Visualising Process and Placemaking

Upgrading Shack Urbanity in the Eastern Cape, South Africa

Cover Image: A view from Duncan Village looking back to the city beyond.
Duncan Village, East London, 2013.
Photograph by the author

A dissertation submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
May 2019

Kirsten Jeske Thompson
Sir John Cass School of Art, Architecture and Design
London Metropolitan University

Title Page

Visualising Process and Placemaking

Upgrading Shack Urbanity in the Eastern Cape, South Africa

A dissertation submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
May 2018

Kirsten Jeske Thompson
Student Number: 09056091
Sir John Cass School of Art, Architecture and Design
London Metropolitan University

Supervisors: Dr Matthew Barac, Reader in Architecture
Prof. Maurice Mitchell
Prof. Peter Carl

Cover Image: A view from Duncan Village looking back to the city beyond, Duncan Village, East London, 2013.
Photograph by Author

Visualising Process and Placemaking

Upgrading Shack Urbanity in the Eastern Cape, South Africa

This investigation concerns the analytical challenge of understanding settlement upgrading in South Africa. Drawing upon evidence from a case study, Duncan Village Redevelopment Initiative, and two reference studies, Zanemvula and Sakhasonke, it builds an account of events, as experienced at street level and in the policy-driven domain of practice, on the basis of two key themes: the process of upgrading and the problem of placemaking. Political and housing history contextualise the current 'captured' state of affairs,[1] establishing ground for a conceptual framework that navigates sometimes contradictory registers of engagement in development. The focus of the argument is on understanding the enduring South African context of *unfreedom* and constant change.

Motivated by the widely-acknowledged need to know why so much public money and political energy goes to waste on upgrading projects that fail to deliver, the research aims to articulate between the nuanced realities of intervention projects – the activities of ordinary people and their efforts to make meaningful places – and the dynamic landscape of policy and development data. Driven by a desire to account for the situation as it is on the ground, the layered methodological approach to what I call 'intervention forensics' culminates in a process of infiltration, and prioritises the problem of understanding: the challenge of framing analysis in a way that is faithful to overarching cycles of past and present history, of philosophical aspirations embedded within it, and of the context for professional practice and political action. The characters of Duncan, Wilson and Fanon are introduced to contextualise historical, political, ethnographic, on-the-ground aspects of the South African story, and giving a voice to native South Africans at a time of change and confusion about how best to co-exist.

Policy is only as strong as the people and institutions implementing it. Literature concerning intervention projects has long emphasised the need to cast partnership nets wide if delivery is to succeed. In South Africa, policy operates in a context where formal systems are often exchanged for or supplanted by informal means of delivery – means that are often hidden or unacknowledged. In an environment of political flux, neither literature nor policy guides actors on how this should be done. This research targets this gap.

Treating practice as a springboard, the approach uses place and processes to track the efforts of the state to intervene in informal settlements, formulated here as 'shack urbanity'. A purpose-designed representational tool – the Shack Urbanity Intervention Tool (SUIT) – has been developed to draw together data from polar arrival points into a simultaneous dimension of reference for navigating between the concrete and abstract phenomena of an urban environment in the throes of change. The SUIT provides a structure within which the 'agents of change', their roles and relationships, and the 'horizons of involvement' are represented, and conflicts and reciprocities during the construction process made visible. It enables comparative analysis of projects to pinpoint common problems and identify strategies that might succeed in future upgrading projects.

The SUIT identifies typical trajectories in incremental upgrading intervention projects in order to visualise development facilitators and inhibitors. The thesis comes to rest on four key findings: First, tenure security and ownership of place built through participatory processes are significant positive forces. Second, the interrelation between *urbs* and *civitas* must ground the institutional appreciation of incremental upgrading and therefore inform policy. Third, 'arrival cities' are not necessarily transient (either temporally or in their internal dynamics of mobility). And finally, informality and agency are not necessarily in opposition. Sometimes, informality is a choice. The 'formal' city is typically perceived as host, having parasitic connection with shack urbanity, but in many development environments the relationship is mutualistic, an interdependence between formality and informality that supports a metabolism that allows places to regenerate. Formality and informality should be gauged according to the progress of development. All built or made environments – both those developed from the bottom up and those planned and implemented from the top down – depend upon reciprocity between the concrete and abstract phenomena that constitute meaningful places.

[1] State capture is a phrase that has become widely understood in South Africa, from newspaper headlines and political scandals,

Preface and Acknowledgements

A Master of Studies (M.St.) degree in Interdisciplinary Design for the Built Environment (IDBE) at the Department of Architecture at Cambridge University was the foundation for this Ph.D., drawing on my lifetime in the fractured society of South Africa. The M.St. acted as a platform from which to further develop the topic as a PhD at The Cass at London Metropolitan University.

The research, compiled using data collated through a variety of methods and from a spectrum of sources, is entirely my own. This dissertation is submitted in accordance with the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Architecture. It is 84,000 words long, including footnotes but not including bibliography, illustration captions or appendices. Undertaking and completing this research was made possible through contributions of resources from The African Centre for Cities (The ACC) at the University of Cape Town, The Fort Hare Institute of Social and Economic Research (FHISER), The Eastern Cape NGO Coalition (ECNGOC), The Matrix Architects and Urban Designers, The Isandla Institute, and funding from :NHAB:T Architects Studio.

Translating a lived experience and the initial formulations of a research topic through to producing a dissertation, has shifted between moments of excitement and despair, as I navigated the path of perpetual discovery and understanding, while being guided by the support and expertise of many around me.

The specific yet wide knowledge of my lead supervisor, Dr Matthew Barac, together with his constant and unwavering availability for pedagogy, has encompassed a journey over the last six years filled with discussions, reflections, direction, and the supportive critique of the parts along the way to developing this whole. Professor Maurice Mitchell has provided valuable support in the discussions around the topic and his comparative work. Peter Carl, whose questions pointed the compass in directions of discovery beyond expectation, has constantly widened the debates, which revealed additional and alternate opportunities for exploration.

Appreciating the extent of engagement that this research required is only possible now, having covered the ground. The goodwill of theorists, academics, practitioners, organisations, communities and individual people with a genuine interest and will to see the research reach completion was astounding. My thanks to Gordon Pirie for the invitation of being a visiting researcher at The African Centre for Cities, and to Lisa Cirolia for sharing her office with me during that time as we worked on real issues. Thanks also to The ACC for financial support to attend seminars while in residence there. The discussions with Mercy Brown-Luthango over coffee and at seminars added depth to the peripheral forces at play. Thanks also to Edgar Pieterse and the PhD cohort at The ACC for the writing seminars and other reflections through brown-bag meetings and incidental interactions. The flexibility in the hours allowed me to maximise my time in Cape Town and fully engage with the archives and the city. The opportunity at The ACC also led to engagement with the Isandla Institute, which culminated in a publication in 2016. My thanks to Mirjiam Van Donk for the invitations to round table discussions and conferences, as well as the financial support to attend, and for a copy of the book. Thanks also to my cohort at London Metropolitan University for the discussions and tips to make life easier where possible, the engaging Tuesday evening seminars and for helping with printing out submissions for PhD ‘celebration weeks’ when I was away from the university.

Meeting Jacko McCarthy at The Housing Development Agency in the Eastern Cape chapter has offered immeasurable insight into the political history of South Africa and the task of providing houses to the poor in communities prior to 1994 and beyond. My thanks for always having his door

open to sound out the development of the research in progress. Thanks to Nicholas Tsewu, and Project Managers at The HDA, for continuous input on reference study projects, and to Johan Minnie and Daphney Ngoasheng, at The HDA, for ongoing discussions about the implementation of this research in practice – a partnership initiated by meeting Christine Platt at the UN-Habitat III pre-meeting on global informal settlement upgrading in 2016 in Johannesburg. The late Adriaan van Eerden at Aurecon and Lance del Monde of Metroplan were always available for anecdotal discussions around the Sakhasonke housing intervention, offering access to the project files. Roger Matlock at General Motors Foundation South Africa (GMFSA), offered the same for the intervention project at Soweto-on-Sea.

My thanks to Thobeka Mbovane (Toto) for continued anecdotal conversations about life in informal settlements, her insights during fieldwork, walking the streets of Duncan Village as my safety companion and translator, and for her cup of coffee when sleep was minimal and expectations were high. Thanks to Malusi, the chairman at the Street Civil Organisation (SCO) in Duncan Village, for his insights into his life in Duncan Village over the last 48 years. Thanks also to Kuthala who invited me into her *spaza* shop and Margaret and Headman who repeatedly invited me into the home for a cup of tea and chats about township life and all three for their continued involvement in the fieldwork. To Albrecht Herholdt and Hedwig Crooijmans at The Matrix Architects for the opportunity to work on the Duncan Village Redevelopment Initiative (DVRI) project during my employment there. Lwazi, at the Eastern Cape Non-Government Organisation Coalition (ECNGOC), gave guidance on safety as I sought to engage with the citizens in the sometimes-confrontational environment of Duncan Village. Thanks to Dr Leslie Bank at the Fort Hare Institute of Social and Economic Research (FHISER) for the discussions and offer of a place to write and reflect on fieldwork visits to East London. To Beth Cooper Howell, who tracked my progress with great interest, offering encouragement along the way and when needed most near the end, and for proof reading, and to Dr Jane Clossick for her much-appreciated editorial assistance. Thank you to London Metropolitan University for the funding grant to attend the UN-Habitat World Urban Forum 9 in Kuala Lumpur in February 2018, where this research was exhibited and discussed as a tool to assist the implementation of the New Urban Agenda.

To my friends that were ready to celebrate at every milestone along the way, and for their support, through discussions and questions fueled by interest, including my children in activities and offering lifts to sport, or arriving with supper on days of extreme scheduling. Thank you to my friends of 32 years, Simone Potgieter, Mignon Fishburn and Elsje vd Merwe, who never waivered from sending messages of encouragement.

Finally, but importantly, for creating an environment of support and being an unwavering sounding board throughout this project – one that I needed to do – I thank my husband Patrick Thompson. For always being ready with a smile and an unconditional embrace, my children Aidan and Isla have diverted the sometimes-darker moments, and my parents, Joachim and Gillian Jeske, have provided them with fun things to do when crunch time required my weekend hours. They have been my most avid supporters for my 40 years! My dad was an integral part of the approvals for flights over Duncan Village and hand carved wooden presentation boxes. To my sisters: Astrid for being an ever-present voice of support, and Birgit who came home from her first days at university to tell me about the architecture course that she believed was perfect for me and her support since my first day at architecture school.

This has been as much a path of self-discovery as it has a research project – a way to connect and compare the years of experience in cities and towns in the world and South Africa.

Contents

Abbreviations

ACC	African Centre for Cities
ANC	African National Congress
BCMM	Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality
BCM	Buffalo City Municipality
BNG	Breaking New Ground
CESCR	Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
CP	Comprehensive Plan
CRU	Community Residential Units
CS	Competition Site
CORC	Community Organisation Resource Centre
DAG	Development Action Group
DSH	Douglas Smith Highway
DVRA	Duncan Village Resident's Association
DVRI	Duncan Village Redevelopment Initiative
DV	Duncan Village
EC	Eastern Cape
ECNGOC	Eastern Cape Non-Government Organisation Coalition
EHP	Emergency Housing Programme
ePHP	Enhanced People's Housing Process
EPWP	Expanded Public Works Programme
FEDUP	South African Federation of the Urban Poor
FLISP	Finance Linked Individual Subsidy Programme
FHISER	Fort Hare Institute of Social and Economic Research
GMSAF	General Motors South Africa Foundation
GCSS	Global Campaign for Secure Shelter
GCST	Global Campaign for Secure Tenure
GF	Greenfield
GIS	Global Information System
HDA	Housing Development Agency
HDI	Human Development Index
HSO	Housing Support Organisations
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
IDT	Independent Development Trust
IRDP	Integrated Residential Development Programme
ISN	Informal Settlement Network
ISP	Individual Subsidy Programme
IUDF	Integrated Urban Development Framework
JBCC	Joint Building Contracts Committee
LGAF	Land Governance Assessment Framework
LSDF	Local Structural Development Framework
MDT	Mzingizi Development Trust
MTSF	Medium Term Strategic Framework
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MSDF	Municipal Structural Development Framework
NBRI	National Building Research Institute
NDoHS	National Department of Human Settlements
NHC	National Housing Code
NHR	National Housing Report
NHBRC	National Home Builders Registration Council

NMBM	Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality
NMMM	Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Municipality
NMU	Nelson Mandela University
NURCHA	National Urban Reconstruction and Housing Agency
NUSP	National Upgrading Support Programme
PHP	People's Housing Policy
POS	Public Open Space
PSUP	Participatory Slum Upgrading Programme
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RSA	Republic of South Africa
SA	South Africa
SAHPF	South African Homeless People's Federation
SCPG	Sustainable Community Planning Guide
SCU	Sustainable Community Units
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SDI	Slum Dwellers International
SHP	Social Housing Programme
SIDA	Swedish International Development Co-operation Agency
SONA	State of the Nation Address
SOS-R	Soweto-on-Sea Rectification
SUIT	Shack Urbanity Intervention Tool
TD	Top-Down
TTT	Toilet Tap Tenure
TRA	Temporary Relocation Area
UDF	Urban Development Framework
UF	Urban Foundation
UNSCF	United Nations Strategic Cooperation Framework
UISP	Upgrading of Informal Settlements Programme
VPUU	Violence Prevention through Upgrading Unit
WHDT	Walmer Housing Development Trust

List of Illustrations

Appendices

USB MEMORY STICK: All raw data excluding survey forms, photographs, aerial photographs, archival material of newspaper clippings and journals, and background material from files for reference studies, are included in digital format on the accompanying USB memory stick. THIS HAS BEEN REDACTED.

Introduction

Son of the North, of Caledonia stern,
Lover of Freedom and the arts of Peace,
In judgment wise, disdainful of the knave
And the low cunning of the selfish soul,
Thy loftiest thought was for thy fellow-man,
Regarding not his colour, creed or race.
The glory that was Greece was in thy soul;
Thy mind was nurtured in the law of Rome,
And loathed the tyrant for whose overthrow
Thou wouldst have sacrificed thine own heart's
blood.
South Africa bewails thy going hence,
For Boer and Briton found in thee a friend.
Farewell, great heart! Farewell, good, honest man!
God grant we soon may see thy like again.
"Sir Patrick Duncan"
M. Whiteford, 1943[2]

"This house is mine now!" declared the man standing at our front door. In 1991, when I was 12 years old and apartheid was written out of South African law, I remember wondering why a string of people had come to our front door reciting popular promises made to them in the campaigns of the emerging democracy. As the latest visitor finally slunk away after a conversation through the burglar-bar, I asked myself a series of questions: where had he come from? How had he concluded that our house was the one that was promised to him? Did he believe the process was as straightforward as a free-homes-for-all, only requiring him to arrive and make his claim? He didn't seem a violent man - he was just voicing frustration at the promised imminent change and freedom. This scene, played out on the doorstep of my home in a small town in the poorest of nine provinces, is a vignette representing the experience of just over a quarter of South Africa's citizens.[3]

Across 2,798 kilometres of coastline, South Africa is as diverse in climate as in the cultures, religions and languages of its 50 million-plus citizens, who inspire the name 'The Rainbow Nation', coined by Archbishop Emeritus, South African Nobel peace laureate and anti-apartheid activist Desmond Tutu. Of the 11 official languages, English is spoken among 8.2% of the population as a first language; it is the fifth most spoken home language, although it is most commonly used in commercial public life (StatsSa, 2007).

[2] An obituary published in *The Caledonian* a few months after Sir Patrick Duncan's death.
[3] 28.7% of South Africa's urban population lives in 2500 informal settlements. UN Habitat, Urban Indicator Tool

This research concerns a street level engagement with incremental settlement upgrading in South Africa. Taking into account a spectrum of data, it is a case for understanding two main themes - placemaking and the systemic processes of upgrading - and is built upon evidence drawn from a main case study, in Duncan Village, supported by two reference studies, Zanemvula and Sakhasonke.

Policy, politics and housing history contextualise the current 'captured state of affairs'[4] and offer an understanding of the enduring African context of *unfreedom* and the bringing of change. Having grown up in South Africa over the time of change, an added vignette is drawn of the civic experience of living through change.

The problem that this research tackles is the regular failure of systemic processes that are implemented to respond to housing needs - evident through shack urbanity - and the lack of response to policies that are written to address these issues. The hypothesis is that policy is instructive on what needs to be done, but does not offer tools for how it needs to be done to ensure successful implementation and effective response to need. In addition, well-known and perpetuated corruption committed by those implementing the process has led to highly restrictive bureaucratic steps, which often inhibit timeous development in the process. Policy and process need to be adapted to respond to the specific South African context of placemaking.

The research questions are centered on *process* and *placemaking,* using a case study and two reference studies to draw out recurring issues.

- Why does Duncan Village, high on the political agenda and with all the ingredients for successful upgrading, struggle to completion and deliver much-needed housing to the citizens to whom it promises a chance of a better livelihood?
- How do systemic processes of upgrading informal settlements in South Africa engage with various actors involved in and affected by intervention projects?
- Why is it often found that 'shack urbanity' (a term defined in the next section) is perpetuated despite upgrading processes that seek to improve the social world of the beneficiaries in the shift to 'formality'?
- Is it possible to develop a method of upgrading, through a policy that embraces the interface between formality and informality and responds to diversity, and so positively effect change, with the goal of beneficial city development, while responding to the pressures of increasing urbanisation?

This research is an effort to understand the invariably conflicting metabolism of urban development in South Africa. Urban intervention projects, framed by the African problematic, demand that we analyse and understand the nuanced 'on-the-ground' scenarios faced when all the boxes of best practice, theories and policy have been ticked. This thesis exposes the problem by visualising

[4] State capture is when a private entity has developed a level of influence over government and its departments. In 2017 the Public Protector, Thuli Madonsela, investigated the ANC, resulting in the report 'The State of Capture'.

development processes and offers an enhanced understanding of local interpretations of placemaking. Two main themes structure the argument: the *process* of housing delivery through incremental intervention, and effective *placemaking* through upgrading informal settlements. The research findings are aimed at practitioners in the field of housing delivery in developing countries, and more specifically those engaging in issues of 'shack urbanity' in South Africa.

In answering these questions, the thesis uncovers the effects of upgrading processes on place; contributing to the regional knowledge base and builds on the finding that up to 20% of housing provision by the government in South Africa is delivered by upgrading informal settlements (Jeske, 2008). I aim to offer on-the-ground solutions to upgrading in the context of understanding the ultimate impact of intervention on the creation of a civic order.

This research is aimed at academics investigating urbanisation and the future development of cities facing its effects – existing and expanding shack urbanity - as well as professionals and policy-makers faced with the realities of effecting change in the lives of citizens through housing delivery, in relation to beneficiaries: those wanting to escape the poor living conditions of shack urbanity. The thesis also develops useful theoretical and methodological approaches that can positively impact future intervention projects. This research also contributes methods of implementing policy aimed at upgrading, as a result of better understanding of the process and taking account of diverse entry points of actors to the process of upgrading.

While 'shack urbanity' is a global issue, this research focuses on hands-on dealings with the upgrading process of shack urbanity in South Africa and specifically the EC. The case studies focus on development projects seen as 'interventions'. The research seeks to understand these interventions as a diagnostic exercise: to find out how they went wrong and thus inform the change in upgrading policy and process. The phrase 'intervention forensics' creates a critical reconstruction of the selected intervention projects, which I discuss in more detail below. Understanding the case studies exposes the impact of the Duncan Village Redevelopment Initiative on the community, contributing to a wider understanding of intervention projects.

The thesis questions the supposed place-temporality of shack urbanity in relation to national and multilateral drivers for the upgrading and eradication of informal settlements as represented by policies such as No Shacks 2014 and the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDG). Discussion about the effectiveness of the delivery of poverty housing in South Africa is presented as a platform for considering the feasibility of full and functional inclusion of informality in urban policies, questioning whether and in what context a 'no shacks' agenda might be seen as a realistic or constructive goal for the South African city.

It is the rate of growth of African cities that directs the focus of this research towards urban housing intervention projects, as the issue of rural housing will be dealt with by default through urbanisation. As cities grow, questions around the effect on transitivity – the grasping of "the city as a place of intermingling and improvisation" – arise, as the city is allowed to "continually fashion and refashion itself" (Amin and Thrift, 2002:9) and adapt to change. The effects of rapid growth on both the hard and the soft city are what I shall endeavour to characterise.[5]

A Brief History of Apartheid Urbanity

Twenty years into democracy and the view down Nelson Mandela Drive in Duncan Village is a far cry from the beloved country for which Mandela fought. Notwithstanding a growing awareness of shack urbanity in developing countries, it is important to appreciate the specific history and policy context within which upgrading takes place in South Africa. Since Mandela's accession to power in 1994, the challenge has been that of delivery of the political ideals of the 'struggle' years. Before Mandela, ideals of freedom and equality for all were envisaged by the Right Honourable Sir Patrick Duncan, the namesake of Duncan Village, when he was serving as South Africa's first Governor-General. Whiteford's obituary of Duncan highlights the multiple views he held of South African and global politics, not least how he argued for amenable coexistence of 'natives'[6] and Europeans in South Africa – ideals that only made their way to the Constitution half a century after his passing. The growth of East London is recorded from as far back as 1857 when 124 white people, 300 soldiers, and an unknown number of black or other races was recorded, multiplying to 47,830 white and 51,035 black people by 1970 (Gordon, 1980 in Bank 2011). In 1977, Robert Wood Johnson[7], in his book, pre-empted the timing of the fall of apartheid. Although 100 years apart, Duncan and Johnson have asked the same key question: "What is going to become of South Africa?"

A 25-year overlap in the lives of Duncan and Mandela played out just several kilometres apart. The 70-year anniversary of Duncan's death also marks 70 years after which Madiba[8] - as the world affectionately calls him - received his law degree, which he would, as history revealed, use to mastermind change in South Africa. The Freedom Charter of 1955[9] aimed to right the wrongs of the

[5] see Jonathan Raban's *Soft City* – the concrete and non-physical phenomena of the city. In a similar vein, Sennett calls for a thinking of the city according to the French *ville* and *cite'* in its original meaning – the physical city and the character of life in the city (Sennett, 2018:4)

[6] 'Natives' was used at the time that South Africa was colonised, and is thus used here in line with the non-derogatory term used to differentiate between the people native to South Africa and the British arrivals.

[7] RW Johnson is a British journalist living in South Africa, educated at Natal University and Oxford University and wrote two books on South African politics, 30 years apart, that bookend the political path used to frame the context of this research.

[8] Madiba is a title of respect for Mandela that references his Xhosa clan name.

[9] The 'Freedom Charter' was drawn up by the South African Congress Alliance in 1955.

government that legalised Apartheid and was incorporated as part of the change policies in 1994 in South Africa, to address effects of inequality of the country's majority.

While the last two decades have seen progress in provision of adequate housing, more needs to be done to break down inequitable development patterns. Today's townships and informal settlements represent a concrete manifestation of the segregationist policies of apartheid, a spatial embodiment of inequality in South African cities, rooted in colonialism, that endures. Felipe Hernandez draws together post-colonial theory and architecture explaining that "architecture was one of the principal means used by colonisers to impose a new social and political order and, also, to maintain control over the colonised subjects" (2010:15).

Apartheid urban design strategies were the foundation for contemporary complexity of housing delivery in South Africa, with physical boundaries preventing integration of communities and cultures. South Africa has thus had to start a process of undoing the effects of the segregated planning of its cities, together with a restructuring of the planning.

Apartheid, meaning segregation, was mandated by law in South Africa until 1991. The Apartheid planning system created physical racial boundaries and resultant impoverished rural areas were known as 'townships', 'locations' or 'Bantustans' as "colonial subjects were considered to be uneducated and backward – in relation to western norms and technology – they had to be taught the way of the European, which included how to live in an orderly fashion in the city (unlike savages) (Hernandez, 2010:16). While the legislation is in the past, its surviving effects pose a mammoth task for the current young democratic government to overcome, with millions still living in sub-standard conditions.

> Housing the nation … is one of the greatest challenges facing the Government of National Unity. The extent of the challenge derives not only from the enormous size of the housing backlog and the desperation and impatience of the homeless, but stems also from the extremely complicated bureaucratic, administrative, financial and institutional framework inherited from the previous government (RSA, 1994).

While this speaks of political equality, that of citizenship, the case study will speak of economic inequality with its host city, East London, documented as having the highest level of inequality globally based on daily spend. There is of course, inequality of wealth everywhere.

