the model. The model has been afflicted by other social ills like corruption. 'Middle class poaching' a practice that sees middle class families ending up as the beneficiaries of government social housing instead of the poor; has been observed in countries such as Algeria, Tunisia, India, Mexico, Vietnam and Nigeria amongst others (Davis, 2006:65).

Worsening the effects of resource constraints on cities of the global South, is the fact that this constraint is not only confined to financial resources. Some of these cities lack "... the institutional and technical capacity to provide even the most basic of urban services."(Arimah, 2001:2).

Aside from the resource-constraints placed on governments' provision of housing to the poor, there have been deliberate actions to move away from the provider approach. A significant aspect that had led to the decline in the application of the model has been the application of structural adjustments in the economies of developing countries. These adjustments were pre-requisites for IMF and World Bank loans in the 1970's and 80's. Central to these structural adjustments was the aversion to government spending on social programs like housing (Next City, 2013:40).

2.4.3. Indifference by Authorities

Not all governments have seen the provision of housing for the poor as a priority or a responsibility. This does not imply that, per se, they accept the reality of informal settlements. It is mainly because the poor constitute a section of society that is often regarded as the 'other'. The urban poor constitute a "...marginalised class..." that has "...enacted powerful changes to the structure of cities simply through the practice of living everyday life to meet basic needs." (Fabricius, 2012:44).

In spite of having made these powerful changes to the structures of cities, some city authorities have simply refused to officially acknowledge the existence of these communities. In Manila the capital city of the Philippines, forty per cent of the metro population lived in informal settlements in 2004. Despite this staggering proportion of the city living under such conditions, informal settlements remain invisible to public officials. Informal settlements have remained non-priorities in government planning (Shatkin, 2004:2470).

2.4.4. Informality as a Cultural Expression

In 'Straddling the Divides: Remaking Associational Life in the Informal African City', Abdoumalig Simone (2001) frequently refers to what he calls the 'informalization' of African cities, somewhat suggesting that informality is increasingly spreading in African cities.

An alternative view however, would be that informality, to varying degrees, has always been ingrained in the cultural norms of the societies making up these cities. "...informality" in the cities of the developing world tends to draw on norms and institutions derived from indigenous or pre-colonial socio-cultural orders..." (Jenkins & Wilkinson, 2002:35).

A more specific example is offered by the UNHabitat, "It is not appropriate to speak of a "quiet encroachment" of informality in Western Africa. Informality is not merely an alternative mode of operation through which conventional infrastructures are encroached upon. Informality is a wholly alternative set of practices, indigenous in origin, which remained unrecognized in law for a long period of time during colonialism, only to find some integration with formal systems in the post-colonial era." (UNHabitat, 2014:132).

In spite of the challenges associated with the provision of shelter in Ghana, the poor still manage to find shelter at night. This is enabled by informal networks that are inbred in the Ghanaian culture (Next City, 2013:50).

2.4.5. Colonial Legacies

Many cities of the global South, including Cape Town, originated as colonial outposts. The idea of these cities as areas of exclusivity for the colonial elite was ingrained in their conception and design. This was in line with the colonists' conceptions of the native populations as the 'other' and as a means of subjugating them. "In fact, a central plank of the regime of governmentality in many colonies was precisely to use infrastructure as the marker of inclusion and exclusion; the emblem of colonizer/civilized and colonized/savage"(Pieterse, 2008:25).

Colonial cities were also externally focused in terms of their outlook, drawing inspiration from the colonists' places of origins rather than what was happening in the immediate surrounding.

These habits still linger on, as evidenced by the replacement of the colonial elite by the post-colonial elite. The same settlement patterns remain; the new elite resides in the colonial centre while the poor are still confined to the outskirts. In many cases, the standards or legislation that ensured the segregation of the elite from the less desirable 'others' during colonial rule, have not changed much; to the benefit of the new elite (Jenkins & Andersen, 2011:3). A typical example of a city that follows this narrative is Kinshasa, the capital city of the DRC, "The city itself was dual: there was "la Ville," the exclusively white, colonial heart of the city, and then there was "la Cité," the vast, indigenous peripheral city, inhabited by Congolese. The city in itself has always maintained a state of exclusion, even today... in Kinshasa, you have a colonial city with a very small heart, which stopped growing in 1960, when Kinshasa's population did not exceed 400,000. Afterward, 4 million to 6 million people have been added onto that, but

in areas that have not been urbanized along formal lines.” (Rao in Pieterse & Edjabe (Eds), 2011:28).

The old habit of being outwardly orientated is also persistent. Cities in the global South region tend to neglect their local contexts in pursuit of being regarded as cosmopolitan or being global cities. To attain this status, they turn to the cities of the global North for inspiration.

All of the above factors; the colonial legacies, poverty, rapid urbanisation limited resources et cetera have combined to produce a situation in which up to twenty-five per cent of the urban population in the global South, live in informal settlements (Next City, 2013:5). In sub-Saharan Africa, back in 1997, an estimated thirty-nine per cent of dwellings were defined as impermanent (Napier, 2002:10). The presence and continued increase of these settlements goes against the grain of what cities are conceptualised to be or, in the case of the global South, aspire to be.

2.5 INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS IN THE CONTEXT OF CONTEMPORARY CONCEPTUALISATION OF THE CITY

2.5.1. Typologies and Modernity

The modernist project with its utopian visions of providing “...clean and healthy living spaces for citizens from all different socio-economic status groups.” (Güney, 2007: 8) is not inconsistent with the pursuits of some governments in the global South today. This is more true for governments whose attitudes towards informal settlements are driven more by concerns for the material conditions in informal settlements than concerns about the image they perceive informal settlements project about their domains.

Even so, one of the luminaries of modernism, Le Corbusier wrote of modernism; “...our towns will lose that appearance of chaos which blights them at the moment. Order will reign...” (Le Corbusier, 1924:135). For Le Corbusier, achieving this order entailed the reduction of heterogeneity and mitigating uncertainty “...through the certainty of the plan.” (Tafuri,1976:125). The master-plan and typology in architecture and planning have come to represent the disciplines’ contributions to the values of an era that has seen the rules of formal logic, non-contradiction, certainty and detailed reasoning as the benchmarks of ‘the ideal’, “...the most important influence on the idealization of architectural physiognomy was the emergence of modern science.” (Vesely, 2004: 254).

Modern science emerged in the eighteenth century and was marked by a “...new style of thinking—which appeared in the fascination with encyclopedism, taxonomies, comparative studies, different kinds of measured observations, and the like.” (Vesely, 2004:261). The architectural version of a taxonomy was a “typological atlas of architecture”, published by J.N.L Durand in 1801 (Güney, 2007:8).

These developments (the rise and spread of the influence of positivism to other fields such as architecture, the development of taxonomies), which commenced towards the end of the eighteenth century, would eventually lay the foundations for the rise of

modernist architecture in the twentieth century. The prevalence and influence of modernist architecture, has continued well into the twenty-first century, “High Modernism still dominates architectural practice...” (Adam, 2012:2), and so the elements of typology and the master-plan continue to influence architectural practice and thought to this day throughout the world including in countries of the global South. According to Vesely (2004:301) the dominance of the pursuits of economy, efficiency and perfection of performance in contemporary culture has reached unprecedented levels. This has resulted in the assessment of any activity linked to production, (including the production of buildings and subsidized housing) to be benchmarked against technical norms of production, the “technological imperative” (Vesely, 2004:302).

The technological imperative, though, has not meant that the application of typology has only been limited to the mechanistic understanding of architecture. Typology has also been applied to the more qualitative aspects of architecture, including aesthetics. The order that Le Corbusier wrote about in 1924 was to be achieved through what he termed, “unity of details” (Le Corbusier, 1924:135). Unity of details leads to a degree of sameness and sameness is desired because it “...attempts to promote unity.” (Grincer,2011:193). Unity in this sense refers to communal unity. Typology in architecture is sometimes used to imply shared values and in this way, typology defines the collective self. The utilization of typology in this manner is common within the context of suburbs of cities across the world and often manifests as themed, gated communities. Such developments often come with strict guidelines and rules on how the individual units should be designed, if there is any leeway at all. Accordingly, those who fall outside the collective self, defined by a particular typology, become other-ed.

Inherent in modernism is the requirement that certain cliques be the sole arbiters of what is- and not appropriate, in architecture and city-form. This, to the exclusion of everyone else who- according to the categorisation that is so characteristic of modernism- is not competent to make such judgments. This excludes quite a significant proportion of society, and more significantly, this proportion often includes the end-users themselves. But this exclusion makes sense to the extent that it is critical for Le Corbusier and modernism’s vision of ‘order’. The inclusion of a mix in the making of architecture and city form that is as diverse as is the case in real life, would make the task of order or as Bauman (1991:1-17) terms it “The quest for order”, an impossible task.

2.5.2. The Imperatives of Global City Status and Cosmopolitanism

Modernist architecture with its tendency towards abstraction is well suited for the concept of Global Cities. Abstract ideas that do not take into account the heterogeneity and contingent nature of every-day life and local particularities, but are based on typologies and master-plans facilitate the concept of a global city. The theory of global cities was conceptualised by the sociologist, Saskia Sassen in 1991. Her description of a global city, in sum, is that of a city with a number of [multinational corporation] headquarters (Sassen, 2005:29). She states further that the centres of these cities are greatly shaped by technological and economic change (Sassen, 2005:36). Global cities came about as a result of multinationals outsourcing some of their core functions. Cities then became focal points of such functions as a result of having large pools of human

capital and infrastructure geared towards performing those functions. It is then argued that this makes each global city unique and competitive because it performs a particular function in the running of the global economy- brand differentiation (Adam, 2008:79). London is a global financial centre whilst Singapore is a major global port city. Sassen's description of a global city and the examples of London and Singapore, emphasise the socio-economic aspects of cities rather than their physical attributes. These socio-economic aspects reveal the heterogeneity that can sometimes be observed within global cities. Other writers have pointed out the homogenising effects of the pursuit of global city status (Kong, 2007:384).

It is in architecture with its devices of typology and the master-plan that the homogenising potential of the global city concept gets to be elevated. Global city ambitions homogenise cities in as far as they have to allow for the physical infrastructure that facilitates the possibility of becoming a global city. This is where typology comes into play because aspirant global cities require state of the art transportation, leisure facilities, office space and telecommunication systems. This then leads to the glimmering international airports, the eye-catching sports facilities and large shopping malls that have become the standard for any city that aspires to be considered as a modern, global city, especially in the global South. It is often major international architectural firms that are hired to make these visions a reality "...globally famous architects are still the heroes of the profession and in demand by status-seeking cities" (Adam, 2012:2). The architecture that these firms create is rarely rooted in local traditions, it is an international, modernist architecture that is presumed to be universally applicable. The buildings created in this process, not only have to be technologically efficient, they have to physically communicate that the relevant city is in touch with the latest technological trends.

As Picon (2013:3) points out; architectural ideas and principles are normally about endorsing the prevailing trends rather than challenging them and proposing alternative futures, consequently if technology represents the main preoccupation of contemporary society, technology becomes architecture's preoccupation. And for many, technology has come to define the zeitgeist of contemporary society, "The influence of scientific doctrines has been replaced by a more powerful influence—that of technology." (Vesely, 2004:267).

Some of the leading lights of twentieth century architecture who considered the reflection of a new technological era as an obligation on architecture, included Mies van der Rohe, "...our real hope is that technology and architecture grow together, that some day the one be the expression of the other. Only then will we have an architecture worthy of its name. Architecture as a true symbol of our time." (Neumeyer, 1991:332). Walter Gropius was more prophetic about architecture's future complementary service to technology, "One day there will be a world- view... [a global economic system that is driven by technology and facilitated by global cities] ...and then there will also be its sign, its crystal – architecture." (Gropius et al, 1919). Architecture has indeed become a vital symbol in communicating how cities, especially cities in the global South, see themselves as part of the technological age. According to King (1996:104), these symbols in the form of buildings, often "...confirm the consciousness of ... inferiority." This is revealed by the

sheer zeal that is often involved in the undertaking of these projects by cities in the global South and their elimination of anything that deviates from the image that these projects are meant to project.

In present-day Nairobi, Kenya, plans are well underway to construct a 'technology city' (Konza City) so as to "...enhance Kenya's global competitiveness in technology and innovation." (UNHabitat, 2014:150). As a city, Nairobi will be home to both Konza City and Kibera, the world's largest informal settlement (Hamdi,2004:17). But unlike Konza City, Kibera can never be regarded as a beacon of Kenya's global competitiveness in technology and innovation, but rather the antithesis of this projection. Kibera thus becomes a nuisance in the grand vision by some, of Nairobi as a global city. Places like Kibera tend to reinforce the sense of inferiority alluded to by King.

As global nodes that transcend national boundaries, global cities need cultural icons to support a vibrant cultural life to attract and sustain the flow of multi-national human capital (Kong, 2007:384). This gives rise to new contestations about space in the city. Whereas historically this has been confined to local interests, it has now come to include global interests in the form of multi-national corporations that have their sets of requirements for choosing a city as a strategic location and the expatriates who have their own expectations about what constitutes city life. These new interests are considered vital for development in the current global context and can therefore not be dismissed.

2.6 EUROCENTRIC PERCEPTIONS OF INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS

'Othering' Informal Settlements Communities

In the subsection dealing with the colonial legacy in cities of the global South, mention was made of the tendency by the elite in these cities to want to emulate cities of the global North. This is because, whereas perceptions about cities in the developing world are generally negative, cities of the global North are regarded as the gold standard of what cities should be and look like. Indeed, if the number of people in Europe living in informal settlements is anywhere near the 50 million quoted by the UNECE; very little is publicised about this phenomenon. Perceptions about squalor in cities of the developing world, on the other hand, abound. According to Myers in Parnell and Oldfield (2014:449), ubiquitous waste has become a symbol of African cities in contemporary discourse. Because of the physical conditions often found in informal settlements, they are universally associated with this squalor that in the opinions of many defines cities of the global South, particularly African cities. Writing about informal settlements as physical manifestations of social exclusion, Arimah (2011) wrote that informal settlements are "...characterised by squalid conditions of environmental sanitation." (Arimah, 2011:2). Informal settlements are therefore a mark of squalor that, "...gleaming high-rise buildings rub shoulders [with]..." in the developing world (Next City, 2013:281). Consequently, they are regarded as blights, inconsistent with the vision of bringing the relevant cities to the perceived high standards of cities in the global North.

Arimah's perception of informal settlements as physical manifestations of exclusion (2011) is valid in many cases, especially in cases where there is an attitude of indifference

by the authorities. The assertion can still, however, be contested when some of the factors that lead to the formation of informal settlements, such as rapid urbanisation and limited resources are taken into consideration.

A counterview perceives informal settlements as a positive response in mitigating the contexts of limited choices that the urban poor have to contend with. “Meanwhile, in the narrow and ram-shackled streets of Kibera in Nairobi – the world’s largest slum, housing some 600,000 people – or in Mumbai, Lima, Cairo and elsewhere, people organize, build homes, gain access to services and utilities in the inventive and enterprising ways they always did.” (Hamdi, 2004:17). But in the eyes of most authorities in these cities, informal settlements are not signs of inventive and enterprising ways. Consequently communities living in informal settlements are associated with otherness. Therefore in these cases, the social exclusion happens as a result of these communities constructing informal settlements, rather than being the cause of the formation of informal settlements as can be read from Arimah’s assertion.

2.7 INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS IN CAPE TOWN

Cape Town originated as a refreshment station for Dutch ships en route to the Far East in the seventeenth century. It would later become an important colonial outpost of the British Empire. Present-day Cape Town is South Africa’s premier tourism destination. Known for the natural beauty that is its setting, it is home to two UNESCO World Heritage Sites. According to the city’s 2012 State of Cape Town Report, the city’s natural beauty enhances its profile as a liveable city and therefore enables the city to attract highly-skilled and talented human capital (City of Cape Town, 2012:19). A report by the UNHabitat collaborates this assertion, it claims that Cape Town is often regarded as the most liveable city in Africa (UN-Habitat, 2014:38).

Cape Town is the second most significant city in terms of economic output to the South African economy. The bulk of this economic activity lies within the services sector which includes finance, business and hospitality (City of Cape Town, 2014:20). The city’s economy has gradually shifted away from the labour-intensive manufacturing industries towards the specialised services already mentioned, this has been a trend within cities that global cities are modelled on “...in many (predominantly Western) cities, the global demand for producer service industries has superseded manufacturing, leading to a decline in working class skilled labour (e.g. the automisation of factories), replaced by an economy requiring highly-educated professionals...” (Lemanski, 2007:450). The city’s economy has industries that are “...innovative or distinctive niches in the world economy...” (UN-Habitat, 2014:13), a competitive advantage for any city seeking global city status.

Much of the factors mentioned above, paint a picture of a city that is well poised to becoming a global city, hosting a cosmopolitan mix of citizens. However, as any city in the global South, Cape Town is subject to much of the factors that lead to the formation of informal settlements discussed earlier in this chapter.

As a city that began as a colonial outpost, the urban fabric of present-day Cape Town still betrays the city's colonial past, but further compounding the situation in Cape Town is South Africa's apartheid past "...in Cape Town...fragmentation is amplified by the already significant social and spatial segregation evident in the city as a consequence of decades of colonialism and apartheid." (Lemanski, 2007:458). The first significant growth of informal settlements to warrant official alarm in South African cities occurred in the late 1940's (Wilkinson, 2000:197). Following that, massive government housing programmes were implemented in the mid to late 1950's, according to Frescura (1981:171), only to be abandoned soon after by the then new National Party government, which then focused on its 'homeland' policy of resettling blacks to the former homelands. It is significant to note that even though there were concerted efforts to address the housing issues in the wake of the increase of informal settlements in South African cities in the late 1940's, this increase intensified growing concerns about what was termed the "Native question" (Wilkinson, 2000:197). This concern led to the electoral victory of the National Party, which consequently implemented much of the apartheid legislation. This would then suggest that the advent of informal settlements as an integral feature of South African cities was one of the forces that precipitated the rise of apartheid.

The homelands and other associated policies including the influx control act-which was enacted to control the flow of blacks into urban areas-artificially stymied rapid urbanisation in South Africa. According to Davis (2006:52) the increase in urbanisation in South Africa was only marginal (from 43 per cent in 1950 to 48 per cent in 1990). Nonetheless, Wilkinson (2000:197) writes that the African population in Cape Town continued to grow in spite of national government measures to curtail black urbanisation. In Cape Town new townships were developed to house the blacks that were considered to be legal "...to separate them out from those still living illegally in the... squatter camps..." (Wilkinson, 2000:197). Suggesting that the othering of informal settlements communities in Cape Town was practiced as early as the 1960's.

If the various acts to control the flow of blacks into South African cities had limited success, their abolition, starting with that of the influx control act in 1986 and other reforms later in the 1990's, more than made up for the delay in the rapid urbanisation that had been a common trend in other global South countries. The urban percentage of the South African population grew from 54.5 per cent to 62 per cent in just sixteen years, 1995 to 2011 (City of Cape Town, 2014:173). In the same period, Cape Town's population grew by 46 per cent. Thirty-nine per cent of this growth comes from immigration from outside of the western Cape (ibid). The rapid growth of immigration into Cape Town coincided with the decline in manufacturing which by 1996, accounted for the largest portion (27 per cent) of the city's economic output (Wilkinson, 2000:200). As mentioned earlier, the shift to service industries has meant less job prospects for the less skilled labour force that constitutes the bulk of the immigration, not only into Cape Town but into cities across the global South. For obvious reasons, most immigrants into Cape Town cannot afford private housing and consequently add on to the existing numbers of informal settlements in the city, as a result the city considers service delivery in informal settlements a "...constantly moving target." (City of Cape Town, 2014:33). According to

city estimates, there are 364 informal settlements with 146 488 dwellings in Cape Town (ibid).

Attitudes by the authorities and various interests groups, towards the presence and continued growth of informal settlements in the city, to a large degree will be influenced by what they believe the current city should be or how they envision the future of the city. In 2003, Michael Farr, then the CEO of the Cape Town Partnership (a non-profit collaboration between the private and public sectors to promote investment in Cape Town) stated "...we are building a globally competitive city for residents, investors and visitors to enjoy." (Foreign Direct Investment Intelligence, 2003). The desire to please investors and visitors is shared by the City of Cape Town as well, as demonstrated by the pride in having conditions that attract highly skilled and talented human capital. But as Lemanski points out, this type of thinking leads into making the city attractive to outsiders rather than solving its problems (Lemanski, 2007:450).

Sometimes cities adopt strategies of hiding their 'problems'. This appears to have been the case in Cape Town in the run up to the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup whereby the N2 Gateway 'low-cost' housing development was piloted for the national government's then-new Breaking New Ground housing policy. The real intention of the project, and the timing behind it, according to Huchzermeyer (2010), was to "...beautify the entrance to the city (from the airport) for its international guests." during the soccer tournament (Huchzermeyer,2010:140).

The airport by that time, had just undergone a multimillion rand revamp. The airport is a key focus in the city's strategy of becoming a global city, "For Cape Town to truly exploit its potential as a global city, it needs to attract more international flights, which will require on-going discussions with ACSA regarding its international hub strategy." (City of Cape Town, 2014:114). And the airport does live up to expectations of how edifices of its kind should be like, "...most of the best new airports are like giant sheds housed under aerofoil roofs of one sort or another that modulate daylight into vast interiors. Cape Town is one of them ...Of its kind, it is a competent airport, perhaps the best in South Africa, and certainly one of the best in Africa." (Raman & Dreyer, 2012:16).

Therefore, when visitors land at the Cape Town International Airport, they land into surroundings that they are more or less familiar with. What they may not be familiar with though, is the long stretch of informal settlements as they leave the airport and head into the city (see figure 2.1).

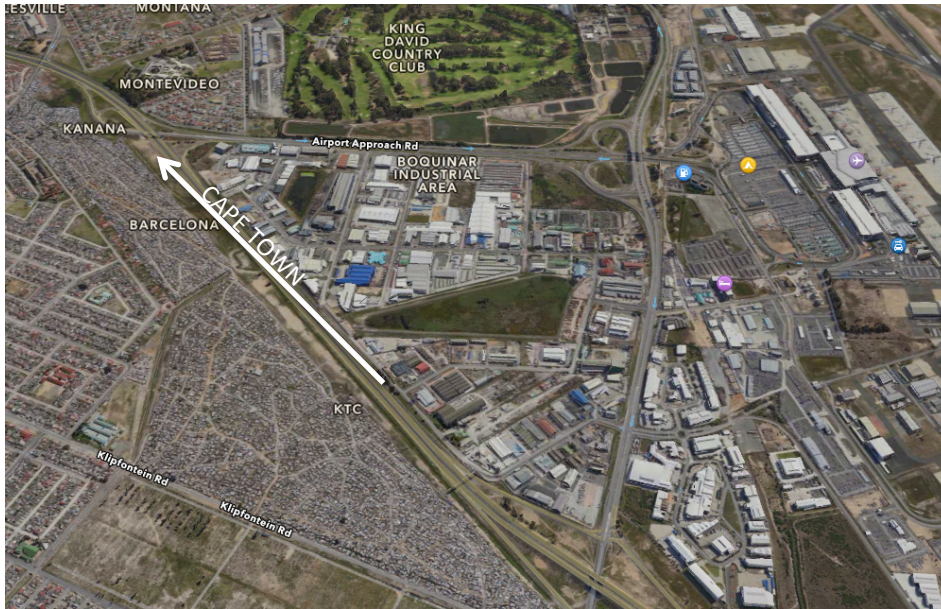


FIG 2.1. Aerial view of the N2 freeway. The airport is situated at the top right of the image, whilst to the left, across the freeway lies the stretch of the KTC, Barcelona and Kanana informal settlements. (Apple Maps, 2015).

Discerning the city's official policy towards informal settlements is a not straightforward task because of the mixed sentiments, reflected in the various city documents that make references to informal settlements. The situation at the national government level mirrors the same state of affairs. The national government's progressive and enabling housing programmes, as described by Tissington (2011:9), become far less progressive when they get to be at the implementation stage. There have been instances where a minister would make remarks about informal settlements, that are inconsistent with the spirit expressed in national policy. The BNG policy for instance, has been considered a progressive policy, especially in light of preceding policies, because of its advocacy of *in situ* upgrading of informal settlements. The Housing Minister who inherited the policy in 2004, on the other hand, seemed to prefer the eradication of informal settlements, "It appears that Minister Sisulu never aligned her approach to many of its [the BNG policy] progressive innovations." (Huchzermeyer, 2011:116).

In the context of Cape Town, in two municipal documents; the Spatial Development Framework (2012) and the State of Cape Town Report (2014); the acknowledgement of informal settlements as a reality in Cape Town is evident. In the Spatial Development Framework, the *in situ* upgrading of informal settlements is identified as a key strategy for the city's '2040 vision' and spatial goals (City of Cape Town, 2012:52). Further down, in the document, the upgrading of informal settlements is identified as likely to becoming more prevalent. Within the State of Cape Town report, the inadequacy of low-cost housing is acknowledged and the upgrading of informal settlements is seen as a strategy of mitigating this inadequacy (City of Cape Town, 2014:186).

Even within the Five-Year Integrated Housing Plan (2011), mention of the upgrading of informal settlements is also widespread, but in this document, there is also evidence of intolerance towards informal settlements. Upgrading here is seen as a short-term intervention with the ultimate goal being the total eradication of informal settlements (City Of Cape Town, 2011:9). How this ultimate total eradication is going to be achieved is not made clear, however, there are strategies of dealing with informal settlements in the interim. One of these strategies is the provision of field workers to monitor informal settlements and prevent the invasion of land (City Of Cape Town, 2011:17) the obvious aim here being the prevention of further informal settlements development. Elsewhere in the document it is stated that this monitoring is planned to occur on a 24 hour-seven days per week basis.

Even the description of informal settlements in this document reveals a negative appraisal of informal settlements. According to the document, informal settlements in Cape Town "...are characterised by severe social and economic conditions, which manifest in high levels of poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, alcoholism, drug addiction, low health status and other behaviour such as crime and delinquency." (City of Cape Town, 2011:21).

The inconsistencies, both at national and local government levels may point to underlying and persistent negative attitudes towards informal settlements. Officials may be reluctant to speak outright against- or formulate documents that are decidedly anti-informal settlements. In the context of current discourse on informal settlements, especially academic discourse stretching as far back as John FC Turner, being outright negative about informal settlements might make their thinking seem outdated. The ambitions for a modern, technologically savvy society coupled with the need for global city status, however, might be wearing their patience thin.

Some sections within society go beyond the act of embracing modernity and global city ambitions as pursued by officials, in some cases they are the champions of these ambitions. Members of established neighbourhoods are often up in arms when informal settlements develop in their vicinity. A case in point was the development of Imizamo Yethu in Houtbay (eighteen kilometres from Cape Town). According to Fieuw (2011), the already established middle class community that Imizamo Yethu came to neighbour, were resistant to "This 'imposition' of 'formalised informality'..." which "...was 'out of place' and 'defiles the town's identity as a site of scenic beauty.'" (Fieuw, 2011:42). Even though the reference to scenic beauty refers to the town's natural setting this reference is related to typology, because what it infers is that the pre-existing town's typology is appropriate for that setting whilst that of Imizamo Yethu is not.

2.8 SUMMARY

This chapter explored the phenomenon of informal settlements and has identified informal settlements as a phenomenon that is mainly an experience of the global South countries. It is important to distinguish between settlements that have come about through formal processes, even though their occupation might be informal- become dilapidated and historically called slums- from settlements that emerge outside formal processes, the focus of this thesis. Even though informal settlements vary from country to

country, the socio-economic conditions that are similar for most countries in the global South, produce similar sets of circumstances that give rise to common trends in informal settlements across these countries. The socio-economic conditions mentioned include rapid urbanisation. Often, the formation of informal settlements is cited as one of the negative outcomes of this rapid urbanisation. The task of addressing the challenges that are a result of this rapid urbanisation is further compounded by the fact that the countries in which this phenomenon is taking place, have limited resources. It then becomes difficult to spread the resources across the demands placed on these countries by these many challenges, including the huge housing demand. But the lack of resources has not always been the only cause of limited intervention by states, in Manila in the Philippines, apathy by the state has also played a significant role.

Priorities for a lot of these countries entail catching up with the countries of the global North. Countries in the global North have contexts that are different to those of the global South, yet cities of the global North are held up as benchmarks to emulate. Countries of the global North constitute societies whose culture has been influenced by the ascendancy of science and scientific methods as points of reference for many aspects of their culture. Architectural thought and practice have also been exposed to this influence. The effect of this influence on architecture has come to mean that architectural problems have had to be addressed through the devices of typology and the master-plan. These devices are well suited for the concepts of global cities and modernism.

The implication for cities in the global South has been that, whilst they have to join-in on a narrative that goes back to the eighteenth century, they have to grapple with present-day issues that are unique to them and have no resonance with this narrative. It is argued here that it is the desire to be part of this narrative and the gap that results because of the issues particular to the global South, that gives rise to the subject of the next chapter: attitudes.

In the section discussing informal settlements in Cape Town, it becomes clear that determining what a particular individual or entity's attitude towards an object is, is not a straight forward task; as demonstrated by the ambiguity in the city's documents.

The literature cited so far covers the topic of informal settlements, their causes and consequences. It also relates to reactions that informal settlements elicit. Having concluded that these reactions are mostly negative attitudes towards informal settlements, it is then fitting to explore how these attitudes can be inferred, how they develop and how the qualities of objects elicit certain attitudes.

For this reason, it is necessary to delve into the concept of attitudes as the next chapter sets out to do.

CHAPTER 3

UNDERSTANDING ATTITUDES

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In what they term an umbrella definition, Eagly and Chaiken (2007:583) define an attitude as a psychological inclination to evaluate a particular entity with some degree of favourability or dis-favourability. According to Schwarz (2007:638), the concept of attitudes is a hypothetical construct created by psychologists to explain social behaviour. Attitudes "...derive their right to life from their explanatory power." (Schwarz, 2007:638). Being hypothetical constructs, to date there has not been a consensus on the exact nature of attitudes, "...many questions concerning the nature of attitudes, as well as the underlying mechanisms of attitude formation and attitude change remain unanswered." (Falk & Lieberman, 2013:71). The following section will expound on some of these contestations, and reasons why in this thesis, certain theoretical frameworks have been preferred over other alternatives.

3.2 CONTESTATIONS ABOUT THE NATURE OF ATTITUDES AND HOW THESE RELATE TO THIS THESIS

In the extensive research that has been done on attitudes over the past decades, one of the most significant bones of contention has been on whether attitudes are dispositional or episodic in nature (Kruglanski & Stroebe in Albarracin et al (eds) 2005:324-326).

On the one hand there is a view advanced by researchers such as Erber (1995), Schwarz and Bohner (2001) and others. This view holds that attitudes are generated at the moment that stimulus is produced and are influenced by contextual factors. According to this view, attitudes "...depend on what people happen to be thinking about at any given moment." (Erber et al., 1995:433). This suggests that attitudes are not stable and are highly susceptible to change, depending on the context upon each exposure to the attitude object.

A theory advanced by Chaiken and Eagly (2007) amongst others, on the other hand, posits that attitudes are stable evaluations stored in memory. This implies a condition of readiness or predisposition to retrieve the stable evaluation from memory on re-exposure to the attitude object (Kruglanski & Stroebe in Albarracin et al (eds) 2005).

Schwarz challenges the notion of attitudes as stored constructs in memory by raising the issue of novel stimuli "The automatic evaluation of novel stimuli, and the high context sensitivity of any automatic evaluation, is difficult to reconcile with the hope that automatic evaluations capture enduring object-evaluation links established by past experience." (Schwarz, 2007:641).

Cunningham et al (2007:754) posit that when there is no clear situational affordance, as in the case of novel stimuli; subjective experiences of ambivalence come to the fore.

In an example that supports the position in Cunningham et al; a tourist from a global North country with no informal settlements, lands at Cape Town International Airport and informal settlements are the first aspect of the city she encounters on landing. If this person has never been exposed to informal settlements, what would be her likeliest evaluation of informal settlements? (based solely on aesthetic merit). While the answer to this cannot be definitive without empirical evidence- and it would be a wide generalisation- it can be generally assumed that the evaluation will either be ambivalent or negative (based on experience from her background on how human habitation should look like and be organised) "...prior knowledge may be used to make judgements on attractiveness." (Crilly et al, 2004:20). This speaks to memory.

An example that would illustrate Schwarz's standpoint is one of a person tasting something for the first time, their evaluation of whether it tastes good or not does not depend on memory; they can make the judgement online. In Schwarz's own words, it is better to think of attitudes as "evaluative judgments, formed when needed, rather than as enduring personal dispositions." (Schwarz, 2007:639). But experiencing the taste as either good or bad is not an attitude, but the valence of the affect of the thing being tasted. The judgement then, would be deciding on which end of the good/bad scale the taste lies. This would then translate into the person's attitude toward that thing. It is, however, difficult to imagine how inferences from memory can be irrelevant even in the example given here.

The two examples given above reveal another aspect about the nature of attitudes that has been contested by researchers. This relates to the relationship between an attitude and a related evaluation. The last example infers that the evaluation is the attitude. "...an attitude is conceived as an evaluative judgement of an object in terms of its degree of "goodness" (or "badness")." (Kruglanski & Stroebe in Albarracín et al (eds) 2005:324).

In Cunningham et al (2007) and the inference within the first example, by contrast, evaluations and attitudes are treated as two separate entities. "By distinguishing the concepts of attitudes from evaluations... any given set of weights (attitude) can give rise to multiple patterns of activation (evaluations)." (Cunningham et al, 2007:749). The relationship between attitudes and evaluations is explained more clearly in Cunningham and Zelazo (2007); "Attitudes (i.e. relatively stable ideas about whether something is good or bad) exert powerful influences on people's evaluations – their current appraisals – and these, in turn, influence people's choices (e.g. their choices of friends, careers, consumer products and presidents)." (Cunningham & Zelazo, 2007:97).

Whilst it is outside of the scope of this thesis to validate either of the standpoints, the dispositional approach is a more useful framework for the purposes of this thesis. It is within the dispositional theory that the idea of attitudes and evaluations as separate entities, sits well. The hypothesis in this thesis is that there is a cause and effect relationship between evaluations -seen here as separate entities from attitudes- of informal settlements, and the subsequent reactions to these informal settlements. These evaluations, it is posited, are to a large extent, driven by attitudes. The "...theoretical separation between the inner tendency that constitutes attitude and evaluative

responses is important because it fosters understanding of the relation between (a) evaluative tendencies [attitudes] which are mental residues of past experience with the attitude object and (b) current evaluative responding [evaluation] which reflects a whole range of influences in addition to those that emanate from the inner tendency [attitude].” (Eagly, & Chaiken, 2007:586).

3.3 OTHER CONCEPTS RELATED TO ATTITUDES

In the so-called tripartite model advanced by Katz and Stotland (1959) to explain the phenomenon of attitudes; affect, cognition and behaviour are perceived to be the components that constitute an attitude (Eagly & Chaiken, 2007:589).

In this model, affect describes the valence of feelings directed at or induced by an attitude object, cognition refers to beliefs about the attitude object and behaviour is the action and response directed at the attitude object. (Fabrigar et al in Albarracín et al (Eds) 2005:82).

Subsequent research and theories, however, suggest that the elements of affect, cognition and behaviour are not only distinct entities in themselves (Fabrigar et al in Albarracín et al (Eds), 2005:82), but can also be distinguished from the construct of attitude. The concepts of affect, cognition and behaviour can discretely influence attitude.

3.3.1 Affect and Attitudes

Affect is defined as a momentary pleasant or unpleasant state (Schimmack & Crites in Albarracín et al (eds), 2005:397) that is most commonly expressed through moods or emotions. It is a momentary state because it is activated on exposure to the object or event that induces the affect. This temporal specificity of affect is one of the attributes that distinguish the concept from that of attitude according to Clore and Schnall in Albarracín et al (2005:438). But more importantly, affect relates to a state, as explained in the definition above; whereas an attitude is a tendency to evaluate something in a particular fashion (Clore & Schnall in Albarracín et al (eds), 2005:438). Though people can have memory of being in a particular state, a state cannot be conjured up from memory- in the absence of the relevant stimulus- to be re-experienced at any given moment. Attitudes, on the other hand, when recalled, can have the same psychological impact even when a person is far away from the relevant stimulus.

Building on work by J.A. Russell (2003), Clore and Schnall write, “Affective experience appears to have both valence and arousal components.” (Clore & Schnall in Albarracín et al (eds), 2005:439). Valence relates to an emotion- ranging from pleasant to unpleasant- induced by the relevant stimulus. Arousal pertains to the level of importance associated with the experience (Clore & Schnall in Albarracín et al (eds), 2005:439). The structure of affect is depicted graphically in figure 3.1, below. The parameters of this schema can convey “information that something in a situation is good or bad and important or trivial.” (Clore & Schnall in Albarracín et al (eds), 2005:439).

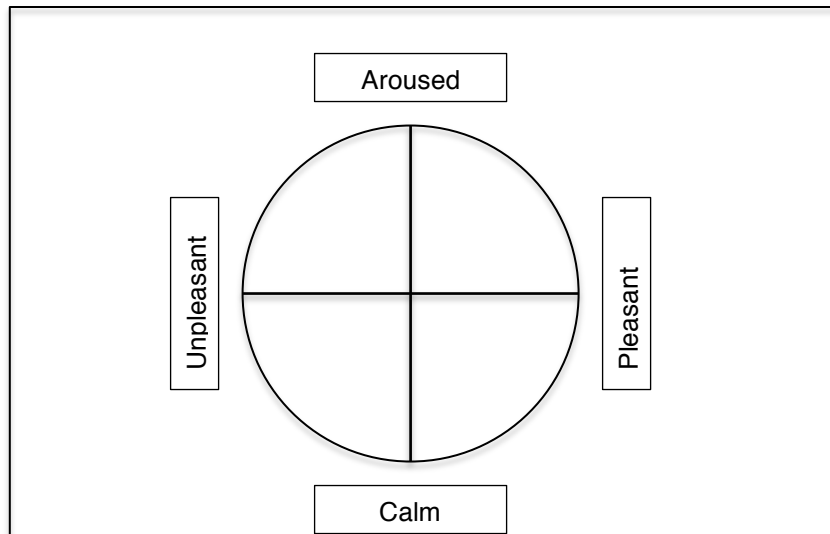


FIG 3.1 The structure of affect showing the two dimensions of valence and arousal (Clore & Schnall, 2005:439)

In explaining the influence of affect on attitudes, Clore and Schnall suggest that, “The secret to affective influences on attitudes is ultimately that both affect and attitudes, despite their differences, are evaluative.” (Clore & Schnall in Albarracín et al (eds), 2005: 440). This does not mean that affect is an evaluation, because it is an experience. In the same volume, Schimack and Crites write, “...if affect is an evaluation of an object, it is impossible to study the influence of affect on attitudes...or the influence of attitudes on affect, because something cannot be the cause or the effect of itself.” (Schimack & Crites in Albarracín et al (eds), 2005:397). Affect is evaluative because it has valence, and that in the end results in some form of judgement. In other words, there is an experience and then judgement based on that experience. It is this experience that is of interest for the discussion here.

Sensory affects are affects that are generated by stimuli that affect the sensory organs. Sensory stimuli can have an inherent association with affect, but most associations of sensory stimuli with affect are learned (Schimack & Crites in Albarracín et al (eds), 2005:407). Changing attitudes that are related to affect caused by the former category is likely to be more difficult than attitudes related to the later category. This is because stimuli associated with the inherent association category “...provide important information for survival.” (Schimack & Crites in Albarracín et al (eds), 2005:407).

Schimack and Crites elaborate on this by stating; “Sweetness is a sign of nutritious food, whereas bitterness is a sign of potentially dangerous substances.” (Schimack & Crites in Albarracín et al (eds), 2005:407). Judgements and attitudes related to stimuli that do not have inherent affective qualities like the attractiveness of objects on the other hand, stem from learning processes such as classical conditioning.

Affective conditioning, a tool employed in advertising uses association to evoke positive feelings about brands (Baker, 1999:31). This is done by generating positive feelings by pairing the advertised product with stimuli that would generally be regarded as inducing positive feelings. Beyond advertising, this technique is ubiquitous in everyday life.

Associating shopping malls with feelings of- or the concept of rejuvenation explains phrases like 'retail therapy'. Consequently, shopping malls are popular because of the positive attitudes that are directed towards them, attitudes that are based on affect. In this way, affect can generate an attitude towards an object by associating a particular stimulus with the object.

Affect can also alter existing attitudes. Mere exposure, a phenomenon whereby repeated presentation to a stimulus, resulting in the stimulus becoming more unexceptional, leads to more positive affect (Clore & Schnall in Albarracín et al (eds), 2005:450). Positive affect translates into a positive attitude. "...mere affect is an affective phenomenon, but not one that bypasses ordinary cognitive processing." (Clore & Schnall in Albarracín et al (eds), 2005:461). Cognition does have an effect on affect and can thus change affect. In the example made in the discussion on affective conditioning, positive affect is generated by pairing shopping malls with therapeutic emotions, still, in the same setting affect can change on realising the implications of going to shopping malls frequently to the shopper's finances. Subsequent to this realisation, affect can change from feelings of therapy to feelings of anxiety. This is an example of affect changing due to cognition, but the concept is fundamentally different from that of mere exposure, because mere exposure relates to affect changing from negative to positive valence. Clore and Schnall do not address this possibility i.e. affect changing valence from positive to negative feelings due to cognitive processes.

3.3.2 Cognition and Attitudes

Zikmund et al (2013:315) describe cognition as an individual's knowledge about the attributes of an object and the consequences of those attributes. Generally, people have some level of knowledge about the relevant attitude object. This 'knowledge', however, is not always based on empirical evidence. "There is evidence that attitudes also distort our beliefs, through information processing that is biased for motivational or cognitive reasons. Attitudes can influence beliefs by influencing the perception of an attitude object..." (Marsh & Wallace in Albarracín et al (eds), 2005:369). In this sense then, Norman's (2004:8) description of cognition as a means of making sense of the world, seems more fitting. The significance of this description is that it highlights the fact that, what Zikmund et al describe as 'knowledge', is contingent on subjective filtering.

Even when presented with alternative information that is much closer to or based on empirical evidence, and individuals are forced to validate their existing beliefs in the context of the new information, they tend to set higher standards when considering the validity of the new information, (Marsh & Wallace in Albarracín et al (eds), 2005:369). In this way, accurate information might be discarded in favour of 'information' that is skewed by attitudes. In other words, our understanding of affairs that affect our lives may be compromised by the attitudes we hold. This is significant because a lot of the actions that we take are based on this possibly skewed understanding of these affairs.

3.3.3 Behaviour and Attitudes

The last sentence in the preceding paragraph touches on how actions can be influenced by cognition, which in turn can be influenced by attitudes. Attitudes can also influence behaviour in a direct way “People’s actions are guided by their internal attitudes.” (Olson & Stone in Albarracín et al (eds), 2005:223).

The rationale that attitude is related to behaviour is very significant, not just for the argument contained in this thesis; but for the collective inquiry that has been done on the nature of attitudes over the years. When the strength of this link was beginning to be questioned, based on empirical inquiry that had been initiated by S.M Corey in 1937, “...many social psychologists began to worry about the utility of the attitude construct.” (Ajzen & Fishbein in Albarracín et al (eds), 2005:175).

In understanding the disconnect between stated attitudes and observed behaviour, it is important to understand that there is one significant aspect that differentiates behaviour as an attitude related phenomenon from the two others; it is possible to conceal the affective impact of an object or cognitions about the object. Behaviour on the other hand, transpires in an overt manner. Behaviour, therefore, if not subject to norms of the general public, at least, it is subject to public scrutiny. An example is the suggestion made in the preceding chapter, relating to how politicians might in public be advocating the upgrading of informal settlements (behaviour) whilst, privately they might be wishing for them to disappear altogether (the real attitude). Behaviour will therefore not always reflect the held attitude because of social influences.

Commenting on the picture that was beginning to emerge in the wake of the research initiated by Corey, David Myers (2010) writes, “...the developing picture of what controls behaviour emphasized external social influences and played down internal factors, such as attitudes and personality.” (Myers, 2010:125).

The above discussion partly explains the complexities involved in the relationship between attitudes and behaviours and the lack of correlation between stated attitudes and behaviour as observed by Corey and other researchers.

It does also happen that people engage in behaviour that is deemed not to be in sync with norms that society looks favourably upon. But the fact that they do not engage in such behaviour should not necessarily be interpreted as a sign that they hold a negative attitude towards that behaviour. The low correlations between the stated attitudes and the actual behaviour reported in the studies that questioned the influence of attitudes on behaviour were a result of an erroneous assumption that general attitudes would predict single behaviours (Ajzen & Fishbein in Albarracín et al (eds), 2005). “People who hold the same general attitude can behave in different ways.” (Ajzen & Fishbein in Albarracín et al (eds), 2005:180).

“The effects of an attitude on behaviour become more apparent when we look at ...aggregate or average behaviour rather than at isolated acts.” (Myers, 2002:113). The principle of looking at average behaviour is called aggregation (Ajzen & Fishbein 2005; Myers, 2002).

To make an example, it can be assumed that the majority of informed people in contemporary society are aware of the health benefits of physical exercise. This cognition would likely result in positive attitudes towards physical exercise, but the attitude would not necessarily translate to most people who hold that attitude, adopting a habit of going to gym. Research on the activities of members of a sample population could reveal that one portion of the population goes to the gym, another takes the stairs at work instead of the lift, and another walks the distance to their workplaces instead of using transport. But if judgement on the correlation between the positive attitude towards physical exercise (a general attitude) was to be based solely on the activity of going to the gym (a single behaviour) the same erroneous assumptions that researchers such as Corey did, would be made.

There are other aspects that influence the effect of attitudes on behaviour. The ability to behave in a particular way is moderated by a host of factors that include the availability of opportunities to act out the behaviour or the necessary resources to carry it out (Ajzen, 1991:185). Most critical, is the intention or as described in the literature, motivational factors, to perform the behaviour (Ajzen, 1991; Ajzen & Fishbein, 2005). The Theory of Planned Behaviour postulates that the execution of a behaviour is a joint function of the motivational factors and perceived behavioural control i.e. beliefs about one's capabilities to carry out the behaviour (Ajzen 1991).

“...a number of theorists have proposed that the intention to perform a behaviour, rather than attitude, is the closest cognitive antecedent of actual behaviour.” (Ajzen & Fishbein in Albarracín et al (eds) 2005:188). The Reasoned Action Approach on which the Theory of Planned Behaviour is based, “describes” the process entailed in arriving at an intention. In this theory, it is assumed that people's behavioural intentions “...follow reasonably from their beliefs about performing the behaviour.” (Ajzen & Fishbein in Albarracín et al (eds) 2005:193). These beliefs on which intentions are based, may not be based on fact, can be biased and may even be irrational (Ajzen & Fishbein, 2005) as per the discussion on cognition above, wherein the influence of attitudes on beliefs was explained. This may explain why sometimes people persist in performing a particular behaviour in the face of evidence that the behaviour does not yield the desired effect (the insistence on providing state subsidised housing in the hope that it will replace informal settlements whilst evidence shows that the number of informal settlements is actually growing).

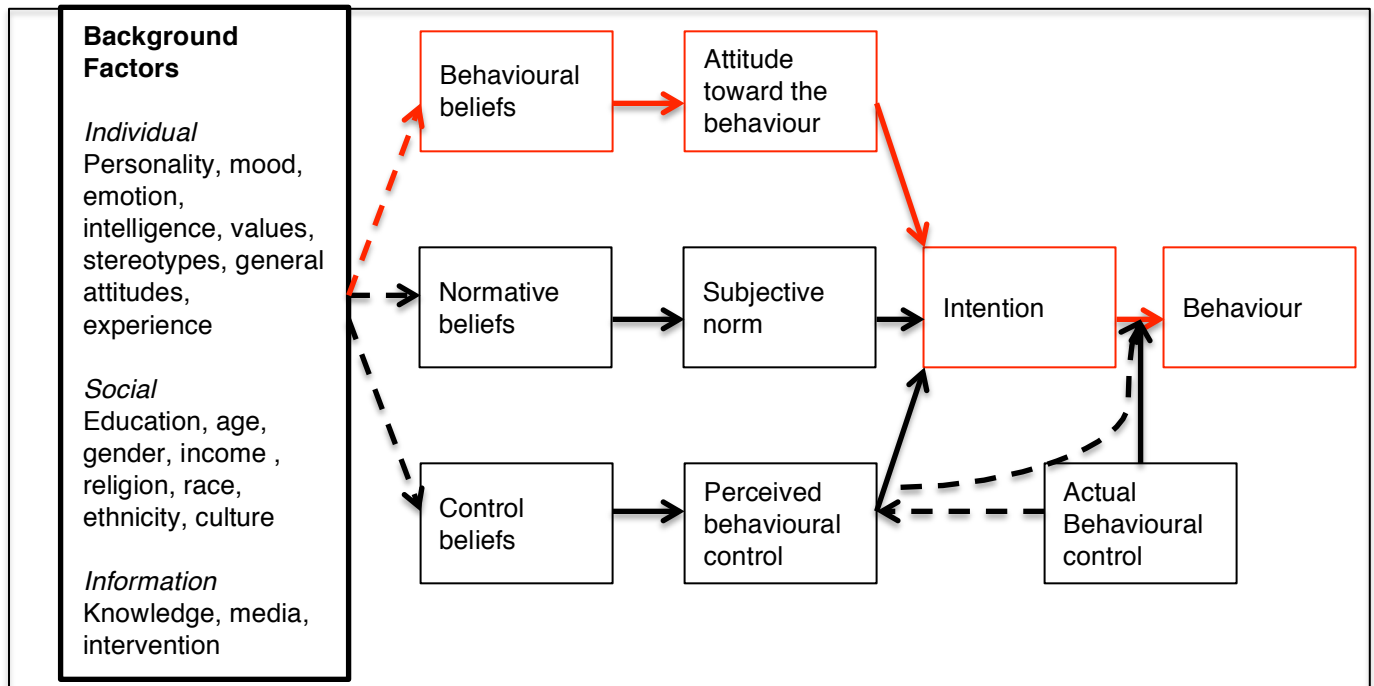


FIG 3.2 The diagrammatic sketch of the theories of Reasoned Action and Planned Behaviour (Ajzen & Fishbein, 2005:194)

Figure 3.2 above shows the diagrammatic representation of the theories of Reasoned Action and Planned Behaviour as depicted in Ajzen and Fishbein (2005:194).

It is a helpful tool in explaining the antecedent nature of intention to behaviour and the factors that feed into the formation of the intention. The path from background factors through 'behavioural beliefs'; 'attitude toward the behaviour' and 'intention' have been highlighted in red here to illustrate the extent to which both theories emphasise the attitude toward a behaviour relation. Looking at attitudes towards behaviour is significant for the purposes of this thesis, because it will help in exploring attitudes towards informal settlements eradication or attitudes towards self-help housing, for instance. It has to be mentioned however, that the attitude towards the object (informal settlement) is of primary interest, as it will determine the kind of behaviour that is enacted. It is argued that any attitude towards the eradication of informal settlements, for example, cannot be dissociated from an attitude towards informal settlements.

The theories of Planned Behaviour and Reasoned Action Approach are inclined towards- and useful in looking at attitudes towards behaviours that are not necessarily tied to objects, such as physical exercise. It is therefore, necessary to look at the aspects that are involved when an attitude towards an object, is the primary focus of inquiry, taking into consideration that in this thesis, evaluation and an attitude are regarded as two separate constructs. Extracting from the diagram above, the path from attitude to behaviour is postulated in figure 3.3 below.

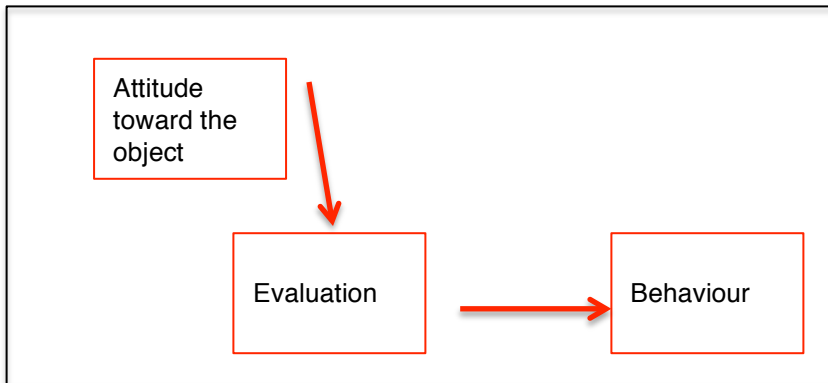


FIG 3.3 Behaviour based on attitude towards an object (Author,2015).

In figure 3.3 the antecedent to behaviour, instead of being intention, is the evaluation, “...activated evaluations serve to guide thought and behaviour in the presence of the attitude object.” (Bassili & Brown in Albarracín et al (eds), 2005:547). Another important distinction is that behaviour in this sense does not necessarily imply overt action. People, especially those that are less affected, do not always have to act on their attitudes towards an object or entity. Indifference is another expression of behaviour. Therefore, intention will not always be relevant for all contexts. Whether there is any *intention* to perform a specific behaviour, will depend on the evaluation and agency.

3.4 THE EFFECTS OF ATTITUDES ON EVALUATION

When people make evaluations about an object, they assess the extent to which the object has positive and/or negative qualities (Jarvis & Petty, 1996:172). According to Cunningham et al. (2007:738) evaluations are generated by integrating pre-existing attitudes that are activated on exposure to the stimulus with additional information about the stimulus, context and goal states. This information is contained within micro-concepts, which according to Bassili and Brown (2005:533), are infused with evaluative and affective information. The information contained within micro-concepts, “...carries evaluative and affective implications.” (Bassili & Brown in Albarracín et al (eds), 2005: 553). Accordingly, the resultant verdict produced by an evaluation is subjective as it is based on the concerned person’s affective and cognitive responses. Over and above that, their underlying attitudes towards the object or stimulus also play a significant role, “Individuals who hold favourable attitudes are likely to notice, attend to, and process primarily the object’s positive attribute, whereas individuals with unfavourable attitudes towards the object are likely to direct attention to its negative qualities.” (Ajzen & Fishbein in Albarracín et al (eds), 2005:185).

Evaluations are an integral element of everyday-life, their functions range from the seemingly mundane to life changing implications. But even those evaluations that on surface, might seem insignificant, on a macro level, are susceptible to take on significant meaning. An evaluation of an informal settlement by a single passer-by who has no

connection to- or interest in informal settlements, for instance, could be dismissed as having no significant implications for society in general or for inhabitants of informal settlements. The evaluation of a social condition commissioned by a state institution, on the other hand, can be expected to involve a significant number of intellectual resources, involve systematic processes and have significant social implications. Having stated that, the implications of the evaluation of an informal settlement by the solitary passer-by becomes quite significant when it becomes a pattern with a sizable number of other ordinary members of society having the same evaluation of the informal settlement (the evaluation has significance for the inhabitants, even though the evaluation is done by outsiders). Beyond the significant implications of evaluations on most aspects of life, is the power of attitudes. An example that illustrates the power of attitudes on evaluations is that of an evaluation of a film, if the evaluators of a film have an aversion to seeing images of violence and the film turned out to be particularly violent, they can be expected to make a negative assessment of the film, even though it could otherwise be regarded as good.

Evaluations may involve systematic processes and a large pool of intellectual resources, but that does not necessarily make the evaluations immune to the effects of attitudes. For instance, the idea from modernists in architecture that "...social order could be achieved through the use of right angles and glass facades..." (Grincer, 2011:50), led to a tendency in modernist architecture to evaluate societal problems as architectural problems. In addition to that, conditioning might have led many into believing that, because of the intellectual resources involved and the professional procedures that might have led to this assumption, there could be an element of credibility involved and therefore, there must have been some truth in the assertion.

Attitudes play a significant role in influencing people's world-views, which in turn influence evaluation. Each individual's world-view represents that individual's perceptions of the world. "World-view construction is always connected to a culture in which "meanings" are circulated, types of behaviour are passed from generation to generation, socio-political problems are produced, and styles of art confront us. The material used to construct a world-view comes from our inner experience and our practical dealings with things, as well as from the interpretation of history and of scientific knowledge about our world." (Aerts et al, 2007:9). When people engage in these "practical dealings with things", they make evaluations about the experiences or make associations based on others' experiences of these engagements and thus make judgments about the things, people or entities they interact with. Evaluations are therefore tied to world-views since evaluations are part and parcel of forming world-views.

The concept of world-view has been introduced here because it comes about through cognitive processes and, as discussed, cognition is influenced by attitudes. More importantly, as a construct, world-views can illustrate how different evaluations can be made about the same entity due to different world-views. In an experiment conducted by Hong (1994), two sets of students represented two different world-views. One set represented people who tend to believe that people have fixed personal attributes. The other set was made up of a sample of people who hold the view that personal attributes

are not fixed but are adaptable. Both sets were presented with a statement stating: "Alexis stole some bread from the bakery shop." They were then asked to make causal attributions by completing the statement: "This probably occurred because..." The students who believe in fixed personal traits tended to respond with statements such as: "Alexis was a thief" or "Alexis was dishonest". The other set, by contrast, generated "...process-oriented, psychological-state explanations" (Hong et al, 1997:298). "Alexis was hungry," and "Alexis was desperate" were some of the responses from the latter set. "...underlying attitudes may predispose individuals to evaluate objects, situations, people or groups more or less favourably..." (Falk & Liberman, 2013:86).

If the experiment conducted by Hong were to be put within the context of informal settlements, a sample question for respondents could be; "Statistics show that there are more incidents of crime in informal settlements compared to other settlements.", and the lead statement to solicit casual attributions would be "This is probably because". The experiment would likely reveal a set of people who hold that people-in this case communities- have fixed personal attributes (values) and this set would probably provide answers such as " People who live in informal settlements have a culture of lawlessness." The experiment might also reveal the other set in Hong's experiment, i.e. people who believe that people have adaptable attributes; and they would probably ascribe the increased number of incidents of crime in informal settlements by providing answers such as "There are no police stations in informal settlements".

Because they guide decision-making, evaluations are fundamental to survival. Yet they can be erroneous. The processes that feed into making evaluations are often subjectively biased. Even evaluations by collectives can be erroneous, because often, people become a collective as a result of sharing common beliefs, experiences, world -views or identities. Collectives can make erroneous evaluations as had happened -with the evaluation of societal problems as basically architectural problems. "The idea that the right arrangement of buildings can create social harmony has motivated many city planners and architects..." but this has only, "... produced many failed visions for cohesive communities. More importantly, such views misunderstand the nature of architecture and its capacities." (Grincer, 2011:84). In essence the evaluation that architecture has the capacities to solve societal issues that may not be directly related to architecture was proven to be erroneous by the failed visions, as described by Grincer. "Wishful thinking and delusion permeate all our ideals, political and environmental; they are woven into all concepts and plans that are complex enough, and generate sufficient emotional force, to command action." (Tuan, 1990:14).

It is much easier to judge evaluations with cognitive cues as being either erroneous or not, because sometimes it is possible to verify the validity of the cognitive cues. Evaluations based on affect, are however, not easily verifiable. There can never be absolute common ground about the feelings that stimulus can induce on people or how people feel about the stimulus. This is evident in the making of aesthetical judgements. "The aesthetic judgements that consumers make often reflect their taste." (Crilly et al, 2004:18).

But, even though affect is more of a personal experience, it can be conditioned in such a way that collectives can experience affective responses that, more or less, follow the same pattern, "...the visual appeal of objects is also influenced by socio-cultural, socio-economic, historical and technological factors." (Crilly et al, 2004:10). Herein, evaluations about affective stimulation can be somewhat skewed by the prevailing societal tastes. Because expectations about the affect of certain stimuli are created, this can lead to erroneous judgement, "...beliefs and expectations affect how we perceive and interpret sights, tastes, and other sensory phenomena, but also that our expectations can affect us by altering our subjective and even objective experiences sometimes profoundly so." (Ariely, 2008:176).

Conditioning distorts people's evaluations of objects, especially when it comes to matters of taste. Explaining how objects are sometimes evaluated on the associations that are attached to them, rather than their intrinsic attributes, Crilly et al (2004), noted that there is also an element of social discrimination involved. "...when products are consumed, expressions of "I like that" may be implicitly converted to "I'm like that"; taste is not only a matter of aesthetic preference, but also of social discrimination" (Crilly et al,2004:18). With this tendency, people are inclined to evaluate objects, behaviours or entities that are associated with groups they regard as separate from the groups that they themselves identify with, in a negative light.

3.5 OTHERING

Attitudes do not only influence how objects and behaviours are evaluated, but also how people are evaluated. Similar to the other constructs that are related to attitudes, the relationship between othering and attitudes is reciprocal, the tendency to other marginalised groups fosters negative attitudes towards them, and negative attitudes towards the marginalised fortify the desire to see the otherness in them. People are motivated to have positive self-conceptualisations. Maintaining a positive self-conceptualisation relies on comparing oneself with others (Sedikides & Brewer, 2001:1). In the same vein, the collective self, i.e. the group that one identifies with based mainly on symbolic associations, rests on comparison with other groups not only to thrive but to enhance the group's self image (Sedikides & Brewer, 2001:1).

Bauman writes, "Dichotomy is an exercise in power..." (Bauman, 1991:14). This power is exercised by grouping entities and people into distinct categories, wherein one category is defined by its distinctness to the other category that it is paired with. This is where the comparison, alluded to above, comes into play. In this setting, the marginalised group depends on the dominant group for "...its contrived and enforced isolation." (Bauman, 1991:14) while the dominant group depends on the marginalised group for "...its self assertion." (Bauman, 1991:14).

Though the evaluation of the qualities of the attributes that distinguish the one group from the other ("Our way of life is better than theirs") might be open to contestation, it is undoubtedly the dominant group that exercises the power that is embodied in dichotomy. This power lies in the fact that it is their view that is mostly accepted as fact and this boils down to attitudes. In Albarracín et al (2005), Krunglanski and Stroebe describe how this power imbalance plays out in relation to attitudes, they state that

gaining knowledge that the less powerful group is the source of an attitude “...might lead to its rejection, based on an evoked motivation to separate oneself from a powerless group.” (Kruglanski & Stroebe in Albarracín et al, 2005:335). Thus, the powerful not only set the tone by categorising and prescribing what is appropriate, their views are more favourably received.

3.6 UNDERSTANDING ATTITUDES IN THE CONTEXT OF INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS

3.6.1 Othering of informal settlements

The asymmetry within the categorisation that produces an ‘other’ is not limited to the power of assigning categories to entities, but extends to the extent to which people willingly choose to be part of this dialectic. Bruno Latour (1993:11) writes about what he calls the ‘modern critical stance’, which is defined by the separation of the world of purification-which entails categorisation- from the world of translation-defined by networks (Latour, 1993:11). The world of categorisation represents order, whilst the world of translation contains contingencies. Latour argues that this modern project has never succeeded, because the very act of purification has produced hybrids that are an element of the world of translation “ ...this task of purification is an impossible one, because the more one turns upward to construct artificial worlds of purity and transcendence, the more one has to turn one’s back on the social construction of the world, and in this turn a blind eye to the mixing of things with people. The mixing takes place anyway...” (Till, 2009:144). Hence, the title of Latour’s book; “We have never been modern”.

Within the context of the built environment, the urban fabric that comes about through formally recognised processes (that involve typologies and master-plans) and the domain of the dominant group, represents this quest for order, whilst informal settlements, naturally represent contingency. In the modernist paradigm, informal settlements should not exist because there are entities, people and processes that are assigned the responsibility of producing housing, and housing to a basic standard at that. But as explained, this does not necessarily pan out. In Latour’s language thus, informal settlements can be understood to be making the assertion; “We are not modern”.

But of course, when people construct informal settlements they do not do so to make philosophical statements, but are instead, driven by survival instincts. For them, othering means participating in a dialectic that they may not understand or be aware that they are part of. The statement that “We are not modern” is within the realm of the othering group, in a language that is legible to them. As the dominant group, they set the tone and boundaries that form the dichotomies produced by othering. It is for this reason that some in this dominating group may be offended by the sight of informal settlements in the midst of what they would consider to be a modern society. The disdain shown by the residents of Houtbay (see section 2.6, chapter 2), on learning that informal settlements are about to “ruin” the scenic beauty of their town, is a case in point. Consequently, the call for the eradication of informal settlements in most cases emanates from the powerful group.

This presents a contradiction within the usefulness of the dichotomy; if the dominant group depends on the 'other' -informal settlements in this case-for its self-assertion, why would the call for the eradication of informal settlements be expected to emanate largely from this group? As Derrida explained, "*Differance* produces what it forbids, making possible the very thing that it makes impossible." (Derrida, 1976:206). Meaning the concept of the 'other' is artificially imposed for self-assertion purposes, yet it is this 'otherness' that needs to be eradicated. To understand this better, it is necessary to recognise that for the dominant group the dichotomy serves two purposes that are related to two mental constructs: othering (related to affect) and purification (related to cognition). First, there is the affective emotion that is generated by being a member of the powerful group and this comes about through othering. Although this produces an affective response, it is driven by cognitive processes, the cognition produces a positive affective state for members of the dominating group. According to Katz (1960), one of the major functions of attitudes is the self-expression function, which gives expression to a person's internalised values, serving to strengthen a desirable sense of self. Secondly there is the cognitive aspect that is related to modernism: the imperative of purification. The need for purification does not only imply the categorisation of entities, but also the need to eradicate entities that are seen as ambivalent.