Chapter Structure

The dissertation is divided into seven chapters. The introduction frames the thesis and offers a brief literature review of 'shack urbanity' and 'informal settlements', describes the key methodological approaches, and introduces the Shack Urbanity Intervention Tool (SUIT).

Following the introduction, the first chapter contextualises the early 1900s scenes of change in South Africa. The characters of Duncan, Wilson and Fanon are introduced to plait together historical, political, ethnographic, on-the-ground aspects of the South African story. This chapter offers an insight into the reaction to colonialism and its effects on South Africa and sheds light on the urban segregation problem with a concise planning policy timeline and housing delivery statistics over the last two decades.

The second chapter discusses four themes relevant to the debate of housing delivery in South Africa. These are firstly, the relationship between host cities and informal settlements. Secondly, the complex system of cities and their physical and non-physical phenomena: the hard and the soft city. Thirdly, the impact of upgrading process on individuals, and finally, the nature of involvement on the informal settlement upgrading process of the beneficiaries of such projects.

In the third chapter, the research strategy and methodology for interrogating process and placemaking of upgrading are discussed with a detailed walk-through of reflexivity, positionality, ethical considerations and their impact on the research process. It details the 'Shack Urbanity Intervention Tool' (SUIT), introduced briefly below. The various parts of the Shack Urbanity Intervention Tool are described to give clearer understanding of the necessity of their inclusion to produce the final data map that represents and analyses the process of upgrading informal settlements, and all the actors involved.

Chapters Four and Five present case study and reference study material. These chapters tackle the specificity of place through the step-by-step illustration of 100 years of development history. The boundary as a physical or perceived barrier to place is discussed in pursuit of grasping the physical and non-physical effects of apartheid on the city and its citizens yet to come. This further underpins discussion of movement between host cities and formal cities, and the adaptability and self-sufficiency that is born out of suppression and 'making-do'. The background information to the three reference studies and their resulting SUITs, brings together the knowledge of process for later comparison.

Chapter Six analyses the case studies, using the SUITs as a way of navigating between systemic processes of intervention; the narrative of affected citizens and the horizons of involvement of all, while placemaking occurs. It analyses the process diagrams connecting 'actors' with events having impact on the delivery process of the projects. The analysis of this nuanced process offers insight into the unfolding timeline of the project and highlights the complex and multidimensional power relationships, which influence project outcomes. First-hand observations are drawn together by describing some of the capabilities, processes and tools that are required for the different actors to be full and productive participants in such projects (Thompson, 2016).

Chapter Seven is the concluding chapter and discusses questions raised in this research and makes recommendations regarding the possibility that shack urbanity may in fact be a choice, and that the perpetuation of informality lies in the hands of the citizens that take refuge in these settlements, thus smoke-screening its place-temporality, and the possible futility of seeking to eradicate shack urbanity.

The appendices are bound in a separate document and packaged together with this primary document in a box, handmade from the wood often used to line the inside of shacks for insulation. Raw data and archival documents are included in digital format. In addition a website, www.shackurbanity.com, engages in a blog style discussion of relevant topics and the particular topic of this research - lining streets with homes as symbols of hope.

The dissertation combines a complex network of information sources and so each chapter takes account of relevant literature for theory and practice. This is done as an alternative to the dedicated literature review chapter to afford a continual availability of references to ground arguments.

Shack Urbanity

Scenes of 'shack urbanity' (fig.1) are at the outskirts of almost every city in the developing world. Several definitions of shack urbanity coexist within South African administrative discourses. In the Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality (NMBM) emphasis is on the legal claim to land and the nature of communal services, and in Buffalo City Municipality (BCM) this extends to the structure not being compliant with building regulations (The HDA 2013:Part 8). NMBM and BCM are the two largest municipalities in the poorest of the nine provinces in South Africa.

'Shack urbanity' here replaces the familiar phrase 'slum dwelling'. Many see the word 'slum' as pejorative - an insult to the citizens who find their homes there (Davis, 2006; Pieterse, 2008; Gilbert, 2007). 'Shack urbanity' avoids framing the type of person who finds a home in a slum. 'Shack urbanity' also supplants the term 'informal settlement'. In its definition of informality, UN-Habitat refers to the physical and legal constraints of a settlement, defining a slum as having five particular characteristics: inadequate access to safe water, inadequate access to sanitation and infrastructure, poor structural quality of housing, overcrowding, and insecure residential status. The meaning of informality and the deceptive temporality – a term used in this dissertation to refer to place-temporality in the built environment context - of 'informal' settlements are critiqued in this dissertation.

Shack urbanity occurs in particular locations in response to different catalysts. In South Africa it is linked to both the formalisation of the apartheid regime and unlegislated segregation by

the colonial government before that. This detail adds to the broad understanding of informality often presented in a tripartite discussion of economy, land ownership and structure, and this thesis confines the discussion to, often illegal, occupation of land, and self-built structures, adding to it the activities that contribute to make-do urbanity.

Ideas about African cities range from the misfortune of poverty and necessary urbanisation (Simone, 2004; Davis, 2010; Saunders, 2010) to myriad opportunities available in these dynamic places (Misselhorn, 2008; Barac, 2011). Attempts by theorists and urban planners to heal the ills of poor living conditions in areas of shack urbanity (Saunders, 2010:5) is weighed up against acceptance of their existence and the economic opportunities they contain. These diverse views extend beyond formalised city boundaries, to the inhabitants of what Saunders calls 'arrival cities' and emancipation from the reality of dwelling in the poor conditions of this make-do urbanity paints the horizon of a better life aspired to by its inhabitants (Barac, 2011; Neuwirth, 2005). This architecture of survival – that is architectures of shack urbanity - Hernandez explains, is dismissed in the historic descriptions of architecture which is "constructed on a referential system that grants authority to European architecture and, consequently, only inscribes architectures produced by colonised subjects and other minority groups when they correspond with the lineaments of such a referential system" (Hernandez, 2010:17).

Figure 1: Duncan Village Proper as seen from Douglas Smith Highway. 2012.
Photograph: K. Thompson.

The spectrum of opportunity that cities bring has been de-saturated by the legacy of apartheid in South Africa, and so the home, as a spatial claim to identity, has become a national symbol of decades of hope and expectation, as the struggle to improve the lives of most citizens continues.

Poverty in the Global South is increasingly urban and so understanding and addressing the interface between formality and informality is increasingly relevant and necessary. The proliferation of informality at the urban periphery is rooted in the desire for proximity to the socio economic entity that is the city. Scholars argue that analysis of urban poverty should be reversed from effect to cause, in order to explore the role that space plays in poverty and the "crucial role not merely containing urban poverty (as typically assumed), but also in re-producing and perpetuating processes of exploitation and inequality" (Lemanski and Marx, 2015:v).

The success of a city relies on relations of immediacy, and proximity of people and meaningful interactions (Benjamin and Lefebvre, in Amin and Thrift, 2002; Glaeser, 2011). 2500 years ago Plato divided cities into two entities, "one of the cities of the poor, the other of the rich" and as Glaeser says, "Almost every city in every developing country has its concentrations of poverty, its shantytowns" (Glaeser, 2011:69). Peter Carl remarks upon the persistence of urban wealth inequality:

> this … remains true for our great cities, given over to monothematic zones of housing, office-work, commerce-strips, leisure, industry, warehousing and infrastructure, with small compact central areas remaining from earlier periods largely hollowed out to preserve 'historic' facades. The two extremes of these cities – the shiny transaction centres and the extensive slums – reflect a contest between a minority but dominant techno-corporatism, and a majority but reactive primitivism (the so-called 'formal' and 'informal' cities) (2015:12).

According to StatsSA, the rapid growth of shack urbanity in South Africa, between 1994 – 2004, stabilised into the second decade of democracy at approximately 1.2 million shacks, of which approximately 713 000 are rented backyard shacks. Many policies and projects have set out to eradicate shack urbanity, which is perceived to be the 'informal' city, versus the 'formal' city of tarred roads and houses of bricks and mortar. The existence of informality is not in parallel or in contrast to formality, but a mutualistic relationship and interdependence of need - from their polar ends of arrival, the informal and the formal work to meet the city's objectives. As Mark Napier states, "there are no Chinese walls between formality and informality".[10]

Shack urbanity is an ordinary practice of city making. David Harvey, in considering Park's observation that cities are human beings' way of making and re-making themselves, claims it is impossible to separate the type of city we want and the type of people we want to be or "what kinds of social relations we seek, what relations to nature we cherish, what style of life we desire, what aesthetic values we hold" (Harvey, 2012:4). Harvey is suggesting that people have a choice about how and at which level they wish to engage with and shape the city, so in some senses shack urbanity may be a choice. Fran Tonkiss discusses the 'contradictions of informality', arguing

[10] Mark Napier at the Urban LandMark Conference. 2013.

that there should be a shift from thinking that informality only relates to ways of urbanisation from the bottom up. The alternative view is that:

> Informal urbanism is perhaps the clearest example of city-making as an ordinary practice. The ways in which people make and re-make their cities through informal processes and in unauthorised spaces exemplify the practice of city design, understood in terms of the many 'interrelations between urban forms and human objectives' … processes and practices of informality are a systemic feature of rich and poor world cities, and numerous spatial claims and formal outcomes are the effect of powerful modes of informality 'from above' (Lynch & Rodwin, 1958:201 in Tonkiss, 2013:91).

While there is a tendency for systemic processes of upgrading to fail, it is important to consider the opportunities that shack urbanity, such as that in Duncan Village, presents. It is a multidimensional interface between formality and informality, opportunity and poverty, social integration and division, all within the constraints of urban and national history and the political and individual aspirations of the present day. Saunders views these "transitional spaces – arrival cities" as the place where change occurs, economic, cultural or through violent demonstration: "It is here, … that serious and sustained investments from governments and agencies are most likely to create lasting and incorruptible benefit" (Saunders, 2010:38)

A unique history of colonialism and race division has shaped, what Sarah Nuttall and Achille Mbembe call, the *Afropolis* – the African metropolis. The uniqueness of the Afropolis – that is the social, political, economic metabolism and landscape of the African city – needs first to be considered when contextualising it in the world or applying theories of intervention and change (2008). The conditions for empowerment and inclusion involve mutual recognition rather than armies of poor people making demands. Adaptation to constant change also has to do with "the ability to foreground, translate, fragment, and disrupt realities and imaginaries originating elsewhere, and in the process place these forms and processes in the service of one's own making" (Mbembe and Nuttall, 2008:1). And so, once one has considered this "worldliness of the contemporary African City", one must zoom in and investigate the specificity of the places that develop in the African context and still further to the city, the streets and the citizens who live there.

A place consists both of buildings and the happenings between them, what Jonathan Raban calls *Soft City* (1974) and by contrast, the hard city. Bruce Jennings refers to Fustel de Coulanges' classic book, *The Ancient City*, in which "the idea of the city is given two distinct meanings marked by different words" – in Latin these are *urbs* and *civitas* (2014:5) – the concrete elements of building, topography and physiognomy and comparatively abstract phenomena of citizenry and social and political forces, which in this thesis I explain are interrelated.

City rhythms, and the ebb and flow of activities, define the urban character of cities where the rate of these activities, the multiplicity of actions and reactions, of varied intensity, make up the

city rhythm and differentiate a sleepy city from a city that never sleeps. Following Henri Lefebvre, cities are made up of both physical urban phenomena and also connections – a composition of *near and far orders* that work together creating a meticulous "hierarchy of place, moments, occupations, people" (Lefebvre, 1996:36; 211; 230). Mike Davis' *Planet of Slums* draws a generic discussion of cities into the context of informal settlements and their rhythms (Davis, 2006). Glaeser proposes that:

> the great problem of urban slums is not that there are too many people living in a city, but that those residents are often too disconnected from the economic heart of the metropolis. The great masses of the urban poor do create challenges that must be faced, … but it's far better to hope for a world where cities can accommodate millions more of the rural poor than to wish that those potential migrants would end their days in agricultural isolation (Glaeser, 2011:70).

Urbanisation rates and forecasts prove that migration to cities needs to be embraced to avoid retroactive responses to housing and infrastructural need that perpetuate the springing up of informal settlements. As Glaeser points out, agricultural isolation is not the only alternative (2011:70) and there is a rural-urban interface that needs accounting for, as the momentum of urbanisation will continue to propagate shack urbanity.

Looking to the social aspects of a citizenry, Louis Wirth - in his celebrated essay *Urbanism as a Way of Life* - draws on Park to discuss the specifics of urban life. Wirth, in sociological terms, defines the city as "a relatively large, dense, and a permanent settlement of socially heterogeneous individuals" (1938:8). Later in this thesis these points are discussed in the context of uniqueness and specificity of place, particularity of the person managing the process of intervention, as well as the choice of people and finally the requirement of permanence in Wirth's statement, to define a city. Matthew Barac discusses the requirement for "reflecting on possibilities for change in a manner that would fulfill the promise of acknowledging an order of urbanity: that is, in a manner open to movements between different levels of the interpretation of cities and towns, and therefore to a kind of belonging that is anchored in place" (2011:30). The common point is that equal access to the city is about being involved with the process of adaptation to change.

Intervention Forensics: An Outline Methodology

The phrase intervention forensics is a merging of Mitchell's the observer and observed ethnographic approach of "architect as detective" in *Learning from Delhi* (2010:67), and Weizman's (2011-2015) literal investigative implementation of Forensic Architecture, and provides a modus operandi for the critical reconstruction of the case studies in order to interrogate and understand what I call trajectories of commonality – that is the aligning of similarities between case study

processes of upgrading. This approach draws together my dual roles in the investigation as both architect on the case study project, and researcher – participant observer – and pinpoints the source of inhibitors to intervention projects in informal settlements. Mitchell offers a way of mapping change that is relevant, yet, on its own, too benign as its base in India does not take account of often hostile sites for upgrading in the South African context, while Weizman confronts the violence and political targeting of buildings and addresses social injustices. In *Architecture, Violence, Evidence,* Weizman and Herscher treat architecture as a target of political violence and the transformation of the meaning of a building through its victimisation. Their discussion "reveals the complexity of meaning surrounding architecture as both victim and witness, and challenges the too-frequent assumption that buildings only ever serve as static symbols of identity" (2011:110-123).

Intervention forensics here applies both lenses to frame the South African problematic, making it available for interrogation. This combination presents a framing that is further discussed in the methodology in Chapter Three and contributes to the tone of language through the dissertation and in the analysis and discussion of Chapters Six and Seven.

The house as a symbol of aspirations is not new, (consider Ballantyne's *Architecture and Evidence* and Le Corbusier's "house as a machine for living") and for many, a formal house, one that is legal in terms of planning approval and land ownership, represents permanence; for others, even the rented shack represents opportunity on arrival to the city. Within these varied aspirations the common denominator is security of tenure.

In South Africa, the house has long been a symbol of hope and also as concrete expression of aspirations for inclusiveness in towns and cities, and for acknowledgment as a contributing citizenry, an aspiration that lead to the housing specific paragraph in The Freedom Charter. In reality, the South African narrative often exchanges the abstract symbol of hope for that of a victim, as houses become targets in demonstrations by dissatisfied citizens. The need to assess effects of intervention on concrete and non-physical phenomena of placemaking presents a role for the "architect as detective" – a changing role of the architect, between placemaker and investigator (Mitchell, 2010:67). My position afforded interrogation of the research questions from three roles: as practicing professional, as South African resident and through childhood memories of formative experiences. As Project Architect on the Duncan Village Redevelopment Initiative (DVRI) I have unparalleled access to inner systemic processes, and as resident I am positioned to discuss perceptions and effects of these processes, and when removing my architect's hat, an understanding of place from the outside.

The Case Studies

The focus of this research is around two cities in the Eastern Cape Province (EC), Port Elizabeth (within the NMBM metropolitan boundary), and East London (within the BCM Metropolitan boundary). These are two of the 39 metropolitan areas within the EC and account for 72% of the province's shacks (The HDA, 2013). Extensive research has been conducted in the Gauteng and Western Cape provinces in South Africa, but there is a scant knowledge base in the Eastern Cape. The EC is the second largest province in South Africa in terms of land area, and the poorest in monthly expenditure. East London has the most inequality in the world based on monthly expenditure and consumption (UN-Habitat 2008:95).

Duncan Village, a 100-year-old settlement outside East London in the Eastern Cape (fig.2), has been the subject of several attempts at intervention through changing policies reflecting pivotal political points in South Africa's history. It offers a test case for navigating between the hard and soft aspects of the city and its reproduction. The three-site pilot project in the Duncan Village Redevelopment Initiative (DVRI), an area of the wider DVRI Upgrading Informal Settlements Programme (UISP), has been clamoring for the finish line for over a decade. I was Project Architect for a period of two years on an inherited site plan, which was the outcome of an international housing competition. In 2005 this mega-project, aiming to deliver 20,000 dwellings beyond the pilot stage, was identified as one of two such pilots in the EC. A history of stalled attempts at improvement to DV repeated itself in myriad hurdles, including two 12-month construction halts, extreme vandalism to partly completed homes, contractual issues, and only seven beneficiaries occupying their homes after the initial contract was paused. The project started moving quickly again after its third restart in November 2012 and was looking to complete in 2014 – more than ten years after its inception and coinciding with the 20 years since democracy. At the time of writing in 2018 there are still many problems and a fourth contractor has been appointed.

Two other reference studies, Zanemvula located on the outskirts of Port Elizabeth, and Sakhasonke located within the old suburb of Walmer in Port Elizabeth (both within the NMBM area and both more successful than DV), are explored in this thesis in order to understand the intervention process more fully.

The investigation necessarily extended to archival research. There are over 16, 000 artifacts relating to the history of Duncan Village at The Jagger Library at the University of Cape Town. The ethnographic work of Monica Hunter Wilson in the same geographic region in South Africa was a reference point for understanding the story as told from the side of the community. The National Geographic Department aerial photograph archives assisted with creating a visual

understanding of apartheid planning policy and its effects on the development of cities in South Africa, and more specifically, a history of Duncan Village.

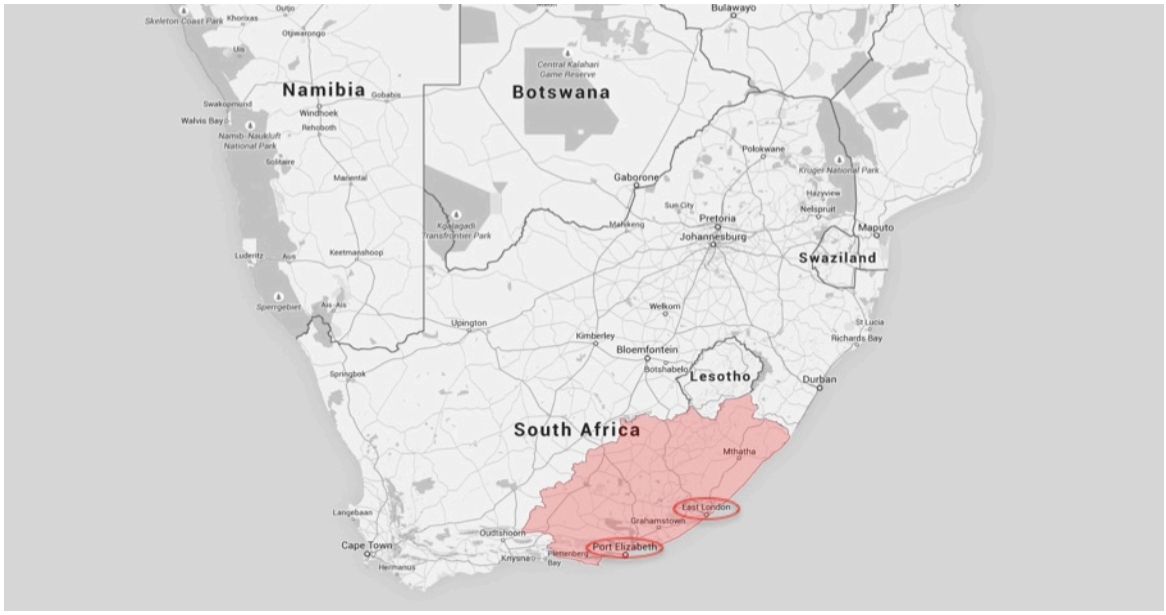


Figure 2: Map of South Africa, highlighting the Eastern Cape Province and two major metropolitan areas and contextualising the study area with Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg. Source: Adapted from Google Maps.

Visualising Praxis

For an architect, drawing is a default mode of investigating to simplify and understand. Intervention projects are complex and mind maps of the evidence (fig.3) were a way of picturing the many moving parts of the data collected.

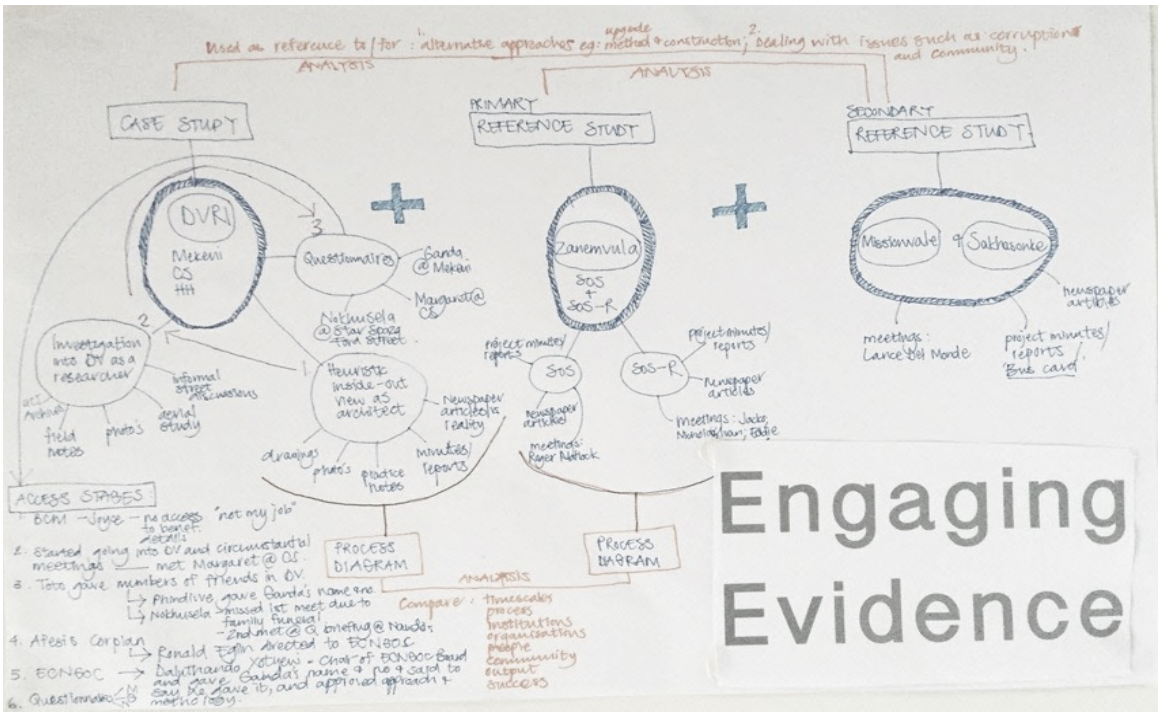
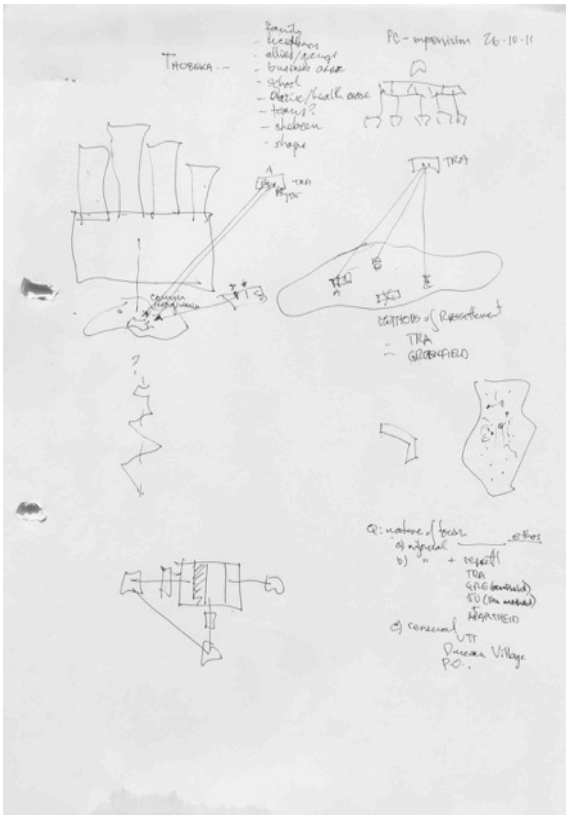


Figure 3: The first mind map identifying data sets and their interdependence in the approach to answering the research question.