Othering has attitudinal implications for both the dominant group and inhabitants of informal settlements, the othered. For the members of the dominant group (from which stems the definers and proponents of the language of othering), the meaning in elements of the built environment goes far beyond accommodating survival instincts. For this group, where they live may not be just a matter of convenience, but a statement about their standing in society. In his PhD thesis, Grincerì (2011), points out that architectural objects do not in themselves have a capacity to convey meaning (an individual's standing in society, for instance). He argues that meaning is attached to architectural objects by society. "Meaning is subject to the discursive practices arising within and defining a community, ones that associate meanings with form through a complex network of historical, social, psychological and enunciative formations, and not through any capacity inherent in the architectural object to convey complex meaning." (Grincerì, 2011:33). Therefore, evaluations of aspects of the built environment are not restricted to their utilitarian functions, but significantly, to the social meanings that they convey.

For the inhabitants of informal settlements the implications are that they have to bear a social stigma of living in settlements that are deemed as deviant to the social 'norm'. Othering induces normative influence, a desire to conform to positive expectations of society in general. "...individuals may accept normative social influence because they do not want to stand out, be disliked or to be otherwise disadvantaged because of their deviant status." (Kruglanski & Stroebe in Albarracín et al (eds)2005:355). Therefore, being an inhabitant of an informal settlement might induce negative attitudes towards informal settlements, but not necessarily because of the inherent attributes of informal settlements but because of artificial constructs imposed by society. Having looked at an abstract construct that informs the manner in which people relate to informal

settlements, it is worth looking at the responses that are induced by the actual physical attributes of informal settlements.

3.6.2 Affective and cognitive basis of attitudes towards informal settlements

In looking at the evaluations and attitudes towards informal settlements that relate to their physical attributes, it is necessary to look at the cognitive and affective responses that informal settlements induce. The cognitive aspects relate to what people know and believe about informal settlements, how they interpret and process information about informal settlements. The affective responses refer to the experiences that informal settlements induce both in terms of conditioning and as a result of sensory stimuli. As explained earlier, sensory stimuli can have either an inherent association with affect or a learned association. It stands to reason that inhabitants of informal settlements are the most exposed in terms of affective stimuli related to informal settlements. That does not, however, mean that outsiders are not susceptible to experiencing affect induced by informal settlements. As physical entities, people visually perceive informal settlements and make evaluations about them. According to Tuan (1990:64), an outsider evaluates a foreign environment mainly on appearances. He goes further to state that more effort is required for the outsider to connect with the daily lives and values of the inhabitants. This would then suggest that outsiders' evaluations of informal settlements are largely based on their appearances and the more cognition related aspects take on a secondary significance. Hill (2005:2) states that cultural and social codes reinforce the superiority of art over the everyday, this would have an implication for informal settlements, because, what he terms 'art' relates to the aesthetic attributes of objects. And the objects referred to are the objects found in the world of categorisation such as buildings, the products of architecture. According to Hill, architects themselves experience architecture more as an object of art, to be contemplated on artistic merits, rather than the occupation of buildings. Informal settlements even though they are not part of the world of categorisation, are judged according to the codes of this world.

In the psychology literature there is support for Tuan's assertion while the concept suggested in Hill's assertion has received mixed reception, for although on the surface it would seem that both authors are making the same argument, they are not. Tuan makes reference to the outsider, and brings to attention the fact that, conjuring up the cognitive aspects relating to the foreign environment requires more effort relative to the affect-inducing stimulus of physical appearance. "When cognitive resources are more limited, individuals will use other information to form their attitudes (e.g., affective state)." (Marsh & Wallace in Albarracín et al, (eds), 2005:372). Hill on the other hand, suggests that people evaluate-not only objects that are foreign to them- but objects in general primarily on affective (aesthetic) grounds by default. This frame of conceptualisation is related to a concept that Clore and Schnall (2005:475) term the "low road" to emotion but is commonly referred to in the literature as the Primacy of Affect Hypothesis (Zajonc, 1980). The main premise of the theory is that affect stems from a system that is different from that of cognition and this system acts faster than that of cognition and takes primacy over cognition. However, Bassili and Brown (2005:552) (whose Potentiated Recruitment Framework assumes that at the micro-level, it is very difficult to distinguish whether the micro-concepts that give cues to attitudes come from cognitive or affective sources) are

not convinced with the primacy of affect hypothesis. As in mere exposure, when people evaluate the emotions that are conjured up by the sight of informal settlements, there are to some degree, cognitive processes that take place.

Hence, when experts refer to informal settlements as eyesores, there is likelihood that sentiments like these will have an effect on people's affective experiences when they look at informal settlements. Affective experiences that come about through the sense of sight lie on the learned association category of sensory affects. Informal settlements have been termed eyesores by an array of influential voices, from experts to governments. Writing in his Masters thesis, Tshikotshi (2009:1) states that informal settlements remain eyesores across major South African cities. The Marcos government of the Philippines regarded informal settlements as eyesores that drove away foreign investments (Shatkin, 2004:2478), and dominant social norms dictate that informal settlements are eyesores (Arimah, 2001:5; Gilbert, 2007:710; Next City, 2013:310).

The cognitive cues that are the basis of the attitudes that lead to the evaluation of informal settlements as eyesores are not just limited to the fact that informal settlement dwellings are constructed with cheap and recycled materials. Generally, the aesthetic evaluation of objects is done on the basis of the symmetry in the physical attributes of the object (Jacobsen et al, 2006:276). The notion that symmetry equates to a universal inference of beauty is grounded in the work of the gestalt psychologists. This notion found appeal in architecture and design, particularly within the Bauhaus movement (Crilly et al, 2004:10), a movement that has had a significant influence on modernist architecture. Informal settlements are not the outcomes of master-plans, they come about spontaneously and therefore exhibit patterns of randomness rather than symmetry, order, similarity or closure. They will therefore come across as eyesores to the adherents of symmetry and order.

However, the notion of seeing symmetry as being intrinsically linked to beauty has been challenged, implying that it is more of a belief than an inherent human tendency. Crozier (1994:46) argues that because there are demonstrable differences in how people evaluate the attractiveness of objects, there cannot be universal aesthetic principles. Vesley (2004:278) dismisses the gestalt principles of evaluating beauty as sensationalist psychology and as a process, fundamentally flawed. In addition, the results of an fMRI study (a study technique that uses brain imaging to understand how the brain works) by Jacobsen et al led them to conclude that, "...brain activations during aesthetic judgment cannot be reduced to an assessment of symmetry but are actually due to a particular mode of judgement." (Jacobsen et al, 2006:284). Yet, symmetry remains a benchmark because it is part of cognitive processes or conditioning that produce particular attitudes. It would seem that, judging by the layouts found in most informal settlements, symmetry as a necessary condition for aesthetics is either not part of informal settlements residents' benchmark or priority.

Although the validity of the primacy of affect theory has been challenged, it is still plausible that outsiders will base their attitudes towards informal settlements and evaluate them mainly on their external appearances, more so in the absence of cognitive

resources. This tendency leads to the seeming negation of the more utilitarian aspects of informal settlements. It leads to the non-recognition of what Hamdi describes as inventive and enterprising ways of mitigating social realities and state incapacity. "...attitudes... can inhibit the individual from noticing aspects of the object that are incongruent with the attitude[s]." (Kruglanski & Stroebe in Albarracín et al (eds), 2005: 339).

Attitudes can condition not only the affective experiences related to informal settlements, but also beliefs about them. Embodied in this are the perspectives and experiences of the outsider on the one hand, and that of the insider (the inhabitant of an informal settlement) on the other. This is a significant aspect of the informal settlements and attitudes dynamic. The insider obviously experiences stimuli related to informal settlements to a much greater degree than the outsider. Yet the view of the outsider on matters related to informal settlements is quite significant because of the asymmetry of the power dynamics in the dichotomy discussed earlier.

The experiences and beliefs of the influential outsider are of particular interest because the outsider is more likely to base their understanding of informal settlements on affective cues as discussed earlier. Figure 3.4 a below is a depiction of an observer's proximity to the phenomenon of informal settlements. The darker circles closest to the centre represent observers that are closest to the phenomenon, the closest being the inhabitants, the lighter outer circles represent those furthest. What the diagram suggests is that the further an observer is to the phenomenon, the less likely will their attitudes be based on actual facts about informal settlements, but rather on affective stimuli (visual). The irony is that, other affective stimuli (with the exception of the visual) that the outsider is likely to experience in the context of informal settlements, will to a great extent, be influenced by cognition (beliefs that may or may not be close to actual reality). Figure 3.4b shows circles that -as in figure 3.4a- represent proximity to the phenomenon of informal settlements. As the observer's location moves to the outer circle, the cues that will be embedded in the micro-concepts that inform the valence of their affective experiences will be influenced by beliefs rather than past actual physical experience.

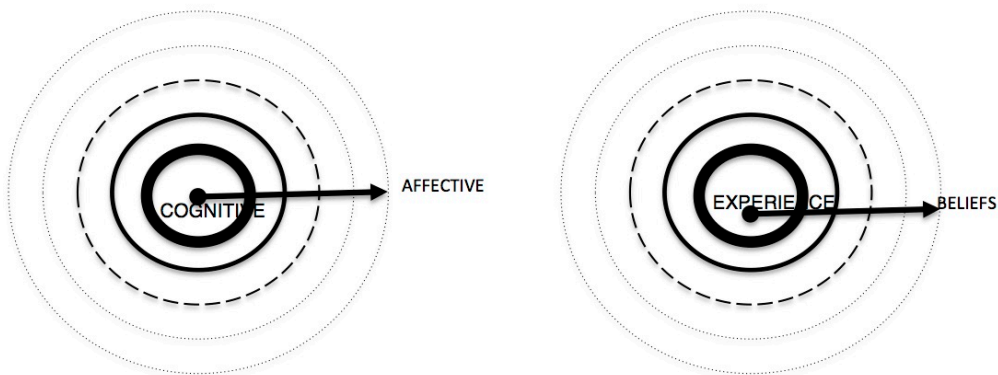


FIG 3.4a Outsiders' attitudes based on affect & FIG 3.4b Outsider's attitudes based on beliefs (cognition) (Author, 2015)

An example that illustrates such a scenario, is that of fear or anxiety that an outsider might experience on being in an informal settlement. Informal settlements are generally regarded as hotbeds of criminal activity. In the city of Cape Town's 'Five Year Integrated Housing Plan, (2011:21), informal settlements are described as areas that are characterised by severe social conditions such as crime and delinquency. Hofmann et al (2006:1) write that high-crime rates are one of the attributes that go hand in hand with informal settlements. Some writers, however have presented different perspectives; "...it is important to note that the topos of the slum as a breeding ground for immorality and crime may indeed be no more than a myth, i.e. the result of an unproved and latently prejudiced ascription of deviant behaviour to the spatial and/or social living environment of people." (Nuisll & Heinrichs,2013:110). In a research report by the Housing Development Agency (2012:50), it is stated that inhabitants of informal settlements in South Africa are no more likely to report being victims of crime than members of other housing types. This is probably because by their very nature, the settlements are informal and therefore have no police stations to report crime incidents to. More convincing, however, is research by Narsai et al (2013:380) that showed that crime was as much of a concern for residents of RDP-type housing as it was for informal settlement dwellers. For the informal settlement insider, therefore, the affective experience of fear or anxiety of being in an informal settlement will be influenced by physical experience of living in an informal settlement. "Cognitions are important for the generation of an emotional response." (Schimmack & Crites in Albarracín et al (eds), 2005:403).

3.6.3 Utilitarian attitudes

Beyond the attitudes that are influenced by social constructs, informal settlements are subject to utilitarian attitudes. Utilitarian attitudes are attitudes that guide the evaluation of an object's ability in meeting an individual's functional needs. Utilitarian attitudes are more likely to be based on cognitive cues rather than affective cues. "...situations... making instrumental or consummatory properties of the object more goal-relevant may produce attitudes that are more strongly based on cognition versus affect..." (Lavine et al, 1998:400). This does not, however, mean that utilitarian attitudes cannot be informed by affective cues. One example in the case of informal settlements is that of human comfort experienced inside a dwelling in an informal settlement (sensory stimulus). However, even in this case, cognitive processes can verify what the ideal level of human comfort should be in a way that they cannot identify an ideal for other affective experiences. It is much easier to accept that the ideal temperature for human comfort is 25°C than to accept that symmetry is a necessary condition for an object to be regarded as aesthetically pleasing, as the former can be verified empirically, while the latter is more of a matter of taste.

Looking at the structure of a dwelling and coming to a conclusion that it is an unstable structure though, is not a matter of taste, dwellings in informal settlements are "...usually flimsy constructions." (Willis, 2009:403). Nor is looking at the arrangement of the structures within a settlement and coming to a conclusion that the arrangement might hinder access for emergency services, or that the proximity of shelters leads to a heightened risk of fire spread. These cognitive cues are some of the basis for negative attitudes towards informal settlements, "A claim that an attitude object serves (or

undermines) an important goal is likely to affect attitudes through several pathways: It can serve as direct evidence for an attitude towards that object... but it is likely to enhance processing motivation, which is the extent to which the arguments contained in this claim will be scrutinised.” (Kruglanski & Stroebe in Albarracín et al (eds), 2005:340). According to Crilly et al (2004), utilitarian attitudes may have more sway on people’s evaluations of objects compared to attitudes that are based on symbolic associations “a significant portion of the value assigned to products may be attributed to their utility.” (Crilly et al,2004:13).

3.7 SUMMARY

One of the dominant conceptualisations of attitudes holds that attitudes are an inclination to evaluate objects, people or entities with some degree of favourability or dis-favourability. The word ‘inclination’ suggests a tendency to do things in a particular way and therefore speaks to memory. Some researchers have, however, questioned the notion of attitudes as stored constructs. Citing the matter of novel stimuli, Schwartz and others suggest that attitudes become generated at the moment of stimulation.

The theory of attitudes as stored constructs is the one that is adopted in this study. The theory allows for the separation of the concept of attitude from that of evaluation. Separating attitudes from evaluations explains how people have different evaluations of the same phenomena.

Attitudes influence and are influenced by affect, a state generated by stimulus that is either pleasant or unpleasant and is momentary; cognition, processes that entail beliefs and are used to make sense of the world; and behaviour. The research on behaviour as it relates to attitudes focuses on how behaviour influences attitudes and very importantly, how attitudes influence behaviour.

The theories of reasoned action and planned behaviour explain how people come to perform certain behaviours as far as attitudes are concerned. The theories place intention as the antecedent that determines whether a behaviour will be acted out or not. As models, they are good in predicting and explaining the processes involved in the attitudes-behaviour dynamic, however as models, they are better suited in explaining attitudes as they relate to behaviour rather than attitudes relating to objects.

It is suggested here that when attitudes relate to objects, intention loses strength as an influence in the attitudes-behaviour dynamic because people are not always motivated to perform behaviour related to an object they have an attitude towards. It is posited that a possible substitute could be evaluation.

People’s evaluations of other people, objects and events are influenced by the attitudes they hold. Their experiences with the other people, the objects and events (affect) as well as their knowledge or beliefs about them (cognition) also play a significant role in the evaluations that they make. Evaluations of others sometimes lead to them being othered, and the features that mark them as the ‘other’ are often emphasised by attitudes.

As an anomaly in the modern conceptualisation of contemporary life, Informal settlements are regarded as the 'other'. Judgements on informal settlements are commonly based on conditioned affect and beliefs that are often accepted as unqualified truths.

The utilitarian attitudes towards informal settlements, on the other hand, may have more influence on guiding people's attitudes. This is because they are related to the functional aspects of informal settlements. The lack of ease for emergency vehicles to navigate informal settlements, the instability suggested by the sometimes flimsy frame of the dwellings in informal settlements and the thermal performance of the materials and technology used are some of the aspects that are cited as the reason why informal settlements are undesirable. But beyond these, informal settlements do serve a utilitarian purpose that none of the alternatives in the formal paradigm appear to be able to perform; housing just in South Africa alone, 1 249 777 (Housing Development Agency, 2013,15)-households that would have otherwise, in most likelihood have been homeless. The question that rises then is, why is the value in this hardly ever acknowledged?

In chapter 5, the informal settlement of Joe Slovo is used as a case study to explore this question, by examining attitudes related to the settlement within the contexts of typology, culture, rapid urbanisation and the global contextual imperatives.

Because attitudes are not physical entities that can be observed directly and scaled, it is impossible to measure attitudes directly, (Krosnick et al in Albarracín et al (eds), 2005:22; Zikmund et al, 2013:315). In addition, obtaining people's attitudes is saddled with a host of other challenges including self-presentational concerns (Krosnick et al in Albarracín et al (eds), 2005:63).

The next chapter describes the research methods chosen in this research to overcome the challenges of obtaining research participants' attitudes as well as research method choices taken, in terms of appropriateness for the questions posed in the research.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

As described in the preceding chapter, attitudes are hypothetical constructs whose degree of intensity and presence thereof, cannot be discerned directly, but can be inferred from related behaviour and responses. The notion of assigning a numerical index to a hypothetical construct such as an attitude intuitively seems irrational (it is impossible to know that someone's attitude, love or hatred towards or for an object is ten times more intense than someone else's, for instance). Yet quantitative measures of attitudes represent the majority of attitude measure, and this has largely been influenced by the purposes for which the attitude measurements are undertaken. These include political polls and research on consumer choices. But, the degree to which an index can accurately portray the presence or nature of an attitude has been a major concern in the field of attitude measurement, "Because [the] construct itself is not directly observable, any attempt to measure it will necessarily do so only inadequately and incompletely." (Krosnick et al in Albarracín et al (eds), 2005:28).

4.2 THE IMPORTANCE OF THE QUALITATIVE ASPECT OF ATTITUDES

The dominance of the approach that emphasises the use of a numerical index to indicate the nature of an attitude points to a wider societal tendency of placing more significance on the quantitative measurement of entities. In South Africa, the success or failure in the delivery of housing to the poor has largely been measured on quantitative terms, "...although the [BNG] programme strives for broader outcomes, key indicators of performance appear to remain largely quantitative, focused around numbers of houses produced and budgets spent." (Charlton & Kihato, 2006:259).

In their research project, assessing the acceptability of earth constructed building in the Free State and Northern Cape, Steyn et al. (2009) present their results in a quantitative form.

A study geared towards finding out what proportion of a population favours one entity over another can be useful. But on the whole, such studies only end there and fail to give insights to explain those preferences. This approach can also limit such studies in that it does not allow for the possibility of discovering that such preferences, though shared by the majority of respondents, might be based on false premises. Hence in this study, the aim is to gain insights into the attitudes that inform preferences by politicians, communities and individuals, on matters concerning informal settlements, how these attitudes come about, and their effects.

This context, therefore necessitates a qualitative survey of attitudes towards informal settlements, "...qualitative implies an emphasis on the qualities of entities and processes and meanings that are not experimentally examined or measured (if measured at all) in

terms of quantity, amount, intensity, or frequency” (Denzin & Lincoln (eds), 2000:8). What this means is that in this research, rather than asking people directly what their attitudes are towards informal settlements; attitudes were discerned from the meanings that people attach to entities and phenomena that are related to informal settlements. As Denzin and Lincoln (2000:636) point out, because it is mediated by language, speech and systems of discourse, it is not the experience itself that is studied; it is rather, the representations of experience that is the focus of qualitative research. This brings into focus the question of validity and generalisability of the results of such a research.

4.3 VALIDITY OF THE FINDINGS

The findings from qualitative studies are criticised as lacking in representativeness and validity because of the perceived lack of rigour in the methods applied in such research. For the researcher to unlock the meanings in the representations of experience alluded to above, the researcher relies on “...his or her mental or linguistic designation of [the world they are investigating]” (Lincoln & Guba in Denzin & Lincoln (eds), 2000:176). In the same volume, Schwandt (2000:191), argues that “...to understand a particular social action, (e.g. friendship, voting, marrying, teaching), the inquirer must grasp the meanings that constitute that action”. At times, it is left to the inquirer to frame the references of interpreting that meaning. Schwandt goes further to raise the significant issue that he claims every qualitative inquirer must come to terms with, and that is the issue of the definition of understanding, i.e. the definition of the understanding of the meanings that the inquirer claims to derive from the actions they are studying. And very importantly, the justification of the claim “to understand” (Schwandt in Denzin and Lincoln (eds),2000:200).

These concerns point to the view that qualitative research lacks the objectivity that is central to scientific research, and is regarded as one of the aspects that give findings from scientific research validity. The scientific or quantitative paradigm, assumes that there is a ‘real’ world out there and it can only be investigated through methods that “prevent human contamination of its apprehension or comprehension” (Lincoln & Guba in Denzin & Lincoln (eds), 2000:176).

What is lacking from these scientific prescripts for research, as in most aspects of the modernist paradigm, is the understanding that human-related phenomena cannot always be understood by employing abstract templates, that all research methods must be judged against to validate their results. For instance, it would be inappropriate to use quantitative methods in trying to determine the threshold for a shelter to transcend from being a mere shelter to being regarded as a home. The concept of home conjures up different meanings for different people. However, this type of approach to research has an implication on the generalisability of the research findings. The key to this type of approach is that, even with the assumption that different people might attach different meanings, to the subject matter; in the process of learning about these meanings, it is still possible to detect common patterns that inform the different meanings. As a result, in the context of this particular research, there was no expectation that respondents from the

case study will necessarily reflect the same attitudes. What is significant is the common context that they all share and contributes in shaping their attitudes.

4.4 ANALYTIC GENERALISING THROUGH AN INSTRUMENTAL CASE STUDY

There is something to learn about informal settlements from the attitudes that they invoke, regardless of how varied those attitudes may turn out to be. According to Yin (2009:15) the aim of a case study is to generate analytic generalisation, as opposed to statistical generalisation. But this does not mean that findings obtained from a single case study cannot be generalised, especially those obtained from an instrumental case study, wherein the case "...[is] expected to represent some population of cases." (Stake in Denzin & Lincoln (eds), 2000:446). The key to this is to strategically select the case that represents the phenomena being studied (Flyvbjerg, 2006:9). Statistical generalisation as pursued in the scientific research paradigm, on the other hand, is not ideal for qualitative research because, as Lincoln and Guba (2000) caution; "There are two dangers inherent in the conventional texts of scientific method: that they may lead us to believe the world is rather simpler than it is, and that they may reinscribe enduring forms of historical oppression. Put another way, we are confronted with a crisis of authority (which tells us the world is "this way" when perhaps it is some other way, or many other ways) and a crisis of representation (which serves to silence those whose lives we appropriate for our social sciences ..." (Lincoln & Guba 2000:184).

Flyvbjerg (2006:7) argues that the case study is well suited to produce context-dependent knowledge in light of what Eysenck (1976:9) described as the absence of 'hard' theory in the social sciences.

In addressing the issues of justifying the 'claim to understand' as raised by Schwandt, triangulation was used to ensure that interpretations of data collected from the case study reflected the views and attitudes of the respondents as accurately as possible. According to Stake (2000:443), this can be done by verifying repeatability of an observation or interpretation and by identifying the various ways in which a topic is seen.

4.5 INTERVIEWS

Verifying meanings as described above can only be done through the process of interviewing. The central focus of inquiry in this research is attitudes, and as explained before, attitudes cannot be discerned directly. Even behaviour cannot necessarily be regarded as an indication of a particular attitude. As explained in chapter three, there are a host of dynamics mediating the path from a held attitude to any behaviour related to that attitude. In a qualitative study, where measures such as the Implicit Association Test² are inappropriate, the interview presents the most reliable means of soliciting respondents' attitudes. The challenge is that this is always mediated by factors such as

² The IAT measures "...associative strength between each target concept and a particular attribute, which for the purposes of attitude measurement may be its evaluation." (Krosnick et al, in Albarracín et al, 2005: 57).

self-presentational concerns, frames of interpretation etc. However, "...while it is true that the perspectives elicited in interviews do not provide direct access to some cognitive and attitudinal base from which a person's behaviour in 'natural' settings is derived in an unmediated way, they may still be capable of illuminating that behaviour. Similarly, while we must not treat the validity of people's reports of their attitudes, feelings, behaviour, etc., as beyond all possible doubt – as a privileged source of information – there is no reason to dismiss them as of no value at all, or even to treat them as of value only as displays of perspectives or discourse strategies" (Atkinson & Hammersley, 2007:108).

In the case of interviews conducted with the Joe Slovo residents, the interviews were conducted in a group discussion format. The motivation for this was to obtain individual responses that could be triangulated within the group structure, or put differently, "...putting individual responses into a [shared] context." (Fontana & Frey in Denzin and Lincoln (eds), 2000:651). But Fontana and Frey go on further to caution that the danger with this approach is that the participants are likely to fall into "groupthink" (Fontana & Frey in Denzin and Lincoln (eds), 2000:652). As opposed to giving statements that reflect their genuine individual opinions, in this type of approach the participants are susceptible to expressing views that are more in tune with- if not the views of the dominant group members- then what they may believe to be the general views of the group. However, in an open-ended form of interviewing, such as was the case for this research, participants are compelled to justify the statements that they make. Asking the interviewees to elaborate or clarify their responses minimises "groupthink".

This is part of the reason that the open-ended, as opposed to the closed ended approach to interviewing-not just for Joe Slovo residents but for all the research participants-was selected for this research. Furthermore, in an open-ended questions approach, the reliabilities and validities are higher than is the case in closed-ended questions (Krosnick et al in Albarracín et al (eds), 2005:34). This is because in closed-ended questions there is a likelihood of the participants' responses being distorted by the limited answer choices presented to the participants by the researcher (Krosnick et al in Albarracín et al (eds), 2005:34).

4.5.1 Self-presentation concerns, validity of findings from open-ended interviews and informed consent

Concerns related to self-presentation are some of the issues that might affect the validity of research on people's attitudes. Self-presentation concerns are motivated by a desire to be viewed more favourably by others (Krosnick et al in Albarracín et al (eds), 2005:50). This suggests that interviewees might intentionally provide false representations if they feel that revealing their true attitudes might portray them in a bad light. This could be in the eyes of the interviewer, the intended audience of the final research findings or both. A closed-ended interview can easily facilitate anonymity on the part of the interviewee and thus minimise concerns about being judged by the interviewer or the research's target-audience. An open-ended interview on the other hand, can necessitate a face-to-face interaction between the interviewer and interviewee. Even so, "...a small frown of disapproval from a total stranger can cause a bit of discomfort, but little more than that." (Krosnick et al in Albarracín et al (eds), 2005:51). Meaning, therefore, self-presentation

concerns come to the fore only when the interviewer is known to the interviewee or in cases where the interviewer has the means to reward or penalise the interviewee based on what they reveal about themselves. Notwithstanding this contention by Krosnick et al., the effects of self-presentation concerns on the validity of the research findings can be further minimised by gauging people's attitudes in an indirect manner.

Instead of asking people what their particular attitude to an entity is, inference can be drawn from what they reveal about an inextricably linked subject, such as was the case when I asked Jac Snyman (an architect who worked on the N2 Gateway housing project) if he thought there was anything to be learnt from informal settlements; instead of asking him directly what his attitude towards informal settlements is. Krosnick et al. (2005:53) do not include this technique in their discussion on implicit measurement techniques, their discussion is limited to using behaviour observation as a tool in overcoming strategic misrepresentation. In this research the main research instrument was interviewing, and not behavioural observation, but in principle, I used the same technique with a different instrument.

Consequently not all participants were told that the research is geared at gauging their attitudes, some were told that the research is focused on informal settlements, which was still a true reflection about the purposes of the research. This strategy, however, raises questions about informed consent. For some, claims of informed consent must be based on complete transparency about the aims of a research, however, "Often, ... this is neither possible nor desirable... There is also the danger that the information provided will influence the behaviour of the people under study in such a way as to invalidate the findings." (Atkinson & Hammersley, 2007:57).

Towards the end of the next section I elaborate on how the agencies of the different interviewees determined the level to which their statements were interpreted. For the purposes of explaining the choice of the research participants to whom full disclosure about the main aim of the research would be limited, I will briefly discuss a few of the interviewees.

One of the people who were interviewed was Odwa Futshane, who runs as township tour that includes the Joe Slovo informal settlement. Tours of informal settlements have been criticised as encouraging a form of objectification and othering (Frenzel et al. (eds), 2012: xvi). This particular participant was given full disclosure about the research aims. This was done because it was necessary for him to understand that attitudes were the main focus of our discussion, through this understanding it became easier for him to explain the attitudes of his clientele. In addition, since his clientele is overwhelmingly drawn from foreign visitors, it was felt that any potentially harmful disclosure of his attitudes would have minimal impact, and he would thus be sincere about his own attitudes.

Participants that were not made aware that the main aim of the research is geared at probing their attitudes included housing officials. The issue of housing, particularly as it relates to informal settlements is a fairly controversial topic. Some of the motivations that could have led to the participants being guarded about their responses include the issue

that was discussed in section 2.7, i.e. officials not wanting to be seen to be advocating policies that seem out-dated.

In addition to these measures, I also employed what I termed vetting questions. With hotly contested issues such as that of housing and informal settlements, there is a strong likelihood of respondents providing politically-correct answers. To illustrate an example, I asked Jac Snyman, the architect, if there was anything that he thought design professionals could learn from informal settlements (this was an indirect assessment of his attitude). When he answered to the affirmative, I then asked him about the lessons that he himself incorporated in his N2 Gateway design (the vetting question, probing for evidence of the inferred attitude). The follow up question was to test whether he replied 'yes' only because it is more polite to say so or whether it was a true reflection of his attitude. Certainly, not behaving in a manner that reflects one's claimed attitude does not necessarily discredit that claim as argued earlier, but an open-ended question type of an interview does allow for the participants to explain any inconsistencies.

4.5.2 Interpretation

For the findings to be valid, whatever subject is considered to be inextricably linked to the attitude being investigated and thus revealing that attitude, it is vital that the choice be made on a sound and convincing argument. Otherwise the researcher might make false associations.

In a qualitative research interview, the aim is to understand the world from the interviewee's perspective (Kvale, 1996:1). This implies getting a clear and unambiguous understanding of what the interviewee is putting across, the "...autonomous meaning of the interview statements." (Kvale, 1996:49). Being clear on this is critical for justifying the claim to understand as argued by Schwandt. Had this research been confined to a descriptive portrayal such as is the case in a phenomenological description, the extent of interest would have ended there. But since this is a hermeneutical study that is designed to explicate explicit and implicit attitudes, the interviewees' perspectives were further located within a broader context that included the concepts that were discussed in chapters two and three, such as othering, attitude concepts, dichotomy, the modernist imperatives, etc.

Kvale, (1996:50) writes that in hermeneutics, the interviewer may negotiate their interpretations with the research participants. For the purposes of this research this-in most cases-only went as far as negotiating the interpretation of the statements they made within the autonomous statements category, that is, reiterating the statements to the interviewee, often in a different wording, for verification. This was critical for making sure that the additional interpretations were based on factual expressions and in doing so, ensuring the validity of the additional interpretations. For the most part, the additional interpretations could not be done through a negotiation with the interviewees, as this would have defeated the purpose of explicating some of the attitudes that some interviewees might have wanted to conceal. Still, not all attitudes are predisposed to being interpreted as being controversial and thus raising self-presentation concerns. In some cases it was useful to discuss the implied attitude with the interviewee, to elaborate

on a particular topic and to validate. The ramifications of going into detail on an implied attitude, were dependent on the issue that was being discussed and more significantly, on the particular agency of the participant being interviewed.

The hermeneutical circle (Kvale, 1996:47) was then employed to interpret the participants' statements. In this process, the different statements were contextualised within the broader meanings of:

- Modernism and its association with order and typologies
- The technological imperative,
- The concept of creating a dichotomy so as to artificially create an other
- The power relations created by othering
- Concepts related to attitudes such as the effect of affect and cognition on attitudes and
- The behaviour related to attitudes.

The meanings of the statements derived from this initial stage were then used to reassess the implications of the broader concepts.

Tying the participants' statements to the broader theoretical concepts was done by employing a 'contexts of interpretation and communities of validation matrix' in accordance with the criteria described by Kvale (1996:214). The matrix has three contexts of interpretation that the research participants' responses can be analysed from. These are:

- Self-understanding - what the participants themselves regard to be the meaning in their statements,
- The critical common-sense understanding - the every-day understanding of what the participant is saying, but not necessarily tied to the participant's understanding, and
- The theoretical understanding - this is where the broader concepts used in the hermeneutical cycle, come in. The statements are interpreted within a theoretical framework.

Corresponding to each of these contexts of interpretations are communities of validation; the interviewed subject (self-understanding), the general public (critical common-sense understanding) and the theoretical/research community (theoretical understanding).

The first community of validation relates to the autonomous meaning of what the interviewee puts across. Even in the absence of the interviewee for confirmation or disconfirmation of an interpretation, the researcher needs to limit his interpretation within the interviewee's context (Kvale, 1996:217). Within the second community of validation, the researcher presupposes what he thinks would be a common-sense interpretation by the general public, this is when the researcher actually makes connections within what is said and then derives inferences based on the assumption that most members of the general public will logically come to the same conclusions. The final test of validation, is locating the interpretation within the theoretical/research community, selecting an appropriate concept, the interpretation needs to follow logically from the relevant theory (Kvale, 1996:217).

4.6 THE CHOICE OF JOE SLOVO AS A CASE STUDY

The Joe Slovo informal settlement has been selected as a case study in this research for a number of reasons. The settlement forms part of modern-day Langa, which was itself conceived as a model township in 1927 (Wilkinson, 2000: 196). Joe Slovo stretches along a section of a highway (the N2) that acts as one of the major gateways into the city of Cape Town and is therefore sited in a prominent location. The typology of Joe Slovo would have been an unwelcome development in those early days of 'model-township' ideals as it is now, especially in view of the fact that it lies in-between the impressive airport and the centre of South Africa's premier tourism city. As such, Joe Slovo has attracted a considerable amount of attention, from the municipality, the national government, the media, academics and even foreign tourists. The narrative of Joe Slovo has thus been well documented, a factor that has also helped with the triangulation of the research findings.

The spotlight on Joe Slovo peaked with a Constitutional Court judgement in 2009 that involved the Joe Slovo community. The case related to attempts by authorities to evict the Joe Slovo community from the informal settlement to make way for the N2 Gateway housing project. The N2 Gateway project was then touted by the Department of Human Settlements (DoHS) as "...a national pilot project aiming to pioneer a new and improved housing policy that will see the delivery of more and better-quality houses for poorer South Africans in integrated human settlements." (South Africa. DoHS, 2008).

The reference to a new and improved housing policy in the press statement excerpt above alludes to the Breaking New Ground policy that replaced the earlier, Reconstruction and Development Plan inspired housing model (commonly called RDP housing). Approved by the South African Government in September of 2004, the BNG policy is described by the Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE) as entailing a mix of higher density housing options (COHRE, 2009:2). It represents a departure from the old-single detached unit on a plot-typology of the RDP housing scheme. The RDP scheme seemed to be predominantly driven by a maximum number of units at minimum cost formula, which has resulted in what has largely been dismissed as an unsustainable housing solution.

What one is confronted with at Joe Slovo are two opposite representations of housing reality for the poor in South Africa. On the one extreme, there are the shacks that make up the disparaged informal settlement typology that Minister Sisulu described as "...a blight on democracy..." (COHRE, 2009:17). On the other extreme there is the BNG - inspired N2 Gateway project that is not only presented as a quantum leap from the reality of informal settlements but also an improvement on the old RDP model which, though having produced seemingly minimum cost units (no ceiling, small units), was regarded as being overall costly and unsustainable (low densities).

Undeniably, standing alongside one of the housing blocks of the N2 Gateway project, with some shacks in the background, it seems cynical not to see a move from a shack to one of the units in some positive light, especially from a utilitarian point of view (Figure 4.1). But

upon scratching beneath the surface, one discovers that the N2 Gateway project in reality is not about the mere transformation of an informal settlement's inhabitants housing conditions from shacks to formal units; that it appears to be on the surface. The Joe Slovo/N2 Gateway dynamic has exposed amongst others, the middle class poaching practice described in chapter two as well as the vulnerability of such projects in becoming white elephants, proving to be too expensive for the poor and undesirable to those who can afford.



FIG 4.1 N2 Gateway Phase 3 housing. (Author, 2015)

These issues are elaborated on in chapter five. Using Joe Slovo as a case study therefore helped in gauging whether drives to replace informal settlements with formal housing typologies are driven by egalitarian motives or by beautification objectives as alleged by researchers such as Huchzermeyer (2010:140).

If claims of beautification made by Huchzermeyer and others are true, this might mean that; even though the primacy of affect theory has been challenged, when it comes to communities such as Joe Slovo, (the othered) the visual impact of the settlements they create on the more powerful members of society, is more important than the cognition that the settlement's proximity to work areas such as the city centre and the Epping industrial area is an economic advantage for the relevant community.

4.7 RESEARCH STRATEGY

When it came to selecting the relevant people to interview, the choices were driven by the topics that are covered in the body of this thesis. As suggested in chapters two and three, the formation of informal settlements often leads to the othering of those who live in the informal settlements, and this othering is driven by a desire for maintaining a positive self-conceptualisation by the othering, dominant group. It is also informed by the prevailing, dominant self-image of the collective-self as defined by the dominant group as well as the shared aspirations of that collective-self. This creates a dichotomy that leads to divergent views, that of the insider and the outsider. In the context of informal

settlements there is the view of the inhabitants of informal settlements, the insiders; and that of the dominant group and just about everyone who does not reside in an informal settlement, the outsiders. In the same vein, inhabitants of informal settlements are outsiders to any dominant cultural values and norms that define them as the other.

The selection of potential interviewees, therefore, was based on trying to bring to light most of the pertinent views that are associated with the dynamics and the contestations that are associated with informal settlements, determine the attitudes that are held within these different communities, and then assess these attitudes to test the hypotheses suggested in chapter one.

4.7.1 Residents of Joe Slovo

One of the most obvious interviewee choices is that of the inhabitants of the informal settlement themselves. Interviews with them helped not only in verifying the experiences of informal settlements dwellers, discussed in great detail in the previous chapters; but in also allowing them to speak for themselves. As mentioned earlier the interview session with the residents of the remaining informal settlement in Joe Slovo was conducted in a group format. It consisted of one session with three men and another with three women. This was not done with any strategic aim in mind, but in the end it turned out to be advantageous because the interviews revealed that in some aspects, the perceptions and the experiences of the women differed from those of the men, particularly with regards to the issue of crime. This chance arrangement, therefore, also mediated the possible effects of groupthink.

4.7.2 Local politician and her aide

On the opposite side in the typical contestations that involve informal settlements there are those who represent state authority, be it local or national. For this research at local level, this community was represented by a city councillor who is a Mayoral Committee member. The Mayoral Committee functions as a form of cabinet at municipal level. The Mayoral Committee member, who preferred to remain anonymous was chosen so as to get the perspective from the city's political authorities, bearing in mind that policy is often inspired by the political authorities. The purpose of interviewing this interviewee was also to gauge the attitudes of the city's authorities and then relate them to the stated policy or policy implementation. Also taking part in this interview was her political aide who contributed a lot to the discussion. He would often supplement the councillor's comments or reply directly to a question, his views and comments can thus be taken to represent the views of the city.

4.7.3 A representative of the Housing Development Agency

For the policies that are drawn up by the political authorities to take effect, they have to be implemented by either bureaucrats or professional consultants. It is possible for bureaucrats in government departments or agencies to interpret and implement government policy through the lens of their individually held attitudes. This is dependent on the available loopholes or ambiguity in policy and the power that lies with the relevant bureaucrat or bureaucracy. The Housing Development Agency (HDA) declares "Vibrant communities living on well-located land" as its vision (HDA, n.d). This statement is very

pertinent in the context of the case study, because it is situated in a uniquely favourable location for a settlement of its kind. The HDA took over the project management of the N2 Gateway project from Thubelisha Homes in 2009.

4.7.4 Architectural professional

Professional consultants differ from bureaucrats in that they may get more of a leeway in leaving their own imprint on the public projects that they consult on. More so in cases where governments, especially in the global South, appoint consultants due to a lack of capacity within the state to carry out certain competencies. To a large degree, therefore, the political heads depend on the professional advice and wisdom of professional consultants. For this reason it was necessary to interview an architect, especially one that had been involved in the N2 Gateway project, to gauge the attitudes of the professional, and how these might have an effect on the design approach to the project especially in light of the fact that it involved bringing formality into an informal area. Jac Snyman, the principal of Jac Snyman Architects and Urban Designers was interviewed to get the views from someone who represents this community. More importantly; the firm was involved in the design of both phase 1 and 3 of the N2 Gateway project in Joe Slovo. Even though in the interview the architect expressed the view that every site is different and therefore requires a unique solution and that architects are limited in terms of the decision-making scope in such projects, it has to be mentioned, however, this was a national pilot for a project that was introducing a policy called “Breaking New Ground”.

4.7.5 A representative of an educational institution

Architects and other professionals are often influenced by their education. The education that professionals get can influence their mind-set in terms of the perceptions about what it is that they can effect change in, the extent to which they can effect change and their relevance in such situations. For this reason, Mike Louw, who sits in the Cape Institute for Architecture’s committee and is also a lecturer in architecture at the University of Cape Town, was interviewed.

4.7.6 A representative of the Cape Town Partnership

As described in section 2.7, the Cape Town Partnership seeks to promote investment in Cape Town, particularly the CBD. Even though informal settlements are not a standout feature of the CBD, they are part of a trend in informality as discussed in chapter two. The CBD of Cape Town is regarded as the most successful of the major cities in South Africa, it is also distinguished by being the one that has the least footprint of informality. In addition, it is mentioned in chapter two that a former CEO of the organisation explained that the organisation’s goal is to build a globally competitive city. This is significant for informal settlements in Cape Town, when put in the context of the implications of such aspirations on how informal settlements are judged, as discussed in chapter two.

4.7.7 An operator of an informal settlement/township tour

With all the negative connotations that are associated with informal settlements, the idea of an informal settlement tour operation or the fact that there are people who would want to tour an informal settlement can seem intriguing. However, viewed from the perspective of worldviews as discussed in section 3.4, the concept becomes less of an

idiosyncrasy. The aim of interviewing an informal settlement operator was to get an understanding of the attitudes that drive this phenomenon.

4.7.8 A representative of Habitat for Humanity

Habitat for Humanity is an international NGO that runs volunteer programs to build what they term decent housing for poor communities. The organisation cites the provision of safe and decent housing for more than four million people worldwide as its achievement. Interviewing someone from such an organisation was done with the aim of assessing the alternatives to informal settlements that they as an organisation put forward, and whether these alternatives can impact attitudes to informal settlements as well as investigating attitudes within such organisations, that lead to the type of alternatives they put forward.

4.7.9 A representative of a local low-cost housing NGO

The Ikhayalami is a local NGO whose primary goal is to develop and implement affordable technical solutions for informal settlement upgrading. The idea of interviewing this NGO was based on the understanding that their focus is working in informal settlements as they are and make interventions rather than aiming to replace them with something else. I wanted to juxtapose their stance with what I believed to be Habitat for Humanity's stance and then try and get an impression of the effect of the two different stances on attitudes towards informal settlements and their respective impacts on housing delivery.

4.7.10 Non-participants

Apart from these interviewees, interview request were sent to other stakeholders that I felt were relevant to the topic of informal settlements. However, not all of the stakeholders felt that the topic of informal settlements is relevant to them. The spokesperson for the Central City Improvement District (CCID), upon reading the research information sheet, came to the conclusion that there is no need for her organisation to participate in the research. The Cape Town CCID was the first of its kind in South Africa and is funded by property owners in the city centre. Its role is to provide urban management services that complement the ones offered by the municipality. The services include safety and cleaning to ensure that the environment in the central city is well managed (Cape Town CCID, n.d.). In the spokesperson's argumentation, there are no informal settlements in the area covered by her organisation, and therefore in her perspective her organisation is irrelevant to the research and on those grounds she refused to participate.

Other stakeholders that were identified as relevant to the topic but declined to participate include:

- Cape Town Tourism- the intention being to find out their views on informal settlements tourism and how that relates to the entire package of promoting Cape Town as a tourism destination. The reason put forward was that the organisation's CEO is the spokesperson for the organisation and was too busy to take part.
- The City of Cape Town's Disaster Risk Management- the 2014 UNHABITAT's Report on African Cities states that Cape Town is vulnerable to regular and predictable

Winter flooding [mostly affecting informal settlements communities], yet the authorities remain consistently underprepared to deal with this annual event (UN-Habitat, 2014:228). The intention in interviewing this group was to try and find out why this would be so and whether the reason is related to attitudes about informal settlements. In addition it is common for outsiders to regard disasters related to informal settlements as self-inflicted. No response was received from this unit.

Some stakeholders were approached and explained that they were constrained by the workloads they were busy with but gave the impression that this could happen some other time in the future. In spite of constant follow-ups, the meetings did not transpire. These stakeholders included:

- The chairperson of the parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Human Settlements. My intention of interviewing this stakeholder was to get the view of policy makers at national level to supplement that of the local policy maker.
- The Western Cape's provincial government's tourism department. The intention was to make up for Cape Town Tourism's refusal to participate.
- The Pinelands Ratepayers and Residents Association. In the next chapter, reference is made to the Pinelands Residents Association as one of two organisations that objected to the temporal relocation of Joe Slovo fire victims to areas close to their own locations.
- Njabulo Ndebele. Njabulo Ndebele is the chairman of the Cape Town Partnership board. But this was not the main reason for wanting to interview him. The Cape Town Partnership's website describes him as a respected South African writer and academic whose opinion is highly sought after (Cape Town Partnership, n.d.). In 1999, Njabulo Ndebele wrote about his experiences in a game lodge, in this paper (which was subsequently included in a book published in 2007) he makes reference to townships bursting with informal settlements, reinforcing old dichotomies. He goes further to state, "... the psychology of apartheid...would teach us to regard informal settlements as a potential threat to civilization, menacing the Europe in our midst." (Ndebele, 2007:5).

4.8 SUMMARY

As hypothetical constructs, attitudes cannot be measured or assessed directly, but can be inferred from associated behaviour and responses. Assigning a numerical index to descriptions of attitudes has been the major form of reporting on attitudes. However, this approach is likely to be limited to quantitative descriptions of attitudes without explaining the root causes of those attitudes. In addition, even though the findings may represent the attitudes of the majority in a case, they may fail to discover that such attitudes are based on false premises.

Inferring attitudes from associated behaviour and responses has an impact on the extent to which findings from such a research can be considered to be valid or generalisable. This is because it is left to the researcher to determine the frames of reference that will guide

how inferences are drawn from responses to questions that are geared at revealing more than what the respondent might be privy to.

Generalising in a qualitative study is possible by using an instrumental case study that is geared at establishing analytical generalisation as opposed to statistical generalisation. By strategically choosing a case that captures the key features of the phenomenon being investigated, an analytical generalisation not only can give insights into the prevailing trends, but can also explain their causes and impacts.

In gauging attitudes from an analytical rather than statistical angle, open-ended interviews were conducted. Validities and reliabilities are higher in open-ended questions interviews than in closed-ended questions interviews. This is because in the latter, participants' responses are limited to the choices provided by the researcher and can therefore be distorted.

A possible downside of open-ended questions interviews is that, the unavoidable personal interaction may induce respondents to provide false information. This is due to self-presentation concerns. This threat is, however, downplayed by Krosnick et al. (2005:51). It can still be overcome by gauging attitudes in an indirect manner, as has been the case in this research.

For the findings to be valid, it is critical that the inference made, be based on a sound and logical deduction. But fundamental to this is the requirement that the researcher has a clear understanding of what the respondent says and what the respondent understands to be the meaning of their response. As such the interpretation in this research has been done within the hermeneutic paradigm of interpretation.

The Joe Slovo informal settlement has been selected as the instrumental case study for a number of reasons. One being that its documented history provides a comprehensive example of the social, economic, political and attitude related dynamics that pertain to informal settlements. The available literature could thus be used to triangulate the research data from the interviews. Over and above that, the narrative of Joe Slovo presents instances of some of the topics covered in the preceding chapters.

The Joe Slovo interviews were also meant to get the view of the Joe Slovo informal settlements directly from them and also to get the views of the outsiders that form part of the dichotomies that have been described elsewhere in the thesis.

CHAPTER 5

THE JOE SLOVO INFORMAL SETTLEMENT

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The Joe Slovo settlement, 10 kilometres from the centre of Cape Town, currently comprises about 27 hectares of land that forms a strip along the N2 highway (Cooke, 2014: 32). Over the years, the size and shape of the settlement has been morphed by the socio-political and economic currents that have swept over South Africa and by extension, Cape Town.

The settlement developed in the early 1990's (COHRE, 2009:11). The settlement's proximity to the city centre and the Epping industrial area as well as access to transport networks, count as some of the contributors to the settlement's rapid growth, especially in the late 1990's. According to the Housing Development Agency, the settlement grew by eighty per cent, from 1 195 structures to 2 153 structures between 1996 and 1998 (HDA, 2012:27).

Joe Slovo's rapid increase produced high densities that have increased the settlement's vulnerability to disasters such as fires. A number of major fires have devastated the settlement over the years. Twenty-three fires during the course of the year 2000 destroyed a total of 1 246 dwellings (de Satgé, 2014: 357). In 2005 a major fire in Joe Slovo spread to parts of the hostels area of Langa and left 12 000 people homeless. Another fire in 2009 in which 513 shelters were destroyed, left 1 500 people destitute (Baptist & Bolnick, 2012: 61). The last mentioned fire occurred at a time when the community was engaged in the well-documented legal battle to remain in the settlement (Bolnick, 2009:2).

This chapter gives an account of the contestations that have taken place within the context of the settlement, on account of the fact that it is:

- an informal settlement.
- located in a site that is close to the city and highly visible.
- is the setting of an ambitious government plan to replace informal settlements with state sanctioned housing.

All of these factors make the Joe Slovo settlement a significant case study to elucidate a key focus of this study; informal settlements and attitudes related to such settlements.

5.2 GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION AND FEATURES

The Joe Slovo informal settlement occupies what used to be a vacant land parcel that acted as a buffer strip between the township of Langa and the N2 highway to the south, and the Vanguard Drive to the east of the township. The settlement is often reported in the literature as being part of Langa (fig.5.1).

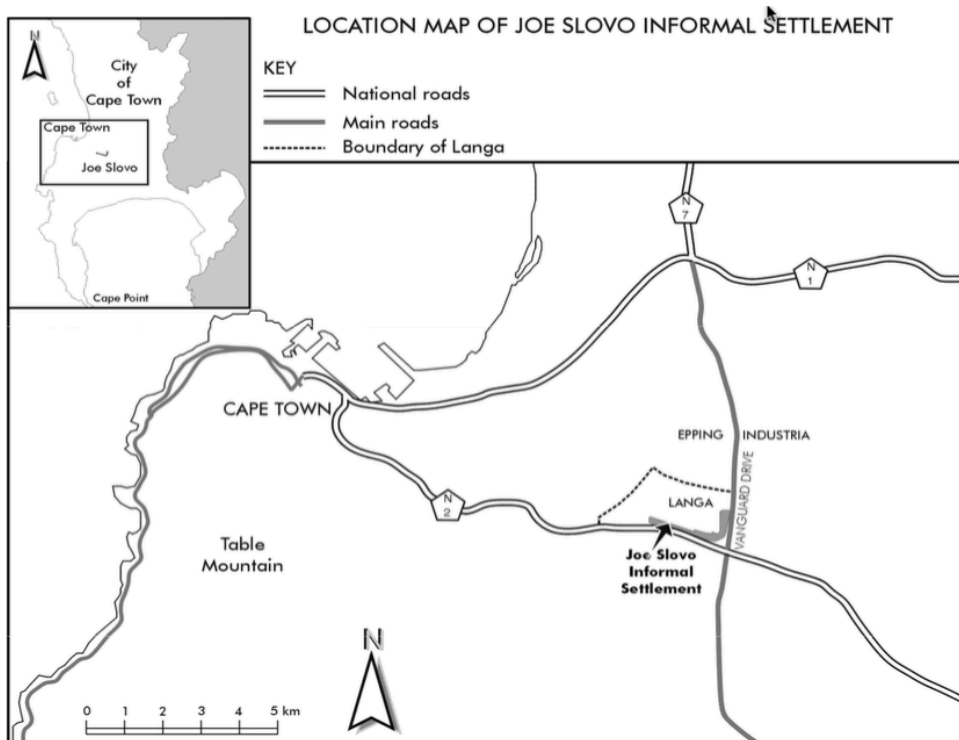


Fig 5.1 Location map of the Joe Slovo informal settlement (Disaster mitigation for sustainable livelihoods programme, 2014: 21)

Being an informal settlement, Joe Slovo is devoid of any public amenities such as schools, clinics and police stations. As such, the community of Joe Slovo is entirely dependent on the more established Langa township for these amenities as well as linkages to transport networks. King Langalibalele Drive (formerly Washington Drive), the main arterial of Langa; is a major thoroughfare for taxis moving commuters in and out of Langa and is a walking distance from some parts of the Joe Slovo informal settlement. The Langa train station is also easily accessible from Joe Slovo; giving the community access to a relatively affordable mode of transport. The train station itself is located on a railway that acts as a buffer between Langa and the Epping industrial area to the north. A railway, a cemetery and the Jan Smuts Drive act as buffers between Langa and the suburb of Pinelands to the west of Langa. Both Epping and Pinelands are employment hubs for the Joe Slovo community.

The above factors have contributed to the exponential growth of Joe Slovo to the extent that when Joe Slovo is seen as part and parcel of the township of Langa, by 2001 the informal dwelling constituted the largest dwelling typology in Langa, according to Braathen et al. (2014:17).

The appeal of the Joe Slovo site has not escaped the attention of the authorities either, who have identified it as a “...strategic site for urban medium-density housing” (SHF, 2006: 3). Commenting on this, the Social Housing Foundation (SHF) elaborates further, “It is ideally located within the existing urban fabric of Cape Town and has easy access to a wide range of facilities and infrastructure.”(SHF, 2006:3). Authorities were not deterred by the subsequent discovery that the land was unsuitable for the multi-story building typology that was planned for the site. This has been as a result of the site’s past use as a dumping site (SHF, 2006:2). This fact resulted in “... substantial remedial earthworks” prior to the commencement of the construction of the N2 Gateway units (Anon, 2012:3).

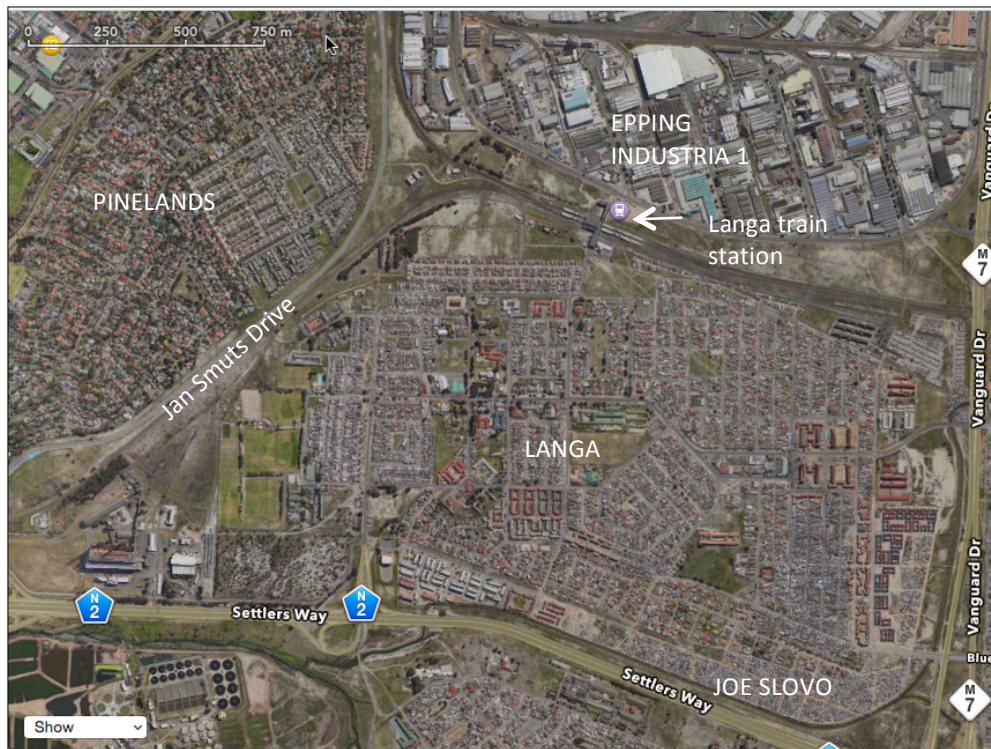


FIG 5.2 Unlike most informal settlements in Cape Town, Joe Slovo is located close to employment opportunities and transport infrastructure (Apple Maps, 2015).

There are hardly any exceptional natural features in the flat site that Joe Slovo is located in. Because of its topography, the water table is susceptible to being shallow in the winter periods (Anon, 2012:3), resulting into flooding -an annual winter occurrence -being the most dominant disaster (Bolnick, 2009:4).

The nearby Jakkalsvlei storm water canal does not alleviate the situation owing to the flat topography and lack of channels. The canal forms a border to the settlement on its south and eastern edges. Prior to the construction of the N2 Gateway project, it was one of only two formal, man-made structures noticeable at Joe Slovo, the other one being power-lines. What brings one’s attention to the canal is not the



Fig5.3 Garbage dumping in the Jakkalsvlei storm water canal (Apple Maps, 2015)

picturesque element that it could potentially provide to the settlement, but rather, its apparent use as a dumping site (figure 5.3). In spite of the existence of a refuse removal service in Joe Slovo, the community seems to have resorted to disposing waste at the nearest site where it is out of their sightline.

As a result, the Jakkasvlei canal was identified by Wise and Armitage (2004:514), within the central Cape Metropolitan area as the third largest contributor of litter pollution in open channels and rivers.

5.3 TYPOLOGY

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the Joe Slovo informal settlement has been continuously transformed by the socio-political and economic currents that have swept across South Africa. The settlement's location has also been a significant factor in shaping the reactions that have been directed towards it and consequently affecting its physical attributes. These relate to the burgeoning in size, fuelled by urbanisation and the abolition of policies such as influx controls; and further augmented by the settlement's proximity to services and employment hubs, something unique to a settlement of its kind. Joe Slovo's location in a prominent site has subsequently led to its reduction, at least in terms of the typology that is described in this section.

In other words, what is described here is something that is, and has been for a number of years, in a constant flux. This is typical of informal settlements in general, owing to the relatively transient nature of their occupation and their more spontaneous development. Joe Slovo's particular circumstances have increased its vulnerability to morphing. References to the N2 Gateway project refer to the project as Joe Slovo phases, implying that it is part of Joe Slovo. The typology of Joe Slovo has therefore morphed over the

years to include formal aspects brought on by the N2 Gateway component. The descriptions that follow below are limited to the informal component of Joe Slovo.

5.3.1 Density

As explained in subsection 2.2.2 in chapter two, informal settlements in spite of local variations, tend to be over-crowded. This is true for most cases, regardless of the size of a settlement. What this means is that the fact that the number of informal dwellings in Joe Slovo might have been reduced, does not necessarily mean that the density has been reduced (at least in the parts of Joe Slovo that are still characterised by informality, and these are still substantial). This is because the removal of an amount of structures in an informal settlement does not necessarily translate into more land for the ones that remain. The land is simply taken over by either formal structures (the N2 Gateway in this case) or other informal structures. The relation of a remaining structure to others that remain with it, remains the same, in terms of proximity, articulation of private and public space and the risk to fire spread. The footprint might have been reduced, but the proportion or density patterns should remain the same.

The number of dwelling structures in Joe Slovo has not remained consistent. According to the COHRE (2009: 11) there were 5 451 dwelling units in Joe Slovo by 2003. A survey facilitated by the Community Organisation Resource Centre (CORC) with the Joe Slovo Community Task Team (JSCTT), in 2009, however, reported 2 748 dwelling structures (Baptist & Bolnick, 2012:63). The variance in such a short period of time points to the relatively rapid transformations that informal settlements can be subject to. It is however, noteworthy that the figure from the CORC was from the very first survey of Joe Slovo (Baptist & Bolnick, 2012:62), and it revealed that "...there were less people than originally thought within the settlement." (Baptist & Bolnick, 2009:64). Nevertheless, even though the number of informal structures has been reduced, for the parts of the settlement that still remain informal, the density should have remained more or less the same. This is because the reduction that has happened in the number of structures has not allowed those that are still remaining to spread out.

5.3.2 Spatial configuration

As can be expected, the spatial configuration of the shack structures at Joe Slovo is informal, and according to Sustainable Energy Africa (SEA), the spaces in between those structures are characterised by cramped conditions (SEA, 2014:4). Re-blocking, a spatial reconfiguration of shacks to allow for more open spaces, has also not changed the typology of Joe Slovo significantly. The first re-blocking of Joe Slovo was facilitated by the city of Cape Town between late 2000 and early 2002. This re-blocking was instigated by a fire that destroyed 950 dwellings towards the end of 2000. But according to de Satgé, the provision of free services further enhanced Joe Slovo's attractiveness as a dwelling location (de Satgé 2014:358), and the population increased, morphing the spatial configuration once more.

Another less impactful yet still significant fire destroyed 513 shelters in 2009 and facilitated the re-blocking of the rebuilt shacks. Bolnick (2009:3) reports that by the end of March that year, 120 new shelters had been built, there is no indication that this number increased to anywhere near the 513 that was destroyed. One hundred and twenty shacks

in a total amount of 2 748 shacks translates to 4 per cent of the total amount. The re-blocking that took place in Joe Slovo, therefore, could not have transformed the spatial configuration in the settlement to an extent that it would have changed its spatial configuration.



FIG 5.4 Cramped spaces between structures in Joe Slovo (Apple Maps, 2015)

5.3.3 Structures

The overwhelming majority of structures in the Joe Slovo informal settlement constitute residential structures. But it does happen occasionally that a residential structure also functions as a place of worship or for running a small informal enterprise, such as a spaza shop. At one time Joe Slovo had a community hall, built by the community with the help of an NGO. The hall, which also functioned as a pre-school, was demolished by the city's Anti-Land Invasion Unit in 2013 (Damba, 2013). According to the Disaster Mitigation for Sustainable Livelihoods Programme (Dimp), a great majority of the residential structures in Joe Slovo are constructed from untreated wood and thermoplastics (Dimp, 2002:22). These structures measure between 6 and 20 square metres (SEA, 2014:4), the 2009 enumeration established that shacks measuring between 6 and 20 square metres constituted 74 per cent of the total number of shacks (CORC & JSCTT, 2009:18). Some of the larger structures accommodate more than one family according to a case study report by Sustainable Energy Africa (2014:4).

5.3.4 Services

It was only after 1998 that toilets, in the form of container toilets (single toilets with a 100-litre container), were introduced to the Joe Slovo informal settlement (Stewart, 2008:5). This initial provision delivered 300 container toilets (COHRE, 2009:11). In 2002 the city of Cape Town embarked on an extensive upgrading exercise that included the provision of tap water, refuse removal, electricity and toilets (COHRE, 2009:11), thereby

increasing the number of the container toilets. In 2004, van Wyk et al. reported that there was one container toilet to every four households (van Wyk et al 2004:131).

The number of these container toilets seems to have remained more or less the same between 2002 and 2012. In 2012, Zibagwe put the number of toilets at 706 with a ratio of 1: 11 to the population (2012:13), this figure is based on the CORC-sponsored enumeration that put the total number of households at 2 748 and is commensurate with the four households to one toilet ratio given by van Wyk et al.

According to van Wyk et al (2004: 131), the toilets are arranged in single rows because of density. Most of these toilets are located at the edge of the settlement, forming a continuous line that - in places- is interrupted by existing shacks along the canal (see figure 5.5). Some would argue that the toilets form a convenient screen to shield the settlement or at least parts of it from being visible from the N2 highway. A city official, however, explained in an interview that the initial arrangement of the toilets was not popular with the community; “ ...And the people didn’t like that; they were too close to their houses, and they just demolished them.” (Stewart, 2008:71).

The survey by CORC in 2009 established that there were thirty-eight communal water taps at Joe Slovo all of which were functioning. But by 2015, Maregele (2015:1) reported on long queues at just one central tap, with residents claiming that the rest of the water taps scattered around the settlement as not functioning most of the time, sometimes for three days at a time. These interruptions have been attributed to the N2 Gateway project, progressing at the site.

As part of the extensive upgrade of Joe Slovo mentioned earlier, in 2002 the city of Cape Town marked the electrical connection of more than 1 300 homes. In this project, the so-called maypole overhead cabling system was preferred over the more conventional underground system (City of Cape Town, 2002). The maypole system is common in informal settlement electrification programmes due to the fact that it is cost-efficient, “... service connections to households are simple and effective.” (Gaunt et al., 2012:6).