Bernhard Tschumi's *Notations* (2014) and Stan Allen's *Points and Lines* (1999) were points of reference to explore this method of aligning data, and to understand the representational impact of each component of data.

> Stations and paths together form a system. Points and lines, beings and relations. What is interesting might be the construction of the system, the number and disposition of stations and paths. Or it might be the flow of messages passing through the lines. In other words, a complex system can be formally described … One might have sought the formation and distribution of the lines, paths, and stations, their borders, edges and forms. But one must write as well of the interceptions, of the accidents in the flow along the way between stations … What passes may be a message but static prevents it from being heard, and sometimes from being sent (Michel Serres cited in Allen, 1999:i).

Mapping these diverse data types through repeated overlaying on sketch roll (figs 4-7) (Appendix 1), produced a visualisation of social, political, legislative and economic structures pertinent to Duncan Village represented by "a system of lines" (Tschumi, 2014:30) which could be used for analysis – an investigatory aesthetic. It provided a forum for grappling with the questions this research raised around all the actors of change in the process of upgrading, and their representation at the proverbial table of intervention in response to the trigger question: 'who are the actors in this process of upgrading place in Duncan Village?'



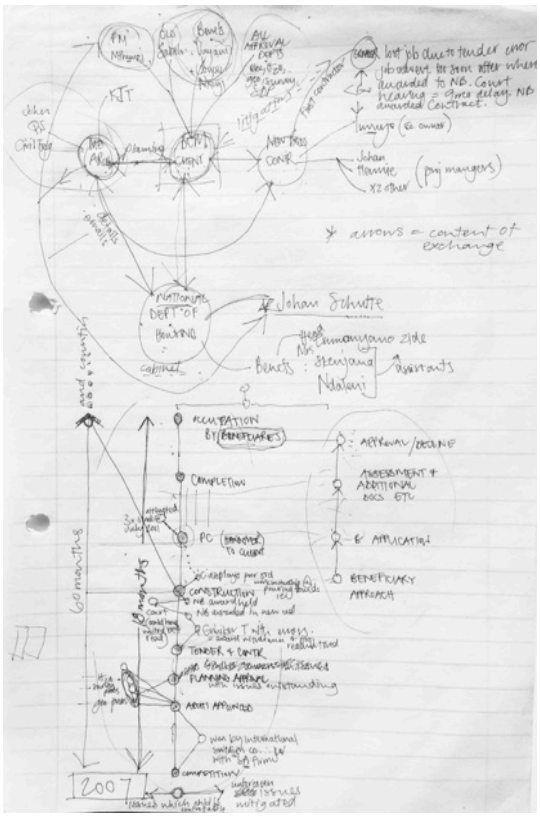


Figure 4: This raw notation and progression of thought lead to the constructing of evidence from all sources of data.
Figure 5: Continuation of notation and adding layers of data to respond to the question of actors of change involved in shack urbanity upgrading.

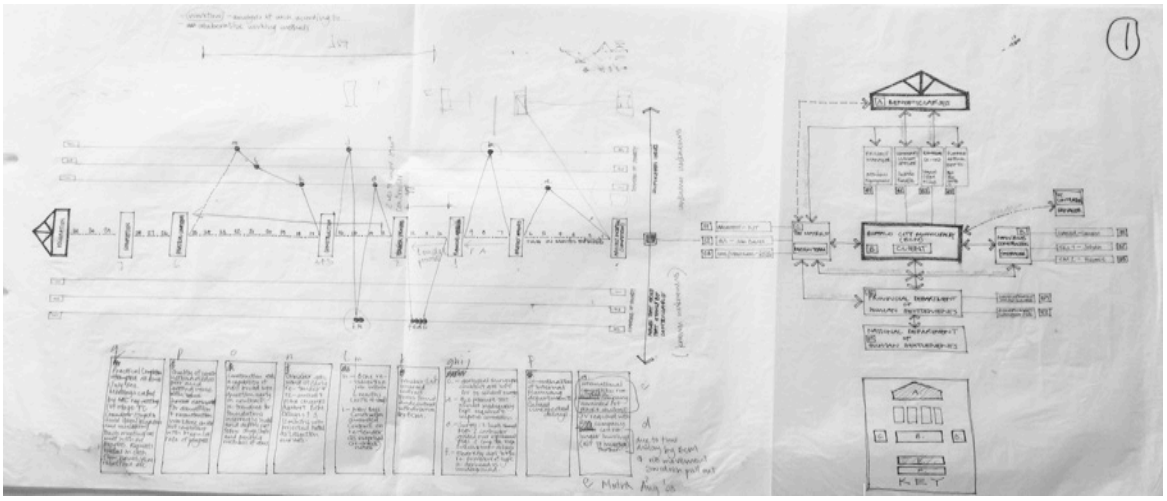


Figure 6: This image is of the early stage process of continual overlay on sketch roll and adding and reintroducing information in logical positions. At first the illustrations focused on the narrative and the timeline of the process, with the interrelation of change agents drawn to the right.

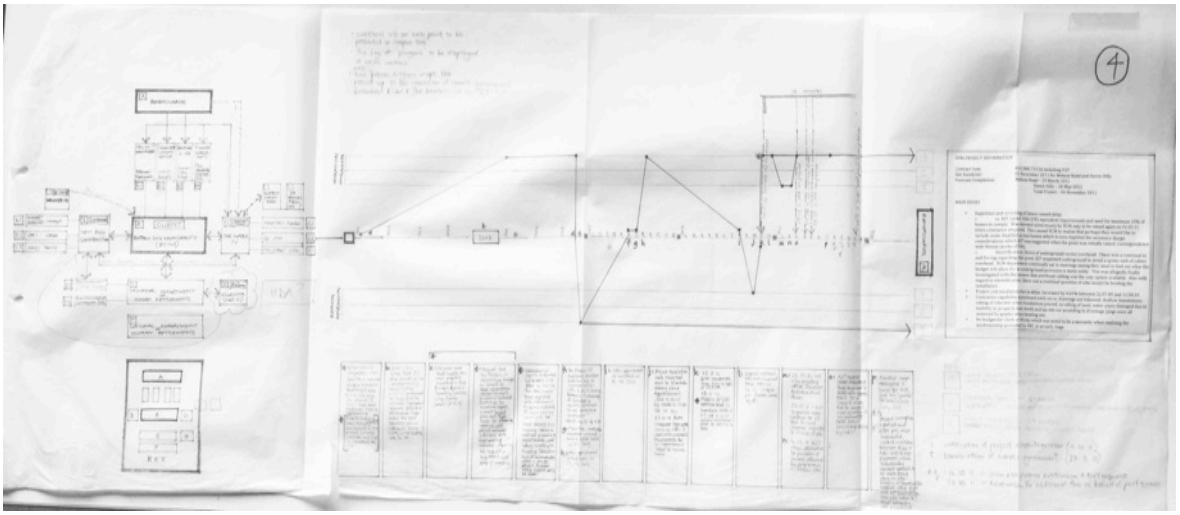


Figure 7: As research became more involved, the notation became a more detailed representation, with the actors of change moving to the start point of the diagram and the catalytic role of the beneficiaries placed first. A visual key was also added to differentiate between positive and negative effectors on the intervention project.

This notation resulted in the development of a tool I have called the Shack Urbanity Intervention Tool (SUIT), detailed in Chapter Three, developed and used to identify recurring project inhibitors. The implementation of this tool can be seen at www.suitool.com (Appendix 24). The SUIT is a communicative vehicle for navigating between the spatial, physical and non-physical (social, economic, political, historical) phenomena of an urban environment in the throes of change. The SUIT includes both the 'hard' aspects of intervention projects (timelines, budgets and planning drawings) and the 'soft' aspects: the roles and relationships of the 'agents of change', as well as the specifics of place and its resistances. It represents a variety of possible actions and is a mechanism for measuring and exposing nuanced project and community details. It brings the topic

of shack urbanity intervention into being on the page, to make it accessible for questioning and is an analytical tool, ordering activities and events, processes and places. The complexity of the drawing process is a necessary consequence of the complexity of upgrading and intervention in practice. Most importantly, the SUIT gives voice to the people for whom a project is intended.

The SUIT points to the variety of horizons of involvement, setting a place in space and time for each contributor, seeking to establish a metaphorical 'fusion of horizons' (Gadamer, 1975:305) to replace the violence that suppresses possibilities of meaningful engagement with process and thus development through intervention projects. The SUIT is a structured layering of discourses[11] representing all 'horizons of involvement' (Carl, 2013) addressing the "multiplicity of juxtaposition" (Merleau-Ponty, 1962) of place and citizenry. The SUIT has been applied to the case study and reference study intervention projects post-implementation; but could also function as a living document that might alert Project Managers, in real time, to the issues a project is facing. In the future, this usage will be piloted on upgrading projects across South Africa as a critical framework for analyzing the vision of a project, for investigative and diagnostic purposes, and as a monitoring tool where certain events trigger real-time alarms.

Conclusion

This dissertation is divided into seven chapters that move from a historical, political and geographical context and a conceptual framework, to case studies. This chapter has introduced some historical, conceptual and thematic frameworks to contribute to the understanding of the effects on process and placemaking of upgrading intervention projects in South Africa. This research aims to identify and analyse inhibitors to the process of housing delivery and placemaking through a continual monitoring. Through this it seeks to test the possibility of providing a pre-emptive approach to placemaking, to replace the current fire-fighting methodology of responding to the growing scenes of shack urbanity, by tracked monitoring and ongoing review of the process of intervention. By contrast with the traditional single literature review chapter, this thesis draws upon relevant texts as a means of orienting and grounding points and navigating the ensuing discussion and to better consider and offer sensitivity to the varied entry points, most of which are conflicting, when addressing the process of change and what is revealed about shack urbanity.

---

[11] Adapted from Hajer's Discourse Coalitions: "A discourse coalition is the ensemble of a set of story lines, the actors that utters these story lines, and the practices that conform to these story lines, all organized around a discourse" (Hajer, 1993:47).

Chapter One

Contextualising South African Scenes of Change

> "Their first encounter was marked by violence
> and their existence together – that is to say the exploitation of the native by the settler – was carried on by dint of a great array of bayonets and cannon" (Fanon, 1965:28).

The turmoil of the South African past can be mapped according to several political catalysts: Colonisation, characterised as the conquest; the fall of apartheid; and today's popular reaction to what the 'New South Africa' as government has come to represent. In this chapter, the path to South Africa's current political scene begins at a pivotal point in the 1930s and is navigated through the story of Sir Patrick Duncan;[12] examination of effects of change on people in South Africa in the writing of Monica Hunter Wilson;[13] and the view on violence-as-reaction and other effects of colonisation grounded by Frantz Fanon and bolstered by contemporary post-colonial theorists such as Homi Bhabha. This chapter intends to give insight into the planning and housing delivery problems faced by SA in the early 21st Century, and highlight key events that have brought us here, to form a backdrop for the proceeding chapters.

[12] Archival material including letters, newspaper articles, photographs and publications found at The Jagger Library at The University of Cape Town (UCT), File BC 294.

[13] Archival material including letters, newspaper articles, diaries, photographs and publications found at The Jagger Library at The University of Cape Town (UCT), Files BC 880 and BC2954.

The British colonised South Africa in 1934. The question of British influence in Africa in the early 20th Century was researched by Wilson and debated in the press:

> It is a common thing to hear administrators, educationalists and others who are working in Africa discussing the problem of whether British policy in Africa should aim at turning the natives into black copies of ourselves, or whether we ought to try to conserve the natives' own customs, religion and organisation. All too often it is forgotten by these people that the decision does not lie with the white man but with the Africans themselves. It is they who will decide – consciously or unconsciously – the way in which they will respond to the stimulus of contact with European civilization (*Listener*, 25 November 1936).

Duncan, Wilson and Fanon give a voice to native South Africans at a time of change and confusion about how best to co-exist – a confusion met with a power struggle, with some battling for equality, others fighting for control triggered by the Anglo-Boer war of 1899-1902. A political and social arena well described by Homi Bhabha's 'third space', where misinterpretation and displacement hover in close proximity with the hybridity of merging cultures. The scenes of violence, which in places persist today, were a reaction to the sometimes-invisible violence of colonisation, which in its rivalry for control of South Africa produced a fractured society that was not able to engage the "translational space of negotiation" with the required exigency and necessity. These spaces for negotiation extend into the everyday spaces of shack urbanity, where the architecture of a colonial past persists. Urbanisation rates in South Africa fuel political violence on the fringes of host cities, as arriving citizens strive for inclusion in the benefits of urban economies. The apartheid legacy is understood, in this chapter, through the concrete manifestation of this invisible violence in urban space and planning policy for housing delivery.

From Duncan to Democracy: SA in the 20th Century

Patrick Duncan was a popular public figure among 'the natives', and the official opening of the 750,000GBP leased-tenure housing scheme, in 1941, became the naming ceremony of the settlement, Duncan Village (*The Daily Dispatch,* 25 August 1941) (figs 8 and 9). The establishment of Duncan Village (DV) was a response to overcrowding from rural migration to the city between the 1930s and 1950s when it grew from 30,000 to 50,000 (Bank, 2011:22). Duncan's paternalism earned him the trust of the native Xhosa people who affectionately called him Ngangemvula, meaning 'wider than the rain'. Yet social and racial division remained pronounced, and a four-lane highway, the North West Expressway, physically segregated DV. This oldest and second largest settlement in South Africa was started in 1891 when strained relations between 'natives' and Europeans brought about the early onset of divide.

Daily Dispatch 25th Aug. '41

NEW £750,000 LOCATION INAUGURATED

East London Scheme Opened By Governor-General

LARGE TOWNSHIP NAMED DUNCAN VILLAGE

East London's £750,000 new Native location was inaugurated on Saturday afternoon by the Governor-General, Sir Patrick Duncan, at a ceremony at the location attended by about 2,000 people, including the Mayor (Mr. E. W. Pemberton) and city councillors.

There was an impressive demonstration of enthusiasm and loyalty by the large Native gathering, and old rites with songs of praise for the occasion were led by the Xhosa poet laureate (E. Rune Mqhayi). Enthusiasm reached its height with the arrival of the Governor-General and party. As His Excellency stepped from his car he was greeted with prolonged cries of "Ah, Ngangemvula, Ngangemvula" ("As wide as the rain"), his Xhosa name. Sir Patrick and Lady Duncan and party then walked to the dais from which the addresses were delivered. During the proceedings His Excellency was presented with an illuminated address from the Natives of East London, and Lady Duncan with a beautiful basket of flowers.

A fitting climax to the afternoon was the short address by His Excellency to the many children present, in which he promised that the authorities would be approached to see if a school holiday could be arranged to commemorate the occasion.

The Governor-General appealed to the Natives to co-operate with the municipality so that the maximum advantages could be obtained from the new homes being built for them, and Mr. E. H. keep spotlessly clean, and which they beautify by laying out small flower and vegetable gardens. I hope that you will be encouraged to do something of the kind here.

"Municipalities in many parts of the country are doing a great deal for the Native people, and the Government is doing all it can to help the municipalities. But the Natives can also do much to maintain satisfactory standards in their locations. On a previous occasion I indicated that the unsatisfactory conditions in town locations were in a large measure due to their being overcrowded by the influx of Natives who were surplus to the labour requirements of the towns and had no prospect of settled employment. The towns can employ only a limited number, and, when that number is exceeded, not only does the rate of wages drop but the workless Natives become dependent upon those in employment, and this at a time when the latter can ill afford to shoulder extra burdens. Conditions of overcrowding and unemployment bring many social evils in their train, more especially in the towns, where tribal customs and sanctions are not generally observed. You can do much to alleviate the position by discouraging this drift from the country of Natives other than those who come to the town to take up definite employment. You can also assist greatly in maintaining satisfactory conditions in your locations by actively co-operating with the municipality in all measures which it may take in your interest and welfare, by exposing breeches

Organised Social Service Vindicated

GOVERNOR-GENERAL COMMENDS COMMUNITY CHEST

SIR P. DUNCAN AND DICTATORSHIPS

LESSONS DEMOCRACY CAN LEARN

NEW HOUSING SCHEME

Governor-General at Epping Garden Village

Figure 8: Newspaper clipping heralding the opening of Duncan Village in 1941 (Jagger Library archives University of Cape Town (See Appendix 12). Photograph: K. Thompson.
Figure 9: Newspaper clipping of another housing scheme being opened by Duncan in 1938. The article to the right about a speech by Duncan is titled "Lessons Democracy Can Learn" and offers future understanding of his reputation as a fatherly political figure respected by European and 'native' population groups alike (See Appendix 12).

While Duncan negotiated views on political impact and conciliation around colonisation, Wilson sought to understand the cultural impact of the encounter between the natives and the Europeans, as segregation became the approach to dealing with unrest in the 1940s.[14] Wilson sought to immerse herself in the Xhosa culture of the Eastern Cape in an effort to supplant division with understanding, and notes, in her paper entitled 'Attitudes towards Europeans', she reports "a strong anti-European feeling in East London", and that "(the Xhosa) prefer country life but (there is) such hardship". Like Duncan, Wilson was loved by the 'natives' who mourned singing Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika, the Xhosa freedom song and hymn that became the national anthem after 1994, at her funeral in the Eastern Cape in 1982.[15]

[14] UCT Jagger Library. BC 2954. Wilson's hand written notes.

[15] Teacher and choir master Enoch Sontonga, who, like Mandela grew up in the Eastern Cape, was made famous for his composition, 'Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika' (God Bless Africa), which became the first two verses of the revised South African national anthem in 1994. The last two lines of the pre-democratic national anthem were kept to continue to reflect hope and aspirations of embracing unity in diversity in the new South Africa, although the words only seemed to ring true in the face of the country's change: "Sounds the call to come together and united we shall stand, let us live and strive for freedom, in South Africa our land".

Colonised Culture in South Africa

Where I grew up, in the middle class suburb of Penford, a 'third space' was emerging. When our new next-door neighbours moved in, celebrations were marked, true to black African culture, by the slaughtering of a cow in the front yard followed by dancing, eating and singing from lunch until dawn, in a formerly 'white only' suburb, which is lived example of how, according to Jennifer Robinson, rural or tribal Africans, moving to cities, take culture with them (2013:13). The resulting step-change fosters cross-pollination of cultures where some tribal customs are retained but in a modern, Westernised context. The effect of the interaction between native and colonial cultures - or what Wilson calls the *Reaction to Conquest*, is best described in an article entitled *Change in Africa*[16]: "In the midst the witch doctor practices, selling old magic to overcome new economic difficulties, and paid with money earned in white industrial undertakings".

Cultural mimicry and heterogeneous societies result from colonisation (Wilson, 1936; Fanon, 1961; Park, 1967). In South Africa, the effects of British rule on the Xhosa culture were the loss of the tribe "as an independent political unit" (Wilson, 1936). Tribal chiefs' authority was undermined and tribal solidarity compromised. In *Reaction to Conquest*, Wilson explains how tribal fathers blamed Europeans for the change of attitude amongst the young and the development of households autonomous from the tribe, while others expressed gratitude for the increased economic opportunities under European control (Wilson, BC 880). Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth* discusses "colonial domination" and explains how it "manages to disrupt in spectacular fashion the cultural life of a conquered people" (1961:190). Wilson reflected on Needham's Time the Refreshing River: "future historians will say that the great event of the twentieth century was the impact of the Western civilisation upon all the other living societies of the world of that day" because "it was the first step towards the unification of mankind into one single society" (Wilson, 1927). While Fanon calls this "cultural obliteration", Wilson refers to the *reaction* as being "a slower process of 'cross-culturalisation' (Wilson, 1927). The 'farm native' suffered economic hardship as a result of the conquest of the British. Wilson describes the native's suddenly precarious position, having lost his job and with no ability to find another, and with no legal right to a place he can call his own:

> Towns are closed to him unless he can find work, he can live on no farm on which he is not a servant, and legally he has no right to go to the reserves … working harder, serving a master, who would 'keep him in his place' enjoying no better diet, and having parted with that economic security which the 'raw native' has as the member of a land-owning tribe. Nor would it appear that the 'town native' is much better off, even if he has a better chance of acquainting himself with the material advantages of civilization. … Evidently, then, a good deal remains to be done in order to temper the economic struggle, lest it become

[16] *The Spectator* by Al Richards on 9 October 1936 offered a critique of Wilson's acclaimed book, *Reaction to Conquest.* See Appendix 18.

> intensified as a racial struggle. It is but common sense to meet trouble halfway (*Times Literary Supplement*, London, 1936).

These discussions are still necessary in current scenes of shack urbanity in South Africa where the rural-urban interface is mapped by urbanisation.

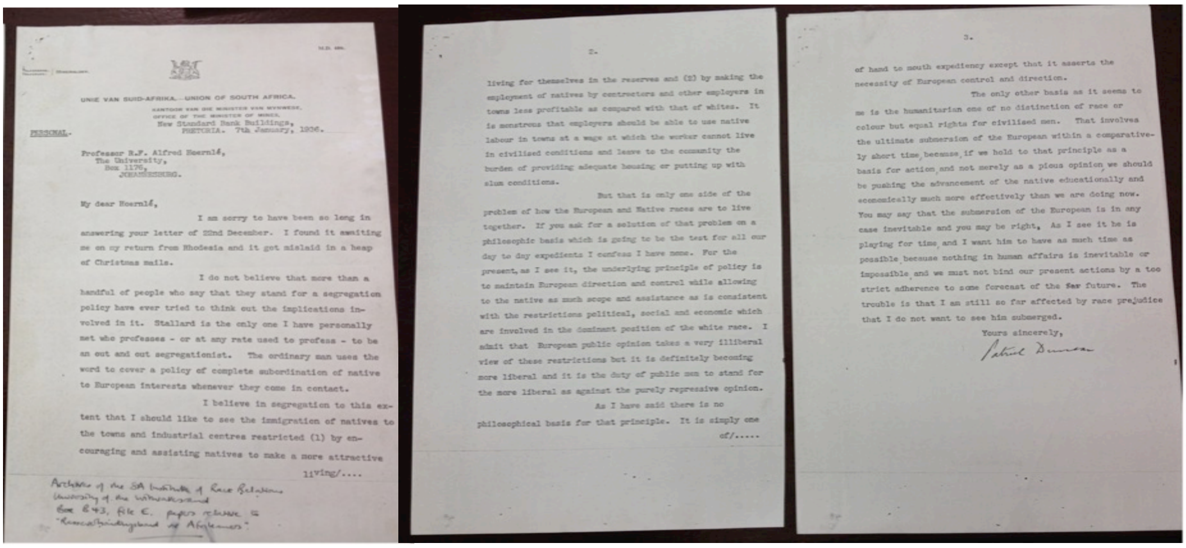
The effect of colonisation meant that not all South Africans had equal freedom and access to opportunities. Duncan rallied against differences in opportunities for South Africans, promoting ideals of *Development as Freedom* and measuring quality of life by freedom (Sen, 1999). Duncan was emphatic in his writing on segregation, that Europeans and natives should live together in ways that distinguished neither between race nor colour with equality of rights - and saw the minority that advocated segregation as not having properly considered "the implications involved in it" and that it was "the duty of public men to stand for the more liberal as against the purely repressive opinion".[17] Duncan, in his letters, also made a case for economic equality, or at least a humane legislation for all economic equality, concluding that:

> It is monstrous that employers should be able to use native labour in towns at a wage at which the worker cannot live in civilized conditions and leave to the community the burden of providing adequate housing or putting up with slum conditions.[18]

Duncan's correspondence with parliamentary officials, academics and colonial leaders, however, hints at self-convincing. Duncan advocates conditions that encourage natives to remain in rural areas, encouraging separation by choice, rather than legal segregation; not advocating for city integration but perpetuating spatial segregation. This quasi-opposition to segregation was transparent: "you are making us into monstrosities; your humanism claims we are at one with the rest of humanity but your racist methods set us apart" (Sartre in Fanon, 1961:8). Duncan's racist views are expressed in letters regarding the ability of and necessity for the natives to prove that they have achieved civilisation in order to earn the right to political representation. Exchanges between policy makers during the 1930s, discussing native voting rights and natives having earned a citizenship in the Union through instruction on civilisation, illustrate how Duncan purports anti-oppression ideals. His quasi-opposition to segregation is noted in cross-referencing the suite of letters (figs 10 and 11), where there appears to be an internal conflict between what he knows to be morally correct and what he seeks to implement to strengthen colonial control in South Africa, when he considers removing the native vote in exchange for native representation of ideals in parliament.

[17] UCT Jagger Library. BC 294. Duncan's letter: 7 January 1936.

[18] UCT Jagger Library. BC294. Duncan's letter to Professor Alfred Hoernle on 7 January 1936.



UNIE VAN SUID-AFRIKA. UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.
OFFICE OF THE MINISTER OF MINES,
New Standard Bank Buildings,
PERSONAL. PRETORIA. 7th January, 1936.

Professor R.F. Alfred Hoernlé,
The University,
Box 1176,
JOHANNESBURG.

My dear Hoernlé,

I am sorry to have been so long in answering your letter of 22nd December. I found it awaiting me on my return from Rhodesia and it got mislaid in a heap of Christmas mails.

I do not believe that more than a handful of people who say that they stand for a segregation policy have ever tried to think out the implications involved in it. Stallard is the only one I have personally met who professes - or at any rate used to profess - to be an out and out segregationist. The ordinary man uses the word to cover a policy of complete subordination of native to European interests whenever they come in contact.

I believe in segregation to this extent that I should like to see the immigration of natives to the towns and industrial centres restricted (1) by encouraging and assisting natives to make a more attractive living/....

2.

living for themselves in the reserves and (2) by making the employment of natives by contractors and other employers in towns less profitable as compared with that of whites. It is monstrous that employers should be able to use native labour in towns at a wage at which the worker cannot live in civilised conditions and leave to the community the burden of providing adequate housing or putting up with slum conditions.

But that is only one side of the problem of how the European and Native races are to live together. If you ask for a solution of that problem on a philosophic basis which is going to be the test for all our day to day expedients I confess I have none. For the present, as I see it, the underlying principle of policy is to maintain European direction and control while allowing to the native as much scope and assistance as is consistent with the restrictions political, social and economic which are involved in the dominant position of the white race. I admit that European public opinion takes a very illiberal view of these restrictions but it is definitely becoming more liberal and it is the duty of public men to stand for the more liberal as against the purely repressive opinion.

As I have said there is no philosophical basis for that principle. It is simply one of/.....

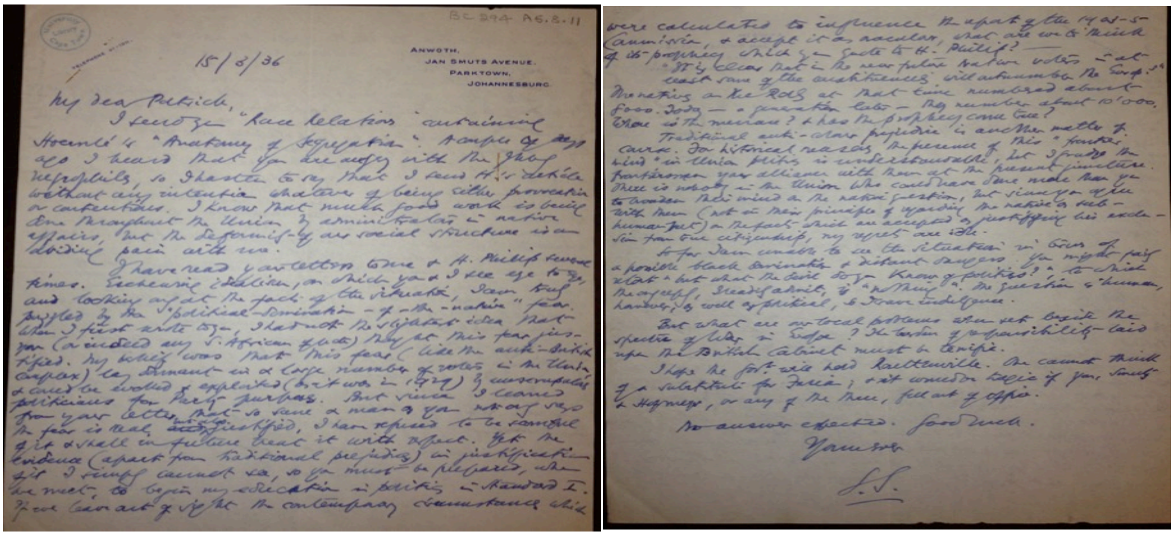
3.

of hand to mouth expediency except that it asserts the necessity of European control and direction.

The only other basis as it seems to me is the humanitarian one of no distinction of race or colour but equal rights for civilised men. That involves the ultimate submersion of the European within a comparatively short time, because, if we hold to that principle as a basis for action, and not merely as a pious opinion, we should be pushing the advancement of the native educationally and economically much more effectively than we are doing now. You may say that the submersion of the European is in any case inevitable and you may be right. As I see it he is playing for time, and I want him to have as much time as possible, because nothing in human affairs is inevitable or impossible, and we must not bind our present actions by a too strict adherence to some forecast of the far future. The trouble is that I am still so far affected by race prejudice that I do not want to see him submerged.

Yours sincerely,
Patrick Duncan

Figure 10: Letter from Rt Hon. Sir Patrick Duncan to Prof. Hoernle, outlining his views on the native vote and against segregationist ideas (See Appendix 3). *Hope and Despair* by Paul Rich discusses Hoernle's thought development and agreement with Duncan and others (1993:44).



ANWOTH,
JAN SMUTS AVENUE,
PARKTOWN,
JOHANNESBURG.

15/8/36

My dear Patrick,

Figure 11: Letter from General Smuts to Duncan discussing Race Relations. See Appendix 5 for this letter and Appendices 6 and 7 other letters to Sir Duncan relating to equality of political rights.

Bhabha reflects on Fanon's vision to transform value and truth, referring to the "jagged testimony of colonial dislocation" and its effects of "displacement of time and person, its defilement of culture and territory" reminding us of the ability for colonial oppression to withstand the will of any ambitious theory (1994:59). Duncan's contradictions remain deeply symbolic in the South African ethos. Ever-present in in the process of housing delivery, citizens of DV are encouraged to "live the life you want to live". But choice is not a freedom that most have in South Africa.

The origin of East London's name is rooted in the time of arrival of the British in South Africa, in Duncan's day. Some of the changes that came with democracy in 1994 included to names of airports, towns and streets. While East London is still used to refer to the CBD, the greater city

has been renamed Buffalo City, after the Buffalo River - the natural boundary between black and white during the apartheid regime and Duncan's rule.

Duncan's ashes are buried at Duncan's Dock in Cape Town (fig.12), one of the richest provinces in South Africa. Inequality in South Africa today mirrors how far removed Duncan's world was, in his Baker-designed[19] home and his final resting place in the wealthiest province, from the location of the land that he designated for the development of Duncan Village. Despite its good intentions and pleas to settle racial differences (fig.13), the location of DV entrenched a physical divide through implementation of what we know today as 'apartheid planning'.

Figure 12: Duncan's resting place at Duncan Dock in Cape Town harbor, where his ashes are kept after his memorial service was held in June 1943. Photograph: K. Thompson.
Figure 13: "We are all children of one country" is the newspaper clipping from November 1938 in which Duncan pleas for settling of racial differences.

Aspirations for economic equality recently saw government publish a report on minimum wages in South Africa to be set at R3,500 ZAR per month or £200. While the new democracy has seen methods emerge to address past ills and the previously disadvantaged, poverty perpetuates and the economic divide results in a strong one-directional channel of understanding where, for example, domestic employees who predominantly live in settlements know the exact habits and likes and dislikes of the folk in the 'formal' city. Black Empowerment was introduced as a legal requirement forcing companies to make opportunities available to black people in middle class desk jobs. While this policy has drawn many into positions of better earning and livelihood, it has also brought about frustrations as an employment system that discriminates by specifically stating on the job advertisements that the position is not available for white people to apply and in some instances

[19] Sir Herbert Baker was a British architect who became known by his impact on architecture in South Africa, having design many monuments, institution buildings and large residences for the wealthy, before his death in 1946.

positions being awarded with little regard for relevant qualifications as companies fulfill legal demographic requirements. This reaction is one of many in South Africa's fragile democracy and aligns with Fanon's list of effects of the decolonisation process:

> Without pity, they use today's national distress as a means of getting on through scheming and legal robbery, by import-export combines, limited liability companies gambling on the stock-exchange, or unfair promotion. They are insistent in the demands for nationalization of commerce (Fanon, 1965:35).

Triangulating between the politics, philosophy and studies of General Smuts, Duncan and Wilson it is noted that Smuts wrote the preface to Wilson's book (Appendix 20), a point made interesting by Wilson's diarised views of Cecil John Rhodes, an avid supporter of Smuts, who she described in her 1927 journal as being a "semi-criminal". Rhodes left a strong legacy in South African history that has carried through to today, most notably De Beers diamond company, Rhodes University and the Rhodes Scholarship that supports the study of a South African student at Oxford University funded by his estate, however his controversial views that advocated superiority of the white race have caused unrest among students recently as protests for racial transformation at the University of Cape Town (UCT) saw the removal of the statue of Rhodes on the campus in April 2015. A statue of Rhodes stands in Company's Garden in Cape Town, designed by Sir Herbert Baker. Wilson denounced imperialism in the same year that Duncan presented a lecture entitled 'The Glory that was Greece', in which he advocated that Aristotelian views of society – those of peace and conciliation – should be applied in South Africa.

This persistent struggle against the forces of colonial oppression, Bhabha believes to come from "the language of revolutionary awareness" where a state of emergency is also a state of emergence (1994:59). The violence that brought about Mandela's democracy has not dissipated since his inauguration. Violence as catalyst for change is not new to South Africa and specifically in areas of shack urbanity. Violent protest is often used, as an expression of frustration and a vehicle for change by voiceless citizens seeking the attention of policy implementers who they feel are not delivering the propaganda of 1994. The use of protests is what Fanon calls a method of communal self-criticism and originating from the African culture where differences in the village are to be settled in public. It is a well-versed rhetoric in South African history that these protests start spiralling out of control, escalating to a mob mentality. These actions are also related to effects of the pre-apartheid regime and the conquest (Wilson, 1936)[20] and the rise of decolonisation, as people realised their social position:

[20] Wilson was immersed in the culture and the people of the Eastern Cape and spent her lifetime understanding and teaching anthropological method, best known for her contribution to social and economic science related to her research on the effects of the arrival of Europeans in Africa and specifically in the

> Individualism is the first to disappear. … The native intellectual had learnt from his masters that the individual ought to express himself fully. The colonialist bourgeoisie had hammered into the native's mind the idea of a society of individuals where each person shuts himself up in his own subjectivity, and whose only wealth is individual thought. Now the native who has the opportunity to return to the people during the struggle for freedom will discover the falseness of this theory. Such a colonized intellectual, dusted over by colonial culture, will in the same way discover the substance of village assemblies, the cohesion of people's committees, and the extraordinary fruitfulness of local meetings and groupments. … The interest of one will be the interest of all (Fanon, 1961:36-37).

As many agree, the oppressed are fighting for both an identity that is accepted according to the classifications of the oppressors, and acknowledgement of cultural difference (Fanon; Bhabha; Benjamin). Bhabha's 'process of identification' is narrowed to three conditions, where existing means to be "called into being in relation to an otherness, its look or locus", where, secondly, "the place of identification caught in the tension of demand and desire, is a space splitting. The fantasy of the native is precisely to occupy the master's place while keeping his place in the slave's avenging anger", and the final condition being that "the question of identification is … the production of an image of identity and the transformation of the subject in assuming the image" (1994:64). This decolonisation process is both for the individual and solidarity of the group – cultural and political – against the discrimination and ambivalence of the colonial discourse.

Reactionary physical violence, that South Africa is still used to, needs to be understood in the context of invisible violence, similar to what Pierre Bourdieu calls symbolic violence or symbolic power, which he explains is "in contrast to the overt violence of the usurer or the ruthless master; it is 'gentle, invisible violence, unrecognized as such, chosen as much as undergone" (1991:24). It is similar because the invisible violence - the historically political method and abolishment of the native vote, segregation of suburbs and designated places to live, colonialism and the limiting education system during the apartheid era - was not chosen by those it oppressed. Bourdieu's descriptions of his symbolic violence are relevant beyond that single point of it being 'chosen' and draws largely on colonialism when described as:

> structured and structuring instruments of communication and knowledge that 'symbolic systems' fulfill their political function, as instruments which help to ensure that one class dominates another (symbolic violence) by bringing their own distinctive power to bear on the relations of power which underlie them and thus contribution, in Weber's terms, to the domesticated of the dominated (1991:167).

With that said, it needs to be acknowledged that there are degrees of and varied reasons for violence, some politically fuelled and others a result of hand-to-mouth expediency. Violence for

---

Eastern Cape, South Africa. South African-born and Cambridge-educated, Wilson returned to South Africa to undertake her research, which culminated in her 600-page monograph, *Reaction to Conquest*. Wilson then taught at the University of Fort Hare, Rhodes University, and ended her teaching career at UCT.

gain is prevalent in South Africa. It can probably be generalised that, based on Fanon's views, communal self-criticism and the public settling of quarrels, or vigilante methods of resolution, such as 'necklacing,'[21] is an African institution. As is the case anywhere in the world, incidents of senseless attacks, rapes, gang activity or other wrongdoing, occur extensively in South Africa. The crime statistics for South Africa, which assign degrees of crime according to geographic locations across the country, make it clear that it is not only a condition of shack urbanity, but rather a response to poverty and need in instances of petty crime, and the still-present anger towards the history of apartheid, and lack of housing and service delivery.

Undoing Apartheid: Housing Policy for a Democracy

Policy discussion that seeks to remedy conditions of shack urbanity in South Africa is nearing 100 years old. Housing, 'Squatter Laws' and inequality were addressed in parliamentary speeches in the early twentieth century, with many expressing opposition to conditions of squalor:

> The people must be decently housed and they must be sufficiently clothed and housed. The spectacle of half our population being not occasionally, but permanently, semi-starved is a scandal. To leave this question untouched year after year is a reflection on our civilisation.[22]

The majority of South Africans, however, are still living in abject poverty despite the freedom from segregationist laws and the existence of anti-apartheid legislation and housing policy for over two decades seeking a better life for all and some with goals of shack urbanity eradication that matured in 2014.

Until 1994, urban policy in South Africa reinforced segregation through apartheid's Urban Areas Act and the Native Land Act, and while in the past 24 years, progress has been made in the provision of adequate housing; there is further work to be done in breaking down inequitable development patterns. Surviving effects of apartheid policy poses an insurmountable task for the young and fragile democracy, adding to the complexity of housing delivery to respond to physical boundaries to integration.

Post-apartheid housing policy can be divided into two ten-year blocks. The first decade focused on quantity of houses delivered and the second, paid more attention to quality of place working towards integrated communities. The National Department of Human Settlement (NDoHS) sets out the goal to "promote the achievement of a non-racial, integrated society through the

[21] 'Necklacing' is the term used for the act of putting a tyre around a person's neck, leaving them immobilised, and then setting them alight after being doused in petrol. This practice by vigilantes in the 1980s and 1990s, was carried out on black policemen and other black people seen to be collaborating with the apartheid government.

[22] UCT. The Jagger Library. BC 294 A.5.15.13.. *The Mercury,* 1934. Speech by Col. Stalliard.

development of sustainable human settlements and quality housing" (RSA cited in Napier, 2005:12). The Sustainable Community Planning Guide (SCPG) and the revised grading system for housing delivery corporations by the National Home Builders Registration Council (NHBRC) in 2007 and 2008, aimed to improve quality of housing, looking beyond quantity to quality.

Provision of housing in South Africa today is at the core of the 1996 Constitution. The National Housing Accord documented the common vision that now forms the core of South Africa's National Housing Policy, providing a precursor to the Housing White Paper of December 1994.

The Housing Act serves to align the National Housing Policy with the Constitution of South Africa and clarifies the roles and responsibilities of the national, provincial and municipal tiers of government (RSA, 1997). At provincial level, implementation is governed by 'on the ground' or local realities, and policies are intended to take cognisance of a nuanced consideration of need and carry out aspirations of international and national agendas. The internal boundaries of provinces for policy implementation include Metropolitan Areas within the provinces and the Urban Edge that defines the cities within these areas. Legislation governing South African housing includes a suite of documents:

- Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), 1994;
- Housing White Paper, 1994;
- Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (Act No. 108 of 1996);
- Housing Act, 1997 (Act No. 107 of 1997);
- Urban Development Framework, 1997;
- Draft Green Paper on Development and Planning, 1999 and
- White Papers and policy frameworks pertaining to local government and the Public Service.

The framework for housing delivery in South Africa was set up in the form of the RDP as early as November 1994, seen as a governmental strategy for fundamental transformation according to six basic principles: "integration and sustainability; people-driven; peace and security; nation building; and meeting basic needs and building the infrastructure" (RSA, 1994).

The planning framework in South Africa is organised according to a hierarchy of documents, from national scale, overarching Integrated Development Plans (IDP), to Municipal Spatial Development Framework (MSDF) at local level - which are used by municipalities that govern clusters of towns and cities within the county's nine provinces - and finally, Local Spatial Development Frameworks (LSDF), which guide specific developments within areas of each municipality. The Urban Development Framework (UDF) prescribed guidelines within which to develop sustainable urban settlements (RSA, 1997b). This set out means of integrated planning and development in the fast-growing cities in an attempt to mitigate the previously discussed issue of poverty urbanisation. There are two main factors that the sustainable Community Planning Guide

(SCPG) addresses that affect the form of new developments. First, the 'Urban Edge', which is a boundary, decided upon by the local government strategic planners. This boundary dictates the border for developments eligible for 'housing subsidy'. The second is the new concept of Sustainable Community Units (SCU), which seeks to develop communities with a maximum time and distance of 30 minutes and 2km respectively from a central hub of facilities and employment. These distances differ from Charles Choguill's smaller distances of 1km diameter and no more than 500m walking distance to elementary school (Choguill, 2007:43).

The first decade of housing delivery in a democracy is illustrated in Chart 1 below. In 1994 the Housing Subsidy Scheme was brought in (Napier, 2005:8). The allocation of capital from the subsidy scheme was largely to project-linked delivery for land and completed houses, amounting to approximately 76%, with the remainder being allocated to consolidation subsidies; hostel redevelopment; institutions; individuals; and relocation and rural subsidies (Napier, 2005). "Between 1994 and 2000, 1,129,612 cheap houses eligible for government subsidy had been built, accommodating five million of an estimated 12,5 million people who were without proper housing" (Lodge, 2001). The outcome of a decade of readdressing housing policy was nonetheless significant, with 1,831 860 houses built for low-income households.[23]

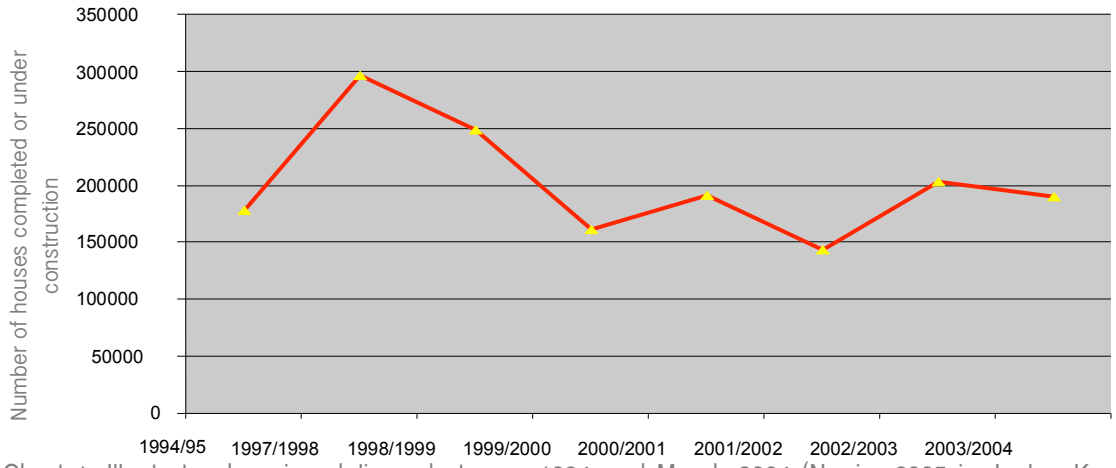


Chart 1: Illustrates housing delivery between 1994 and March 2004 (Napier 2005 in Jeske, K., 2006. Unpublished MA. Cambridge University. England).

Housing delivery peaked around 1998 and declined dramatically over the following two years, resulting in an average delivery in excess of 200,000 units per annum. This has been steadily declining since 2009, with the housing delivery figure of 154 129 at the end of 2014, made up of 48 193 serviced sites and 105 936 houses (RSA, 2014). This is attributed to a general shortage of capacity in the housing and construction sector. Large construction groups withdrew from the low-income market and developers became reluctant to build in rural towns. Reduced profit margins for

[23] This figure differs from that of the government's in its 2007 review. This discrepancy could be due to different definitions of completed housing provision – the government figures include serviced sites.

private developers in the subsidised sector have occurred due to a mismatch required government standards and insufficient funds (Napier, 2005). Other contributing factors include slow introduction of emerging contractors to the subsidy market; insufficient capacity and technical expertise; high costs for well-located sites; escalating build costs; and the reluctance of investment in the low income housing market by the private financial sector.

In 2009, Government's goal was "to increase housing delivery to a peak level of 350,000 units per annum" until the housing shortfall was gone (NHC, 2009). The National Housing Report (NHR) provides figures of housing delivered to date taking account of all methods used to qualify a housing unit as adequate. By mid-year 2013, Government had provided three million houses and housing opportunities benefiting the "poorest of the poor" (Del Monde) in South Africa.

With the National Department of Human Settlements (NDoHS) seeking to abolish informal settlements by 2015, an integral part of its delivery programme is the concept of 'upgrading' existing informal settlements. Chart 2 below illustrates the weight added by the NDoHS to upgrading by showing that goals for improved living conditions would not be achieved by 2015 without it.

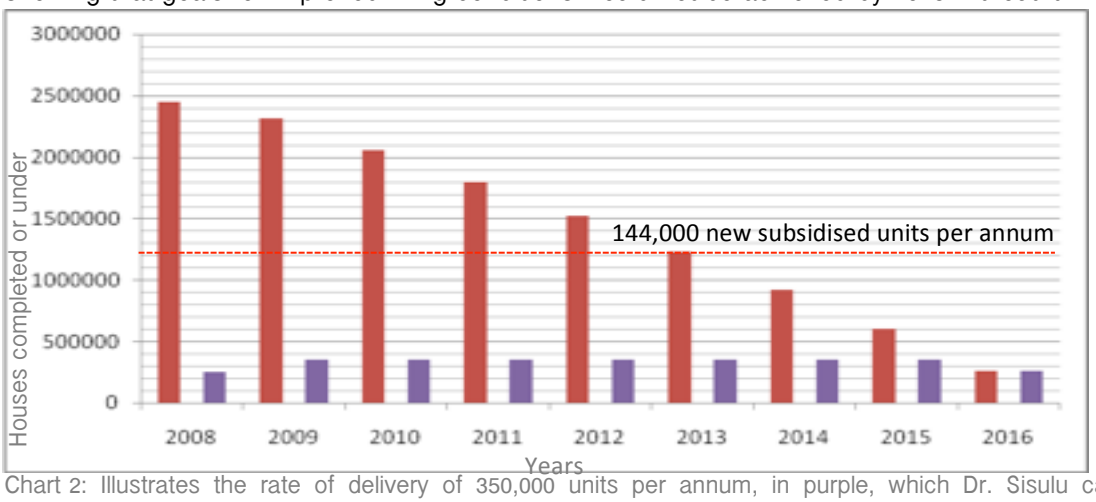


Chart 2: Illustrates the rate of delivery of 350,000 units per annum, in purple, which Dr. Sisulu calls for, however this still does not reach the target date of 2015, with a further 260,000 units requiring to be delivered in 2016. The red bars indicate the housing backlog.

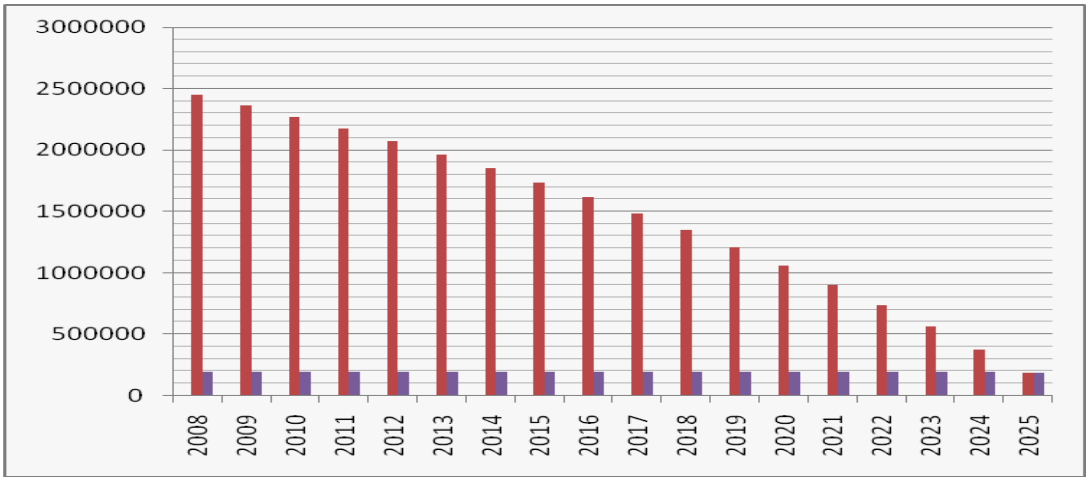


Chart 3: The chart compares the aspirations for delivery against what had been achieved up until 2009, adding the projected completion should the historical rate of delivery be applied.