FIG 5.5 Toilets along the Jakkalsvlei canal (Apple Maps, 2015)

5.4 DEMOGRAPHICS

Generally, statistics on informal settlements are absent or unreliable when available. The fact that the 2009 self-enumeration by the Joe Slovo residents revealed that there were less people in Joe Slovo than was previously thought attests to this. Often this is because the data, specifically data owned by officialdom, is gathered mainly for legibility-effects and for the enhancement of governmentality (Zibagwe, 2012:11). When gathering data on informal settlements, it is common for municipalities, including that of Cape Town, to rely on aerial photographs taken above the informal settlements (Zibagwe, 2012:11). The total number of structures in an informal settlement is measured by isolating what would appear to be individual structures and summing them up, from this, the number of households is inferred. That the city of Cape Town uses this method is confirmed in a city 2005 report on three informal settlements, “The number of households in each settlement was taken from the July 2003 estimates of the City of Cape Town’s GIS Unit, Strategic Information Department, based on the most recent aerial photographs of the areas” (City of Cape Town, 2005:3).

This report by the city of Cape Town put the number of households in Joe Slovo at 5 627 (City of Cape Town, 2005:3). This figure is close to the figure of 5 451 households in Joe Slovo in 2003, reported by COHRE (2009:11) The self-enumeration facilitated by CORC in 2009 put the number of households at 2 748. The figure from the self-enumeration does not necessarily invalidate the previous figures; “...by 2009 about half of the residents of Joe Slovo had been relocated to transit accommodation in the immediate vicinity or to a new mass housing development on the outskirts of the city.” Bolnick A (2010:1).

The 2005 report by the city of Cape Town revealed the average household size at Joe Slovo to be 3.4 members (City of Cape Town, 2005:15). The settlement’s population at the time the report was compiled was mostly youthful, with seventy-one per cent aged within the 11 to 44 years age-range. Community members in the 25 to 44 years age bracket, made up fifty-five per cent of this group (City of Cape Town, 2005:16). The 2009 enumeration revealed that most households in Joe Slovo (ninety-two per cent) were led by people in the 25 to 45 years bracket (CORC & JSCTT, 2009:9). In Stewart (2008:73), it is stated that Joe Slovo has the youngest population of any informal settlement in Cape Town.

The 2009 enumeration established that only 32 per cent of the population was employed at that time (CORC & JSCTT, 2009:12). It is important, though, to highlight that this proportion cited by CORC & JSCTT was derived from the entire population of Joe Slovo and not from what would be considered as the economically active segment of the Joe Slovo community. Of the thirty-two per cent that was employed at that time, only 39 per cent had full-time employment, part-time employment represented the largest category of employment at 46 per cent. Nine per cent were self-employed (CORC & JSCTT, 2009:13). Of the households headed by women (38 per cent of the households), 72 per cent depended entirely on government welfare grants for survival. The youthful inclination of the Joe Slovo settlement is further confirmed by the fact that, of the total percentage of government grants received, 84 per cent represented child support grants

whilst only 3 per cent received pension grants (CORC & JSCTT, 2009:12). The data in the enumeration report does not indicate the type of employment that those who are employed are engaged in, but the 2005 report by the city of Cape Town indicated that the largest proportion (seventeen per cent) of those employed were employed in cleaning services. Street trading, which is a form of self-employment and would have been in all likelihood informal, stood at nine per cent (City of Cape Town, 2005:39). This figure correlates the one recorded by CORC in 2009. According to the 2005 report, 11 per cent were engaged in manual labour, 9 per cent in construction and 8 per cent worked as security guards. Other forms of employment included transport, farm work and food prep (City of Cape Town, 2005:39).

The types of jobs listed above reflect the level of education that most residents of Joe Slovo possessed at the time of the surveys and quite possibly to date. The report by the city of Cape Town reported only 14 per cent of residents with a grade 12 qualification and 0.6 with a post-matric qualification (City of Cape Town, 2005:22).

The 2009 survey revealed that the Joe Slovo residents spent their income mostly on food followed by clothing, then transport, followed by electricity and school fees (CORC & JSCTT, 2009:15). According to approximated sums done by CORC and the JSCTT, the average household income, based on the expenses listed above, worked out to be roughly R 1 072, a modest income even in 2009. Still, the survey of three informal settlements done by the city of Cape Town, revealed that the Joe Slovo residents were better off in terms of social indicators such as health, income and infrastructure, compared to the other two settlements surveyed; Nonqubela and Sweet Home (Braathen et al., 2014:17).

5.5 CHRONICLE

5.5.1 Establishment (1992)

The emergence of the Joe Slovo informal settlement was prompted by overcrowded conditions in the hostels area in Langa in the early 1990's. According to Smith and Hanson three-room units in the hostels are typically occupied by anything between three and thirty people, all sharing a single toilet (Smith & Hanson, 2003:1526). The high density has led to the deterioration of the infrastructure whose maintenance had been neglected by council for years (Smith & Hanson, 2003: 1526). The phenomenon of shacks as a dwelling type in Langa, though, did not start with the formation of Joe Slovo. It is in the backyards of township houses that shacks were first constructed in Langa (de Satgé, 2014: 18). Following that, shacks began to amass in between the spaces separating hostel blocks prior to the formation of Joe Slovo (HDA, 2012:28). The overcrowding, coupled with backyarders frustrations with their landlords led to the formation of Joe Slovo.

de Satgé (2014: 356), writes that small groupings started to build shacks on two adjacent parcels of land. One portion, facing the N2 highway was owned by the Ikapa Council; whilst the other-Vanguard Drive facing portion-was owned by the Cape Town City Council. de Satgé states that the Ikapa Council officials turned a blind eye to the development of shacks on its land, but the Cape Town City Council tried to force people off its land (de Satgé 2014:356). A mass occupation in December of 1994 was encouraged by a political

climate in which the prevention of such occupations was not actively pursued (de Satgé 2014:356).

By 1996, 1 195 dwellings were documented in Joe Slovo (HDA, 2012:27). By this time, the footprint of Joe Slovo had spread out to the backyard area of Settler's Way, a middle-class enclave that had previously marked the southern fringes of Langa (Smith & Hanson, 2003: 1526).

5.5.2 Upgrading (1998, 2000-2002)

The year 1996 not only saw the marked expansion of Joe Slovo, it also witnessed the adoption of South Africa's new constitution. Smith and Hanson state; "... the new constitution decreed that squatters could no longer be evicted, if they had settled on municipal land for more than 24 hours, without local authorities finding them another place to live." (Smith & Hanson, 2003:1526). This statement is not entirely accurate, in fact, the only direct reference to evictions contained in the Bill of Rights of the constitution, states; "No one may be evicted from their home, or have their home demolished, without an order of court made after considering all the relevant circumstances. No legislation may permit arbitrary evictions." (South Africa, 1996:1255)³. This section inspired the so-called PIE Act of 1998, the Prevention of Illegal Eviction from and Unlawful Occupation of Land Act. The act makes it unlawful to conduct un-procedural evictions. It requires that when people had occupied land for more than six months, it is necessary to consider whether alternative land can be reasonably made available to them by a municipality, or another organ of state or another land-owner (Huchzermeyer, 2004: 2).

This piece of legislation paved the way for the upgrading of Joe Slovo by the city of Cape Town. Stewart writes that the withdrawal of the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act- this act was nullified by the PIE Act-made it difficult to evict people from land that they had occupied illegally. She goes further to state that "These changes in policy proved extremely challenging to the local authority who desperately tried to control influx and the haphazard nature of informal settlements' growth." (Stewart, 2008:5). Stewart claims that as a result of these changes, the city of Cape Town was under increasing pressure to provide basic infrastructure to settlements such as Joe Slovo (Stewart, 2008:5). As mentioned in subsection 5.3.3, 300 container toilets were the first form of municipal sanitation services rendered to the community of Joe Slovo, in 1998. Included with this was the provision of fifteen standpipes for potable water and basic refuse removal services (de Satgé, 2014:356). This upgrading exercise marked the first upgrading

³ A South African Human Rights Commission 2003 Report stated that a ruling by the Constitutional Court in the Government of South Africa and Others vs. Grootboom and Others case, made a link between the right of access to land and the right of access to adequate housing "...effectively recognising a linkage to section 26 of the Constitution, that provides that the State has an obligation to take reasonable measures to ensure the "progressive realisation of the right to adequate housing." That right can only be realised when the right of access to land is itself realised." (South African Human Rights Commission, 2003:66).

intervention in Joe Slovo.

The next, comprehensive upgrading would be completed four years later in 2002. This upgrade was spurred on by one of the twenty-three fire disasters that struck the settlement in the year 2000. By this time there were about 4 300 dwellings in the settlement according to the Disaster Mitigation for Sustainable Livelihoods Programme (Dimp), translating to a 100 per cent increase from the number of dwellings in 1998 (Dimp, 2002:4). The increase in the number of dwellings naturally led to increased densities, and ultimately heightened vulnerability to fire disasters. The last fire disaster of that year struck on the 26th of November and destroyed 950 dwellings (Dimp, 2002:4). The Dimp reports that originally, this intervention was not planned to be the extensive upgrade it turned out to be. The original plans did include measures to re-block the settlement through the installation of tracks for the erection of electricity poles and the installation of storm-water drainage. The fire incident advanced these measures to a grander scale. According to the Dimp the subsequent measures taken, conveyed contradictory messages of permanence and impermanence (Dimp, 2002:4).

The fire was declared a national disaster and this meant that funds were allocated from both local and national government "...to 'fast-track' services to the area." (de Satgé, 2014:357). The services included the provision of water, the installation of tracks-the significance of which-was underscored by the fire, the installation of water mains and fire hydrants, basic storm-water drainage and electrification (de Satgé, 2014:358).

The re-blocking process started with the resettlement of the 950 households that had been affected by the fire, within Joe Slovo, away from the Eskom servitude on which they were originally located. This first phase lasted from November 2000 to March 2001 and it constituted 20 percent of the re-configuration (Dimp, 2002:27). The remaining 80 per cent of re-configuration spanned from April 2001 to May 2002 (Dimp, 2002:27). This second phase was tied to the provision of electricity in that households were informed that in order for them to receive electricity services, they would have to accede to relocation from within the reconfigured blocks (Dimp, 2002:28). De Satgé states that a total of R14.4 million was spent on this upgrading (de Satgé, 2014:358).



FIG 5.6 The image on the left shows Joe Slovo in 2000, before the fire. The one on the right shows the settlement in 2002 after the re-block (City Maps, 2015).

This upgrading further enhanced the desirability of Joe Slovo to new immigrants “...seeking a foothold in the city.” to the extent that by 2002 there were a reported 4 571 dwellings in Joe Slovo (de Satgé, 2014:358). By 2003 this had increased to 5 431 dwellings. This represents an increase of 26 per cent since before the upgrade, in spite of efforts by the city to restrict the construction of further shacks.

5.5.3 The N2 Gateway project

“For years the old Joe Slovo area had been an eyesore with its ramshackle shelters. Residents had to endure constant fires that damaged property and endangered their lives. Some of the struggles that the Joe Slovo settlement had to face include a low level of education, limited access to services and high levels of contact crime. Drastic action had to be taken”(South Africa. DoHS, 2014:105).

The excerpt above is contained in the Department of Human Settlements’ 2014 Yearbook, “Celebrating 20 years of human settlements”. The drastic action the document alludes to is the Joe Slovo component of the N2 Gateway mega project.

Policy shift (2004)

The project was launched ten years earlier in 2004 as a pilot project for the Breaking New Ground policy. As a way of describing the context that inspired the policy, it is stated in the policy document that the nature of demand for government-assisted housing had changed significantly over the previous five years (HDA, 2004:3), thereby implying a necessity for a change of direction. The policy document highlights previously unexpected national growths in the number of households, 30 per cent versus an expected 10 per cent in the period between 1996 and 2001; a 10.4 per cent population growth within the same period and unemployment rising from 16 per cent in 1995 to 30 per cent in 2002 (HDA, 2004:3). It is then acknowledged in the document that because of these factors, government housing provision had not only been unable to keep up with the demand, but had actually declined (HDA, 2004:4).

With the BNG policy the government sought to shift housing strategy away from a focus on quantity to a focus on quality and choice, and a focus that would allow for an accelerated rate of the delivery of well-located housing of acceptable standards (Tissington, 2011:66). There is also a suggestion of a shift in the state's attitude towards informal settlements. In a section discussing informal settlements upgrading it is stated; "There is... a need to acknowledge the existence of informal settlements and recognize that the existing housing programme will not secure the upgrading of informal settlements. There is also a need to shift the official policy response to informal settlements from one of conflict or neglect, to one of integration and co-operation, leading to the stabilization and integration of these areas into the broader urban fabric." (HDA, 2004:17). The BNG then, entailed a new informal settlement upgrading strategy with the ultimate goal still being the eradication of informal settlements. The long stretch of informal settlements from the Cape Town International Airport to the edge of the city bowl would be the site of the pilot project of this new policy. Joe Slovo – at the city edge extreme of the stretch of informal settlements-was identified as the lead pilot site for the extended N2 Gateway mega project.

The project was launched as a joint initiative of the three tiers of government; the National Department of Human Settlements, the Western Cape Provincial Department of Local Government and Housing and the City of Cape Town (COHRE, 2009:2). The goal then, was to deliver a total of 22 000 of both rental and ownership units. The sum of 22 000 units pertained to the entire mega project, with 3 393 earmarked for Joe Slovo (Western Cape DHS, 2014:4). Seventy per cent of the targeted beneficiaries were to be made up of families from Joe Slovo, with the remaining 30 per cent of beneficiaries being made up of backyarders from Langa (COHRE, 2009:2).

In-spite of the claims-contained within the BNG policy document-of advocating principles of in situ upgrading, this project was part of the grander scheme of eradicating informal settlements by 2014. In the year that the mega project was publicly launched, the minister of Housing announced her intention to eradicate informal settlements by 2014, in her budget speech. de Satgé describes the aims of the project as a means to "...'eradicate' Joe Slovo and replace it with a mix of affordable rental and ownership housing units" (de Satgé, 2014:14).

Phase 1 (2004-2006)

Phase one of the project broke ground on the 21st of December 2004 (COHRE, 2009:11), at the western section of the settlement, adjacent to the Bhunga Avenue entrance to Langa. Figure 5.7 shows three aerial photographs of the area; the area in 2003 before works commenced, in early 2005 when the site was cleared, and in May 2006 when phase 1 was completed. Apparently, the residents of the pre-N2 Gateway Joe Slovo knew nothing about the plans that were drawn up for the land they had been occupying until the first public announcement was made (COHRE, 2009:11). The COHRE (2009:11) reports further that the residents of the site cleared for phase one were relocated to open spaces between existing shacks within Joe Slovo, with the understanding that they would be the beneficiaries of the phase one units that they were making way for.



FIG 5.7 Progress of Phase 1 of the N2 Gateway project (City Maps, 2015)

A 2008 report by the Auditor General, however, was critical of the fact that the selection of beneficiaries of the phase one construction was only finalised in 2007, more than two years after construction had started (Auditor-general, 2008:8). By this time, authorities were denying that they had given undertakings that the displaced residents would be given priority in the allocation of phase one units (COHRE, 2009:11).

When it was completed, the phase one stage of the project delivered 705 rental units in three-story blocks COHRE (2009:11). The sizes of the units range from 27 square metre-bachelor units to one and two bedroom units ranging from 40 to 48 square metres (SHF, 2006:5). Changes in typology and specifications were made after construction had started resulting in cost overruns (SHF, 2006:5). The Auditor General's report put the extra costs at R 40 000 per unit, totalling to R28 200 000 in cost overruns. In addition, although the higher density meant that land was used in a more cost-effective way compared to the case in the old RDP model, higher densities meant higher construction costs (COHRE, 2009:11). This and the fact that an average of R165 957 per unit had been spent by the time construction was completed (de Satgé, 2014:265), led to the rentals being increased from R150 for single units to R600; and for double units from R300 to R1 050 (COHRE, 2009:11), making the units unaffordable to most Joe Slovo residents. In the end it was not the intended beneficiaries who ended up occupying the phase one units, "...the actual tenant profile indicated that the income of 99,6% of the current tenants ranged from R1 500 to R7 500 per month. Consequently affordable housing was not provided for the target market identified." (Auditor-general,2008:10).

There were other residents that had expectations that they too would be beneficiaries of phase one units, besides the residents that were relocated to empty spaces within the settlement. Twenty-four days after work on the site for phase one had commenced, a major fire disaster which left 12 000 people destitute, struck the eastern section of Joe Slovo, the area adjacent to Vanguard Drive; and spread to the adjoining hostels area of Langa. Nine hundred and ninety-six shacks from Joe Slovo and 3 704 shacks crowded between the hostel blocks were destroyed.

According to the COHRE (2009:12), the affected people were not permitted to rebuild their shacks and were instead, relocated to TRAs (temporary relocation areas). The city of Cape Town issued a media release related to the fire on the 17th of January 2005:

"The re-erection of fire ravaged informal structures is not to be permitted as this will

prejudice Council's long term strategy of providing formal high density housing to the affected and surrounding areas in line with the principles adopted for the N2 Gateway / Hostels to Homes projects." (City of Cape Town, 2005). The media statement went further to state that temporary housing structures would be erected on sites as close as possible to the area devastated by the fire so as to minimise disruption to family life. At the time of the media release, such suitable sites were still being identified. In time, nine sites in Langa and two in Epping were identified.

However, objections to the use of the Epping sites were raised by organisations such as the Epping Industrialists Association and the Pinelands Residents Association (COHRE, 2009:12). According to the Development Action Group (DAG), 1 500 letters of objection were posted and the two associations appointed legal representatives to act on the matter (DAG, 2007:7). The community of Langa also opposed the use of any vacant land in Langa for the purposes of temporarily resettling the survivors of the fire. Subsequently, the city abandoned plans to relocate the families to the identified sites to avoid a drawn-out court battle (DAG, 2007:7).

Though some of the survivors were accommodated in a TRA in Langa, the bulk-89 per cent-were accommodated in a TRA in Delft, 18 kilometres away from Langa (DAG, 2007:8). The Delft TRA was unpopular because, with Delft being 18 kilometres away from Langa, the resettled community was now 28 kilometres from the city in an area that lacked well-developed transport links and far from schools, clinics and pension payout points (COHRE, 2009:12).

But the affected community might have taken some comfort from the fact that in the wake of the fire disaster, plans for the Joe Slovo component of the N2 project were accelerated. According to the DAG, the then MEC for Local Government and Housing announced that 3 000 houses would be built by June 2005 (DAG, 2007:7). Stewart as well, writes that the then mayor made the undertaking that the fire survivors, not having been permitted to rebuild their burnt-down shacks, would receive priority in the allocation of the N2 Gateway units and be placed on top of the housing waiting list (Stewart, 2008:50).

But as mentioned, only 705 units of phase one were constructed and these were completed in June 2006. In addition to that, the prohibitive rental rates applied to the fire survivors as well. According to the 2008 Auditor General's report, as at May in 2007, only 871 units representing 5 per cent of the then revised plan to build 16 735 units, had been constructed. The figure of 16 735 is inclusive of all the units planned for the mega project and not limited to Joe Slovo. At this point, 21 per cent of the total budget had been used (Auditor-general, 2008:10).

When phase two was launched in June 2006, there were still issues pending from phase 1. These pertained to issues of poor built quality that resulted in leaking ceilings and penetrating damp in the walls of many of the units (COHRE, 2009:14). The COHRE also highlights that tenants complained about security because not all of the flats had unique locks. These issues led to a rent boycott that started in 2007, and according to an account by de Satgé, was still in full force by 2011 (de Satgé, 2014:173). In a briefing to

parliament's portfolio committee on human settlements in 2009, the then spokesperson for Thubelisha Homes put the proportion of rent defaulters at between 75 and 80 per cent (South Africa. Department of Human Settlements, 2009:6). In spite of engaging in a rent boycott, some of the tenants were subletting their units, and the number of tenants engaging in this practice was huge according to information relayed to de Satgé by the HDA through an interview (de Satgé, 2014:210). The number of units built in phase one fell short of what was originally planned and the eventual beneficiaries of phase one were not in the income bracket initially targeted.

Phase 2 (2006-2009)

If the residents of Joe Slovo had hoped that phase two would offer them another prospect of receiving government housing, those hopes were proved false. Phase two was meant to deliver 3 000 bonded houses within the broader megaproject framework for people earning between R3 500 and R7 500 (Anon, 2010). The plan was to build 300 of these bonded houses at the Joe Slovo site (Legassick, 2008:28). To be eligible for the FNB bond, applicants had to be permanently employed and have a clean credit record (Anon, 2010). Phase two was really meant for people who are located within the gap-housing category. Gap housing refers to a market consisting of people who earn above the government-determined threshold to qualify for a government subsidy but don't earn enough to qualify for private sector home loans. As indicated in the demographics section, by 2009, only 32 per cent of the population in Joe Slovo was employed and of these, only 39 per cent of that, had full time employment. The situation could not have been any better three years earlier in 2006.

Members of the Joe Slovo community, therefore do not fall under the gap housing category. It then became "...increasingly clear that Phase 2 housing in Joe Slovo would also be out of reach for most residents." (COHRE, 2009:15). This realisation by the Joe Slovo community led to their march to parliament in August 2007 to hand over a memorandum demanding that RDP houses (subsidy houses), instead of bonded houses, be built in the phase two component of the project (de Satgé, 2014:363). The COHRE, on the other hand, ascribes the planned relocation of the vast majority of the informal settlement's residents to Delft to make way for phase 2, lack of consultation and the feeling that the government was treating them like animals, as the reasons for the march. It is most likely that all these grievances were the basis of the march. de Satgé notes that the demands conveyed through the march were ignored and instead in the same month, Thubelisha Homes- the public company that was appointed in February 2006 to implement the N2 Gateway project-entered into an agreement with FNB absolving the bank of any requirement that the target market for the phase two development should be limited to families living in Joe Slovo (de Satgé, 2014:363).

Feeling unheard, the Joe Slovo community blockaded the adjacent N2 highway on the 10th of September in 2007. This action marked the climax of community mobilisation in Joe Slovo according to Jordhus-Lier (2011:12). Noting the symbolic significance of blocking the N2, Jordhus-Lier observes that just as the visibility of the informal settlement had drawn attention to it and the desire to eradicate the informal settlement, the community strategically used the same N2-that makes the settlement highly visible-to make their

protests seen and heard (Jordhus-Lier, 2011:12). The protest ended violently with the protesters clashing with police and more than 30 of the protesters were injured in the altercation (COHRE, 2009:17).

In response, the then minister of housing declared that she would pursue the relocation of the Joe Slovo residents, to make way for the construction of the N2 phase 2, through legal means (COHRE, 2009:17). On the 20th of September 2007, she along with the provincial housing MEC and Thubelisha Homes, secured an interim eviction order against the residents of Joe Slovo (Legassick, 2008:7).

Apart from the fact that their relocation to Delft- which as explained earlier, is 28 kilometres away from the city-would take them away from areas with job opportunities and public amenities, the community of Joe Slovo feared that the relocation could be permanent. Legassick explains that this fear was rooted in the understanding that the original plan within the N2 Gateway project of building 1 000 housing units on the Joe Slovo land with a community of about 6 000 households would mean that some of them could not return back to Joe Slovo (Legassick, 2008:9). The realisation that both the phase one and phase two units were not accessible to them should have amplified this fear. According to Legassick, a representative of Thubelisha Homes admitted that some of the Joe Slovo residents would not return to Joe Slovo, and the explanation given by the representative was that "...shackland is significantly more densely occupied than suburbs, some Joe Slovo residents will not return to the area." (Legassick, 2008: 14). Those who would not be able to return, the overwhelming majority of Joe Slovo residents, according to Legassick, were promised quality homes in Delft. (Legassick, 2008:14).

On the 10th of March in 2008 the Cape High Court made a final ruling on the eviction order and declared that the Joe Slovo community had a right to adequate housing and not a right to remain in a locality of their choice, (COHRE, 2009:18), effectively giving the green light for the eviction of the Joe Slovo residents from Joe Slovo.

With the assistance of NGO's, the Joe Slovo community challenged the ruling in the Constitutional Court, bypassing the Supreme Court of Appeals. On the 10th of June 2009, the Constitutional Court handed over the final judgement on the issue, wherein the eviction order was upheld. The court imposed a requirement that compelled the state to ensure that seventy per cent of the beneficiaries of the houses to be built in the Joe Slovo site from then on, be the relocated residents of the Joe Slovo informal settlement and that 30 per cent be backyard dwellers from Langa (Constitutional Court, 2009:3). The court went further to instruct the state and the community to engage meaningfully with each other, giving both the respondents and applicants a timetable to reach an agreement on ways of facilitating the relocation of Joe Slovo residents to specifications laid down by the court (Constitutional Court, 2009:5).

The specifications laid down by the court went down to detail the size of the relocation units (at least 24 square metres), that they be serviced with tarred roads, be supplied with prepaid electricity service and include a reasonable provision of fresh water (Constitutional Court, 2009:6). In addition, the court instructed the state to provide transport for the relocated families from the TRA units to amenities such as schools,

health facilities and places of work. The court barred the residents of Joe Slovo from returning to Joe Slovo for the purposes of re-erecting informal dwellings after they had been relocated (Constitutional Court, 2009:7).

de Satgé points out that the conditions laid down by the court for the relocation, made the relocation process extremely expensive (de Satgé, 2014:115). According to the COHRE, the judgement was met with mixed reactions from academics and activists (COHRE, 2009:21). Members of the Joe Slovo community expressed reservations about being relocated to Delft, citing concerns about the lack of adequate transport links, the lack of livelihood opportunities and the size of the TRA units being too small for large families (COHRE, 2009:20). The concerns about the implications of being relocated to Delft based on transport and job opportunities might have been based on hard evidence on the effects of such a relocation. Back in 2007, a report by the Development Action Group on the impact of the earlier relocation after the 2005 fire stated “...many people lost their jobs due to the poor transport links from Delft to the rest of Cape Town. For those who managed to keep their jobs, they now find themselves spending five times as much on transport as they previously did.” (DAG, 2007:4).



FIG 5.8 Progress of Phase 2 (2006-2009), adjacent to the completed phase 1 (City Maps, 2015)

Eventually, only 43 of the phase two units were built in the Joe Slovo area, and they remained unoccupied up until 2013 (Mtyala, 2013). Named the ‘Joe Slovo Vision Village’, the phase two village comprises 25 houses, 13 sectional title apartments and 5 sectional title houses (Dennis Moss Partnership, n.d.). The costs of the units escalated from an initially earmarked range of between R150 000 and R250 000 to R594 000 in 2010 (Makinana, 2010).



FIG 5.9 The Phase 2 bonded units with the Phase 1 blocks of flats in the background (Apple Maps, 2015)

Phase 3 (2009-)

Often referred to as the BNG houses, the phase three units are fully subsidised houses (Braathen et al., 2014:17). Phase three began with the construction of 49 freehold show houses next to the phase 2 units. According to de Satgé, the Joe Slovo community disfavoured densification because they preferred a freestanding house in a situation where they could live with their kids and pets and practice cultural rituals. As a consequence, it is reported that Minister Sisulu revised the densification for phase three even though densification forms a key element of the BNG programme (de Satgé, 2014: 252). This would later be overturned for the purposes of yielding a higher number of units.

The year that phase three started in, 2009, also marked the closure of Thubelisha Homes and the transfer of project management responsibilities for the N2 Gateway project to the then, newly established parastatal, the Housing Development Agency. The year also marked the replacement of Minister Sisulu as the housing minister with Minister Tokyo Sexwale. The department itself, underwent a name change from the Department of Housing to the Department of Human Settlements. Explaining the concept behind the name change, Minister Sexwale in his budget speech in parliament in 2009 said that human settlements encompasses more than just the act of building houses, but also includes transforming residential areas and building communities with closer access to work and social amenities (South Africa, 2009:1).

The minister went further to quote the congress that adopted the Freedom Charter⁴ saying, "...the Congress demanded that "all people should have the right to live where they choose..." (South Africa, 2009:2).

Phase three is the last phase of the N2 Gateway project in Joe Slovo and when it is completed, it will herald the complete eradication of the old, informal Joe Slovo. Aside from the show houses described above, it has three phases; phase 3A, 3B and 3C. The units in this phase, designed by the office of one of the interviewees in this research- Jac Snyman, are in clusters of 12 to 18 double storey units arranged around courtyards or communal backyards (Cooke, 2014:32). In this phase the authorities were bound to

⁴ · The Freedom Charter is a statement of core principles adopted in Kliptown in 1955 by the ANC, the South African Indian Congress, the South African Congress of Democrats and the Coloured People's Congress. It was drafted from a collection of freedom demands that were collected from people across South Africa (ANC, 2015).

ensuring that 70 per cent of the beneficiaries would be from Joe Slovo as per the instructions from the Constitutional Court. Jordhus-lier (2011:13) reports that the directives from the Constitutional Court were quite specific in terms of time and standards to the extent that they might have been too demanding on the state and its agencies. As a result, Jordhus-lier reports, little had been accomplished by 2011 and the Constitutional Court subsequently discharged its own eviction order.

Initially, the plan was to construct 1 500 units in the phase 3 Joe Slovo component of the N2 Gateway project (COHRE, 2009:5), but in a report lodged to the Constitutional Court by the then new provincial MEC with the national minister of Human Settlements in February 2010, the plan was to increase the number of these units (de Satgé, 2014:116). de Satgé points out that in the same report, the MEC noted that the cost of constructing two of the TRA units, as specified by the Constitutional Court, amounted to more or less the same amount for creating a permanent BNG unit, and thus proposed a phased in-situ construction approach, instead. The new plan proposed a building of a further 1 300 units in addition to the 1 500 initially planned (de Satgé, 2014:116).

The implementation of phase three has not been without its own challenges. Commenting on these challenges, the MEC for Human Settlements Bonginkosi Madikizela cited interference by what he termed anti-development factions, resistance by the community members to being relocated, problems with the relocation of non-qualifiers and excess qualifiers and excess people in projects refusing to relocate out of construction areas, amongst others (Western Cape Government, 2014). The MEC was addressing a national Housing Indaba in Cape Town in October of 2014. By this time, of the revised 16 083 number of units envisioned for the entire N2 Gateway project, 11 437 had been handed over (WCDoHS, 2014). This represents 71 per cent of the units and by this time R1, 9 billion had been spent on the overall project (WCDoHS, 2014). Back in 2004, the plan was to build 22 000 units on a projected budget of R2, 3 billion (Powell & Ndenze, 2007).

Having been excluded from the first two phases of the project in the Joe Slovo area, the residents of the Joe Slovo informal settlement now had prospects of being accommodated in the 70 per cent of the units planned for phase 3. Still, the phase three housing units would not accommodate all the households that had been residing in Joe Slovo at the time the N2 Gateway project started. This led to a host of contestations, particularly with regards to the allocation of the BNG units. According to de Satgé (2014: 120), as the allocation of the BNG houses got underway, allegations of corruption within the allocation system began to surface. The large amount of people who expected to benefit from the phase 3 units set against the limited number of units that the project can deliver in the land that is still remaining in Joe Slovo, naturally led to contestations about who is more qualified to be a beneficiary "...different categories of non-qualifiers [emerged] as allocations were determined for Phase 3." (de Satgé, 2014:148).



FIG 5.10 An aerial photograph of Joe Slovo showing areas demarcated according to the different phases (Jacobs, 2013: 35)

By March of 2013, 588 units had been constructed in the phase 3A stage (Jacobs & Baud, 2013:9). The area covered by phase 3A is located at the eastern flank of Joe Slovo, adjacent to the Vanguard Drive (see figure 5.10).



FIG 5.11 Aerial photographs of Joe Slovo showing the progress of phase 3A between 2008 and 2013 (City Maps, 2015)

The next phase to follow phase 3A was phase 3C. The construction of the phase 3C units did not proceed without its own set of interruptions. In May 2013, the Human Settlements MEC complained about the delay in the implementation of phase 3C due to five families refusing to relocate to make way for the construction works (Polity, 2013). A spokesman for the five families stated that the families would move only on being given assurances that they would be allocated housing units from the development they were being instructed to make way for (Mtyala, 2013).

The plan was to move the families within 100 metres of their then current position, instead of being relocated to Delft in line with the eviction order given by the Constitutional Court. As mentioned, by this time, the Constitutional Court had discharged its own eviction order and in addition, as per the argument made by the MEC back in

2010, the construction of TRA units for the five families would have cost half of the construction costs for their permanent units.

Around this time-2013- reference about the number of units entailed in phase 3 had changed from the 2800 suggested in the report lodged to the Constitutional Court in 2010, to 2 639 units (Luhanga, 2013). In November 2014, The MEC reported on a further nine families resisting relocation and thereby delaying project progress. The MEC explained that only four of the nine families would be beneficiaries of the phase three units (Western Cape Government, 2014).