As chart 3 illustrates, the 2009 goal was optimistic, considering the rate of delivery aspired to had not yet been achieved. The figure indicating backlog and need would only be reduced by half 15 years after the goal date without the 'upgrading' procedures, and would only have been reduced to a figure of need of 1,442,000 units. If a more realistic rate of delivery were considered, based on average delivery for 1994-2004 of 200,000 units per annum, then the actual goal would be reached in 2025.

The subsidy scheme has been criticised. The main focus of the NDoHS is to improve the general standards of living of South Africans. On the widening of the mandate of housing policy in South Africa (to vary approaches to housing delivery), the NDoHS is clear that "the main focus of housing delivery efforts remains the provision of quality housing for the poorest of the poor, many of whom are in and around informal settlements. The policy of providing grants to enable the poor to get free housing was unsustainable" (NDoHS, 2009).

The second decade of housing delivery in South Africa, has been more focused on quality, particularly in breaking down spatial divisions between socio-economic and racial groups. Breaking New Ground (BNG) policy (2004) formed part of a new Comprehensive Plan (CP) for housing delivery in the second decade since democracy. It was intended to stimulate secondary housing market growth, upward mobility of the poor and to create socially integrated human settlements. With BNG came an increased emphasis on the process of housing delivery with an intention to eradicate informal settlements by 2014.

In 2014 the NDoHS widened its mandate and presented a four-year Medium Term Strategic Framework (MTSF), culminating in 12 outcomes. Outcome eight of 12 was entitled *Sustainable Human Settlements and Improved Quality of Household Life* and aimed to "upgrade 400,000 households in well-located informal settlements with tenure, basic services and access to amenities" by April 2014, with tenure and services being the first step of the incremental approach to delivery. Outcome eight includes a MSTF maturing in 2025.[24] The MTSF for 2014-2019 opens with the National Development Plan (NDP) 2030 Vision and Trajectory:

> Our human settlements trajectory proposes that, 'by 2050 visible results from effectively coordinated spatial planning systems shall have transformed human settlements in South

[24] Outcome eight aims at implementing programmes for the development and provision of suitably located low-cost and affordable housing. Key in this regard would be improving the Housing Development Agency's [HDA) capacity to deliver with a view to doubling the current housing provision rate and enabling the country to meet the millennium development goal in respect of informal settlements. In partnership with the private sector, including through the Financial Service Charter, the programme will include provision of housing to all income levels and mixed-income settlements. The financing of 600,000 housing opportunities for people who fall outside of the housing subsidy but earn too little to qualify for bonds from the banks – who are also known as the GAP market. In this regard a Mortgage Default Insurance Fund (MDI) is being structured to support and assist in the realisation of this target: the release of 6250 hectares of well-located, state-owned land for the delivery of sustainable settlements, with the aim of delivering a density of 60 units per hectare.

> Africa into equitable and efficient spaces with citizens living in close proximity to work with access to social facilities and necessary infrastructure'. By 2030 we strive to achieve measurable progress towards breaking apartheid spatial patterns with significant advances made towards retrofitting existing settlement offering the majority of South Africans access to adequate housing, affordable services in better living environments, within a more equitable and functional residential property market (NDoHS, 2014).

While a quantity-focused approach achieved a high rate of delivery, the quality of the houses was considered substandard by government as it noted, "the 1.6 million houses that have been built have not become 'valuable assets' in the hands of the poor" (NDoHS, 2004:4). Housing Minister Dr Lindiwe Sisulu cited concerns about the environments created by replicated housing delivery models in geographically inaccessible areas, and argued that:

> whilst there are legitimate concerns about the kinds of environments we may be creating via the housing programme, there can be little doubt that this is a very noteworthy achievement. If one also takes into account, the fact that the vast majority of the housing delivery has been in the form of 'fully-subsidised give-away' housing then it follows that the current government's commitment to the poor cannot be questioned. Literally millions of poor people in South Africa now have a housing asset - and it is widely acknowledged today that strategies, which improve the access of the poor to assets considerably, reduce their vulnerability. It is hard to find an example anywhere else in the world where the poor are given access to an asset even remotely as sizeable as what is given to people via the housing process in South Africa. If that is not worth crowing about, then I don't know what is (Sisulu, 2006).

There is discourse in SA about what constitutes adequate housing and it is based on the premise that shacks do not constitute adequate housing. The Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR) are emphatic that "the right to housing should not be interpreted in a narrow or restrictive sense which equates it with, for example, the shelter provided by merely having a roof over one's head or views shelter exclusively as a commodity. Rather it should be seen as the right to live somewhere in security, peace and dignity" (CESCR, 1991 in Davy & Pellissery 2013). It further describes contributing aspects to be: "legal security of tenure, availability of services, materials, facilities and infrastructure, affordability, habitability, accessibility, location, and cultural adequacy" (CESCR, 1991 in Davy & Pellissery 2013). Turner merges the ideas of SCUs and the description of adequate housing in terms of quality and says: "the vital matches have to do with location and access to people and places, with tenancy and transferability, and with privacy and comfort" (Turner, 1976:64). This is mirrored by the Housing White Paper, which describes adequate housing as:

> Permanent residential structures with secure tenure, ensuring internal and external privacy and providing adequate protection against the elements; and potable water, adequate sanitary facilities and domestic energy supply (RSA, 1994).

While policy has been revisited to stamp out apartheid's spatial segregation, the location of cheaper land has, according to Berrisford, resulted in "the spatial patterns of apartheid...effectively

being recreated" (1999:4 cited in Huchzermeyer, 2001:319). As Lodge reiterates, "such developments left apartheid geography intact, with black people living on the edges of cities – often near industrial land" (2001:66). Locating housing near industrial land may not appear at first to be a negative place, as Carl rightly mentions: "small scale industries are crucial to a thriving community"; however, this places a clear divide between those that have ease of access to the amenities and infrastructure of the city and those who do not. Choguill's preferred distances and that of the SCU were thus not achieved in the first decade of housing delivery in the democracy, during which quantity was prioritised over quality of environments.

Thus, a further goal of the new SCUs is spatial 're-integration' set out according to income brackets. Housing subsidy is means tested with an allowance of R160,573 being the maximum amount available to applicants earning R3500/month and below. The current ratios of integration achieved in SCUs are 55% R0 – R3,500/month; 35% R3,501–R7,500/month; and 10% for income brackets beyond R7,501/month (NHC, 2009). The Inclusionary Housing Policy is 1 of the 35 programmes for housing delivery in BNG and concerns inner city redevelopment and socioeconomic integration.

It has been demonstrated elsewhere that inclusionary housing policy does not always have the desired effects. Dan Smit, an advisor on policy development, conducted a review of implications of inclusionary housing programmes in South Africa for the NDoHS, based on international experience. Smit notes the limitations of an inclusionary policy for SA, concluding that: "In a number of countries where the idea of inclusionary housing has been pursued, the proportions of people able to access housing through the market versus those seeking affordable housing, are vastly different from the proportions that apply in South Africa" (Smit, 2006:27).

The housing summit of September 2017 launched the Integrated Urban Development Framework (IUDF) as a national policy response to the country's increasing urbanisation over the last eight years. South Africa forecasts an urban population of 71.3% by 2030 and 80% by 2050, and the IUDF responds to the need for mechanisms to be put into place to "reap the benefits of urbanisation and minimising the impacts of badly managed urbanisation" (RSA, 2017:7).

The Discounted Population and Bad Data

'Backyarders' is a term that refers to people living in shacks built in the backyards of landlords. Backyarders are a reality in South Africa, being rooted in available housing funding mechanisms which leave the poor largely excluded from land markets due to costs, resulting in many planned housing and upgrading projects yet to occur on the periphery of cities. These people are not included in the statistical figures that take account of those living in informal dwellings. "Prior to

1996, housing policies virtually ignored backyard dwellers and statistics captured them in the 'informal settlement' bracket, though their circumstances and challenges are very different" (Lemanski, 2009). The discounted population is created when statistics may or may not include 'backyarders' and accounts for almost a third of the shack-dwelling households in some cities.[25]

Inadequate and inconsistent data for shack urbanity are prevalent globally, making accurate analysis difficult. As Davis explains, "Accurate statistics are in fact difficult to come by, because poor and slum populations are often deliberately and sometimes massively under-counted by officials" (2006:26). Criteria for 'informality' of structures providing shelter is also variable so produce inconsistent data on numbers and delivery in SA. National census data in SA differs from provincial and again from private counts.

The census data in SA used to assess the needs of the population between 1911 and 1948 was, like the data for shack urbanity, also inadequate. It was derived from the first censuses of the Union of South Africa that took little account of the African population. Apartheid restricted black South Africans to 13% of the land. The South African government took a census at the start of every decade from 1950 onwards. Africans were gradually relocated to designated 'homelands', or 'Bantustans', and the first four homelands were granted independence between 1970 and 1980, meaning residents were excluded from the census. In addition, the censuses did not account for the millions living in informal settlements or 'squatter camps'. With all these exclusions, the 1980 census population count was 23.8 million, with a compensation figure of 4.6 million as acknowledgement of undercounting.

Since democracy, census data has improved. The 1991 census was the first attempt to gather more accurate data. It took place on the brink of democracy and amidst another massive wave of political violence, resulting in use of aerial photography and sample surveys to count residents in 88 'unrest' areas, which were otherwise inaccessible to government officials (Encyclopaedia of the Nations, 1996). There were discrepancies in the data as the 1991 census excluded the four independent homelands yet included the six non-independent homelands, which the United States Bureau of Census estimated in 1992 accounted for 48% of black South Africans and 1% of 'other' racial groups, so almost half the population were not counted. Since 1994, South Africa has conducted three censuses, in 1996, 2001 and 2011, with an interim Community Survey (CS) conducted in 2007. Table 1 below shows that 13.6% of the population of 51.7 million lives in shacks – just over 7 million people. Inconsistent data affects understanding of need and also of goals achieved. Annual housing reports refer to housing delivery in its totality, including upgrading informal settlements, serviced sites and newly built government-subsidised units.

[25] One third of households living in informal dwellings (SAIRR 2008 in Lemanski 2009:xx) and totaling 5.7% of South African households (StatsSA 2006 in Lemanski 2009).

	1994	1996	2001	2007	2011
Population	40 400 000	40 583 573	44 819 778	48 502 063	51 770 560
Number of households		9 059 571	11 205 705	12 500 609	14 450 161
Number persons/household		4.47	3.99	3.87	3.6
% Population in formal dwellings		65.1	68.7	70.6	77.6
% Population in traditional dwellings		18.3	14.8	11.7	7.9
% Population in informal dwellings		16.2	16.4	14.4	13.6
% Population in 'other' dwelling types[26]		0.4	0.3	3.3	0.9

Table 1: In 1994 the South African government incorporated all ten homelands, producing a population figure of 40.4 million citizens, with a contradicting figure produced by the United States Bureau of the Census totaling 43.9 million South Africans. A steady rise in population of approximately four million people at each data entry, as well as increased figures of people living in formal dwellings, is noted amidst fluctuating figures of people living in 'other' dwellings with a sharp rise in 2007 CS. Some changes could be due to incomplete survey data from earlier censuses. Many refused to complete census forms for fear that it was a governmental tracking mechanism for Zimbabwean immigrants. According to census 2011, those living in backyard shacks were not counted as part of communities needing housing.

The South African 10 Year Book discusses the country's progress as a democracy from 1994 – 2004. It separates delivery methods, referring to serviced sites and subsidised units, while in speeches, the housing minister refers to government-subsidised units only. In addition, the government website, *BuaNews*, reports a housing backlog in the Eastern Cape of 80,000 units and goes on to say that delivery of an additional 25,000 units is required to address the annual need growth of 6,000 units (*BuaNews*, 2008). In 2006, Sisulu referred to a backlog of only 625,000 units in her speech at the Govan Mbeki awards gathering; however, this excluded the units in need of upgrading to be qualified as 'adequate housing'. Sisulu also mentioned the need to increase delivery eight-fold to 144,000 to address shortfall, implying that delivery rates were only 18,000 new subsidised units. In the *20 Year Book*, Sisulu, having returned to her role as Minister of Human Settlements, celebrated the delivery of 3.7 million houses and serviced sites, challenging the NDOHS and wider sector "to build 2.2 million houses in the coming five years" (Sisulu in RSA, 2014). These are examples of inconsistent reporting of the achievement of housing delivery goals. The relevance in this research being the direct effect on a clear understanding of the vast scenes of shack urbanity requiring upgrading. More accurate data has become available, and therefore a clearer depiction of the magnitude of the housing shortage and the ability to assess current policy and make proposals for a policy revision in order to effectively respond to need and effect change.

[26] 'Other' dwelling types refers to caravans, private ships and workers' hostels.

According to the Human Development Index (HDI) ratings, based on the 1996 census, living standards improved more quickly between 1980 and 1991 compared with 1991 to 1996. Lodge notes "while it is easy to assume that this has to do with government delivery, people moving into the cities from poorer provinces, together with government efforts to allocate public resources in favour of rural communities since 1994, are to blame" (Lodge, 2001:67). Minister Mthembi-Mahanyele attributed the decline in delivery, after 1998, to "more exacting quality control". Also, government commitment to housing slackened and in 1996 3.4% of the national budget was spent on housing. This was further diminished to 1.4% by 1999/2000 (Lodge, 2001:57).

Government agendas prioritise action to reduce the shortfall while facing the hurdle of annual urbanisation rates of 3% since 2001, amounting to 1.5 million people per year based on current population figures.[27] This perpetual rapid arrival fuels the violence on the fringe of host cities as they strive for inclusivity as arriving citizens. This one-step-forward-two-steps-back effect currently leaves 12 million people requiring housing with an average annual rate of housing delivery to 668,000 people, based on a 4-person family and an average provision of 167, 000 homes per year since 1994.

The delivery of housing during the apartheid era peaked at 50,000 subsidised units for black South Africans in 1990. According to Lodge (2001), the rate of delivery in 2001 exceeded the total number of houses erected between 1955 and 1965, which marks the previous era of extensive mass-housing construction in South Africa. While South Africa has succeeded in improving the rate of delivery of housing, there still remains one third of the 12 million households in SA that fall into the 'affordable housing' category. When the African National Congress (ANC) came to power in 1994 there was one brick house to 43 Africans and one for every 3.5 whites (Knight, 2001). The shortfall increases annually despite delivery of 1,883,548 subsidised homes between 1994 - 2005, including 57,065 serviced sites (plots of land with sanitation, water and electrification) (RSA, 2007), and over 4.3 million houses and funding opportunities. While the number of families in need of adequate housing was approximately 2.2 million in 1997, due to population increase this figure grows by approximately 204,000 per annum (RSA, 1997). Despite policy implementation, with over 2,700 informal settlements in South Africa in 2018, the problem of lack of brick houses for Africans still exists.

[27] World Bank, World Development Indicators.

Upgrading Policy

Upgrading is an essential component of the constitution of South African development policy. It is not only intended to reduce the housing shortfall but also address the lack of availability of appropriately located and developable land, as informal settlements are generally well located in terms of access to their host city. Cities Alliance describes upgrading as:

> public sector support to households that have been denied access to the formal land and property markets and have instead taken the initiative to house themselves informally (illegally) either individually or through unregulated developers. The upgrading process can entail the granting of secure title to land and property to encourage household and community investment; the installation or extension of public infrastructure (such as water, sanitation, and power); the provision of services (such as schools, health facilities, and recreation space) and the development of effective local governance and management mechanisms" (Cities Alliance, 2011:5).

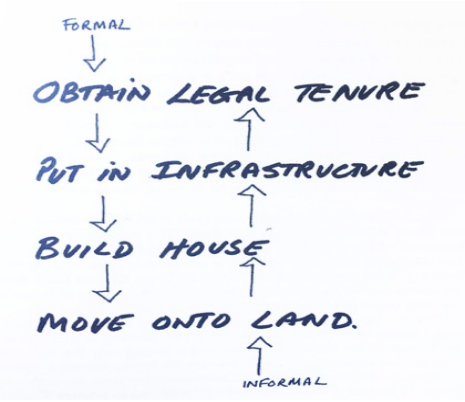


Figure 14: Formal versus Informal processes. McCleod's illustration of the reversal of formal and informal processes is reworked by Hamdi (Wakely & Riley, 2011:2; Hamdi, 2010:121) illustrating their reverse implementations, where a formal process starts with obtaining title to land and ends with moving onto the land, informal process starts with habitation, incremental upgrade by building a house, installing infrastructure and finally obtaining title.

A decade into post-apartheid planning policy, the Upgrading of Informal Settlements Programme (UISP) was incorporated into the South African housing code. With the NDoHS having sought to abolish informal settlements by 2014, an integral part of its delivery programme is upgrading existing informal settlements. In response to Section 26 of the Constitution, enshrining the 'right for all to adequate housing', the National Housing Code sought to reach as many households as possible, aiming to "achieve the national goal of upgrading of all informal settlements by 2014" (NHC, 2009:25). Over the last 10 years, housing policy has evolved through the identification and implementation of pilot projects, resulting in the emergence of a spectrum of upgrade methodologies. Five avenues for housing provision are set out in the NHC Volume 4, entitled *Incremental Interventions*:

> **1. Consolidation subsidies**: granted to beneficiaries of previous housing assistance in which a serviced stand taken ownership of. This subsidy is for construction of a house.
> **2. Emergency Housing Programme (EHP):** provides solutions to households in emergency situations due to homes being damaged in a natural disaster or other, if they face eviction or if they are in a position that poses a threat to their life, health and safety.

3. **Integrated Residential Development Programme (IRDP):** provides for planning and development of integrated settlements addressing necessary land uses, house types and providing for housing, social and economic needs of different income categories.

4. **Enhanced People's Housing Process (ePHP):** provides support and funding for harnessing community initiative, community empowerment and building community partnerships.

5. **Upgrading Informal Settlement:** aligns SA policy with international agendas including MDGs. It deals with in situ upgrading using the grant to assist municipalities in fast tracking provision of tenure security, basic municipal services, social and economic amenities. On relocation and resettlement, the policy states that "the programme includes, as a last resort, in exceptional circumstances, the possible relocation and resettlement of people on a voluntary and co-operative basis as a result of the implementation of the upgrade projects".

Upgrading can be done as an in situ intervention, which involves the use of the same land on which the informal structures are located to implement an incremental upgrading project, and greenfield intervention that involves development on a new site, often as part of a de-densification programme and to provide reception areas for those arriving to the city, or for those moving from restructuring zones or areas of health risk. Part 5 of *Incremental Interventions*, "Upgrading Informal Settlements", presents all aspects of the delivery process of upgrading in informal settlements (NHC, 2009). Temporary Relocation Areas (TRA) are used as part of the incremental upgrading intervention project, where future residents are transported to their allocated TRA site with their deconstructed shack and occupy the site until their formal house is completed in the area from which they were moved. It is not uncommon to find TRAs becoming a long term or permanent situation. All in-situ upgrading projects are incremental in terms of phased provision of services, infrastructure and houses, while greenfield involves a one-time process of delivery.

> The idea of upgrading is a form of resignation to the fact that a one-house-one-plot style delivery is costly and a lengthy bureaucratic process and in reality may never come for many. It is thus a means to incrementally providing services to improve the conditions that people live in while waiting for formal housing (NDoHS, 2015).

Citizens who have arrived on city peripheries do not necessarily benefit from in situ upgrading. Sometimes those who have made their homes in areas that are poorly located for their benefit of accessing the city, need an alternative approach.

Wakely and Riley write on the conclusions made by the Cities Alliance:

> many settlements are built on peri-urban land that has been informally subdivided by its former agricultural owners or on inner-city sites that have been spontaneously squatted by their occupants, and therefore are not located in accordance with the optimal distribution of land uses for the city as a whole. In short, while the upgrading of informal settlements addresses existing housing inadequacies, it cannot accommodate the provision of affordable decent housing for the growing low-income populations of developing cities (2011:5).

So in certain instances, such as lack of availability of well-located land or the need to de-densify existing settlements, relocation may become the only option to provide housing, although this should be a last resort. It is illegal to sell a government-received RDP home within eight years of receipt. This does not stop poorly located homes from being abandoned or rented out in exchange for previous conditions of shack urbanity.

There is often an intention that upgrading should be a participatory process. The People's Housing Process (PHP), superseded by the enhanced PHP (ePHP) set out to formalise a participatory approach to upgrading (NHC, 2004) outlining that:

> … key decisions that residents should control include planning and location (if a group is involved from an early stage in the settlement development process), house design, use of resources, how to access building materials and how the houses should be built. If an initiative has these basic qualities, then the government and the PHPT undertake to support it (Napier 2003:321).

A fundamental problem with the ePHP is that it no longer promotes, initiates or incentivises core values of self-help housing. The process has been hijacked by developer-driven models and reduces the individual initiative of those who began their own home-building process. Pieterse writes, "when a grassroots methodology is elevated to a generic mode of social intervention, … the model tends to 'impose' a moral regime on the participants in the movements that holds the potential of being authoritarian, especially when internal democratic processes and cultures are still nascent" (2008:56). Baumann explains that: "You do not implement the People's Housing Process. It is not a policy or a programme; it is an activity to be understood and supported."[28] In reality, however, the government supported self-help communities were born out of the recognition that a large percentage of housing delivery was being carried out through self-help. 'Self-help' no longer existed, but rather another form of intervention (Cirolia and Thompson, 2012).

Not all policymakers and theorists advocate the self-help model and Davis discusses the skeptic's view of the Turner model and the associated 'illusions of self-help' saying: "self-housing is partly a myth: most self-help is actually constructed with the paid assistance of artisans, and for specialist tasks, skilled labour (2006:71). In addition, gentrification and downward raiding are possible negative spin-offs to upgrading and Davis goes on to point out that "the cost-recovery provisions of World Bank lending … effectively priced the poorest of the poor out of the market for self-help loans" (2006:71).

As described earlier, individual subsidies are means tested and offered to those earning R0 – R3501/month, for the provision of a serviced house on a plot of land, and the Finance Linked

[28] Ted Bauman interview with Napier, 2000. Advisor to Habitat International Coalition.

Individual Programme (FLISP)[29] is one way in which government provides access to this funding for housing. 20 percent of the population falls outside of this subsidy requirement and into the income bracket of R3501–R15 000 stipulated by the subsidy. Those earning between R3,501–R7,500 fall into the 'gap' between government provision and private finance offered by lending institutions – this option for low-income persons[30] provides alternative housing options through the The Social Housing Policy (NHC Volume 6: Part 3) where social housing is defined as:

> A rental or co-operative housing option for low income persons at a level of scale and built form which requires institutionalised management and which is provided by accredited social housing institutions or in accredited social housing projects in designated restructuring zones (NHC, 2009 Vol.6 Part 3:17).

Subsidies are a vital cog in the housing policy mechanism, not least due to the extent of poverty in South Africa and the reduced ability for people to access adequate housing, but also to support the upgrading policy in the endeavours to provided adequate housing to all.

The Social Housing Policy focuses on inner city regeneration and provides for those who no longer have access to a subsidy for housing either because their housing subsidy has already been used or they have sold their subsided homes. The Community Residential Units (CRU) programme deals with the wide variety of public sector accommodation types, such as hostels, and provides accommodation for citizens earning between R800–R3500 per month. On one hand, there is a revived wave of upgrading as means of housing delivery, which seeks to implement a more efficient approach, and on the other hand, not all sites of shack urbanity are suited to upgrading.

> Slum-upgrading processes have successfully reached many low-income households and stimulated investment in the development of regular low to middle-income neighbourhoods. However, even where slum upgrading has been effective, it has not necessarily been efficient, as most informal settlements have not been planned with the provision of access and services in mind, which often makes the installation of infrastructure both costly and environmentally disruptive (Wakely & Riley, 2011:5).