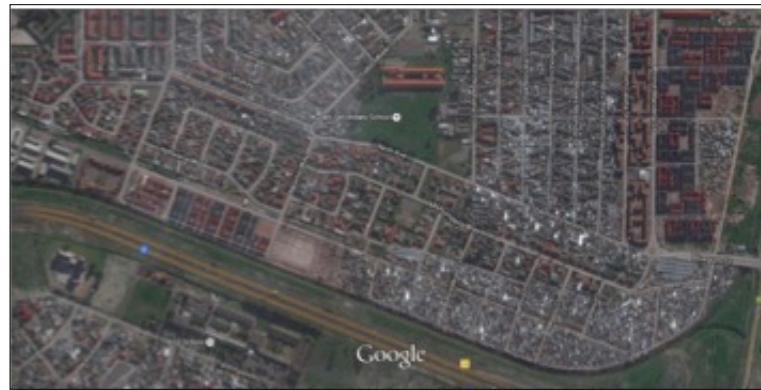


FIG 5.12 Joe Slovo at present (2015) (Google Maps, 2015)

In October of 2014, a number of residents were left homeless after they had demolished their informal structures under the assumption that they would be beneficiaries of units that had just been completed. When it became clear that this would not be the case, the residents accused the MEC of changing the criteria for the selection of beneficiaries. This was after it had been made clear to them that they were too young to be prioritised for receiving BNG units. The MEC added that even the residents that have been approved for a housing subsidy should not expect automatic allocation of housing (Knoetze, 2014:1).

The sentiment that young people should not expect to be the main beneficiary targets for BNG housing was also expressed by the national minister, Lindiwe Sisulu who had by this time, returned to her old portfolio. Minister Sisulu was reported to have stated that anyone under the age of forty was unlikely to receive a BNG house unless they fell under the special-needs category or were from a child-headed household (Sapa, 2014). It is unclear how this would work in the Joe Slovo case given that the plan is to allocate 70 per cent of the BNG units to Joe Slovo residents and the fact that the population of Joe Slovo is youthful as explained in section 5.4. The construction of the last phase is, however, progressing and the old Joe Slovo is slowly disappearing. A representative of the HDA that was interviewed in this research said that they expect to complete the Joe Slovo part of the N2 Gateway project next year (2016) failing that, in 2017. He also claimed that Joe Slovo residents would make up 100 per cent of the beneficiaries of the phase three component, and no longer the 70 per cent as directed by the Constitutional Court. There was not explanation for this deviation. He put the number of phase three units

constructed until then at 1 040, and quoted the total number of phase three units at 2 886, close to the original 2 800. Figure 5.12 shows Joe Slovo as it stands now.

5.6 SUMMARY

The Joe Slovo informal settlement was established in the early 1990's and its establishment was driven by overcrowded conditions in the hostels area of the neighbouring Langa township. Joe Slovo is situated 10 kilometres from the Cape Town city centre, the closest informal settlement of its size to the city centre. It is well served by the amenities that are available in the nearby formal settlements, particularly the school and health facilities of Langa as well as the transport networks in Langa. Another aspect that has contributed to Joe Slovo growing by 354 per cent between 1996 and 2003 is its proximity to areas that offer employment opportunities, i.e. Epping and Pinelands. These factors have contributed in making the community of Joe Slovo relatively better off than other informal settlement communities that have to use a large portion of their meagre incomes on transport.

Another notable aspect about Joe Slovo is its proximity to- and visibility from the N2 highway, a significant gateway to the city of Cape Town. Its visibility and favourable location have combined to create forces that have morphed the settlement, particularly with regards to the typology discussed in this thesis, on a constant basis.

The irony is that the forces that are driven by its favourable location have contributed to the considerable slowing down of the conflicting forces that some would argue are driven by the visibility of the settlement.

The popularity of Joe Slovo led to its high density which has meant that the settlement has been exposed to a number of fire disasters over the years. The fire disasters and the exponential growth of the settlement which was assisted by the abolition of influx control laws and the PIE Act, forced the authorities to recognise the existence of the settlement and thus render services to the settlement.

In 2004 the government adopted a new policy on housing, the Breaking New Ground policy. On informal settlements, the policy states that there is a need for a new approach to informal settlements, from one of conflict and neglect to that of integration and cooperation. The eradication of informal settlements, though still remains the ultimate goal.

The N2 Gateway was one means of achieving this goal, particularly within the area that forms a long stretch of informal settlements from the airport to the city centre. The N2 Gateway was a pilot project, and the Joe Slovo area is where the pilot project started. In the same year that the project was publicly launched, the minister of housing announced her department's intention of eradicating informal settlements by 2014.

As the first stage of the pilot project, the Joe Slovo experience might have demonstrated how difficult the task of eradicating informal settlements in South Africa can be. The launch of phase one of the Joe Slovo part of the project almost coincided with a major fire

disaster. Affected families were relocated to Delft, 18 kilometres away, under the impression that they would get priority in the allocation of the phase one units. In the end, though, the people who came to occupy the phase one units, that had by then become unaffordable to people from Joe Slovo, were drawn from outside areas.

Phase two units were even more unaffordable to people from Joe Slovo. But it appears the plan was never to accommodate people from Joe Slovo in phase two in the first place. The requirement that eligible beneficiaries have an income of between R3 500 and R7 500 per month automatically excluded people from Joe Slovo. Still, it proved difficult to find people in that income bracket to occupy the phase two units, by 2013 they still stood empty.

As a result of these exclusions, contestations about allocations in the next phase were intense, especially given the fact that the Joe Slovo land was shrinking and its original residents were faced with circumstances that ruled them out of the first two phases. A directive by the Constitutional Court gave the Joe Slovo residents better prospects of benefiting in the development that was forcing them off Joe Slovo. The directive by the Constitutional Court stemmed from a case that was before it, involving the national and provincial governments with Thubelisha Homes on the one hand and the residents of Joe Slovo on the other. The residents were appealing an eviction order given by the Cape High Court. They lost the appeal but might have been encouraged by the Constitutional Court's directives in terms of the allocation of the units in the following construction phase and specifications on the TRA units. These directives produced complexities of their own, the TRA units became expensive and the requirement that 70 per cent of the phase two beneficiaries come from Joe Slovo resulted in more stringent conditions for qualification as a beneficiary. A representative of the HDA indicated in an interview that the beneficiaries of phase three housing would be 100 per cent old Joe Slovo residents. Phase three is still in progress and is likely to be completed next year or the year after.

CHAPTER 6

RESEARCH FINDINGS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

A large part of this chapter is a discussion on the findings from the field study interviews, and this discussion is geared at answering the research questions posed in chapter one, particularly the main question: How do prevailing attitudes towards informal settlements affect housing delivery for the poor? Just as revealing, are the developments in the Joe Slovo case study chronicled in the preceding chapter, particularly in relation to the N2 Gateway project. The narrative of the Joe Slovo case study does in many ways reveal the prevailing attitudes towards informal settlements. It also gives an insight into how these attitudes had affected the implementation of the N2 Gateway project in Joe Slovo. In chapter five the incidences that point to these attitudes were merely documented as historical facts. In the next section, these incidences are probed within an attitudes interpretation.

6.2 WHAT THE CASE STUDY REVEALS

6.2.1. Modernist inclinations and their impact

Tuan points out that; "...without exception humans grow attached to their native places, even if these should seem derelict of quality to outsiders." (Tuan, 1990: xii). He goes further to assert that people's environmental habitats mean more to them than just resource bases to be used, they are also sources of objects of profound attachment and love (Tuan, 1990: xii). This point by Tuan, highlights the attachment that people develop towards the land they occupy or come to occupy. Tuan is not a psychologist but a geographer; his use of the word 'grow' resonates with the concept of mere exposure discussed in chapter three.

Seen in the context of Joe Slovo, this would suggest that for the residents, the physical state of the settlement (more so its physical appearance) would have-in time-become less of a significant issue, because of mere exposure. The community of Joe Slovo, in spite of living in an informal settlement, had reasons for being attached to Joe Slovo. The location of the settlement offered them many advantages that informal settlements don't normally provide. Joe Slovo is adjacent to an established township, close to employment hubs and its proximity to the city centre has resulted in Joe Slovo residents having to pay less for transport, relative to residents of other informal settlements. The city of Cape Town's survey on three informal settlements, that established that the residents of Joe Slovo were the best off in terms of social indicators, attests to this.

The authorities on the other hand, only saw squalor in Joe Slovo. In explaining the context behind the N2 Gateway project in Joe Slovo, they expressed the singularly affective response of describing the old Joe Slovo as an eyesore with ramshackle shelters (see subsection 5.5.3). This pertains to the physical site itself, the land. They did, though, also make reference to the community that used to occupy that site during the years when it

was made up of “ ramshackle shelters” as well; “Residents had to endure constant fires...Some of [their] struggles...include[d] a low level of education...” (see subsection 5.5.3).

The issue of the land itself and that of the people that occupy it, is highlighted here because in Tuan’s argument, a community is inextricably linked to the land that it occupies. Yet, it would seem that when addressing the Joe Slovo case, the authorities were oblivious to the significance of this linkage, the land was seen as separate from the people. In essence, what has happened in Joe Slovo is that the land itself has been developed. Whether it is accurate to claim that the community as a whole had been correspondingly developed, is arguable. To a large degree, where this has happened; it has happened somewhere else, far away from the Joe Slovo site. As chronicled in chapter five, a sizable number of the old Joe Slovo residents were not accommodated in the transformed Joe Slovo.

It may well be that those Joe Slovo residents that were relocated to Delft are now living in improved shelters, but they were removed from the land they had come to love. They resented this and the evidence of this resentment is chronicled in chapter five. This then implies that the intervention- that is, the N2 Gateway project- was more about transforming the land. It would seem that the tying together of the land itself and the people that had been staying in that land before the intervention, was not necessarily seen as a key driver for the development. The development in the material conditions of the residents, where it has happened has therefore not necessarily been tied to the development of the site they had been occupying. Even when looking at the people-related concerns expressed by the authorities such as the low levels of education in the old Joe Slovo; it is unclear how the project addresses this. Certainly, living in a shelter that is less likely to be destroyed by fire, is electrified and structurally sound, enhances one’s chances of attaining higher levels of education. This, however, would have been a more convincing argument, had the entire Joe Slovo community-or at least the bulk of the original population before the project started- benefitted from housing that is still located in Joe Slovo, and not in some far away area with no schools (see subsection 5.5.3, phase 1).

The dislodgement of the people from the land they had been occupying is demonstrated in many cases during the development of the N2 Gateway project. The first instance is the fact that the community was in the dark about the plans that were being made for the land until the first public announcement was made. Further evidence of this includes the expropriation of that land for the phase one rental units that turned out to be too expensive for the Joe Slovo community. Then came the bonded units of phase two that were never going to be affordable to the residents of Joe Slovo.

Even the Cape High Court’s final ruling on the eviction of Joe Slovo residents stated that their right to adequate housing does not imply a right to remain in a locality of their choice, i.e. Joe Slovo, (COHRE, 2009:18).

The use of the term “excess people” by Bonginkosi Madikizela (page 78 in this document) signifies that, although they were part of the old Joe Slovo, a section of the community (and this is a sizeable section) did not form part of the new plans for the site. The

statements by both Madikizela and Minister Sisulu that government housing is targeted at people over the age of forty is another indicator of this dislodgement of the people from the land, given that the population of Joe Slovo is youthful. In a nutshell; on the one hand, the project was, and is sold as an intervention out of concern for the conditions that the Joe Slovo community was living under, yet on the other, subsequent statements and actions demonstrated plans that were more concerned with transforming the site.

This frame of thinking -i.e. the separation of the people from the land- is consistent with the modernist paradigm. Latour states that the supposition in his book, “ We have never been modern”, is that the word ‘modern’ classifies two sets of practices; that of translation and that of purification (Latour, 1993:10). It is the practice of purification that is of interest here because, according to Latour, it creates two distinct ontological zones; that of human beings on the one hand, and that of nonhumans on the other (Latour, 1993:10). By contrast, seeing things from a world of translation paradigm, described by Latour as the practice of creating hybrids of nature and culture (Latour, 1993:10), would have better facilitated the possibility of the authorities seeing any intervention in Joe Slovo as being inextricably linked to the people occupying that land. Latour states that “...everything happens by way of mediation, translation and networks, but this space does not exist [to the moderns], it has no place. It is unthinkable...” (Latour, 1993:37). It is unthinkable because modernist imperatives such as efficiency, economy and pre-conceived grand plans are often in conflict with what is actually the reality on the ground.

Operating from the modernist paradigm, it became impossible for the authorities to deliver on modernist imperatives whilst at the same time staying true to their professed concern for the people of Joe Slovo. This is made palpably clear by the statement from a Thubelisha Homes representative: “...shackland is significantly more densely occupied than suburbs...” (page 75 in this document). In other words, the ‘suburbs’ look could not accommodate the ‘excess people’.

6.2.2. Attitudes towards Joe Slovo

Stemming from the argument put forward in the preceding subsection, it is worthwhile to separate attitudes towards the people who lived in the old Joe Slovo from attitudes towards the old Joe Slovo informal settlement itself. In section 2.6, I make the argument that it is attitudes towards informal settlements themselves that lead to particular attitudes towards people living in informal settlements, more so the othering of these communities. In addition, this separation is keeping in line with the practice of purification, and in this way, better explains why the weight of some attitudes eclipses that of others.

This is particularly relevant in the South African context that is sometimes characterised by conflicting interests between historical redress and the desire to keep up with the rest of the (developed) world.

Presently, the government has a policy of informal settlements eradication. The implication being that the government has an unfavourable attitude towards informal settlements. The Joe Slovo case is a compelling testament to this attitude. This is ably

demonstrated by the fact that the transformation of the Joe Slovo site was not necessarily tied to the population that had been staying there as argued in the subsection above. This then leads to the conclusion that the transformation that has taken place at that site had been more about the agenda of eradicating informal settlements. An agenda fuelled by negative attitudes towards informal settlements.

There is more than just association to infer this negative attitude in the Joe Slovo narrative. As mentioned before, the old sight solicited a negative affective response from the authorities, they described it as an eyesore. Even before the commencement of the N2 Gateway project to replace the old Joe Slovo, there had been attempts by the authorities-if not to eradicate the old settlement-then to arrest its growth. Local authorities' efforts of containing the growth and proliferation of informal settlements were frustrated by the introduction of the PIE Act, which compelled them to provide services to the community of Joe Slovo. The discussion in this paragraph reflects a negative attitude that relates to the nonhuman realm, the site itself.

What of attitudes that relate to the human realm? There is one stated government goal that relates to people but is in conflict with the attitude and subsequent action discussed above, particularly in the context of Joe Slovo. Accepting the government's bona fides on its goal of dismantling the 'apartheid city', i.e. the apartheid planning that resulted in blacks and poor people being relegated to the margins of cities, one has to assume that this intention applies to the people of Joe Slovo as well. In explaining its vision of sustainable human settlements, the government acknowledged the persistence of the inequities and inefficiencies of the apartheid space economy (HDA, 2004:11). The BNG policy therefore, put forward a vision of spatially and socially inclusive South African cities and towns (HDA, 2004:11). These sentiments were expressed even before phase one of the N2 Gateway project commenced. They reflect a long held attitude by the government: the government disfavoured spatial exclusion, which is often facilitated by long distances between the locations where people reside and areas of opportunities such as city centres. The location of Joe Slovo went a long way in addressing this issue for the people of Joe Slovo.

The location of Joe Slovo, and especially as it relates to the nonhuman related attitude towards informal settlements, does however, test the strength of this attitude. In chapter three, it is stated that people's behaviour is guided by their internal attitudes, (page 30). The Joe Slovo case demonstrates that internal negative attitudes towards informal settlements are stronger than the explicit negative attitude towards the spatial marginalisation of low-income communities.

Kruglanski and Stroebe point out that strong attitudes may induce closed mindedness (Kruglanski & Stroebe in Albarracín et al (eds) 2005:339). This close mindedness, they argue, reduces sensitivity to possible variation in an attitude object's utility. In the same volume, Wegener and Carlston point out: " Social objects can usually be categorised in multiple ways, with individuals focusing on those alternatives ...that are linked to the most accessible attitudes...Once an object has been categorised in terms of one alternative...other alternatives are actually inhibited, making individuals less aware of the attributes (and presumably the attitudes) associated with the unchosen alternatives."

(Wegener & Carlston in Albarracín et al (eds) 2005:520). As such, the action of resettling a sizable number of the old Joe Slovo residents from an advantageous location to one that is 18 kilometres away, all in the name of improving Joe Slovo, reveals how attitudes determine priorities.

Admittedly not all informal settlements are close to employment hubs, and therefore the goal of settling communities closer to employment hubs will not always be in conflict with that of eradicating informal settlements. But as pointed out in the research methodology chapter, Joe Slovo is used for analytical generalisation, not statistical generalisation.

6.2.3. The othering of the Joe Slovo community

The discussion above shows how strong (negative) attitudes can inhibit one's ability to see other, arguably good aspects about an attitude object. This is the case with the instance of Minister Sisulu referring to informal settlements as a blight on democracy. This was in response to a march to parliament by Joe Slovo residents in 2007 to express their aversion to being relocated to Delft (Makinana & Phaliso, 2007). It is interesting that she regards the practice of people constructing their own dwellings as being incompatible with democracy. But more concerning, is the association that can be made about the people who engage in this practice that is equated with contaminating democracy. Democracy has come to mean much in South African society, coming out of the loathed apartheid system. In the Social Housing Policy document published by the department of Human Settlements (2009:49), the restructuring of society is identified as one of the key goals of the new democracy. If people who construct informal settlements engage in an activity that is a blight on democracy, it can then be argued that these people are opposed to the restructuring of South African society.

During the course of the N2 Gateway project a number of sections of the Joe Slovo community had been given various labels ranging from 'anti-development factions' by the Western Cape MEC for human settlements to 'excess people' by Thubelisha Homes.

This othering through labelling is not just an end in itself, there is a purpose to it; it is an attempt to justify the actions or counteractions that are directed at the people identified as being anti-development, excess people and people who construct blights on democracy. Brons (2015:72) writes "...the effect [of othering] is near impenetrable border between the self/in-group and the inferior and/or radically alien other/out-group, "justifying" social exclusion, discrimination, and/or subjection." In the case of Joe Slovo the aim having been subjection. Subjection is the last resort of carrying out the nonhuman realm related agendas when the human realm related inconveniences get in the way. The people of Joe Slovo were not impervious to this othering, in their march to parliament in August of 2007 they remarked that they felt that the government was treating them like animals. This does not necessarily mean that the government was literally treating them like animals. It reflects a feeling of being unheard, of feeling that those in authority do not see it as essential that they should engage with the community, on plans that have a direct and significant impact on the community.

The Joe Slovo community has also been exposed to othering that is related to positive self-conceptualisations motivations (section 3.5). In the wake of the devastating 2005 fire that left 12 000 homeless, communities from the neighbouring areas of Epping and Langa

objected to the establishment of the planned TRA's in their respective areas. Both the Epping Industrialist Association and the Pinelands Residents Association cited failure to comply with legal processes on the part of the authorities as the basis of their objections. It is possible that the objections were more about the "not in my backyard" mind frame than anything else as was the case with Imizamo Yethu in Houtbay as reported by Fieuw (2011:42) -page 23 in this document. As for the community of Langa, the objection was clearly influenced by "community dynamics" (Hawker & Joseph, 2005). In a newspaper article, Hawker and Joseph report that the Langa residents –in the period of the proposed TRA's-as being referred to as the "Cape-borners". A reference, in all likelihood, coined by the Langa residents themselves. This reference was clearly meant to differentiate the Langa residents from those of Joe Slovo on the assumption that all Langa residents were born in Cape Town and none of the Joe Slovo residents were, and on this basis, the Joe Slovo fire victims could not be accommodated in Langa-the township of the "Cape-borners".

6.3 DISCUSSING THE TOPIC OF INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS

The findings from the case study were meant to serve as triangulation for the research findings obtained from the main research tool: interviews. These are discussed in the next section, but before discussing these findings, it is worthwhile to first elaborate on developments related to liaising with some of the identified potential interviewees. This is because their reactions to the requests for interviews were quite illuminating in spite of their reluctance to participate in the interviews. Reluctance to participate in a study is not extraordinary in the field of research, but the instance of people that- or represent institutions that-are attendant to the research topic but refuse to participate in it, raises questions, more so the manner in which they avoid participating. This is of particular interest in research on attitudes because the reluctance to participate can point to an aversion of discussions on the related object or topic, which in itself can be motivated by a negative attitude towards the said topic or object (especially when the relevant individual or institution is highly affected by the topic or object). It can also be motivated by self-presentational concerns, "Impression-motivated recipients are orientated to consider the social consequences of their attitudes." (Prislin & Wood in Albarracín et al (eds) 2005:680). On this basis, these events warrant a discussion because they are just as revealing as the case study and the interviews themselves.

For all the highly charged emotions and attitudes that they evoke, there are people or people who represent organisations that are of a significant relevance to the topic of informal settlements, but seem to want to shy away from discussions on the topic. The topic of informal settlements is a controversial one. This is because on the one hand, people want- if not to sympathise with- then to be understood to be sympathetic to the plight of informal settlements dwellers. On the other hand, informal settlements are largely regarded as undesirable. According to Macdonald (2013:3), controversial topics are not only explicitly political, but also potentially threatening to the maintaining of status quo ideals and embedded narratives. The effect of this threat to interviews that are related to controversial topics is explained by Mouton (1996:154), wherein he states that the extent to which an interviewee is likely to feel threatened by the questions that are

posed is a determining factor in their willingness to respond to interview questions. In the case of this research, it was not the questions that were posed that appear to have presented a threat, but the topic itself. Examples from two individuals or organisations that were identified as potential interviewees illustrate this point.

6.3.1 The CCID

The organisation that expressed outright reluctance to participate in the research was the Central City Improvement District. As explained in chapter four, a representative of the organisation explained the “absence” of informal settlements in the city centre as grounds for not wanting to participate in the research. My explanation-in a subsequent email endorsing their right not to participate-that the proximity to informal settlements was not necessarily my criteria for choosing interviewees did not sway her. The map below was taken from the organisation’s website, it indicates the CCID coverage, which stretches from Buitengracht Street on the top of the map, to Canterbury Street at the bottom; and then from Buitensingel Street on the left, to Tablebay Boulevard on the right, basically; the coloured-in blocks. In its website, the organisation proudly describes the CBD as a cosmopolitan area with beautifully preserved historic buildings, and further adds that, across the city’s central grid new office buildings are on the process of being constructed (Cape Town CCID, 2015).

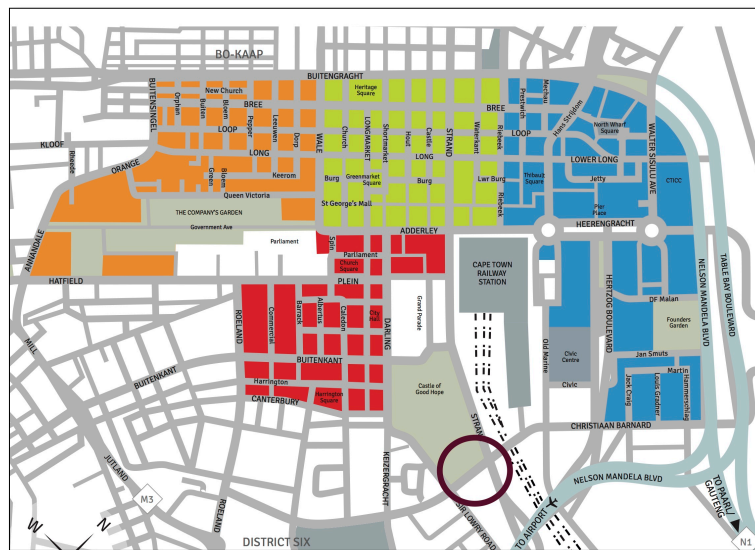


FIG 6.1 The CCID’s coverage (CCID, 2015)

On the 11th of September 2015, I took the photo shown in figure 6.2 below. The place shown in the photo is located in the area marked by a circle in figure 6.1. This area is right on the border of the area identified by the CCID as its mandate. For the better part of 2015 the area had been vacant, it had not been unusual to spot the belongings of the homeless around the area from time to time, but the appearance of structures as shown in figure 6.2 was something that was recent. The new structures in the area were few and did not form the densities normally associated with informal settlements, but they were by far the longest-lasting structures (the ones under the trees) to be located in that

previously vacant piece of land. Left to its own devices, this could potentially be the beginnings of a small scale informal settlement. There are other small-scale settlements like this around the city, some a bit further away.



FIG 6.2 An informal settlement off Christiaan Barnard Street, close to the CCID's coverage (Author, 2015)

What this reveals about the response from the CCID, is that it was either informed by naiveté or the organisation refused to take part due to not wanting to participate in a discussion on a controversial topic as explained above. This behaviour by the CCID makes a strong case for Macdonald's assertion that discussions on controversial issues tend to threaten embedded narratives and the maintenance of status quo ideals. The embedded narrative in this case being the description of the city centre as a cosmopolitan area with beautifully preserved historical buildings. From an attitude construct perspective, Marsh and Wallace in Albarracín et al (2005:374) explain that attitudes' influence on beliefs is more aligned with wishful thinking than with logical, validity-seeking processes. This suggests that coming to terms with the reality of having informal settlements at their doorstep has been so difficult for the CCID, they chose to deny their existence. This is nothing new in the narrative of informal settlements across the world. The literature documents numerous accounts of the refusal to acknowledge the existence of informal settlement to the extent that it is common practice by city officials to not document informal settlements in city maps.

Subsequent to my interaction with the CCID, there is evidence that in time, they had to confront the reality of the existence of an informal settlement in their midst. On the morning of the 5th of November 2015, I happened to be passing the site of the informal settlement and noticed a van with the CCID logo along with a van from the metropolitan police parked near the new informal settlement. The CCID and the police were there to

demolish the incipient informal settlement. Figure 6.3 below shows the photo I took on the day the CCID was demolishing the informal shelters with the zoom shot showing a van with the distinctive green CCID colours and logo, a trailer with building materials can also be seen in the shot. This behaviour communicated the CCID's negative attitude towards informal settlements in a way that an interview, perhaps, could never reveal. The reaction to the request for an interview, further emphasises the strength of this attitude.



FIG 6.3 The CCID and police demolishing the informal settlement (Author, 2015)

6.3.2 The Chairperson of the portfolio committee on human settlements

If discussions on controversial topics can challenge embedded narratives, as pointed out by Macdonald, adherents to those embedded narratives can be expected to avoid discussions that are likely to challenge the rooted narratives. Such discussions are also likely to compel the adherents to those narratives to explain their steadfastness to the embedded narratives. Jaccard and Blanton in Albarracín et al (2005:127) argue that behaviour can be an indication of held attitudes. The behaviour of the office of the chairperson of the parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Human Settlements, in responding to requests for an interview, corroborated Macdonald's assertion and can be used to support the statement by Jaccard and Blanton.

I sent an email requesting an interview on the 21st of July 2015. After two weeks of not getting a response, I sent a follow up email. Subsequent to this follow up email, I did receive a response from the office, suggesting that the request was receiving some attention. Following this initial response, a regular liaison with the office developed, but I was always made aware that the chairperson is quite a busy person but efforts were

being made to accommodate my request. By the 17th of August I sent another email indicating that, that week was my final chance for conducting interviews and asking whether there was any chance I could be accommodated in that week. By the 20th, I still had not received a response and therefore suggested the following week, I explained that even though I had planned for the week of the 20th to be my last week for conducting interviews, I felt that it was important to get the chairperson's views on the subject of informal settlements. On not getting a response, I sent another email on the 26th asking if the chairperson had given any indication that I could interview her. I received a phone call from the person I had been liaising with on this request two weeks later informing me that chairperson was free for the whole of that week, and that I could choose any time to come and speak with her, this was on the 8th of September. Instead of pointing out that the last week I had earmarked for conducting interviews had long passed, I suggested that they advise me on an appointment as I would cancel any business that coincided with their suggestion for an appointment. On the 10th I sent an email stating that the 11th must surely be the date for the interview as it was the last day of the week, I never received a response to this email.

Kvale's contexts of interpretation and communities of validation matrix described in subsection 4.5.2 is used to interpret responses to interview questions, but can certainly be used in this context to explain behaviour, particularly in terms of the critical common-sense understanding and the theoretical understanding. The critical common-sense understanding of the interactions elaborated on in the paragraph above would be that the office of the parliamentary chairperson had no intention of granting my request for the interview. This understanding is reinforced by the phone call that I received weeks after the week I had identified as my last week for conducting interviews. The lack of feedback after I had indicated my willingness to conduct the interview can only mean that the phone call was made in the expectation that I would not entertain the prospect of conducting an interview at that late stage.

The reluctance to grant the interview can be understood within a theoretical understanding framework. That a lot of the people I had identified as potential interviewees have busy working lives, is something I had always been cognisant of, particularly the chairperson of a parliamentary portfolio committee. The last interactions with her office, however, would seem peculiar in any common-sense interpretation community of validation, particularly since, prior to the phone call of the 8th of September, I had accepted that the chairperson's busy schedule was the reason the interview could not be granted. The behaviour after the 8th of September phone call brings to light what could arguably be the real reason why the interview never happened.

Because the interview never took place, the chairperson's attitudes towards informal settlements can only be a matter of speculation. But it is not unreasonable to assume that as a person who is at the pinnacle of oversight on housing policies, she shares the sentiments implied in the various housing policies, intentions and interventions related to informal settlements. She is a member of the ruling party and can therefore be expected to endorse the government's policies including the BNG, which as explained earlier, signalled a change of approach to the issue of informal settlements, at least in policy. But

as explained, actions have not always reflected the policies of the BNG including action related to the case study, Joe Slovo. At the beginning of this section I mentioned the tendency of adherents to embedded narratives to avoid discussions that might challenge those narratives. Because there have been so many critical challenges (especially from academia and NGO's) to the government's approach to informal settlements and the N2 Gateway project, the expectation might have been that the same issues were going to be raised in my interview with the chairperson. The selective exposure hypothesis posits that people selectively approach congruous information and avoid exposure to dissonant information, (Olson & Stone in Albarracín et al (eds), 2005:231). This they do to avoid dissonance, dissonance is a situation in which a person simultaneously holds two highly accessible but inconsistent cognitions (Olson & Stone in Albarracín et al (eds), 2005:243). In light of the extensive criticism that has been directed at the government's approach to housing and informal settlements in particular, this could have led to the reluctance by the chairperson to engage in an interview on this issue "...exposing people to a communication that attacked a previously formed belief increased their resistance to subsequent attacks." (Wyer & Albarracín in Albarracín et al (eds), 2005:286).

6.4. FINDINGS FROM THE INTERVIEWS

Because of the complexities inherent in both the topic of informal settlements and that of attitudes, a host of themes emerged from the feedback obtained from the interviews. In this context, the quotation by Lincoln and Guba (page 47 in this document) wherein they warn on the dangers inherent in the conventional texts of scientific method "...they may lead us to believe the world is rather simpler than it is" (Lincoln & Guba 2000:184) becomes more meaningful. Similarly, the tendency to think that societal challenges can be addressed through blanket templates, inherent in modernistic thinking, trivialise complexities of everyday life. One of these complexities is contradiction. In the context of the findings from this study, contradictions in some of the attitudes alluded to by some of the interviewees.

6.4.1 Contradictions in reactions to informal settlements issues

"Everywhere, except in architecture, complexity and contradiction have been acknowledged..." writes Robert Venturi (1977:16). Although this comment is extracted from a 1977 edition of a book initially published in 1966, it is still relevant today. The years that followed these editions would be witness to postmodernism, including deconstructivism, but as stated in chapter two, high modernism is still dominant in architectural practice. It is, however, debatable that the denial of complexity and contradiction is limited to architecture. The rejection of contradiction and complexity is, in fact, the hallmark of modernism in general, as argued by Latour and Bauman.

The perception of technology as a panacea for every societal challenge and ideals such as that of global cities are aligned with modernist architecture, and are part of the formal devices that are employed in the quest to eradicate the contradictions and complexities that occur in everyday-life. Some of the research participants that were interviewed work for institutions that actively pursue the ideals of modernity and of Cape Town as a global city. In interviewing them, their predilection for these ideals became apparent, yet at the

same time, the interviewees expressed standpoints that are tolerant to the idea of informal settlements or informality.

The Cape Town Partnership

The reaction from a Cape Town Partnership representative on the organisation's standpoint on informal settlements and more broadly: informality, was that the organisation viewed informality in a positive light, as a contributor to the city's diversity and as something that can enhance the city's tourism appeal. He also pointed out that the city's goal of being regarded as a global, modern African city- a cosmopolitan destination city- on the one hand; and the existence of informality in the city on the other, as not being mutually exclusive. I then asked if there was any correlation between the fact that the Cape Town CBD is regarded as the most successful when compared to the CBD's of Johannesburg and Durban, and the fact that of the three CBD's; that of Cape Town is the least informal. His response was as follows:

"Yah, I would imagine so, the city of Cape Town has got a very clear informal trading plan, so It's clear where one can trade. Quite early on [the city implemented a clear trading plan]. What it has allowed is the policy to regulate, to say; well there is only this much scope for informal trading. Us as an organisation would like to see more areas of informal trading in the city, assuming that it is well-regulated, that the product mix has been thought about. Then it can be an enhancer of the environment rather than sort of an ad hoc..."