Some proponents of bottom-up initiatives in housing claim that everyone has a 'right to the city' (Davy & Pellissery, 2013:68). Holston, in considering the extent of urbanisation in the 20th century, notes the devastating poverty and inequality on urban peripheries, and explains that residents' strong desire for their basic needs to be met has "generated new movements of insurgent citizenship based on their claims to have a right to the city and a right to rights". He describes the "resulting contemporary metropolis" as a site of volatile interface between "forces of exploitation and dispossession and increasingly coherent, yet still fragile and contradictory movements for new kinds of citizen power and social justice" (Holston, 2009:1). In this thesis, I argue that conceiving

[29] www.flisp.co.za

[30] Low-income persons are broadly defined as thos whose income is below R7,500 per month (NHC, 2009 Vol.6 Part 3:17).

citizens' relationship with urbanity as one of people having a right to the city is unhelpful. Here, I resist 'the right to the city' as a service-provider paradigm, and look more closely at the reality of applying international agendas. Holston speaks to the points raised in this thesis regarding the specificity of sites for intervention and whether upgrading is feasible in all cases, explored in Chapter 7. There is a need to develop policy to pre-empt urban growth as volatile scenes of change are not only a product of colonisation but related to the urbanisation of poverty globally.

This dissertation argues that understanding site specificity is key to effective development. While South Africa is signatory to relevant international mandates such as 'Adequate Shelter for All' of UN-Habitat, and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and their replacement, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), as well as the latest outcome of the UN-Habitat III: the New Urban Agenda, it is always important to consider local context. As Wendy Ovens explains: "applying a global tool in local context does not allow for a South African specific approach" (2013). Collier and others preempted the 2015 sell-by date of the MDGs, explaining that the third world has shrunk, and the balance has shifted from the context in which these goals were drawn up, with a ratio of one billion rich to five billion poor, to most of the five billion now living in developing countries (Collier, 2007).

Since 2004 urban sprawl and low densities are addressed in the emerging development policies in South Africa with strategic planners now focusing on 'densification'; however, higher densities of development require a mind shift for many beneficiaries. Density in the South African context is best described in the Development Action Group (DAG) resource guide:

> medium-density housing refers to increased gross residential density in urban areas by means of formal housing development. Medium-density housing, defined in terms of dwelling units per hectare (du/ha), is located at approximately 40-100 du/ha (gross). The dwelling types typically associated with residential densification referred to in the book are semi-detached housing, row housing, and three-storey walk-up flats (DAG, 2008).

The pros of high density are largely to do with reduced cost of installing services, improved connectivity to the city, sustainability, reduced cost of building top structures,[31] and larger top structures for the same money. While densification does reduce availability of space for expansion and what Hernandez calls 'snack rental' or the subsistence that the extra land could be used for, this is often the nature of inner city living. In South Africa, and specifically during upgrading processes, de-densification is often required, however, where extremely high densities of shacks have health and safety risks.

[31] A top structure, in South African policy documents, refers to formal houses - the structure built on top of the ground as opposed to the bulk infrastructure provided in the ground.

Conclusion

There is a shift on the horizon as discussions of the benefits of incremental intervention based on participatory partnerships make their way to the desks of policy makers responsible for housing delivery. Despite three million houses being delivered in the last two decades, mostly on cheaper land on the city edges, the demand has increased, igniting a policy rethink to address complexities in the delivery process and the requirement to roll out at scale. With urbanisation fuelling the proliferation of shack urbanity, upgrading in contrast to complete rebuilding is required, to respond to prevailing issues of homelessness and land security in post-apartheid cities.

Policy is a tool for change, and many praise South African policies (Berrisford, 2012; Seidman & Seidman, 1996; Collier 2007). Successful outcomes, however, depend on the will and capability of those charged with implementation. As Berrisford notes, the issues around legal response in a situation where "the majority operate outside the law, and where public servants apply the law selectively" is a reality affecting implementation. Despite existing good policy, Paul Collier on the use of policy in countries in the 'bottom billion' calls for change, explaining:

> Change is going to have to come from within the societies of the bottom billion, but our own policies could make these efforts more likely to succeed, and so more likely to be undertaken. We will need a range of policy instruments to encourage the countries of the bottom billion to take steps toward change (2007:12).

Even with the change in focus from box-ticking in the first decade of post-apartheid policy, to a quality-driven delivery approach in the second, there exists a disparity of acceptance about whether the RDP model was inefficient at building integrated, sustainable human settlements (Isandla Institute in RSA, 2014). "Even the processes set out in the Upgrading Informal Settlements Program, a key instrument for informal settlements upgrading, culminate in the construction of a state-subsidised house" (NDOHS, 2009:44). While the target of providing one million houses was reached well within the first five years of the new government, Huchzermeyer, among many, noted that it resulted in many households being relocated to dormitory developments on the periphery of cities and towns (2003c).

The effects of Duncan's day, and the anticipated effects of the conquest by Wilson and its reactions discussed by Fanon, are reflected in the ills of the apartheid era. Current housing policy is still seeking to respond not only to segregation patterns of the past, but also those created by urbanisation and the interface between shack urbanity and the formal city, and the often aspired-to transition from informality to formality. The *Reaction to Conquest* and the difficulty with which the rural-urban divide was started and perpetuated by apartheid, is still relevant in South Africa today.

Chapter Two

Shack Urbanity

Having addressed the historical context and its political articulation in development policies and housing delivery statistics, we now turn to a construction of the context of Duncan Village and the two reference studies according to four themes. First, 'host cities': the relationship between established cities and arriving citizens, the perceived parasitic relationship and the temporal transience of the phenomenon of shack urbanity. Second, the make-up of a city into concrete and abstract phenomena and their interrelation is, thereafter, understood through the renaissance division of cities into *urbs* and *civitas* – a recovery of the paired Latin terms - and further in the South African context over the last 100 years through Duncan's plea for "a closer union"[32]. Third, 'upgrading narratives' poses the notion that not only buildings are upgraded, but also the status of contributing citizens to the formal city, much like the right to vote both 100 years ago during the conquest and at the dawn of democracy. Phenomena affecting upgrading, such as non-physical boundaries to place and belonging and the need to move away from a 'hands-out' society in order to upgrade the status of citizenry, are weighed up in discussions of the fourth and final theme of 'ownership of place' and the balance of institutional and civic involvement in upgrading.

[32] Title of a speech by Duncan in Durban in 1906. See Appendix 9

Host Cities

While Africa may not be home to the fastest-paced cities when compared with the sleepless megacities of the one billion richest people, it is the continent with the fastest rate of urbanisation.[33] This sets the scene for diversity not only between but also within cities and produces social and spatial inequality (Tonkiss, 2013:60; Davis, 2008:6). The formulation of host cities is used in this research as a South Africa specific terminology for urban primacy – that is, the increased dominance of a city network obtained through higher population counts and number of functions, a hangover of the urban policies of colonialism and the apartheid regime – where shack urbanity is the secondary city on the periphery of the primary host city.

> Colonialism's legacies in terms of imbalanced urban primacy, weak urban hierarchy development, retarded functionality, segregation, or inequality surely remain in the postcolonial era, even in cities built essentially after colonialism as a means of contesting those legacies (Myers, 2011:193).

Shack urbanity characterises much of the African urban landscape. South Africa hosts two of the largest mega-slums in the world in the Cape Flats and Soweto (Davis, 2006:28). These settlements continually strive to integrate with their host city, being absorbed into its metabolism and economic opportunity, which, as discussed earlier, shack urbanity can offer access to.

Shack urbanity in SA is a concrete representation of historical division and the legislation of the apartheid city. Spatial segregation in cities is perpetuated by "the concentration of affluence" (Massey & Fisher, 2003:29 in Tonkiss, 2013:62). Shack urbanity offers residents a location from which to conduct their daily lives close to potential jobs and economic opportunities yet often living conditions are poor.

Past and present governments have attempted to address the problems of shantytown environments that Saunders calls 'arrival cities' (2011), named after the act of urbanisation and a location to which arriving citizens start their life as part of the city. A growing need for city living requires an urgent and revised response. Urbanity has become the majority choice for the global population, having tipped over the 50% mark in 2007 and reaching 3.943 billion in 2015 (World Bank, 2014). Within this generalisation of choice of urbanisation, is a specificity of place that each city offers with its unique rhythms and topography. From cities of one million people, to eight million, to twenty million, megacities, or hypercities, grappling with facts and functioning of cities is key in light of the rate of urbanisation and the projected forecast that the rural population will begin to shrink after 2020 (Davis, 2006).

[33] UN-Habitat. Quoted at Urban Landmark Conference: Personal *Red Notes* p112.

"Urbanisation of poverty" will be a primary issue facing our cities long into the future as we manage the effects of the rural – urban interface (Pieterse, 2008; Tibaijuka cited in Sisulu, 2005[34] and in Pieterse, 2008:35; Davis 2006; and Saunders 2010). Saunders sets aside the equally important concern for climate change to focus on urbanisation: "the great, and final, shift of human populations out of rural, agricultural life and into cities" and "more to the point, the poverty that urbanisation brings with it" (2010:1),. Tibaijuka and Saunders also cite population shifts to the cities as the greatest challenge to equitable wealth and job creation and "the failure of public policy to secure people's access to basic needs" (Tibaijuka, 2005, in Pieterse, 2008:35). Urbanisation in South Africa was at around 43% in 1950 and is forecast to be at around 70% by 2030 (Burdett and Sudjic, 2007), with the current figure at around 63% according to the *Twenty Year Review* (RSA, 2014).

Rates of urbanisation depend on the conditions in which they occur. Oscar Lewis notes with his theory on the 'culture of poverty', that "urbanisation is not a single, unitary, universally similar process but assumes different forms and meanings depending upon prevailing historic, economic, social and cultural conditions" (1973:129 in Robinson, 2006:37). Responding to the South African context, Sisulu discusses this unstoppable force and "shift toward increasing urbanisation is a normal and irreversible progression of human development. Migration to the cities is an economic process that is not reversible by democracy" (Sisulu, 2005). Looking to the Africa-specific shift in urbanisation catalysts, Turok and Parnell explain that: "Compared with previous urban transitions on other continents, Africa's urbanisation is being driven to a larger extent by poverty, conflict and demographic change and led to a lesser extent by industrialisation and employment growth" (UN-Habitat, 2004 & 2008 in Turok & Parnell, 2009:158). Rapid urbanisation is the underlying reason for strain on housing delivery and availability of land. "Fifty-five million new slum dwellers have been added to the global population since 2000" with Sub-Saharan Africa having the largest population of slum dwellers (UN-Habitat, 2015). This exodus to the cities will be a continuous force affecting rapid growth and perpetuation of shack urbanity.

Until now we have discussed the colonial history of African cities and the negative legacy of apartheid that affects cities today, and Bhabha too, is convinced that politically and economically one can legitimately align domination and exploitation with geographic division into North and Global South, and First and Third World (1994:29). AbdouMaliq Simone and Caroline Kihato, however, offer alternative views. Simone denounces the generalised view of a negative African demise and suggests that categorising the African city in its colonial or post-colonial formation takes away the understanding of the innovation and resourcefulness of citizens and the multiplicity of their

[34] "Africa has the dubious distinction of being the fastest urbanising continent in the world as it experiences the greatest influx of rural dwellers into urban areas the continent has ever known. The annual average urban growth rate is 4%, twice as high as Latin America and Asia …"

engagement with the larger world. For change to occur in Africa, these positive contributions need to be accepted - it is essential to see that "these cities are more than simply cities in need of better management, more popular participation, more infrastructure, and less poverty" (Simone, 2004:16). Kihato also draws attention to the often-missed vibrancy of African cities: "They are at once spaces of opulence and abject poverty, connectivity to global circuits and spaces of marginalisation, despair and enormous creativity" (2008:214).

Shack urbanity as part of African urbanism provides common ground for assessing degrees of development in African cities that, according to Simone, extends to capacity, productivity and marginalisation and also to the idea of African cities being colonial creations (2004). Understanding African cities such as East London in this way is important because it unveils that informality can be vibrant, exciting and creative. It is not to be mistaken for primitivity. As Benjamin explains in his reworking of the discussions around "primitive", there are varied degrees of modernity achieved by different cities and each city is a very specific place (Benjamin in Robinson 2006). With all the global agendas to which past and present demagogic SA governments are aligned, that seek to reduce (poverty and shack urbanity), replace (inequality with equality) and re-house, it is important to consider the particularity of the African city and its scenes of shack urbanity.

In the global South, and more relevant to this research, South Africa, urban order has to navigate the interface between the formal host cities and shack urbanity where, as Barac explains, there is a disposition of constant vigilance against dangers and the need to build social equity (Barac in Steiner and Sternberg, 2015:257).

Cities of the developing world suffer from the perpetuation of inequality due to the often-perceived parasitic relationship between the main city and its shack urbanity. The idea of a parasite is a one-sided interaction; however, the relationship is in fact a symbiotic one. In rural areas there is an absence of social connectivity and resulting participation. Urban density makes trade possible and enables markets, which makes the case for the compact city (Dewar; Uytenbogaardt; Carl; Rogers in Barac 2011). Hamdi speaks of infrastructure, accessibility, resources and services (2010:185) that the city offers, facilitating this immediacy. While infrastructure is commonly seen as the physical components of cities; roads, services, buildings, Simone offers the notion of "people as infrastructure" to emphasis economic collaboration and exchange and goes on to explain that:

> African cities are characterized by incessantly flexible, mobile, and provisional intersections of residents that operate without clearly delineated notion of how the city is to be inhabited and used. These intersections, particularly in the last two decades, have depended on the ability of residents to engage complex combinations of objects, spaces, people and practices. (2008:68-69)

So, the often-negative view of poverty in cities is challenged by understanding places like East London and Duncan Village, which are mutually dependent. As a consequence, it is arguably true that for some citizens, living in shack urbanity is a conscious choice. Glaeser's explanation of the reason for the perpetuation of poverty contributes to the notion that informality is often a choice:

> Cities can be places of great inequality; they attract some of the world's richest and poorest people. Although poverty can accompany urban decline, poverty often shows that a city is functioning well. Cities attract poor people because they are good places for poor people to live (Glaeser, 2011:257).

Because of greater opportunities, urbanity is associated with greater happiness. Glaeser questions urbanity versus rural living and reports on associated degrees of happiness:

> There is a myth that even if cities enhance prosperity, they still make people miserable. But people report being happier in those countries that are more urban. … Across countries, reported life satisfaction rises with the share of the population that lives in cities, even when controlling for the countries' income and education (Glaeser, 2011:7).

Urbanisation of a population into shack urbanity is not wholly positive, however. For the South Africa population, it has brought with it issues of cultural interface between old and new cultures, and formal and informal processes and places. The negatives of this, Tonkiss explains, include weakening of bonds of family units and friendships, leading to "the disappearance of the neighbourhood and the undermining of traditional basis of solidarity" (2005:13).

There are events associated with shack urbanity that disempower people and prevent them from achieving the potential contentment of urban life, and realising their full capacities. Shack urbanity is often the site of violence. Wirth promotes the city as a symbol of civilisation, providing a site for progress, invention, science and rationality and possibly even the claim to freedom (Wirth 1938). This may be true, but barbaric acts of violence are perceived, by those not taking part, as a primitive backlash to political, social and economic division, so the idea that the city is a "centre of toleration" remains only an aspirational ideal in South Africa.

"They shot my mother on Christmas Eve in 2002 for R50" Toto told me, as I looked at her in disbelief. Her story resonates with Wilson's reports of assaults occurring 80 years ago; so these evils are not only due to modern shack urbanity. The reality of the everyday, or Ross's *Raw Life* and the "ugliness in social life" (2010) speaks of the enormous effort that reduced accessibility and availability of resources has on the ability to create a permanence through routine when life is punctuated by loss, disruption, violence, abjection (Kristeva, 1982 in Ross, 2010:5). Achille Mbembe explains that because of "the distress of experience deprived of power, peace, and rest" (2001:12 in Ross 2010:5), people must put much effort into developing and maintaining relationships and ordinary rhythms of everyday life. So, although some citizens may choose informal city life over rural life, such informality may be a Hobson's choice: between bad and worse.

A pre-emptive approach, such as developing infrastructure in anticipation of arriving citizens, will ensure growing communities of shack urbanity are not denied access and opportunity, thus reducing the incidence of resentful reaction and violence. UN-Habitat Executive Director, Anna Tibaijuka, argues that there needs to be a shift from a defensive approach: "The underlining principle in dealing with the challenge is that emphasis should be given to a pre-emptive approach that is directed to guiding and facilitating orderly urban and housing development …" (UN-Habitat, 2003).

Slums are not simply a product of urbanisation, but also an example of governments that have failed in their responsibility. The plight of *The Bottom Billion* is a global issue that Collier summarises as developed versus developing (2008). The UN report *The Challenge of Slums* offered a comprehensive interrogation of shack urbanity, followed by the *Cities Without Slums* report, which declared that: "Slums must be seen as the result of a failure of housing policies, laws and delivery systems, as well as of national and urban policies" (UN-Habitat, 2003).

Stiglitz places responsibility for inequality firmly in the hands of those making and implementing policy, regarding it an institutional choice caused by the cumulative effect of "unjust policies and misguided priorities" (2015). Stiglitz believes our choice is not between growth and fairness; but, with the right policies, we can choose both.

Policies, however, are only as strong as the people who are implementing them, which is often the problem in the South African context, whether due to capability or corruption. In this third decade of democracy in South Africa, a new phase of governance appears to be underway as the ANC appointed a new president on 14 February 2018, vowing to address the failure of the ruling party over the last 8 years, and to ameliorate the conditions of the people to whom it promised so much.

Understanding the relationship between shack urbanity and the main city as one of 'hosting' is important to this thesis as it contextualises on-the-ground perceptions by those living in the formal city and the actions of those living in the informal city. It sets the scene for understanding the relationship between the two, as I will later offer alternate viewpoints to the actions and choices of those living in shack urbanity.

Urbs and Civitas: a "Closer Union"

Earlier, I introduced the idea of the interrelated *urbs* and *civitas*: that a city is a network of overlaid phenomena both physical (hard) and non-physical (soft), which I have referred to throughout this thesis as concrete and abstract. There is a layering within this conceptualisation that relies on congruency of the *urbs* and the *civitas* in order to achieve successful placemaking.

Duncan - a philosophical romantic - talked of a closer union between *urbs* and *civitas.* Duncan's writing promoted the pursuit of happiness and referred, in his paper entitled "Ethics in Relation to Modern Systems", to Aristotle. Starting from the assumption that all people aim to be happy, he proceeded to attempt to define happiness, and question the conduct that would result in happiness (Duncan. UCT Jagger Library. BC294 B5.3.3). Duncan saw Aristotelian views as pertinent to city and citizenry, and considered Socrates' ideas, which "… gave a new direction to philosophic enquiry by looking for an explanation of things or concepts not in the material conditions attending their appearance but in the principle, which constituted their real nature" (Duncan. UCT Jagger Library. BC294 B5.9.1:14). In agreement with this, it is clear that the interrelation of *urbs* and *civitas* – concrete and abstract phenomena – is to be considered when interrogating shack urbanity.

Duncan proposed that South African cities should be developed according to classical principles. During his influential years in parliament, Duncan took great interest in what he considered to be Greek philosophical genius and urged its application to the modern world. His presentation, "The Glory that was Greece", offered three guiding principles: wholeness and unity, love of beauty in a spirit of simplicity, and a sense of the value of the individual held as something inherent in the very constitution of man.[35] Fanon dismisses these theoretical ideals as being irrelevant to a colonised people, explaining that even though the cogency of the colonists' ideals were accepted by "the native intellectual" and the natives were able to rationalise and even defend the Graeco-Latin worldview, "all the Mediterranean values – the triumph of the human individual, of clarity and of beauty … seem like collections of dead words; … simply because they have nothing to do with the concrete conflict in which the people are engaged" (1961:36). Both Fanon and Duncan offer valid points in their arguments - a situation cannot be upgraded or improved on the ground without theories and policy to guide process, and nor can theories and policy be applied without understanding specificity of place. 'Greek glory' as a benchmark for development of the apartheid city is ciriticised by Bremner, who explains that there are "varying orders of dystopia … that privilege prior or abstract notions of wholeness, integration, righteousness, stability or order" and that if the base measure is a utopian model or, in the South African instance, an apartheid city, then these conceptualisations stumble as they do not take account of the place specific complexities (2010:76). Perhaps more relevant in current South African discussions on effects of urbanisation, is Duncan's plea for conciliation and to implement the Greek philosophy to "… find unity in diversity".

There is irony in the reference to Aristotle by Fanon, as he explains the divide that the Greek ideals create between spaces inhabited by natives and settler, which today often translates

[35] *The Greek Influence.* UCT Archives, BC294 B9.8.1. Cape Argus, 28 May 1927. Appendix 2.

into formality and informality and the host city and shack urbanity formulations. While Fanon decided that shack urbanity and host cities are entirely separate following the principle of "reciprocal exclusivity" in their obedience to Aristotelian logic (1961:30), this thesis will continue to explore the congruency and mutualism of their existence.

Inequality and diversity in cities has impact on their spatial organisation. Tonkiss discusses this translation of abstract interactions to concrete phenomena,

> If inequality is a matter of urban fact, however, its spatial organisation is a matter of urban design. Cities may be characterized by diversity, but they also involve a range of mechanisms … for 'sorting' diversity in spatial terms – mechanisms, that is, for converting social diversity into spatial division (Tonkiss, 2013: 60).

In environments of shack urbanity removing barriers to upward mobility develops people's social capital, which becomes a currency for accessing economic opportunities. Bourdieu defines social capital as "deliberate construction of sociability for the purpose of creating this resource" (1985 cited in Lesser, 2000:45). Contrary to Putnam's positive view of social capital, Bourdieu employs the concept to demonstrate a mechanism for the generational reproduction of inequality. Bourdieu points out that the wealthy and powerful use their "old boys' network" or other social capital to maintain advantages for themselves, their social class, and their children.

The topography of places provide for possible social behaviours, potentially conferring significant importance on the order of concrete and abstract phenomena such as relationships and events that can direct "social consciousness" and contribute to the holistic atmosphere of a place (Lefebvre, 1974:77; Tuan, 1977:117; Harrison and Dourish, 1996:69 in Bank 2011:15; Morris, 2004:105). The personalised working of the city and its organisation based on demand and expectation are "quintessential aspects of the culture of urbanity" (Barac in Steiner and Sternberg, 2015:258), where "space is not the setting (real or logical) in which things are arranged, but the means whereby the positing of things becomes possible" (Merleau-Ponty, 1962:284). Within the specificity of place, Lefebvre describes its composition of different types of places – a congruence of objectives that keep the city functioning, distinguishing between near order and far order and their hierarchy of involvement (1974). Similarly, *Spatial Agency* considers the scenes of spatial creation and intervention delivery with defined categories of social structures, physical relations, organisational structure, 'knowledges', the other sites of architecture (Awan, Schneider & Till 2011:53). In this call for action, Awan *et al* point out that "in addressing the realities of the changing needs and desires of users, *Spatial Agency* tends towards multi-user spaces, structures that are adaptable, and projects that privilege the passage of time" (2011:55). A city can thus be described as a continuously metabolising and complex layering of processes in spaces created by the concrete

boundaries. Metabolism of place is used here in the same way as Carl describes: "the way civic processes use resources" (Carl in discussion, 2013).

Urbs is a topic of *civitas* and "phenomenological perspectives can play a fruitful role in addressing socio-political issues" (Steiner & Sternberg, 2015:4). The organisation of space, whether developed under legally informal conditions in environments of shack urbanity on the periphery of cities, or formal implementation of a masterplan, is created to allow prescribed subconscious behaviour. Topography contributes to the metabolism of a place and affects the citizens, whether through vandalism, protesting, safety, trust, or pride of place.

The history of Duncan Village and its development over time as well as its natural features are not the only attributes of social space, but an understanding of these layers gives extensive insight into the patina of social and spatial development that forms the starting topography for intervention and change.

The interface between arrival and host cities is now understood, and we turn to an introspective consideration of the composition of these places of shack urbanity. Spaces in places of shack urbanity are differentiated by degrees of privacy ranging public spaces, semi-public and private spaces, all of which foster varied types of engagement. Public open spaces become areas of increased circumstantial interaction and exchange where paths (either existing or created through use) connect areas and offer natural surveillance for safety. Semi-private courtyards are used for hobbies; washing and drying clothes; a safe play area for children or growing vegetables. Circumstantial interactions keep the street talk system, which is the transfer of information by word of mouth, working in the public and semi-private spaces, where communication of events and change happens.