Purdham, 2015

The interpretation that can be drawn from the above statement is that the acceptance of informality is based on its potential for adding an element of variety in the Cape Town city experience and this diversity needs to happen through controlled measures for it to be acceptable. The problem with this is that the defining character of informality is that it transpires in a spontaneous fashion, external formal interventions tend to come afterwards. Is it correct to think of a process as informal when it is preceded by plans for its implementation? This raises the question of whether the respondent's understanding of informality can be accepted, and on that basis, whether the implied attitude should be disregarded because it is based on a skewed definition of informality. This is discussed later in this subsection.

The aspect of this interview that stands out as a contradiction, though, is the fact that the organisation professes to be tolerant towards informality and beyond that, views it as an asset and yet there is an acknowledgement that the success of Cape Town's CBD relative to other cities, is borne out of the fact that it is the city least characterised by informality. The argument in the introduction to this subsection is that contradiction is suppressed. The contradiction from the interview discussed above is not that kind of contradiction. People do not go out of their way to contradict themselves. Sometimes they do so because the contradictions of everyday-life do have a way of coming out to the surface and causing people to come across as being inconsistent. Another way of explaining this, using the concepts of purification and translation, would be to say that the suppression of contradiction is a practice of the world of purification, whilst in the world of translation

contradictions do occur. Because the act of purification produces hybrids, which are a feature of the world of translation, the world of translation inevitably 'contaminates' the work of purification, forcing people to contradict themselves when they ascribe to the ethos of purification (of modernity) and at the same time express resonance with everyday life realities.

Residents of Joe Slovo

Contradiction was also observed from an interview with residents from the case study. This emerged when I was interviewing the three ladies from Joe Slovo. One of the first questions I asked them was if there was any positive aspect about living in an informal settlement that they could mention. One of them categorically stated that living in an informal settlement is a bad experience, she stressed-with the concurring of the other two- that there is nothing positive about living in such an environment. She went on to explain some of the challenges they encounter; including the fact that when the weather is hot, their shelters get really uncomfortable, when it is raining they have to deal with water dripping from the roof. Three minutes into the interview, I asked them whether they felt ashamed to disclose to strangers that they live in an informal settlement. At this, they replied in unison with a resounding "No", seemingly astonished at such a proposition. More interesting was the elaboration by the same interviewee who was listing the challenges of living in a shack, a few minutes earlier:

"It is nice to live in a shack- there is nothing we can do [about living in an informal settlement]- It's nice to live in a shack, I cook for myself and my kids, I clean [my shack]. When it's raining you place a dish [over a dripping spot to collect the water]. When you have money you can buy a [piece of corrugated] zinc [to stop the dripping]. A shack is alright, I like a shack. Some of them [the strangers living in formal housing] originally came from informal settlements. Some of those that live in the hostels prefer our way of living because it is nice to live with just your family."⁵

Nokulila, 2015

The two contrasting views by the Joe Slovo residents show contradictory utilitarian attitudes towards informal settlements. I did not seek clarity on this because I understood that the latter standpoint does not invalidate the former in spite of the obvious contradiction. The question on whether they were ashamed about living in an informal settlement was not a vetting question (as discussed in subsection 4.5.1). It was an indirect explication of an implicit attitude.

According to the literature, the holding of two inconsistent attitudes towards the same object at the same time is not uncommon. Kruglanski and Stroebe define dual attitudes as different evaluations of the same attitude object, one evaluation is on an automatic implicit level, and the other on a controlled, explicit level (Kruglanski & Stroebe in Albarracín et al (eds) 2005:333).

All three interviewees were expectant beneficiaries of the N2 Gateway units that were gradually replacing the old Joe Slovo in the background, as we were conversing. It would have been counter-intuitive for them to trumpet the strengths of informal settlements in this context. It is impossible to know for sure the connection the interviewees made

⁵ Translated from Xhosa

between that interview and their status in the allocation process, despite the assurances in the consent form and verbal assurances of no connections. This, however, does not imply that the stated attitude was not genuine or was necessarily influenced by anxieties related to the allocation process-this could have played a role-the interviewee elaborated quite clearly on reasons why informal settlements were undesirable, and she spoke from experience. The point here is to explain why this should be regarded as an explicit attitude, and “Explicit attitudes will influence deliberative responses that may occur if an individual has the opportunity to consider the consequences of his or her actions. Implicit attitudes will influence spontaneous or uncontrollable responses and responses that an individual does not view as an expression of inner feelings, and therefore does not attempt to control” (Bassili & Brown in Albarracín et al (eds), 2005:550). Bassili and Brown also point out that, by definition, explicit attitudes involve means of expression in which the respondent is aware of the assessment of the attitude (Bassili & Brown in Albarracín et al (eds), 2005:553). The indirect question did not come out as an assessment of any favourability or dis-favourability to some entity, it was an inquiry on behaviour and it provoked a vehement defence, and in this way exposed an attitude.

Bassili and Brown explain the holding of dual, incompatible attitudes through their Potentiated Recruitment Framework, which posits micro-conceptual networks that are triggered by contextually situated objects, goals and task demands. Attitudes are emergent properties of the activity of these micro-conceptual networks. This is not an allusion to Schwarz and other’s conception of attitudes as dependent on what individuals happen to be thinking about at any given moment and therefore, not stored in memory (see section 3.2). Bassili and Brown allude to memory as a significant contributor in the potentiation of attitudes (Bassili & Brown in Albarracín et al (eds), 2005:553). In addition, in the interview discussed here, it would be illogical to assume that the first attitude was discarded and replaced by another one, three minutes later; both attitudes were informed by past experience and this relates to memory. Bassili and Brown explain that an attitude object is always encountered in a context and features of that context are just as important in the activation as the features of the attitude object (Bassili & Brown in Albarracín et al (eds), 2005:555). Thus, in this context, informal settlements seen from a context of a utilitarian assessment elicited a certain attitudinal response, and where concepts of self-conception (especially in the context of another group) came to the fore, informal settlements elicited a different attitudinal response that, ironically, championed the utilitarian value of informal settlements.

The contradiction in the Mike Purdham interview differs from the one just discussed above in that there is a common attitude towards two contrasting goals with regards to the Purdham interview. In the interview with the three ladies on the other hand, there are two contrasting attitudes towards the same object. As mentioned already, however, the Cape Town Partnership’s understanding of informality casts doubt about the validity of accepting the implied attitude as a true reflection of their attitude towards informality. It is also possible that this skewed understanding represents what is a more palatable version of informality in the organisation’s view, and this has an implication on their attitude towards the actual manifestation of informality. Admittedly, I did not seek clarity on this when I was interviewing him, so it is a matter of speculation. There is support for

this supposition in the literature though, Wegner and Carlston write that inconsistency (informality is accepted yet the success of the city is tied to less informality) creates an unpleasant affective state (cognitive dissonance). To overcome dissonance, one or more cognitions (the definition of what constitutes informality) are changed to bring about consistency (consonance). The writers elaborate further: "...cognitive dissonance is often viewed as producing relatively high levels of processing. The processing is biased in that dissonance creates motivation to prefer interpretations or thoughts most consistent with other salient cognitions (Wegner & Carlston in Albarracín et al (eds) 2005:515).

6.4.2 Affect and prevailing attitudes towards informal settlements

In the same way that general attitudes should not be expected to predict single behaviours (page 30), a general overview on an issue might not reveal specific views to the different ways in which it might manifest itself. For this reason, I pressed Mike Purdham on his views on informal settlements specifically, rather than accept the stated overall view on informality. Informal settlements have a stronger visual impact compared to informal trading, because of density, use and the amount of informal construction material involved. Noting the mushrooming of pockets of informal settlements close to the city centre, I asked Mike Purdham about his organisation's views on the particular issue of informal settlements, highlighting the visual aspect of informal settlements. His reply was as follows:

"Yah, look I don't know how one deals with that because you are right, there more and more people coming into the cities-they need places to live-the more and more shacks are being built. I mean the amount of backyard shacks just in areas like Woodstock and Salt River, that in itself does become a revenue stream to people. If you are living in a house in Salt River that's been passed through the generations and you battle to make ends meet, you can put up a shack in your backyard, make R500 or R600 a month, why not? I think it's just realising that it is happening and going to happen, and trying to provide a framework within which it's okay. Backyard shacks are one thing, somebody putting up a shack under a bridge, you then go into law and what's allowed within that environment. I know there were a lot of people living under the bridges around the foreshore, there was a process of moving those people, however, where they've moved to-a lot of them are now in the Company's Gardens⁶ where they are sleeping. It's displacement of people."

Purdham, 2015

Woodstock and Salt River are suburbs that are close to the city centre, but further away than some of the small informal settlements located near the city. What is implicit in this response is the impact of the visual aspect on the evaluation of informal settlements. This response from the Cape Town Partnership exposes an attitude more driven by affect. The interviewee identifies two utilitarian values of an informal shelter in Woodstock and Salt River, first as a form of shelter and as a potential means of generating an income; but in the context of the city centre, this utilitarian value appears to lose relevance. Informal shelters will always be more visible in the city centre than in Woodstock or Salt River. The profile of the inner city tenants is one of commercial concerns –and where it is a case of residence-people who would rarely need to generate an extra income by building a shelter in their backyard, much less a shack. Therefore, informal shelters in the city centre

⁶The Company's Gardens is a park in central Cape Town.

will invariably, be built by outsiders and they won't be hidden in someone's backyard, but will be located on vacant spaces. This makes them visible and problematic. The issue of laws in terms of what is allowed to be erected in what area- something the interviewee is citing as a reason for being against the mushrooming of informal settlements in the city centre- is just as applicable in Woodstock and Salt River (the main difference being the level of enforcement).

It is perhaps not outlandish to suggest that most people in his position would likely voice the same sentiments, given that his organisation's role is promoting investment into the city centre and enhancing the city centre experience for locals and visitors. He may be reluctant to admit this, but the attraction of investment is never associated with the backdrop of informal settlements. Even residents of an informal settlement view informal settlements as having a negative impact on the city's overall image. In my interview with the three men from Joe Slovo, I asked them if they thought of Cape Town as a beautiful city and what they thought was the contribution of informal settlements on the overall image of Cape Town. One of them responded:

*" Informal settlements make Cape Town look ugly. But we have no alternative. Yes, they do get cleared, when formal houses need to be built so that Cape Town can be even more beautiful. Only thing... we are forced to construct these informal settlements. We raise our children in these informal settlements. It won't be easy for informal settlements to disappear."*⁵

Sinto, 2015

Below is a response from a separate interview on the same issue, with the women from Joe Slovo. I first asked them about their impressions of Cape Town as a beautiful city. One of them initially responded that it is not a beautiful city because of the many informal settlements scattered across the city. I then suggested she imagine coming to Cape Town for the first time and not being exposed to the informal settlements, but gaining her first impression of the city from the city centre. She then answered that she would regard it as a beautiful city, I then asked her about the impact she thought informal settlements might be having on the overall image of Cape Town.

*"... Cape Town is not beautiful because of informal settlements. When you arrive, coming from eMaXhoseni [the Eastern Cape], the first thing you see are informal settlements. You ask yourself, do people live here?"*⁷

Nokulila, 2015

At this, I reiterated my point about the likelihood of them being embarrassed about exposing to strangers the fact that they live in an informal settlement. Especially in light of them constructing settlements that they feel have a negative impact on Cape Town, "...individuals may accept normative social influence because they do not want to stand out, be disliked or to be otherwise disadvantaged because of their deviant status." (Kruglanski & Stroebe in Albarracín et al (eds) 2005:355). Again they all said no, arguing that in the event of the stranger paying a visit (and this is another reason for not wanting

⁷ Translated from Xhosa

to hide their residential status) the stranger would come to discover that unlike its external appearance, the interior of the informal shelter is actually beautiful.

Jac Snyman, the architect behind the design for the units the Joe Slovo interviewees were looking forward to occupying, had this to say about informal settlements construction:

"...they [informal settlements residents] just don't have the means to have decent building materials [they use] something corrugated and wood... a bit of a gemors..."

Snyman, 2015

Gemors is the Afrikaans word for mess. This was after I asked him whether there is anything, he thought could be learned from informal settlements. He is unambiguous about his view on informal settlements construction ending up projecting something of a mess. In his design for the N2 Gateway units he made sure that:

"...on this particular form, there is no option, you can't built on, you can't put a shack at the back, it's just not an option."

Snyman, 2015

This is not necessarily something that was thrust on him through the design brief. Elsewhere in the interview, he laments the fact that in another housing project, the authorities seemed to encourage the adding on of informal structures to subsidised houses:

"We tried this form of [density] housing at Sir Lowry's Pass Village, with slightly larger open spaces. The [city's] Urban Design branch said "Absolutely no way! This is a completely wrong density, wrong form of housing." Their new policy is that they want people to own plots, they want a house on the plot, they want big enough backyards so people can add on, they are encouraging backyarders, which completely blows my mind."

Snyman, 2015

His aversion to backyarders, it needs to be stated, is also influenced by his belief that the landlords exploit the backyarders. The desire to generate an extra income, though, is not the only reason people construct add-ons. In many cases they do this because of growth in the family size or to make lodgings for a child who has become a young adult.

One way that outsiders attach their own meanings to the reality of informal settlements is by equating housing typologies to the state of being dignified. In the post 1994 South African housing narrative, this tying of housing with dignity has been the norm. Aligning the provision of subsidised housing to informal settlement communities and their dignity has been the government's mantra for years. In an article on handing over RDP houses to an informal settlement community in Soweto, the South African Government News Agency, headlined the story "Restoring dignity through housing" (South African Government News Agency, 2014). In the Constitutional Court judgement in the Government of South Africa and Others vs. Grootboom and Others case, the regard for the value of human dignity is aligned to the state's reasonable action in relation to the

provision of housing (Constitutional Court, 2000:61). Hughes writes that, in spite of this judgement being hailed worldwide as a laudable precedent for judicial enforcement, it was also criticised for failing to lead to an "...effective remedy for Ms Grootboom" (Hughes, 2014: 348). She elaborates further on this by stating that the court "...did not follow up to ensure that the dignity of Irene Grootboom was given the respect it deserved... At the time of her death she was still living in a shack." (Hughes, 2014:349). In the interviews that were conducted for this research some of the interviewees also made this association. In my question directed at the city councillor on whether making the upgrading of informal settlements a key delivery focus for the city creates two streams of delivery, an aide that was part of the interview had the following to say:

"You must remember one thing, it's important for the city to have our poorest of the poor actually await their opportunity in dignity."

City Councillor's aide, 2015

The implicit suggestion in this statement is that, informal settlements-left to the efforts of the settlers themselves-are not conducive for people to live in a dignified state.

Whereas some people seem to be actively pursuing the eradication of any visible form of informality where they are involved, some want to expose it. When I asked Odwa Futshane, the township tour operator about the value of an informal settlement tour in an activity that is mostly associated with leisure, he replied that part of the informal settlement tour is to educate. He made the assertion that South Africa is a wealthy country and this wealth is also perceptible from its cities; suggesting that this wealth is reflected in the way that the cities look. The tour that he operates is focused on Langa but includes Joe Slovo as well, so as to:

"Show [tourists] that we came from a history of [in]justice...to show there is a lot more that [still] needs to be done."

Futshane, 2015

In this way, the sight of informal settlements is projected to convey a message about the 'imperfections' of the country. Contrary to what the last sentence might suggest; by all indications, there is nothing sinister or political behind this projecting of this reality of South Africa. The tour seems to be more educative and concerned with providing a 'fuller picture'. Again, put in the context of the constitution and the notion of dignity-one might say- the tour seeks to convey that, in spite of the restorative and progressive constitution; some sections of the population still live in 'undignified conditions'. The interviewee indicated that the tourists-the vast majority of which are foreign-expressed shock and disappointment at the existence of informal settlements. It is still noteworthy though, that it is informal settlements that are used to project the relentless imperfections remnant in democratic South Africa. Admittedly, they are quite visual and many people do not choose to live there, but by the interviewee's own admission:

"The thing is, as much as they [see the informal settlement and its conditions], you find that even though these people are living in poverty, there's always joy in their lives. That is something

different [unexpected for] the people coming from outside. [They don't associate a place like Joe Slovo with joy] but you find that at Joe Slovo, even though those people are living [under] those conditions, together, they bring joy [to] themselves....they look [beyond] the situation. Just enjoying what is around or what they can make use of. So that is usually something that [is] surprise[ing] to guests because most of the time people [of Joe Slovo]- even by their appearance, are clean. So it is always surprising to them –I see this person, they are happy, they are smiling and they look after their own appearance”

Futshane, 2015

This was his reply after I had asked him whether the tour left people emotionally distressed, based on his feedback that they are shocked and disappointed by what they encounter. What is significant here though, is that the informal settlement is used to convey the other- presumably ugly- side of the new South African narrative. If an informal settlement is expected to convey this unpleasant reality of South Africa, it is reasonable to deduce that this expectation is influenced by the notion that, people who live there are living in misery. But this is not what is encountered, people are smiling, and to Odwa Futshane's- and presumably the tourists'-surprise are presentable. It is then left to the physical state of Joe Slovo to convey the negative side of the new South African story through its sheer physical appearance. In this way, outsiders evaluate the utilitarian value-or lack thereof-of informal settlements on aesthetic (affect related) stimulus.

6.4.3 Cognition and prevailing attitudes towards informal settlements

Even so, when outsiders have more pertinence with informal settlements issues, even their affective experiences become more influenced by cognitive cues (see figure 3.4b, page 41). This is the case with the city councillor who indicated that she feels far safer in informal settlements than she does in ganglands. The comparison with ganglands weakens credence in the implied affective feeling somewhat, but she added that in informal settlements there are always structures, implying that through these structures some form of law and order is maintained. This is in contrast to the suggestion in the city's Five Year Integrated Housing Plan document (2011:21), which describes informal settlements as being characterised by crime and delinquency (page 42 in this document). When I raised this discrepancy, she conceded that the statement in the document could be misleading, especially in terms of generalising about informal settlements. The fact that she stated that she feels safe there, obviously means that she's been to informal settlements through her work, and on being there discovered that they are not as dangerous as documents such as the Integrated Housing Plan suggest.

The people closest to the issue of crime in informal settlements, the inhabitants themselves, had slightly differing accounts of the crime situation in Joe Slovo. Below is one of the responses from the interview with the men:

“ We don't want anyone robbing the tourists...Yes there are criminal elements, but it's people prowling at night. We live peacefully here, no one abuses another...We don't have a crime problem. If a person is troublesome, we have a right- we devised a system...we had a problem with a lady recently, she allowed people we don't know to stay in her place. We chased them away,

without seeking permission, not even from the house owner. We were told that she left the settlement and settled in Khayelitsha.”⁸

Nyoka, 2015

The point about a community system that addresses crime collaborates the statement by the city councillor that there are always structures in place to deal with community related challenges.

The view of the female residents of Joe Slovo on the issue of crime was that it is a problem, but the criminals come from outside the community. They added that because of the crime problem they were forced to leave their cell phones behind when stepping outside, and because of the poor built quality of the shacks there is the risk of break-ins during the night with instances of people waking up suddenly to discover that there is an intruder inside the shack or discovering that they had been robbed whilst they were asleep.

Mzwanele Zulu, the community leader who facilitated my interviews with the Joe Slovo residents joined in on the discussion on crime and said that the women’s experience of crime is different from that of the men, because criminals regard women as soft targets. He reiterated the assertion that the criminals come from outside and added that crime in Joe Slovo was the same as in any other township. It is difficult to assess the level of crime in Joe Slovo on that last point because crime levels in townships are not uniform. The city councillor made mention that some areas in Cape Town such as parts of Nyanga have heightened levels of crime, relative to the rest of the city. It is significant though, that it is not informal settlements such as Joe Slovo that have the highest rates of crime in Cape Town, in fact, the councillor’s aide mentioned that the worst crime rates in the city were in the formal areas and not in informal settlements. Yet crime is an issue that often seems to be a requisite on any discussion of informal settlements. In this document, instances of this practice are recorded on page 23 wherein a city of Cape Town document is cited as identifying crime as a feature of informal settlements; on page 42, and others are cited as asserting that high-crime rates are a common feature of informal settlements; and on page 70, a statement from the DoHS claims high levels of contact crime as one of the struggles that the community of the old Joe Slovo had to grapple with. The city councillor’s aide attributed the association of informal settlements with high levels of crime to people seeing the worst of the worst when looking at informal settlements.

It is interesting that it is someone from the city government who points out this othering of informal settlement communities based on the settlements they live in, something that is even done in a document published by an organisation he represents. The city councillor’s aide’s influence on city policies and publications is difficult to assess because the councillor opted to have her name not published in this document. The issue of getting the aide’s name then became irrelevant. Had the statement been made by the city councillor herself-whom I expected to be the only person I was going to interview in this particular interview-it would have been easier to press for an explanation because there

⁸ Translated from Xhosa

is a clear link between her role and the city's published policy and information documents. But this does not invalidate what the aide said because he said this in the councillor's presence and she did not contradict him. She did, however, allude to the publication date of the relevant document (2011), in all probability suggesting that the view expressed in the document was no longer held.

The city councillor's aide may have expressed views that indicate that he does not subscribe to the othering of informal settlement communities, he did however, express views that point to anti-informal settlements attitudes. This relates to the physical settlements themselves. When I asked whether they consider informal settlements to be a housing solution in the context of the many challenges in ensuring that everyone gets sheltered in ways that are largely regarded as being conventional, they seemed to struggle with the answer.

"Everything we do in the department is really aimed at ensuring people get housing opportunities that are dignified. So there are various programmes encompassed within the Housing Code of how to do that, but ultimately we want people to be in structured environments with dignified housing opportunities"

City Councillor, 2015

I then asked about the intervenient time, before people can access those housing opportunities, would she then regard informal settlements as an interim housing solution? Whether she thought there was anything positive about informal settlements? Her aide replied:

"Informal settlements are obviously not created by the authorities. It's the only way that a poor person that [migrates] from [a] rural [area] to a city. It's the only way that he or she will provide shelter for him- or herself. All we're doing is to actually- because it's there, we can not wish it away. We do our level best to support, to provide services, to improve the quality of life for those people. Your question is a bit difficult..."

City Councillor's aide, 2015

It seems like a simple question, but needs to be understood from a context of politicians that might be actively working towards the arresting of informal settlements growth, if not their eradication. This was a vetting question. Their answering "yes" to the question has to be put in a context wherein in future they might have to justify a potential action against an informal settlement having once claimed to regard them as a solution. But by saying no, they would have put much of what they had said that reflects sympathetic attitudes towards informal settlements, in the interview, in doubt.

6.4.4 Behaviour and prevailing attitudes towards informal settlements

The city of Cape Town does actively work towards the stemming of informal settlements growth as indicated on page 23 in this document (employing field workers to monitor informal settlements). This is practiced in Joe Slovo as well. It is done by the residents themselves and it is an activity that they are only too happy to engage in:

“ With this construction happening [the N2 Gateway], people are not allowed to invade empty spaces left by us. It could be my brother... anyone, we don’t allow that to happen. Because we also want to progress. We want houses.⁹”

Nyoka, 2015

“ In addition to that; if a person comes and erects a shack here in this area that we are in, this area needs to be developed. If a person erects a shack here it means there’ll be no space for that development to happen. That is why we do not allow people to come and erect [new] shacks here.⁷”

Sinto, 2015

In this context, this practice comes across as a pragmatic way of ensuring that the development that has been earmarked for the area does indeed proceed. It also makes sense for the Joe Slovo residents to be active participants in this activity so that they can receive the houses they want to live in. But it only makes sense if they are to be the true beneficiaries of the activity, otherwise it is really only an exercise in arresting the development of new informal structures. It is difficult to believe that this is for their own benefit, in light of the conditions that they need to meet to be beneficiaries of the subsidy, that is, being over the age of 40 or having at least one child or are physically disabled. Most of them are more likely to be under the age of forty as discussed in the demographics section in chapter five.

The history of the N2 Gateway project in Joe Slovo would, thus, suggest that the practice of monitoring new informal structures is more driven by the government’s negative attitude towards informal settlements.

This history has led to a lot of mistrust between the community of Joe Slovo and the authorities. I asked the HDA representative whether he thought the structured, highly formalised practice of project management might adversely affect how the messages that they communicate get to be received by the Joe Slovo community. His response was as follows:

“ We are dealing with people. We don’t deal with shacks. Our approach is people driven. We’ve got facilitators, we’ve got CLOs. The engineers don’t engage with the community because they are looking at technical stuff, so you have different levels of processes. We would have public meetings where those things are discussed all the information is made available to the people in terms of the design. So you speak the language of the people. We’ve got facilitators...people who are experienced in facilitating process in terms of from a human settlements point of view.”

HDA representative , 2015

I then enquired as to why is it the case that there are contestations with people refusing to move when they have effective communication channels with the community. His answer was that because they are dealing with thousands of people and not with ten people, this affected the management of the process. He cited examples of people just moving without informing anyone (the lady that moved to Khayelitsha, mentioned in the

⁹ Translated from Xhosa

interview with the three gentlemen is an example). He insisted that it is not a case of there not being structures for engagement with the community, it is a case of people deciding to pack and leave without informing the relevant channels. He said that this is a major problem. With the communication channels that the interviewee claimed were effective and a situation in which people act in this manner, I then suggested that maybe the problem lies with the community. I asked him if he thought it was corruption on the community's side.

"Look, you can...[inaudible] how you want to do it. The fact is we've come to shacks or structures where we've found people- we're looking for a specific person, cause we are doing verifications, because we do regular verifications to ensure that those who are in a specific area that we develop; that they are the correct people, and that we know who they are. We've got aerial photographs, so we've got the numbers on the shacks, we got it there, we number it on the aerial photographs-that's a person, he's approved or he's declined. It gives you an idea in terms of how you are planning as well. What happens is, if I decide, I'm gonna wait over there now, it's gonna take them so long, so I'm gonna live over at that side and I'm gonna financially benefit, I'm gonna lease out or rent out my shack and I get about R500 a month, you understand? But then we come there, then we say, "Listen the owner is not here". The owner is living somewhere in Khayelitsha, in Gugulethu-somewhere else. And we find that between five and ten per cent of that happens, but the majority of the people are- yah. Also the other challenge is that the majority of the people living there are youngsters. They are under the age of thirty, under the age of forty, they are youngsters- very young, you understand? And the Minister made it clear the other day, and even previously she said: "The free giveaway houses [are meant] to rectify and correct the apartheid era situation...It's not for the youngsters. The youngsters can go and work."

HDA Representative, 2015

Asking whether he ascribed the lack of cooperation from certain community members (in spite of effective communication channels) to a corrupt disposition; was some kind of elimination process because I was beginning to suspect that in spite of the communication processes that he told me were in place, there could be reluctance to actually engage meaningfully with the community. I also felt that making a claim that the community or sections of it are corrupt would be an accusation that he would not make lightly, so by saying that there was none, the logical explanation for their non-cooperation would be that the engagement with the community is superficial. In the discussion on attitudes and behaviour in subsection 3.3.3, the point is made that intention is a critical antecedent to behaviour and that the attitude towards a behaviour-in this case the act of engaging the community- determines whether the behaviour will be carried out or not. In the response above, he does vaguely allude that it is corruption on the part of the particular community members. In my separate interview with members of the Joe Slovo community, they did confirm that the HDA did engage them on the project and processes entailed within the project.

“ People came and we were shown the type of houses that were being planned and people said they want them... We are content with these houses they are building and we were informed that if they had to build small four roomed houses [freestanding units], there would not be enough space for all of us ”¹⁰

Mgodeli, 2015

This is in spite of them having complained that they felt that the government treated them like animals and the other instances that showed that they were not consulted on the project and thus leading them to embark on marches. But this has to be understood in the context of the remaining last phase of the project, with Joe Slovo residents having been declared as the sole beneficiaries of the remaining phase and the Constitutional Court directive for meaningful engagement with the community. In essence, this meaningful engagement seems to have commenced at the onset of phase three. In the interview with the men, I asked whether they trust the authorities given the history of the project.

“ You are right, initially, you see this started in 2002, in 2002 people were relocated to Lyden in Delft. And space was opened up at [the phase one area]. The councillor at that time, councillor Gophe, called a public meeting and announced that people needed to be relocated from the [phase one] area, houses would be built there. People clapped hands, I was one of them, we could not have been unimpressed at the prospect of receiving houses... People were indeed relocated to open spaces within the settlement...When a politician speaks it is always a nice atmosphere, nobody asks questions, they say we will build you houses and people clap hands, rejoice and it ends there. People get relocated and the-I remember clearly, people were even bribed with stoves and these things were incentives for the people to move. Houses were built but then, the politicians changed their tune. We were told that what was important was money, people were told to bring their pay slips, and information proving that they were employed. Most people in Joe Slovo are unemployed. Some do work but the jobs they have are not permanent. A few people, I think less than ten from Joe Slovo benefited [from the phase 1 units]. We are continuing with the development at the moment. But there are still, trust issues. We are engaging with them and come to agreements and we go and implement the agreements- but then, suddenly you hear nothing, suddenly you see something else being implemented, without us having been informed. The mistrust will continue until the project is completed, because they are untrustworthy. To give you an example, there are people who made subsidy applications as far back as 2010, to date, their applications are still pending, there is nothing that indicates that they have been processed.”¹¹

Zulu, 2015

Mr Sinto added that he had expected to be a beneficiary of the phase one units back in 2006 after he made his first relocation move and even with the units of the final phase there was still uncertainty. The indication then, is that although the level of engagement had improved somewhat, especially in the light of the Constitutional Court directive, the community of Joe Slovo was still sceptical of the intentions of the authorities by the time the interviews were conducted.

¹⁰ Translated from Xhosa

¹¹ Translated from Xhosa

The excerpts above from both the Joe Slovo residents and the HDA interviews, necessitate an interpretation of the authorities attitudes, not only in terms of their attitude towards engaging the community, but also in terms of the kind of attitude that the practice of monitoring the development of new structures points to.

Elsewhere in this subsection, I argue that the extent to which the community of Joe Slovo will be the beneficiaries of the last phase will determine whether the exercise of monitoring the development of new informal structures is about expediting their move to the new units or just about using them in the eradication of informal settlements motive, and therefore fuelled by a negative attitude. In his response in the excerpt above the HDA representative, provides an answer to this by stating that the majority of people living in Joe Slovo are youngsters, he then adds that the subsidy houses are not for youngsters, the demographic profile that, by his own admission constitutes the bulk of the Joe Slovo community. In this light, it seems highly improbable that the beneficiaries of the phase three units will be 100 per cent drawn from Joe Slovo. The demographic profile that is engaged in making sure that no new informal structures develop and they do this in the belief that it is an exercise in their own interests. It therefore becomes logical to conclude that the behaviour is all about the eradication of an informal settlement to replace it with formal housing.

The proclivity of the authorities to suggest a particular eventuality to the people of Joe Slovo and the occurrence of an inconsistent outcome is supported by the response from Mzwanele Zulu, above. This then points to their attitude towards engaging with the community of Joe Slovo. To encourage people to participate in an activity that they believe will benefit them on one hand and then to highlight a hindrance to that benefit that affects the majority of them on the other; says much about the intention to engage them meaningfully. Intention is the antecedent that determines whether a behaviour will be acted out and is influenced by cognitions related to that behaviour, in this case the act of engaging the Joe Slovo community. Cognitions that feed to this intention are based on attitudes towards the Joe Slovo community. For the authorities, the antecedent to the other behaviour (monitoring the development of new informal structures) is evaluation, that is, the evaluation of informal settlements.

6.4.5 Changing attitudes

Some of the conflicting sentiments, and the difficulty in providing unambiguous responses, especially by those in authority and outsiders with influence, are an indication of the controversy of the informal settlements topic. This controversial aspect around the topic of informal settlements also needs to be understood within a context of shifts in attitudes towards the phenomenon of informal settlements. Some of the influences that have led to this shift, in the context of South Africa, are discussed in the themes below:

Cognitive influences-The sheer proliferation of informal settlements has resulted into the cognitions from certain quarters- especially those with vested interests- shifting from being based on beliefs to being based on facts (such as the case with the councillor and the issue of crime). Wyer and Albarracín point out that the increase in the frequency of encounters with a particular phenomenon leads to more representations

containing the features of the phenomenon being stored in memory. These features, they explain, will more likely have an influence on judgements and decisions (Wyer & Albarracín in Albarracín et al (eds), 2005:279).