The way that space is created develops a specific spatial consciousness, as "consciousness has the ability to conceptualise possibilities, and to make appear, or to annihilate them" (Sartre, *Being and Nothingness*). And if "spatial existence ... is the primary condition of all living perception" (Merleau-Ponty, 1962:126) and of "human existence" (Steiner & Sternberg, 2015:3) then we must consider the method of space creation (the formal versus the informal process of development, or top down versus bottom up) and its effect on the ultimate space that is created.

Considering permanence and change, Duncan's lectures presented the doctrine of Heraclitus in which he speaks of the "endless and universal flow of change … before (a thing) can be said to be it is already different – you cannot step into the same river twice or even once. There is no sameness or permanence anywhere" (Duncan. UCT Jagger Library. BC294 B5.9.1:9). Peter Carl points out that this conflicts with the concept of layered temporality - it does not allow some things to be inherently permanent, while temporality moves between them. Benjamin

however, offers "dialectics at a standstill" as a way of understanding both permanence and temporality that presents a site to expose a range of alternative future and past possibilities for organising social life and a method of uncovering the potential for transformation - such an image is the prostitute – seller and sold in one (Benjamin, 1999a:10).

The city is thus more than the concrete phenomena of place but also the citizenry simultaneously contributing to the city as a single functioning entity, and upgrading of shack urbanity refers, equally, to the *civitas* developed out of the provision of formality, and the *urbs* or concrete phenomena of placemaking, in areas of shack urbanity.

Development through informal processes engages spatial consciousness but without systematic design or plan drawing. It can follow a sort of design-and-build process through verbal conveying of ideas, which can, however, become difficult as complexity increases (Tuan, 1977). In Amin's *Lively Infrastructures,* he argues that:

> Infrastructures – visible and invisible – are deeply implicated in not only the making and unmaking of individual lives, but also in the experience of community, solidarity and struggle for recognition. Infrastructure is proposed as a gathering force and political intermediary of considerable significance in shaping the rights of the poor to the city and their capacity to claim those rights (2014:1).

Formal developments engage professional accessibility, and urban design in the context of knowledge and organisational structure is important to achieve an informed approach to development. With both formal and informal processes, placemaking needs to be dynamic and responsive, and spatial production must be understood as part of an evolving sequence, and allow for multiple actors contributing at various stages.

Congruency and interrelation of concrete and abstract is visualised by the Shack Urbanity Intervention Tool (SUIT) introduced earlier in this thesis and detailed in Chapter Three. The SUIT takes account of the abstraction of placemaking, through *praxis* and process, and also of concrete phenomena in understanding narratives of permanence and place.

Upgrading Narratives

Upgrading, whether following formal or informal processes, is about taking the concept of the right to the city beyond access to the concrete city, and also to develop environments, which enable the abstract happenings in-between, allowing people to flourish, and to address issues of poverty and disadvantage. Upgrading improves the narrative of people's lives and reduces the waste of resources by allowing capability of people to realise their full potential as economic and socially active human beings (Sen, 2002:6 in Banerjee & Duflo, 2011). The shift in mindset towards enabling people to 'upgrade' their own narratives, as well as building homes, is gaining momentum and can

be observed in the rethinking of the current systemic approach to housing delivery, by policy makers and implementers. Bhabha, in his interdisciplinary ways of 'reading' comparatively and critically, refers to "colonialism, the nation and, even, to modernity as narratives which need to be read and interpreted critically" (Hernandez, 2010:13). Narratives, here, is similarly used in this research to connect the political and architectural discourse, and is pivotal to the development of the analysis in Chapter 6.

Shack urbanity appears disorganised and impermanent to those living in the formal city, yet it is home to citizens who implement daily routines, achieving permanence through repetition. The deceptive temporality is based on informality of structures and land ownership but also on the idea that people aim to improve their current situation – upgrade their physical environment as result of their narrative upgrade. In this regard, Simone speaks of "people as infrastructure" (2004). Upgrading narratives is thus about the improvement of quality of life of citizens.

Narratives about life as a free South African vary dramatically. For those living in areas of shack urbanity, this narrative is about poverty rooted in a history of oppression and continually making-do, living in hope that change is on the horizon, and continually having to fight for freedom. These narratives are mainly oriented around freedom from systemic evils of oppression and corruption; in order to enjoy the freedom to achieve self-actualisation and involvement in one's own growth and development. It is these narratives or abstract phenomena that need upgrading, together with the concrete provision of houses, in order to effect real change for the poor.

Newspapers regularly report on corruption by way of nepotism and bribery in government tiers. As Pieterse noted this extends to every process of upgrading delivery in institutional hallways, and while previously a degree of shoulder shrugging was applied in silent acceptance of it being normalised in African business practices, and while its previous underexposure was rife, the constant reflection on the past as a smoke screen for lack of delivery is presenting an opportunity to question current political powers (2008). Much like the 1976 Soweto uprisings gained momentum for change, there are many calling for a controlled coup (Johnson, 2015). The opposition party, the Democratic Alliance, has seen the first black leader, Musi Maimane, come to power in May 2015, vowing to stamp out corruption in government and address and reverse the 'state capture' and hold Jacob Zuma of the ANC, and others involved, accountable. Street scenes of crowds with pro-DA and ANC banners are telling, as public reactions are once again on the rise. The SONAs of 2016 and 2017 were not much different from the first one since Mandela's passing. In 2018 the SONA address served to launch a new presidency as the ANC had forced an end to the 9-year reign of corruption under Jacob Zuma. President Cyril Ramaphosa has ignited hope around the proposals for change in many South Africans, although his reported intention to accelerate land expropriation

without compensation has raised serious concern in the balance. Mandela spoke on Freedom Day, in 1995, about the fruits of the fight for freedom in the context of the long-standing issue of senseless violence in South Africa: "Freedom would be meaningless without security in the home and in the streets".

Change in South Africa is associated with riots and revolution, an unwelcome vehicle for transformation. Aspirations for change that may be narrated – after Mandela – as a "long walk to freedom", are politically rooted in the quest for equality. After more than two decades of democracy, questions about the change achieved continue to be raised. The street scenes of 1992 were dramatic as protest marches resulted in massive loss of life such as during the Boipatong massacre of 17 June 1992 in the Transvaal, followed by the Bisho Massacre on 7 September 1992 in the now Eastern Cape – the location of this research. Countrywide protesting resulted in missed school days as people kept safe from areas of riots, and stocked up on tinned groceries to avoid engaging with violent effects of unfolding change. Citizens stood their ground to overthrow oppression and gain political and legal ground. As Ross explains in *Raw Life, New Hope*, "political changes since the end of minority rule in 1994 have been considerable but old legacies endure and are replicated in some of the effects of neo-liberal economic policies despite changes in state policy towards the poor" (2010:3). Protesting is still used in South Africa as a 'soap box' and a catalyst for gaining access to resources for improvement – a way to upgrade their narratives – for people who endure the harshness of make-do urbanity, while trying to make "meaning and relationships in the midst" (2010:4).

In personal street-level discussion, many argue that even while Mandela was alive, corruption and other contraventions of the law were incessant and statistics of poverty and delivery of housing and education slipped behind the achievements of the apartheid government, both in quantity and quality. Those following the political party that fought for democracy have started to question the delivery of housing over the past two decades - a mind shift that could see Johnson's prediction of another major political shift in South Africa, start to make ground (2015).

A photograph of a protest against poor service delivery (fig.15) gives insight into an evolving way of thinking by previously oppressed majority groups. It is important to understand change through violence in SA because it contextualises what is perceived by non-violent protestors and advocates of change, to be a primitive cultural approach by the poor majority, as opposed to what has been explained by Fanon to have become the normative vehicle of for expression rooted in frustration at not having had a voice in a society in which the poor are major contributors to the economy.

Figure 15: A photograph from *The Herald* of a protest against poor service delivery circa 2013. The first banner reads "AWB was better than ANC". AWB is an acronym for the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, which in English means Afrikaner Resistance Movement. The far-right neo-Nazi movement was founded by Eugene Terreblanche in 1973 and held vehemently oppressive views of the rights of black people. The second banner that reads "We vote for a better life NOT for work. We live like pigs", does not seem to connect work with improved quality of life – a view that is raised often by government and policy makers seeking to address housing without perpetuating the idea that freedom means getting something for free.

Does Freedom Mean Getting Things for Free?

One important narrative relating to upgrading is that of freedom. Rights translate to freedom – freedom to aspire and achieve and self-actualise. The freedom that Mandela spoke of extended beyond the political freedom from oppression to addressing the unfreedoms that remain. It included the freedom of being safe and content to enable growth, development, education, and livelihood. Nietzsche's said, "I don't care where your freedom is from, I want to know what your freedom is for?" (Nietzsche, 1883) On the right to the city, Harvey notes it is: "far more than a right of the individual or group access to the resources that the city embodies" (2012:4), the city offers a platform for change. Thus, right to the city, which orients primarily towards physical and tangible provision, conflicts with what freedom is for.

Freedom Day, on 27 April, is a South African national holiday commemorating the first post-apartheid elections held on that day in 1994. The objectives of the struggle for freedom during the apartheid era were set out in The Freedom Charter by the ANC at the Congress of the People held on the outskirts of Soweto, on a piece of land that would later be called Freedom Square, as a

monument to the event of 1955. This charter recognised the major influence of shelter on the well being of its people and the future development of the country when it vowed:

> There shall be Houses, Security and Comfort. All people shall have the right to live where they choose, be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security; Unused housing space to be made available for the people; Rent and prices shall be lowered. Slums shall be demolished, and new suburbs built where all have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, and crèches and social centres; Fenced Locations and ghettos shall be abolished (RSA, 1955).

This was used as the propaganda for democracy to the disadvantaged majority who were fed the promise for equality. 2014 was the first year in a democratic South Africa that the father of freedom did not cast a ballot paper in the national election. Mandela died on 5 December 2013, leaving a nation of mourners looking to every billboard and television programme intermission to encourage its citizens to keep his memory alive. The will to stay true to Madiba's dream of a united South Africa, for a short while, unified a nation that seemed to regularly consider the thought, 'What Would Madiba Do?'

Another, related idea is whether freedom also means getting something for free. Being a citizen and the freedom of having the choice to live in the city is about more than a simplistic connection with concrete phenomena, which 'right to the city' suggests, it is also about accessibility to resources and opportunity. Huchzermeyer unravels the concept of right to the city and the inherent weakness around the perpetuating of a handout-society that expects that the right to housing does not require one's own effort or involvement.

> The vast majority of subsided housing developing in South Africa since 1994 has been project-linked or contractor-driven. This approach encourages individuals to 'sit back and wait for government to deliver' … The paternalistic development approach is popular with local politicians, whose support-bases within the community are defined by the extent to which they are able to broker such delivery (2006).

There is a narrative upgrading which concerns the difference between individual and collective actions and rights. Park's view is that the right to the city is a collective rather than an individual right: "reinventing the city inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective power over the processes of urbanisation." "The freedom to make and remake ourselves and our cities is, Harvey argues, one of the most precious yet most neglected of our human rights" (Harvey, 2012:4-6). There is a freedom that the city offers – of mobility, availability, and choice. There is also an individualism that the city allows people to develop. The quest for change and freedom and equality causes unification, a need to break down the heterogeneity (Fanon, 1965:36). Fanon was speaking specifically about decolonisation in this instance, but the principle remains the same - the freedom from dependence and the collective individual - standing together for individual gain as people fight for freedom.

> Decolonisation unifies the people by the radical decision to remove from it its heterogeneity, and by unifying it on a national, sometimes a racial basis. … Thus the native discovers … that the settler's skin is not of any more value than a native's skin; and it must be said that this discovery shakes the world in a very necessary manner. All the new, revolutionary assurance of the native stems from it. … Not only does (the settler's) presence no longer trouble me, but I am already preparing such efficient ambushes for him that soon there will be no way out but that of flight (1965:35).

Freedom, achievement and resources can be used as a gauge to understand well-being and agency of groups or individuals.

> A person's position in a social arrangement can be judged in two different perspectives, viz. 1. The actual achievement, and 2. The freedom to achieve. Achievement is concerned with what we manage to accomplish, and freedom with the real opportunity that we have to accomplish what we value. The two need not be congruent (Sen, 1995:31).

Simone carries the notion forward to the Global South, reinforcing that "African cities have been platforms for mediation" (2004:18) between formality and informality, and goes on to explain how the city is seen as the vehicle for narrative change:

> Cities are places from which people potentially can change many things. Even when individuals and communities are defending themselves against the deprivation and harshness of urban life, change is often on their minds. But change is something that demands platforms and resources (2004:213).

Upgrading narratives, that is improving the day-to-day life story of citizens, has thus become about a move towards more meaningful involvement of beneficiaries in the housing process. It incorporates ideals of freedom to change and make their own places, which manifests as pride in place. Upgrading by government and self-help as methods of housing delivery are regaining momentum in South Africa long after international discussions at Habitat 1 in 1976 and Turner's publication, and uprisings of the 1970s and the "stabilising (of) the black urban population by permitting black home ownership (Wilkinson, 1998; Landman & Napier, 2010 in Adebayo, 2011:5). "Although the incremental approach of these projects is not considered an unqualified success, particularly because of the apparent disregard of the target group's inability to affect its demand for housing, it laid the foundation for future policy intervention" (Tomlinson, 1990; Wilkinson, 1998; Gwagwa, 1993 in Adebayo, 2011:5).

Ownership of Place

The question of who makes a place is a pertinent one for upgrading from shack urbanity as it connects with the ultimate development of a sustainable community and successful housing delivery. The debate around responsibility for housing for the poor has two camps, bottom-up and top-down. Davy & Pellissery define the role of housing delivery to clearly be that of the state raising

it as one of three inseparable elements for delivering human rights, the others being formalisation of individual right, and the enjoyment of human rights described to be living "safely and freely in a home with access to water, sanitation, energy and other infrastructure services and without fear of being forcefully evicted without prior notice and court hearing" (2013:73).

In South Africa, the economic argument for bottom-up approaches, or self-help, is around the possibility of increased quantity of delivery. As Mitlin and Baumann explain "with the average subsidy of R10,000, Federation[36] members consistently can construct 50-percent more living space than commercial developers. Most Federation homes are 50m^2 to 60m^2" (1999, cited in Napier, 2003:326). In addition, lack of capacity and capability is a reality in many municipalities, which Mitchell and Bevan argue is primarily due to "whether or not the governments of developing countries should build low-income housing for their populations, (as) it is clear that they are unable to do so adequately for lack of resources" (1992:54-55). Turner's *Housing by People* departed radically from public housing and promoted sites and services and in situ upgrading (Davis, 2006). While Turner initially had the ear of the World Bank in the 1970s, by the late 1980s, the World Bank was "championing privatisation of housing supply across the board and soon became the most powerful institutional megaphone for the schemas of Hernando de Soto, the Peruvian economist who advocates micro-entrepreneurial solutions to urban poverty" (Davis, 2006:70).

Ownership of place has a bearing on how it is engaged with and how it is viewed, as either opportunity or hindrance. Connecting with Turner's phrase, Barac speaks of 'owning as verb', where the involvement in the construction process – the engagement with building and rebuilding – is a mode of placemaking that optimises capacity in the process of making meaningful places (Barac, 2017:117). "Squatting, as a global movement, questions the very notion of ownership but is also tied, particularly in the Global South, to basic housing rights and strategies of survival" (Awan, Schneider & Till, 2011:56). Walter Rathenau in *Spatial Agency* speaks of privatisation of land as an ill that needs to be abolished (Awan, Schneider & Till, 2011:57).

Contrary to de Soto's model of title as the only way to true ownership, this research supports the idea of many policy thinkers who recommend an approach that allows choice, offering degrees of ownership. Kecia Rust responds to the question of whether access to the city is directly translated as ownership of land, by offering perspective that while, "of course it does not", it is a

[36] A history of civic mobilisation in South Africa is oriented around the People's Dialogue on Land and Shelter in 1991. Members had, over time, formed housing savings schemes that were formalised in the South African Homeless People's Federation (SAHPF) in 1994, bringing together a nationwide poor people's movement of nearly 55 000 households from more than 1200 savings collectives in over 750 homeless communities. Its membership was 85% female and average household income was under R700 per month. The primary goal was to develop its members' capacity to conceive, control and implement their own property alleviation strategies via the development of their own communities (SASDI).

clear way for government to box tick and transfer risk to the owner. Rust goes on to explain that rental is difficult to manage and the risk remains with government and thus is "de-emphasised by policy". Despite this, rental and by way of "back yarding", is "very prominent" (2013).

As outlined in Chapter One, the vehicle to rectify the ills of the urban planning of apartheid was the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) model. Later, capital subsidy allocations were used for "individuals buying already-built houses, the cost of building accommodation for rental by institutions, the upgrading of the hostels and self-help construction on fully serviced sites" (Del Mistro & Henscher, 2009:333-354). The capital-intensive approach strained the housing budget, so policy makers have questioned the provision of fully funded state-provided houses on freestanding sites. In his chapter 'Illusions of Self-Help', Davis outlines the shift from slum eradication to "improving rather than replacing slums (that) became the less ambitious goal of public and private intervention" (2006:71). Turner saw slums as a solution, and he considered the South American slums to be "creative genius', with spontaneous and organic buildings and the accommodation of diverse functions in flexible spaces.

Tenure Security

Tenure security thus has potential to enable an economic foothold. In his quest to solve global poverty, de Soto was clear in his opinion that, quite simply, a freehold tenure that puts an asset in the hands of the poor by way of collateral to generate capital would achieve this (de Soto, 2000:40). For decades many have adhered to the de Soto model in attempts to release this 'dead capital', promoting three definitive arguments for tenure security: investment in personal housing or business is more likely with tenure security; as well as access to credit due to systematic legalisation of settlements and provision of freehold title ownership linked to enforceable rights. Supporting this view, the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR) explains that

> On first sight, the human right to housing seems to have a terminal effect on informal settlements. Perhaps informal housing enables somebody to 'live somewhere in security, peace and dignity' (CESCR, 1991:para. 7). Yet, even if informal housing provides families with affordable, habitable and accessible dwellings informal housing lacks the legal security of tenure and the full range of public services (otherwise it would not be informal) (CESCR, 1991:para. 8).

De Soto considers land to be a key concern in this debate, presenting a widely accepted view when arguing for tenure security and its resulting poverty reducing impact (2000). Myers, like Pieterse, cautions against the absolute reliance on the de Soto model urging consideration for what is particularly relevant in the South African context: the fact that there is limited institutional capacity in most national and especially provincial government tiers of control (2011:86).

The de Soto model has clearly influenced the South African housing model when considering the RDP and BNG. On discussions of the divide between legality and illegality of settlements, van Horen urges planners to move away from this "narrow concern" in order to establish the types of institutions required to "ensure continuity of the improvement process" (2000:389). While this form of tenure is the most direct with minimal administrative work, there is extensive argument for and presentation of a large variation on tenure types[37] (Pieterse, 2008; Royston, 2010).

Tenure security goes beyond the concreteness of land ownership and connects with the psychological and emotional roots of a colonial past. Fanon explains that,

> for a colonised people the most essential value, because the most concrete, is first and foremost the land: the land which will bring them bread and, above all, dignity. But this dignity has nothing to do with the dignity of the human individual: for that human individual has never heard tell of it. … As far as the native is concerned, morality is very concrete; it is to silence the settler's defiance, to break his flaunting violence (1965:34).

Secure tenure increases people's resilience. Reducing poverty requires addressing vulnerability which "in turn, demands building the resilience of community to the shocks and stresses of daily life, the capacity to safeguard and sustain livelihoods, 'the ability to cope, adapt and improve well-being" (Hamdi, 2010:185). While this research agrees with Hamdi's PEAS agenda,[38] a set of actions that are vital and co-dependent if a good development is to be practiced: Providing, Enabling, capacity to be Adaptive, and the capacity to Sustain – PEAS, I also argue that where the state continually provides for free, there is a risk of perpetuating a P(L)EAS(E) society, which is what current South African policy is attempting to stamp out. Hamdi draws parallels between PEAS and livelihood frameworks, that provide a way to look at livelihoods of the poor, seeking to an integrated and comprehensive approach to development, and their households start point. Policy will be more effective and equitable if it begins with an understanding of household level strategies and uses a livelihoods systems framework to understand the linkages between smaller units such as households and communities and the larger-scale economic social and political processes operating in and on cities (Hamdi, 2010:186).

A one size-fits-all approach is not necessarily the right way to think about tenure. There is a change on the horizon for policy and how it facilitates tenure security. *The Challenge of Slums* swayed UN-Habitat's initially opposing view of rights-based housing and adequate shelter for all of

[37] Freehold, Delayed freehold, Registered leasehold, Public rental; Private rental, shared equity, co-operative tenure, customary ownership, religious tenure systems, non-formal tenure systems. A full description of the types is presented in City Futures (Pieterse 2008).

[38] Hamdi's *The Placemakers Guide to Building Community* offers an agenda of Provide, Enable, Adapt and Sustain (Hamdi, 2010).

the Habitat II Conference in 1996, and "unveiled a refined agenda to drive the 'Global Campaign for Secure Tenure (GCST)'" (Pieterse, 2008:40). The rapid growth of shack urbanity and associated poverty is discussed in this document which "allows for complexity and multiple tenure conditions", and makes a clear statement against the one-size-fits-all approach to tenure (Pieterse, 2008:40). The GCST is developed around the core discussion on tenure security stating "all forms of secure tenure can only be effective when they operate within an enabling legal framework, and they are supported by good governance and an administrative capacity" (UN-Habitat 2004:4 in Pieterse, 2008:51).

Royston advocates a continuum of tenure that should "rather move from less formal to more formal as opposed to being classified as formal or not" (Royston, 2013) and goes on to explain that "a different view to tenure is to first acknowledge ownership in a blanket approach such as recognising an entire settlement" as advocated in Urban LandMark Incremental Tenure Approach (2010).

A general observation is that there is not always a clear distinction between rural and urban in South Africa. South Africa has over 100 tenure types including tenure certificates (Ovens, 2013). This flexibility and availability of choice requires more administrative capacity, and with the departments already stretched, it will only exacerbate the problem of timeous delivery, which can be alleviated by a staged approach; something along the lines of a rent-to-buy scheme.

Forced evictions or forced removals, where people do not have tenure security, are a problem globally. People are evicted from homes and land without notice and provision of alternatives, despite explicit international law that "recognises the right to security of tenure and adequate housing" (UN-Habitat, 2011). The reaction, unsurprisingly, is often protest and resistance and an impact beyond material destruction of assets but also the disintegration of social networks which compromises the social equity, altogether causing severe psychological effects, as violence is often used to force people to comply (UN-Habitat 2011). Forced evictions have acted as a catalyst for policy reform and development of international approaches to tenure security and related housing and evictions rights. Illustrating the earlier point of congruency between *urbs* and *civitas*, the social structure and civic engagement is of importance in the upgrading process. Lauren Royston argues that,

> securing tenure is not just about rights and title, it's also about duties and obligations including taxation, but locally it refers to things like being member of groups and taking rubbish out … there are links between rights and responsibilities, duties and obligations … (it is) also about social responsibility (2013).

Tenure security is not only an issue of policy but is also affected by corruption. The endemic corruption in SA is not only systemic; the case of DV exposed further issues in the housing

delivery process when approved new home owners of state provided houses were due to move into their house and were instead confronted by people who had taken occupation of the house and threatened their family and lives should they attempt to displace them, see Chapter Four for more on this.

The link between ownership and participatory partnerships, discussed in the next sections, is directly related to "shared ownership of the development agenda (which) is seen as key to its sustainability" (Edwards, 2000 in Hamdi, 2004:xx). South African government departments claim to have recognised and adopted the view that alleviating poverty and responding to housing need is about more than houses. This is the reasoning behind renaming the Department of Housing to the Department of Human Settlements in 2009. A helpful conception is Sherry Arnstein's 'ladder of citizen participation', depicting a hierarchy of participation from manipulation at the bottom, up to citizen control and thus power (Arnstein, 1969).

The Case for Incremental Upgrading

As the economic, tenure and institutional capacity discussions come together; the case for incremental development starts to gain ground, versus the systemically controlled, wholesale process of delivering housing.

The term 'incremental' is used by built environment professionals, academics, policy makers to describe a phased approach to house building, starting with basic accommodation and, as resources become available, working towards the desired level of accommodation over a period of time. While it is a global term used in places like India, in South Africa, incremental upgrading of entire settlements refers to a staged approach, starting with infrastructure, i.e., water, roads, sewerage, electricity and ultimately a top structure on the allocated site of the beneficiary.[39] Implicit in the word upgrading is a varied degree of quality of places - an ascending tier from settlement to township to town. Within this macro hierarchy is the micro-divide often defined by a variety of contributing realities related to affluence and well-located land.