Understandings about life in informal settlements have also shifted in the sense that people have come to realise that living conditions in informal settlements can be improved without necessarily eradicating an informal settlement. This has led to some change in behaviour related to informal settlements. According to Andy Bolnick of Ikhayalami (a low-cost housing NGO) the implementation of re-blocking has changed both community and officialdom perceptions.

"[The] re-blocking of Joe Slovo led to a shift...Re-blocking has enabled a powerful shift in approach. The reconfiguration of spatial layout linked to shack upgrades, at first it had to be proven to communities that it makes sense. Once it was proven to communities, that it made sense to them, I worked with the ISN at the time, then slowly I was able to influence -together with the ISN-... we were able to influence [the] City of Cape Town. We were able to influence ward councillors."

Bolnick, 2015

Social influence- In a post-apartheid climate that is meant to promote tolerance and an enabling environment for all, there has been motivation for people to re-evaluate their attitudes towards issues such as the poor's struggle to gain access to cities and to sheltering themselves. "... all attitudes are social in the sense that they develop, function, and change in a reciprocal relation with a social context." (Prislin & Wood in Albarracín et al (eds), 2005: 672). As such, perceptions about informal settlements, at least in some quarters, have shifted and interest in issues related to informal settlements has grown. In a city like Cape Town that has large numbers of informal settlements, the issue has to be relevant to local academic institutions and particularly their architectural schools. The University of Cape Town's School of Architecture, one of the leading in South Africa, must have played a hand in the conceptualisation of South African cities, that according to Odwa Futshane, give an impression of a wealthy country.

I asked Mike Louw a lecturer at the University of Cape Town, whether the reason for architects' having little influence on low-cost housing issues, as reported to me by Jac Snyman, was due to their lack of interest in the topic. His reply was that this is not the case, a lot of people are very much interested in getting involved, he maintained. He attributed the low-key role by architects to difficulty in accessing the process. The government's model of rolling out low cost housing, he argued, is engineering driven. He continued to state:

"But the gated communities are higher income groups, there is more disposable income, it's an individual [orientated] thing, so it's specific, someone can say "I would like an architect-designed home", whereas a lot of others are quite happy with a plot and plan scenario."

Louw, 2015

I then asked if this scenario reflects architecture as a profession that caters to the elites. His reply was that this is a perception. I asked if the profession has had any hand in creating those perceptions and if there was anything being done to change them. He

informed me that schools and departments across the country were involved in outreach programmes to educate the public about architecture and its limitations. He also informed me that for the past few years the school has been involved in design projects that are located in informal settlements. He went on to say that schools of architecture are grappling with the issue of informal settlements.

I wanted to know the extent to which the issue of informal settlements has taken significance in the school, so I asked him about the proportion of students, produced by the school, that turn out to embrace the low-tech, socially orientated work that is more suited in dealing with the issue of informal settlements. His response was that they have not been tracking where students end up. Architectural schools and departments like many university departments, often take pride in announcing that successful individuals are their alumni-clearly alluding that the quality of education they offer is reflected in the type of graduates they produce. By the same token, the same institutions should accept that they are, to a large extent, accountable for the normative practices that are conducted in the various fields they provide training for. For this reason, I suggested that the number of their graduates who follow the low tech, socially orientated stream could perhaps be gauged in the type of architecture that is produced in South Africa and this led to us discussing the type of work that gets the most publicity. What he communicated to me was that, recently, more and more of the socially related architecture was being published. As someone who is a committee member of the Cape Institute of Architecture, I asked him if the recognition that the institute awards to professionals, reflected a fair balance between architects involved in commercial work and those who concentrate on social development projects. His answer was as follows:

“In the past, most of the submissions were for those sorts of projects [commercial], [but recently] the judging criteria has been much stricter for upper –end houses and commercial buildings ...to include much more social low-tech innovation.”

Louw, 2015

It would seem then, that in the field of architecture and in architectural schools, the issue of informal settlements and the architecture that is best suited to engage in the issue are gaining traction. Towards the end of the interview, I asked Mike Louw whether he thought there was a general shift in society in terms of accepting informal settlements, he replied:

I think there is an acceptance that they are here to stay for the foreseeable future. The end goal is still to create formal housing. There seems to be more of a focus now on improving them, at least temporarily.

Louw, 2015

Acquiescence- Other groups have simply resigned themselves to accepting that informal settlements are here to stay for quite some time to come. This has necessitated, or in some cases resulted into changes in attitudes, to some degree.

Habitat for Humanity has historically run volunteer programs for the building of what they regard as decent housing for people living in informal settlements. During the course of my interview with a representative from the organisation, I learned that the organisation,

at least in South Africa, had shifted its focus from this form of intervention in informal settlements.

“Habitat’s strategy changed from house construction to community development. We partner with the community, focusing on leadership capacitation and up-skilling the community to drive their own development. We are stepping out of that construction environment, into community development.”

Du Preez, 2015

This came about so as to be:

“... in line with the government’s move towards community development, and the realisation that the mass roll out of lower income housing is not sustainable. So, in line with that we thought it wise to align ourselves to what government is doing and focusing on up-skilling communities and partner with government and the private sector and other NGOs to get the ball rolling.”

Du Preez, 2015

When I asked Mike Louw if he regarded informal settlements as a solution, he replied ‘yes’, as a temporary solution because of the difficulty in producing alternative shelter at the required speeds. It has to be highlighted that this is not necessarily the case with Habitat for Humanity. Their goal of providing decent housing-to them this means houses that meet the legal building regulations-is similar to the notion of aligning housing with dignity, particularly in terms of being prescriptive. There is nothing to indicate that they have changed this stance, they changed their approach because they had come to realise that the mass roll out of housing is unsustainable and they wanted to align their activities with the government’s new approach. What this then means is that their attitude towards informal settlements has not necessarily changed but because of circumstances, they have come to alter their behaviour with regards to informal settlements.

But the government’s new approach that ‘Habitat for Humanity is aligning itself with, has been described by Andy Bolnick as follows:

“Government is almost schizophrenic; on the one hand they have high platitudes of saying we want to eradicate them [informal settlements] but there is acknowledgement from government that they can’t, and that they need to think differently. You constantly encounter that schizophrenia.”

Bolnick, 2015

This is not the view of one individual, in this document, similar sentiments by Marie Huchzermeyer have been cited, the chronicle in chapter five describes the same state of affairs. This is an indication that changes in approach by the government or other institutions such as Habitat for Humanity do not necessarily reflect changes in attitudes towards informal settlements. They reflect an acquiescence of reality. If the government’s signals reveal a sense of schizophrenia, as stated by Andy Bolnick, then this is a reflection of the power of the negative attitudes towards informal settlements. What this reveals is that even with having come to the realisation of the limits of its own capacity, the government is still trapped in the mind-set of regarding the replacing informal settlements with formal housing as the only credible solution.

6.5. SUMMARY

Events that are related to the Joe Slovo informal settlement and particularly events around the implementation of the N2 Gateway project, reveal much about attitudes towards informal settlements. The N2 Gateway project can be deemed to have been driven by the desire to transform the physical site of the old Joe Slovo without necessarily including the community that had been living in that site, in the planned transformation. This can be discerned from the statements and actions by those tasked with the implementation of the transformation and by the conceivers of the transformation themselves. What this all points to is the modernistic inclination of officialdom. Entrenched, negative attitudes towards informal settlements by the government are revealed by the fact that in Joe Slovo, the influence of these attitudes overrode the desire by the government to dismantle the apartheid spatial planning.

Because they had created an informal settlement, the Joe Slovo community has been othered in many ways. If what they created is a blight on democracy, it is then easy to label them as people who are opposed to democracy, this becomes more pronounced when they are engaged in contestations with the powers that label informal settlements as blights on democracy. As such, othering, particularly in this case has been used as means for subjection. The labelling of Joe Slovo residents has been done by other sectors of society as well, so as to other them and thus attach a limit to their rights and entitlement.

In spite of the vested interest that some authorities have in the issue of informal settlements, they refused to take part in the research or avoided participation. It is not the refusal to take part in the research that revealed much about their attitudes- they had a right not to participate-it is rather subsequent events that showed that the refusals were more about not wanting to share what might turn out to be controversial views on informal settlements.

In architecture and to the adherents of modernism, the suppression of contradiction is necessary because contradiction is a threat to the ethos of modernism, i.e. the lack of uncertainty. People who pursue quests that are embedded in the values of modernism such as global city status, appear to be sending out contradictory messages when they claim to identify with people whose lives are exemplified by the contradictions and uncertainties of life.

People that live in informal settlements themselves, have contradictory evaluations of informal settlements. This is due to the holding of two inconsistent attitudes, one on an automatic, implicit level and the other on an explicit level.

Affect-related attitudes towards informal settlements are generally negative. In this research, when people were open to the idea of informal settlements, they put conditions on how or where these informal settlements should develop. Where they could, they put measures to ensure that they don't develop. Even residents of informal settlements have

negative attitudes towards the imagery of informal settlements, but are quick to defend them, even on an affective basis, when informal settlements are compared to other, formal housing typologies. For others, the imagery of informal settlements is a practical demonstration of some of the failings of the new democratic dispensation.

Cognitive cues can influence affective experiences and can in this way dispel some of the myths about informal settlements. This has been the case with the city councillor who stated that she felt much safer in informal settlements than she did in some of the formal settlements.

Negative attitudes towards informal settlements have played out through the practice of monitoring the development of new informal structures so as to stop the proliferation of informal settlements. In Joe Slovo the community actively participates in this practice in the belief that it is in their own interest to do so. It is, however questionable if this is really about them and not about the grand scheme of eradicating informal settlements. This scepticism is based on the fact that the population of Joe Slovo is youthful, and by the HDA representative's own admission, the units that the informal structures are making way for are not targeted at people of the Joe Slovo age demographic.

Even so, attitudes towards informal settlement are changing in some quarters. This has been prompted by changing cognitions about informal settlements, changing societal values and the realisation that informal settlements will continue to be a feature of the South African urban landscape for some time to come. In spite of this realisation, the desire for an expeditious total eradication of informal settlements is still strong.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

In chapter two, I addressed the sub question: 'How can the phenomenon of informal settlements be understood?' In the succeeding chapter, I addressed the other sub question on understanding attitudes and elaborated on how these attitudes can impact the phenomenon of informal settlements as described in chapter two. In chapter five both the topics of chapter two and three are studied in detail in the context of an existing informal settlement. The insights from the interviews and the events related to how the N2 Gateway project units replaced the old Joe Slovo, as discussed in chapter six demonstrate that there is a connection between prevailing attitudes and the delivery of housing to the poor in Cape Town. The line that best sums up the answer to the main research question: 'How do prevailing attitudes towards informal settlements affect housing delivery for the poor?' is perhaps, the last point in subsection 6.4.5; in spite of evidence that the current subsidy model is unsustainable and is not delivering at the required speeds, government actions and utterances still reflect a desire to concentrate all efforts on the eradication of informal settlements (page 110).

7.2 THE EFFECT OF PREVAILING ATTITUDES ON HOUSING DELIVERY

There is a demonstrable link between prevailing attitudes and the delivery of housing to the poor in Cape Town. The impact is evident not only in terms of the way that formal housing in some instances seems to have been driven by the desire to replace informal settlements. The effect is also evident in how skewed evaluations of informal settlements have prevented people from seeing any opportunities or learning from the phenomenon.

7.2.1 The effect on evaluations of informal settlements

In my interview with Andy Bolnick, she made the point that the poor probably constitute the largest provider of housing in South Africa, through the creation of informal settlements. This does not seem far-fetched when considering the fact that 1 249 777 households in South Africa lived in informal settlements by 2013 (HDA, 2013:15). By 2014, the government had provided 2. 68 million subsidies since 1994 (South African Government News Agency, 2014), many of the government provided houses can be assumed to be still standing whilst a lot of the informal settlements would have been eradicated since 1994. In this sense, the creation of informal settlements can be considered as a form of housing delivery to the poor by the poor. The only problem is that society does not view informal settlements as such. The Cape Town city councillor and her aide were averse to recognising informal settlements as a housing solution when I asked them whether they considered them as such. When I asked the UCT academic, Mike Louw, the same question, he asserted that they are a temporary solution. The issue would have been simpler if the people and powers that work towards the eradication of informal settlements are blindsided to the utilitarian value of informal settlements by

viewing them as something of a permanence, not temporary, as pointed out by Mike Louw. The findings from this research though, suggest that it is negative attitudes that drive the desire for the eradication of informal settlements in the present time and not misunderstandings about their permanence as a feature of the South African cityscape. The government would have preferred to have seen the last traces of informal settlements by 2014 already.

Informal settlements are not ideal, they present a host of challenges, including health risks, a heightened fire disaster risk and the structures found in these settlements offer less than ideal shelter. But judging by the current state of affairs, there does not seem to be any other sustainable alternatives, at least for the present and near future. The notion that an alternative state of affairs- one that does not involve the existence of informal settlements- seems easier to countenance for the many who regard informal settlements as undesirable. The means to get to this alternative state of affairs, however, is seldom explained. This, especially in light of the government subsidy scheme proving not to be sustainable, as highlighted by Magriet Du Preez in my interview with her, and can therefore not provide everyone with houses. This is exacerbated by the age restriction tied to the subsidy and this, as has been proven in the Joe Slovo case, can exclude a sizable number of people. If the people who fall outside of the qualifying conditions cannot afford to access private housing, how else should they shelter themselves?

Time is a critical element in the quest to see everyone living in formal housing. It would appear that for many the transition from informal settlements to formal housing was expected to turn out to be something of an event, facilitated by projects such as the N2 Gateway project. But, this was predicted from a mind-frame of conceiving ideals with a superficial connection to the people affected. The upgrading of informal settlements, by contrast has by definition, an inference of a process instead of an event. For upgrading to succeed, it is necessary to see the value in informal settlements. Failure to see this value explains the schizophrenia that Andy Bolnick mentioned. As such negative attitudes towards informal settlements prevent others from evaluating informal settlements as another, if limited- not in terms of scale but in terms of function- form of housing delivery. For the people who hold these attitudes, informal settlements need to disappear now, not in a process that will result in a future prospect that some of us will not live to see-as pointed out by Andy Bolnick.

The disappearance of informal settlements needs to happen fast for some because they are a contradiction to their ideals. The ideal of a democratic state infers a certain housing typology or typologies that don't include informality for both Minister Sisulu and the tour operator, Odwa Futshane. For Futshane, the existence of informal settlements reflects an underwhelming track record by a democratic state, for Minister Sisulu they are a contradiction to that state.

7.2.2 The effect on the government's delivery of housing to the poor

In the case of Joe Slovo, the government's housing provision seems to have been more motivated by a desire to eliminate an informal settlement and replace it with formal housing, as argued in chapter six. Because of this, many Joe Slovo residents were relocated from an advantageous site, something that is in contrast to the government's aim of redesigning South African cities into inclusive cities.

The notion of a brick and mortar house at all costs is unhelpful if it results in poor people being moved further away from work opportunities to locations with no schools or amenities, just to live in a house that fits a certain typology.

When I was interviewing him, Jac Snyman downplayed the trailblazing potential of his team's efforts in Joe Slovo, continuously arguing that every design is site-specific. Julian Cooke, though, in an article on the project in *Architecture South Africa*, describes the Joe Slovo phase three as a groundbreaking housing project, which challenges the application of subsidy housing in South Africa (Cooke, 2014:34). If it is indeed poised to be such, what will be the impact of the architect's views on add-ons, which he clearly sees as spoiling formal housing designs? It is interesting that more than twenty years before, in a keynote address at a UNESCO seminar in Seoul, John Habraken remarked that, in addressing issues of the built environment and human settlements, one of the important lesson that had been learned from the past was that change over time is significant. He singled out the recognition of this aspect as perhaps the single most important new aspect in thinking about housing (Habraken, 2002:3). He may have uttered these words in 1988, but they were still relevant in recent times to warrant the publication of this address in a journal article in 2002. Habraken argued that users have different needs and different values, they might like to conform to certain lifestyles, but want to identify themselves as different and their functional needs differ too (Habraken, 2002:4). Accordingly, people from informal settlements might like to migrate to formal settlements, but they still want to identify themselves as different. Their needs differ as well, and this has been demonstrated by the practice of adding structures to their government provided houses. If Jac Snyman's thinking takes hold and more efforts through design, are implemented to prevent people from adding on, then again, it will appear that the system of providing government housing is more about achieving a certain look and less about the needs of the people concerned.

In a nutshell, the aversion to informal settlements limits the government provided model because the government model seems to be benchmarked solely on the basis that it represents a move from informal settlements to formal settlements, regardless of the quality and opportunities provided or obstructed by this model. The aversion to informal structures, constrains the beneficiaries from expressing themselves or adapting their houses to their own needs.

An approach that would allow the houses of the inhabitants of informal settlements to express their individuality and enable the owners to adapt them according to their individual needs, and still make it possible for the settlements to be less prone to disasters, to be safer and provide better shelter; is one that is based on collaboration with

authorities and professionals instead of one wherein these outsiders get involved viewing themselves as rescuers. John Habraken's concept of levels is well suited for this kind of collaboration. He argues that the issue in housing is not production of houses; as has been the case with the N2 Gateway project. The flaw in viewing housing in this manner, particularly in the N2 Gateway case, is demonstrated by the production of 43 housing units that remained empty for a number of years after they had been completed (page 76). Habraken argues for housing to be seen as a process (Habraken, 2002:3). Levels as explained by Habraken relate to the hierarchical levels at which the various professionals and individuals take part in the shaping of the built environment. It is by interrogating these levels that opportunities for enabling housing as a process become possible. A way of enabling individual choices and still provide adequate human settlements is by looking at the levels that the end-users, the professionals and the authorities really need to be engaged in. Is it necessary for professionals and authorities to dictate the form of human settlements that is best for the end-user up to a level where they make it impossible for the end-user to affect any change on an individual unit, as has been the case with the N2 Gateway units?

Such attitudes won't allow the architectural profession to affect a meaningful and transformative impact in a society that is ripe with opportunities for effecting change. Jeremy Till argues for the architectural profession to change attitudes in order to mitigate what he describes as the profession's threatened agency. To do this, the profession needs to position itself less as problem solving profession and more as a profession of transformative agents. "It is difficult to reconcile the notion of transformative agency with that of problem-solving. Problems look determinedly backward, while agency looks hopefully forward. The negative connotation of the term *problem* casts a gloomy pall over the design process, implying that the best we can expect from the solution is to make the world a slightly less bad place, as opposed to transformative agency which is founded on a mutual aspiration to make the world a better place." (Till, 2009:167)

The threatened agency of architecture is demonstrated by the fact that the profession is marginalised from participating in housing as explained by Mike Louw. Carin Combrinck also alludes to this marginalisation in her doctoral thesis, listing a number of government of government policies on housing with no mention of architecture or the involvement of architects (Combrinck, 2015:647).

7.3 EVALUATIONS OF INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS BY INSIDERS AND BY OUTSIDERS

The government's delivery of housing to the poor is strongly influenced by how informal settlements are evaluated. The spectrum that represents people connected to the issue of informal settlements includes people who consider them as eyesores that blemish cities, people interested in informal settlement issues-this includes researchers and NGO's- and then there are the public officials and professionals who work directly in informal settlements related issues. The extent to which each of these people is intimate to the issue of informal settlements is determined by their interest and involvement. All of these people have their own evaluations of informal settlements and these evaluations are often influenced by the particular vantage point that each of the evaluators comes

from. These evaluations as discussed in the preceding section, have a profound effect on housing delivery, because as stated in subsection 7.2.2 this delivery is, to a large extent, a reaction to the continued growth of informal settlements. On the other extreme of the spectrum sits the inhabitants of informal settlements, the people most intimate with the issue, and to a large degree, have little influence on how the reaction to informal settlements pans out.

The delivery of housing to the poor is often associated with the state of being dignified, as has been documented in chapter six. This reveals a lot about how informal settlements are viewed by these commentators who are to some varying degrees, 'outsiders'. Steven Pinker describes the concept of dignity in this way: "Dignity is a phenomenon of human perception. Certain signals from the world trigger an attribution in the mind of a perceiver. Just as converging lines in a drawing are a cue for the perception of depth, and differences in loudness between the two ears cue us to the position of a sound, certain features in another human being trigger ascriptions of worth. These features include signs of composure, cleanliness, maturity, attractiveness, and control of the body. The perception of dignity in turn elicits a response in the perceiver. Just as the smell of baking bread triggers a desire to eat it, and the sight of a baby's face triggers a desire to protect it, the appearance of dignity triggers a desire to esteem and respect the dignified person." (Pinker, 2008:3). Elsewhere in the same article, he makes the important point that, "... dignity is relative. One doesn't have to be a scientific or moral relativist to notice that ascriptions of dignity vary radically with the time, place, and beholder." Dignity, thus, as many other concepts discussed in this thesis, is something that is ascribed, based on certain societal codes, it is not something that is innately an inherent feature of objects or individuals. To the Cape Town city councilor and her aide, the government, judges of the Constitutional Court and the researcher, Anne Hughes; informal settlements are antithetical to the state of being dignified.

By contrast, N. Nokulila, an insider, described her shack as beautiful, clean and she expressed the feeling that she likes living in it. This is not to suggest that everyone who lives in a shack feels the same way, but it is illuminating that it was stated by someone who is under no illusions about the challenges of living in an informal settlement as she had listed them minutes before making this statement.

The contrast between the evaluations of informal settlements and expectations about informal settlements by outsiders and the lived experiences of the insiders is also evident in the fact that the operator of the township tour and tourists expect to find misery in Joe Slovo, but are instead, confronted by smiling people. Another encountered reality that comes as a surprise is the physical appearance of the residents of Joe Slovo. This aspect, more than the state of the informal settlement, is perhaps a more suitable measure of dignity in informal settlements like Joe Slovo, not the physical state of the settlements of which the residents have limited scope in terms of altering. The fact that they don't live up to outsiders' expectations of their physical appearance-based on their living conditions- probably reveals more about their dignity and sense of dignity than the measure used by outsiders which is really another way of othering.

The implication of this outsiders' versus the evaluations of the insiders, is that although their evaluations have a direct impact on the lives of the insiders, outsiders' evaluations are based on attitudes and beliefs that in certain instances have no resonance with the lived experiences of the insiders. This is fundamentally flawed and explains instances wherein beneficiaries abandon their subsidised houses and return back to the informal settlements, in instances where they have not been eradicated. They actually also have the option of going to other informal settlements and the sizes of these informal settlements then start to grow as a result, resulting in officials not understanding this constant burgeoning in spite of the many houses they build.

7.4 LESSONS FROM INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS

Whereas, insiders have expressed negative attitudes towards informal settlements, they have also expressed positive attitudes as well, and these are just as valid, as explained in chapter six. These positive attitudes necessitate further inquiry by the authorities, so as to take out from informal settlements, the positive aspects that are patently there and try to emulate them as much as possible in any intervention that is aimed at the challenge of housing people who live in informal settlements.

Not all structures in informal settlements conform to the derelict looking structure with no evidence of aesthetic design intent that many people associate with informal settlements. Nokulila (2015) testified to this when she asserted that her shack might look ugly on the outside, but the inside tells another story. Of course, this is not true for all shacks found in informal settlements. By the same token, not all shacks look ugly on the outside. In our conversation, Andy Bolnick (2015) highlighted the use of colour to decorate shacks and the juxtaposition of different colours, as evidence that there is beauty that can be found in informal settlements. She added that this creativity creates a certain kind of energy in informal settlements. That there is a certain kind of energy in informal settlements was expressed by Mike Louw as well, who acknowledged that there is squalor in informal settlements, but one does find vibrancy, energy and innovation, it is the freedom for individual expression in informal settlements that allows for this innovation. It is for this reason that government subsidized housing policies should allow for flexibility in levels of involvement to unlock peoples potential for innovation. According to Jac Snyman, (2015) informal settlements are structured around the community, in relation to communal spaces rather than individual houses, and this is an aspect that can be emulated.

These lessons that can be emulated from informal settlements are not highlighted here to suggest that as a housing form, informal settlements are adequate. Nor is there an intention to suggest that these aspects can be effortlessly transplanted to the more conventional housing typologies that are in use currently. The aim is to dispel the notion that there is nothing positive about informal settlements, in fact there is a decent number of positives. The ambivalence demonstrated by the residents of Joe Slovo, points to this fact. What is critical, is to be mindful of these positive aspects in any approach that is geared at addressing informal settlements issues. Attitudes have had a significant impact on the perceptibility of these positive aspects.

7.5 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The qualitative approach in this research has been helpful in understanding attitudes and their impact from an analytic point of view. It is doubtful whether some of the insights gained through this approach, such as ambivalent attitudes, the contradictions and implicit attitudes would have been detected in a quantitative study. This is because such a study would have most probably provided prescriptive answers that the respondents would have had to respond to. Even so, a quantitative study of the positive attitudes by the residents of informal settlements would be valuable. It would be interesting to find out what the distribution of these positive attitudes within informal settlements communities is, and this perhaps, could provide clues to explain some of the ambivalence related to living in an informal settlement. Such a study would also be helpful in terms of shifting the focus, in government housing, from being informed by what the authorities, professionals and bureaucrats want to being informed by the needs of the intended beneficiaries. This is because, through the study, the aspirations and frustrations of people living in informal settlements would be collected.

7.6 SUMMARY

In responding to the research questions, in chapter two, I addressed the question on understanding the phenomenon of informal settlements. In chapter three I dealt with the other sub-question- understanding attitudes and their relation to informal settlements. In chapter seven I used the data contained in chapters five and six to come to the conclusion that the negative attitudes towards informal settlements have made the government's housing intervention for the poor to be more about the eradication of informal settlements rather than housing that is grounded in people's lifestyles and livelihoods. This answers one of the sub-questions- 'What is the relation between attitudes and housing interventions for the poor?' Because of this and negative attitudes, the positive aspects about informal settlements are not appreciated and this limits the effectiveness of the government's housing provision.

The people who have the most impact on government policies geared towards housing the poor are outsiders whose evaluation of informal settlements is not always compatible with those of the insiders, the residents.

In spite of the many challenges of living in informal settlements, insiders have also expressed positive attitudes towards informal settlements and these attitudes should be taken seriously because they point to positive aspects about informal settlements. Knowledge of these positive aspects can better enable the government to implement interventions that resonate with the intended beneficiaries.

A quantitative study could be helpful in recording and quantifying these positive aspects.

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APPENDIX 1

Interview with **Andy Bolnick** of **Ikhayalami** 26 August 2015

Thabo From the research that I have done so far, I am sensing that the issue of informal settlements and low- cost housing is quite complex. It seems like there are no easy answers.

Andy: Yah, I agree there are no easy answers. It's highly complex. What makes things more complicated is that the policy environment is so highly complex. For general people to digest all those policy frameworks is very difficult. I think the challenges sometimes, whether it's technocrats or officials or party-political people, they over simplify it.

Thabo: Just in terms of informal settlements, one of the themes I have frequently come across is the desire to eradicate them. On the other hand what I have found is that that is such a difficult thing to do considering the rate of urbanisation and limited resources. Do you in your opinion think that there will be a time in the near mid-term future when informal settlements will actually be eradicated?

Andy: I think that informality is here to stay for the time being, for the immediate and future I could even go and say, certainly in my lifetime, there is no indication that informality is waning. All indication is that it is increasing. Government is almost schizophrenic; on the one hand they have high platitudes of saying we want to eradicate them, but there is acknowledgement from government that they can't, and that they need to think differently. You constantly encounter that schizophrenia. Two weeks ago [I was] at the Goven Mbeki Awards and there was [Minister] Sisulu lamenting and hitting on the heads of all the [human settlements MEC's], saying that "It's unacceptable, we haven't done enough, and we are failing our people, we were meant to eradicate informal settlements and we haven't." If you read all indications of what government is saying, they are saying that they are retracting from the housing subsidy system in many instances even if you think of it from a policy level, government really wants to focus on the UISP, which focuses more on service delivery and an incremental form of tenure. Inherently, in the thinking of Ikhayalami and why it was formed was the realisation that informality is not going away any time soon. Actually it offers a solution for the urban poor. There's a tremendous amount of ingenuity in informal settlements.

Thabo: On that point of informality being an ingenious solution, do you think that the poor themselves see it in that light?

Andy: It's an interesting one, if you drive past informal settlements there is an energy, there is a

beauty to that. Is this perception a middle-class perception to say that there is beauty and that maybe the poor think that, "My God, this is terrible." But I wouldn't think so, because you see people that paint their homes, you see the juxtaposition between a yellow shack and a pink shack. All of a sudden that creates an energy of its own. I do know that many people who I've come across, who had lived in informal settlements and now living in RDP homes often hanker and keep on going back to the Informal settlements, even if it's to hangout there because there is more of a vibe there. I think the stigma of living in an informal settlement is bigger than people realising that there is ingenuity there.

Thabo: it's interesting because when I was interviewing some ladies in Joe Slovo, when I asked whether they liked living in an informal settlement, their answer was that they don't because there are rats there but when I asked them whether they are ashamed of informing new encounters that they live in an informal settlement, and suddenly, they were defensive saying that a shack is a house just like any other house its clean and everything. So yah, it's interesting.

Andy: I'm looking for an sms here that somebody sent me; these people had encountered disaster before and were all crammed into this tiny shack and they were living with their uncle who had TB and they were living in burnt out material, we built her an Ikhayalami structure. She sent me an sms : "It's me...the girl from Khayelitsha... I would like to say thank you very much I'm happy I love my new home." She loves her new home. It's a home.

Thabo: Yah. She sees it is a home whereas someone else might not. The next point I want to touch on is the issue of the government being schizophrenic in terms of the messages that they send out, that is something I picked up myself. Do you think that the willingness of the government to communicate honestly about the fact that informal settlements are here to stay and that the subsidy model is unsustainable is compromised by the fear of loosing votes?

Andy: Absolutely, it is a very difficult thing for them to retract from. It would be almost like political suicide so that's why they end up being schizophrenic...[The] re-blocking of Joe Slovo led to a shift...Re-blocking has enabled a powerful shift in approach. The reconfiguration of spatial layout linked to shack upgrades, at first it had to be proven to communities that it makes sense. Once it was proven to communities, that it made sense to them, I worked with the ISN at the time, then slowly I was able to influence -together with the ISN-... we were able to influence [the] City of Cape Town. We were able to influence ward councillors.

Thabo: in terms of the interventions that you have done in informal settlements like re-blocking, do you get the sense that the communities are resistant to re-blocking exercises because they fear

that such exercises may stall their progress to getting houses such as the ones provided in the N2 Gateway project in Delft?

Andy: It's a valid question. I think everything has a trajectory and a time and a place, that is if you're constantly on the ball with an aim in sight. Then you need to keep on keeping that goal in sight. Re-blocking shouldn't be seen as something that is stagnant, it's part of the trajectory and that is why at Ikhayalami we are now re orienting ourselves because re-blocking in the form that it now is at the level of the City of Cape Town and the framework we created it in which is shack upgrading and spatial reconfiguration – if we leave it at that we are not doing any justice to the poor because the aim of the re-blocking agenda was to first of all improve quality of life at the level of the household and the environment, enable access to basic services; but the fundamental objective of re-blocking is enabling the poor to move closer towards tenure of security. It's a disservice if we leave it at that because we locking people into that environment (of a shack upgrade) for probably another 20 years, so it is prudent for us to think about re-blocking on a broader spatial perspective. Now when we do re-blocking we need to think about creating permanent footprints or footprints that can become formalised. Our focus now is to say ok we have created re-blocking as a policy framework, it sits almost as an island within other government policies. The agenda now is to push re-blocking to dovetail into government policies, to push re-blocking and to edge it into the UISP so the two start dovetailing. Because UISP does not work for the poor as Municipalities try to get USDG funding and put it into infrastructure and into green field developments to get the boxes ticked. So we want to create a framework or enable a process that can help people move towards the more mainstream policy but that enables the poor to access resources that can lead to permanence and city building – that is the route we are taking. In essence we are looking at these aspects and see how we push things in the direction of making government's policies working for the urban poor.

Thabo: Do you think it is possible with low cost housing to include all of the beneficiaries' views and input in terms of their requirements to induce a sense ownership and pride?

Andy: For the poor, it should probably be more important [than it is for the middle class] that you have their input, because to me an ability to choose and an ability for people to be heard is a matter of hearing and respecting people. The minute you don't hear or want to listen to people is an indication of disregarding people. And then you are potentially not seeing them as people.

Thabo: In my preparations for interviewing people on this topic, I found that people, especially government officials, seem reluctant to discuss the topic. Do you think that the topic of informal settlements is a controversial topic that people want to wish away?

Andy: Yah I think so. I think it's part of a mind shift it depends which department you ask. You still have the problem that people don't see informal settlements.

Signed by

Research Participant Date

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be the initials 'AB' with a flourish extending to the right.