Incremental housing policy offers people access to freehold tenure, basic services and a starter top structure through individual subsidy. Beneficiaries occupy incomplete dwellings immediately with the expectation that, as means became available; the consolidation of the house would follow on. Although there is no prescribed timeframe or standard, successful housing consolidation has been gauged by fast delivery of an adequate house.

Personal conversations with theorists and policy makers have highlighted a current rethinking around what might be catalysts for incremental upgrading. Some provincial governments

[39] Beneficiary is a term used by NDoHS referring to citizens that are receiving state housing support.

use the recurring fires as an opportunity for installing services and reblocking.[40] For many residents, however, restructuring or reblocking may mean relocation or displacement as it involves 'decanting' from an existing site in the process of de-densification. This thesis argues that it is the best way to deliver housing in SA, provided it is done in a community and site specific manner, which takes into account all the actors involved.

In support of the case for incremental housing, Turner explains that many have yet to learn about its potential. It can offer, as Wakely and Riley argue: increased delivery numbers, financial benefits, urban management, urban development, governance and social and economic development (2011). The Cities Alliance presented three approaches to shack urbanity in *Cities without Slums* for delivering low-income urban housing: upgrading, public social housing and 'sites and services,' which provides infrastructural services and a plot of land on which to build a house. Turner considers the Cities Alliance guide a "must read for all concerned with sustainable development and justice, both by those struggling for their rights to do what they are able to do for themselves as well as by those who support them" (Turner, in Wakely & Riley, 2011:ix). This approach reaches all tiers of need for housing delivery. The lessons learnt globally demonstrate that incremental processes help avoid the economic burden of an all-at-once investment with the accompanying loan repayments that "often push people back to the insecurity and vulnerability from which they came" (Hamdi, 2010:120).

Various studies question the support that incremental housing can offer beneficiaries (Gilbert, 2003; Rust, 2004; Napier, 2005) such as materials, finances, maintenance and project management. Nonetheless, Adebayo argues for the return of the incremental approach to the policy debate. While acknowledging failures of the RDP model, he agrees that they "do not take away from the potential of the incremental housing approach to deliver adequate housing for the poor (2011). Thus, further support is required for beneficiaries beyond the initial subsidy delivery, when expanding developments.

There are some authors who critique incremental upgrading. Abbott proposes a method-based planning framework for informal settlement upgrading focusing on replicability and at scale. Discussing three themes of an incremental approach to physical infrastructure provision, micro-

[40] Reblocking is a term used by planners for reorganisation of settlements into a structured layout facilitating ease of retrospective implementation of bulk infrastructure into areas of shack urbanity. Reblocking is a community-driven process to reconfigure and reposition shelters that are densely located within an informal settlement according to a plan prepared and agreed in the community. Generally, the re-clustering of the shelters results in better utilisation of space often around a courtyard that the community can all use. Community-implemented reblocking initiatives are often combined with other innovative elements such as women's or community savings schemes that raise contributions towards the reblocking, job-creation through the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) of government, which sustains livelihoods in these impoverished settlements and the rebuilding of shelters using fire-resistant materials (World Bank, 2016:20).

planning at community level, and physical transformation through holistic planning (*plano global*), he considers incremental provision, while extensively publicised, to be problematic due to it not providing a replicable solution, and its success to be open to interpretation as the gauge for success is based on widely varied criteria (Abbott, 2001; 2002).

There are varied types and degrees of upgrading. Some authors suggest that less is more. Marx argues for a lesser degree of intervention than upgrading, namely 'support' of informal settlements, where the provision of housing and social facilities to the community is at a sustainable level and in keeping with its financial means for maintenance thereof: "There is no way that support to informal settlements can be seen as only a housing issue if the support is to have any meaningful impact" (Marx, 2003:309). By contrast, Wakely and Riley argue the case for incremental housing in a 6-point list: increased delivery numbers, the financial benefits, urban management, urban development, governance and social and economic development (2011). In a recent presentation of his iShack[41] project at Enkanini in Stellenbosch in the Western Cape, Mark Swilling explained how installation of solar energy and local skills training for installation of the pay-for-use service was led by a university group with community participation, and with eventual acknowledgement by government as a legitimate way of accessing energy allowances available through mainstream electricity provision.

The process followed for intervention projects is frequently focused on box-ticking against mandates of timelines and quantities where "timelines take precedence over life process" (Hamdi, 2010:143). Inequality can be further entrenched by creating a divide between those who have studied placemaking and those who have not, much like Lefebvre's *Writing on Cities* references policies as systems used by experts, and the divide that these systems cause between the inhabitants and the interpreters of inhabiting (Lefebvre, 1996:153). Both sets of actors 'do' placemaking and so I prefer not to use Hamdi's distinction of "experts versus non-experts" (2010) in the context of upgrading shack urbanity. Rather, I argue that the beneficiaries are in fact the experts of their created communities. Because beneficiaries are the experts in their own homes and localities, the case for incremental upgrading is clear, because it offers a way to capture this knowledge through a participatory process, and use it to help make people's lives better.

There is a strong case for incremental upgrading when account is taken of community specific and relevant need to inform projects. While not all projects have failed to deliver adequate housing in a manner that has developed a sustainable community, there is a history of housing being developed on poorly located land far from cities and access to resources. Thus, the

[41] www.ishackproject.co.za

incremental approach affords a meaningful engagement with housing recipients and their communities to build on their use-knowledge of the place.

Participation in Incremental Upgrading

Participation at all stages first forges ownership of process, and then of place. "One's perception and occupation of space is profoundly affected by the underlying ownership of that space" (Awan, Schneider & Till, 2011:56). Participation also forges capacity building and community rather than the 'right to city' concept that is known for developing "dependency rather than empowerment" (Hamdi, 2010:180). Requiring communities to 'do it themselves', albeit with a bit of help, is based on the idea that by doing so, they will in time come to own it. *Praxis,* as Carl explains is "the exercising of choice based on judgment" (2015) and encompasses involvement and situation, which is necessarily considered together in the process of placemaking. This participation in the environment of shack urbanity upgrading, depicted by Hamdi's graphic (figures 16 and 17), is dependent on partnerships involving a spectrum of stakeholders.

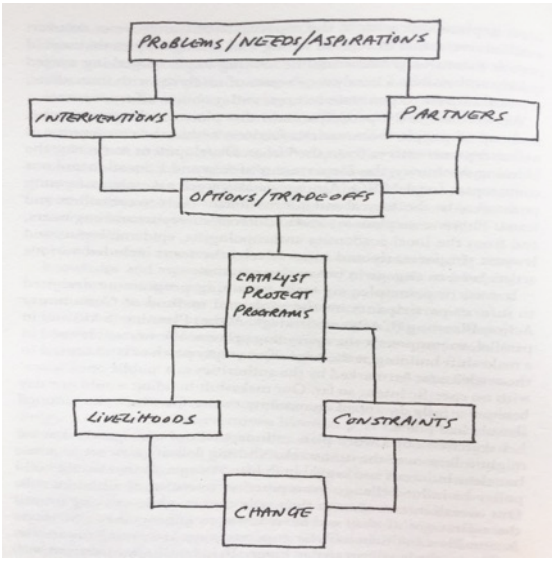


Figure 16: A workplan that mapped the overall intent of a project: "to meet the needs of now, while working toward the aspirations of soon and later" (Hamdi 2010:66).

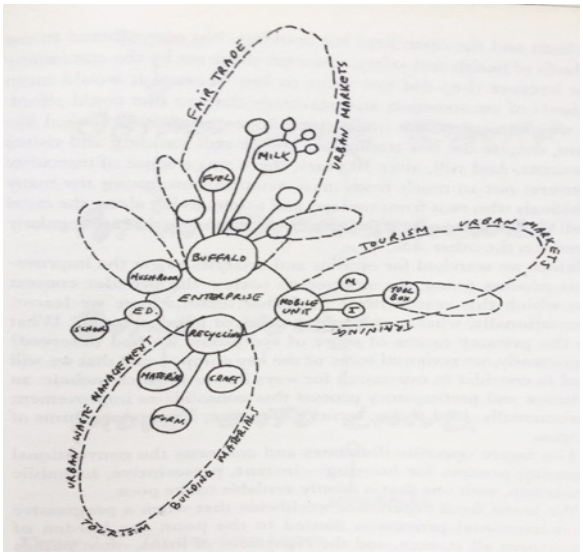


Figure 17: Illustration on "Building Community: partnerships, enterprise and social learning". (Hamdi 2010:119). The PSUP that implements this approach has reached 35 countries and 160 cities improving the lives of two million shack urbanity citizens. This programme is not adopted by South Africa.

Upgrading of informal settlements has always been a contentious topic in South Africa. Whether it was independent organisations upgrading by working on ways to change or sidestep government policy in the pre-1994 years, as the Urban Foundation[42] did with the implementation of

[42] Major structural change was achieved by the UF in urbanisation and housing. "This battle began in the late

Soweto-on-Sea (the precursor project to a reference study in this research, Zanemvula), or government rolling out serviced sites at large scale in remote locations in the democratic dawn. These serviced sites were the attempt at a self-help approach to housing delivery in the 1980s, but were "seen by the then housing minister as nothing more than 'toilets in the veld' and was rejected" (Sunday Times 16 July 1995 in Napier 2005:30 and Jones and Dutta, 2000). The Independent Development Trust (IDT) were responsible for experimenting with sites and services (Napier, 2005:29). In Davis' chapter 'Illusions of Self-Help' (2006), and Datta and Jones (1999) most self-help ended up, in reality, being "constructed with the paid assistance of artisans, and for specialist tasks, skilled labour". It is clear that the idea of participation and the relevant policy driving it needs addressing.

Successful upgrading requires meaningful participation and inclusion of the community into the process of placemaking, with a constant check that all actors remain around the 'table of intervention' where there is "negotiation rather than negation" (1994:37). Discussing transformation and the Urban Foundation, Smit called for organisations to conduct introspective assessments of their approach to participation with a goal of responsive adjustment, in order to form new alliances that better respond to need in South Africa (Smit, 1992). A partnership-based approach to incremental intervention, involving all tiers of government, NGOs, private entities and the community, is key – a participatory horizon for involvement by all – a metaphoric table around which change can be negotiated.

Resistance of place[43] and adverse civic response to intervention projects where there is no buy-in is a recurring hurdle facing shack urbanity intervention projects (Abbott, 2001, 2002; Napier, 2003, 2005; The HDA, 2012; NHC, 2004:25,30-33,51). Turner does not limit the definition of resources to materials, equipment, implementation skills including management of process, land and credit, but also that "their users must also be free to employ them in ways compatible with their own requirements without inhibiting the freedom of others" and that participation and self-help should include maintenance and management (1976). To achieve collaboration, respecting place and enabling people to exercise their right to use the space is necessary (Marx, 2003:305), coupled with participation by the poor on equal terms (Royston, 2013).

Participation is of particular importance because working within, rather than against, social networks, is a factor which adds to the success of housing intervention schemes. Lizzeralde explains that taking account of professional and community contribution based on reported success

---

1970s with the UF pushing hard for the introduction of 99-year leasehold tenure for blacks in urban areas. Having achieved this goal the UF continued to push for full freehold rights which were granted a few years later. The struggle surrounding the permanence of urban blacks reached its climax in the mid-1980s with the abolition of influx control and the introduction of a 'positive urbanisation' strategy" (Smit, 1992).

[43] From Barac, 2011.

of subsidised consolidation projects is strongly connected with "appropriate coordination of formal and informal stakeholders after the occupation of units" (Lizzaralde, 2011:175). It is widely accepted that disregard for social networks when considering housing, whether through box-ticking, or removals and relocations, reduces positive social capital effects. Turner's 'First Law' from *Freedom to Build* explains that:

> when dwellers control the major decisions and are free to make their own contribution to the design, construction or management of their housing, both the process and the environment produced stimulate individual and social well-being. When people have no control over, or responsibility for key decisions in the housing process, on the other hand, dwelling environments may instead become a barrier to personal fulfillment and a burden on the economy (Turner & Fichter, 1973:241).

Lefebvre warns of the effects of no heed being paid to social structures, of knowledge missing its target, resulting in reducing understanding of place to a series of facts lost in "classifications, descriptions and segmentations" (1974/1991:81). When acting outside of formalised projects, Simone explains that urban actors tend to aspire towards social cohesion while "seeing opportunities – for livelihood, cooperation, and access – at a scale beyond their immediate local environment" (2004:21). Monica Wilson considers this social cohesion through her writing on the importance of *civitas* in placemaking and the Aristotelian duty of man, or societal responsibility of providing for the social life and the ideas that can only arise from contact with others. Wilson sees permanence within a society as beyond the land security and more a case of connection through continuous contributions to social schemes (Wilson, 1936).

Participation is required in the complete process of delivery, although it is often limited to engagement at pre-planning stages at best, and retrospective token-discussion of aspiration at worst. Understanding place can be more effectively and efficiently approached, assisting with achieving sooner 'buy-in', if maximum information is available before first meetings with the community.[44] This initial step of building trust with the community is time consuming as "the nature of in situ upgrade projects demands that town planners spend time on site and take into account the sociological and property relations that exist between households before they do their final layout plan" (Pikholz, 1997:337).

Lack of trust between authorities engaged in upgrading and local people can be caused by unreliability of authorities. Municipalities often struggle to either deliver projects on time or, in dire instances, at all, due to either not having the time and staff capacity to tend to the extensive

[44] Abbott promotes the use of spatial data "to support integration of informal settlements into the city (2001:303) and the "use of GIS in informal settlement upgrading" as a means of ultimate layout (2002:317). This idea of using GIS and spatial data can be taken further and used right at the start of the project to enable understanding of already naturally created spatial uses in the settlement, and creating a larger knowledge base from which to engage with the community about the intervention project.

number or size of projects, or the capability i.e. experience and training, and in many instances, both. The issues of capacity and capability extend delivery timeframes, adding to the already administratively intensive bureaucratic procedures, often perceived by project implementers as red tape. Marx and Turner are emphatic that co-ordination and strong local government as well as strong community organisation and availability of resources are key factors underpinning a reframed housing policy (Marx, 2003; Turner, 1976).

Partnerships are key to negotiating the territory between top down and bottom up implementation in the debate around where responsibility for upgrading living conditions of the poor lies – they constitute a precondition for the table at which all actors meet to contribute to upgrading.

The table of intervention also serves as a metaphor to visualise the plane at which balance between successful top down and bottom up processes occurs. Adding more chairs around the table forges mutualism in housing delivery, distancing the systemic requirements from the community in which the intervention project will take place. Mutualism in housing delivery between all actors assists with understanding of place, and builds trust between institutions and citizens, where there is often mistrust, especially towards ward councillors or municipal officials. Addressing UN-Habitat, FEDUP pleaded, "Don't call us beneficiaries, and don't call us end-users. We want to be your partners. What we want you to do is to include our inputs in your policy … If you don't include our ideas in your policies, it will be just a beautiful policy" (Hamdi, 2010:92).

Empowerment of the poor to step out of the role of beneficiary and into the role of partner is significant in successful upgrading. Hamdi reiterates that "ownership comes from an ownership of process, of problem and of solution" while referring to precedent of well-meaning professional and NGO's deciding on issues that a community faces, that the community themselves do not perceive to be a problem or at least not a priority (Hamdi 2010:179). The effect being that often resources do not provide meaningful relief as people simply follow outsiders' views in the hope of acquiring something worthwhile, with a worse outcome being that the poor are given responsibilities for the implementation based on need decided by someone else (Hamdi 2010:179).

> The urban poor today are recognised for their resilience and productive capacities, rather than their inadequacies, despite the continued burden of discrimination and disadvantage. As such, disturbing power relations, reducing dependency and exploring interdependency is today as central to the purpose of project planning and delivery and to participatory work as are issues of rights and entitlements (Hamdi, 2010:9).

Self-help, as a concept, is not new and in developing countries is largely associated with Turner's *Housing by People* in which he advocates more control by the community in the development process and compares systemic versus people-driven housing delivery (fig.18). There

exists a reasonably coherently recorded history of self-help housing in South Africa. Post-war housing delivery "promoted the development of emergency sites and service development for 10,000 squatter households in Soweto, [and] the 1950s saw the use of incremental self-help building to alleviate problems of overcrowding and squatting" (Adebayo, 2011:5). Turner's sites and services model, in which the state provides infrastructure and the community takes control of their dwelling environment, sought to rationalise and improve on self-help housing (Davis, 2006), however it did not match the product or place envisaged by the IDT as it became clear that many were unable or uninterested. Marx adds, "research reveals that local government, in both its representative and service delivery roles, is not particularly well suited to supporting informal settlements" (2003:315). Despite this, the sites and services model is being re-tabled, addressing a collaborative approach between institutions and citizens, but this time with a stronger link with private and NGO partners.

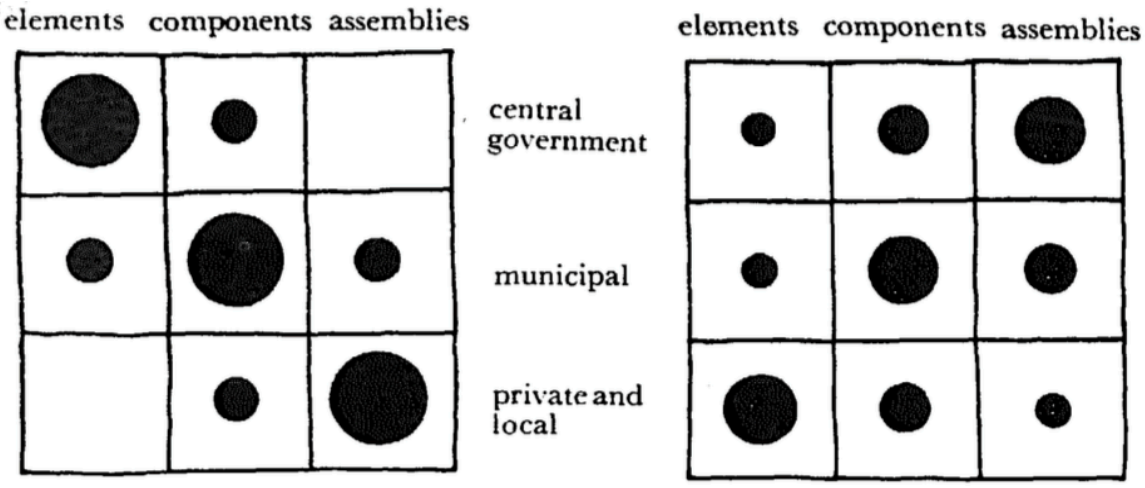


Figure 18: Systemic versus people-driven housing delivery. The two images illustrate a difference in levels of action and authority for housing delivery. The left square illustrates the role of central government as guaranteeing equal access to basic resources in providing infrastructure while the community takes responsibility for maintaining their dwelling environments, while the square on the right illustrates the a dominant role of government in providing dwelling environments (Turner, 1976:117).

The case for upgrading informal settlements through incremental intervention is clear, and the balance between success and failure in intervention housing delivery projects relies upon the degree of government intervention and community involvement. In South Africa, NGOs began engaging with communities in the late 1980s to "develop community-based and people-centered approaches to access land and deliver services and housing. At the time, different models emerged based on international experience, including mutual help, assisted mutual help, self-help, assisted self-help and community self-help savings and micro-credit schemes"[45](Carey 2009:iii).

[45] Toto explained that there are Stokvels in 'Kwanomzamo' that involve a group of people who own RDP homes and thus contribute to the buying of concrete blocks to extend their homes. Each person is given approximately 200 blocks at a time (01.11.2012).

International initiatives for self-help schemes have been developed by UN-Habitat through its Participatory Slum Upgrading Programme (PSUP), which focuses on integration and participatory processes and partnerships. The South African network of slum dwellers brings together two organisations – FEDUP and the Informal Settlement Network (ISN) and supportive NGOs of CORC, Ikhayalami and uTshani Fund which are positioned to make significant contribution to the efforts of national government and their upgrading goals.

Even if a process has been completely bottom up, micro-finance groups will ultimately need to register the property at the local authority if they are to stake their claim and truly engage in formality and its economic benefits, and FEDUP and the ISN assist them. International drivers for self-help reinforce the mandate of these NGO's, the UN-Habitat explains,

> (a)ssisted self-help housing is the most affordable and intelligent way of providing sustainable shelter... it is based on minimum standards and incorporates a substantive amount of sweat equity. It is useful because individuals and communities engaged in it acquire precious skills. It is practical because it responds to people's actual need and levels of affordability. It is flexible because dwelling units are often designed to be able to expand over time (UN-Habitat, 2005:166).

With his well-known formulation, the 'act of housing' and 'housing as verb' (Turner, 1972:148), Turner explains that human migration or urbanisation has not affected or "changed the act of people building houses for themselves as they do in rural areas", viewing the universal need for self-help housing as "a process expressing individual identity" (Turner, 1972:120; 121; 136). Mitchell draws on the Habitat I agenda of 1976 regarding government responsibility in shelter provision and the requirement of each nation to establish comprehensive settlement policies that are not only linked to socio-economic development, land use control, construction sector support, and water and sanitation, but also "new institutions at national, ministerial and other appropriate levels of government to formulate and implement the policy with public participation as an indispensable element" (Hardoy and Satterthwaite, 1982 cited in Mitchell and Bevan, 1992:55).

The table of intervention and participatory process assist with moving away from negotiated hope, to a meaningful engagement that avoids box-ticking participation – like pin-ups of drawings, community hall gatherings to present drawings of an already-decided proposal, and simplistic votes for or against an intervention proposal. As Majid Rahnema argues: "participation is easily transformed into manipulative designs totally opposed to what the people want it for" (Rahnema in Sachs *Ed,* 1992:118). Turner calls for the correct balance of authority and action and a sliding scale between reduced authority and increased "complexity of actions" (Turner, 1976:118) and explains that because "dwelling environments are necessarily functions of their inhabitants and, as people's housing priorities are extremely varied, control of dwellings and neighbourhoods must be in personal and local hands" (Turner, 1976:118).

Adaptability and Place Specificity in Participatory Approaches

This research emphasises the cumulative effects of understanding specificity of place. It is not uncommon to hear conversations at policy debate sessions referring to replicability as a means to roll out housing delivery at scale. I realise that it may not necessarily refer to the product delivered but rather the policy and method, but I suggest that the term adaptability is used instead, subtly making better reference to initial investigation and understanding of particularity of place to ensure specificity in approach. Turner applies this term in speaking about the key principles evident in practice and asks, "what can be learned … for adapting that and other community-building ways of creating homes and neighbourhoods in the same and other contexts?" (Turner in Wakely & Riley, 2011:ix) The Isandla Institute advocates place specific response with terms such as 'endogenous' and 'relativism' to describe the required approach to upgrading[46]. Marx, too, argues against a one-size-fits-all project-based approach and the consequences that "projectisation of development" have on informal settlements and the support provided.

> The most important consequence is the depoliticisation of inequality through the emphasis on the informal settlement as a technical problem that requires rectifying rather than on the socio-economic system that informs the development of informal settlements in the first place. A project-based approach, therefore, has a strong tendency to deal only with the symptoms of the failure of society and policy to realize the rights of citizens, and is therefore status quo-preserving (Marx, 2003:310).

Understanding place requires an understanding of its independent parts that make the whole, to avoid vacant generalities. The post-1994 housing delivery of the democratic South Africa applied a model of repetition and replication perpetuating the spatial divides of the former apartheid era and in instances where relocation and displacement have occurred, or worse, forced removals, with the added effects of characterless neighbourhoods and broken social networks, responding to Lefebvre's observation that "repetition has everywhere defeated uniqueness" (Lefebvre, 1974/1991:75). "What is needed is a new and quite particular way into place, a means of reconnecting with it in its very idiosyncrasy" (Casey 1997:202-203). In addition, in denouncing a *plano* approach, it is also important to take cognisance of the effect of particular personalities within the social network of the intervention site and implementing institutions.

[46] This is taken from a round table discussion convened during the process of writing chapter to book for the Isandla Institute by Thompson in 2014.

Conclusion

Self-help encourages actualisation, ownership, and reduced dependency, while addressing capacity and capability issues in government (with regard to implementing intervention projects). Whether a self-help approach is initiated bottom up or is a top down state reliant process of delivery, the initial stage should involve a clear assessment of need.

Tenure security does not translate to land ownership, however the tipping point between informal and formal settlement is tenure security. The danger with government taking complete control of the process lies in discarding the value of identity. Economic need is clear and in South Africa this is determined by brackets of earning, as already outlined in the policy section of Chapter One, on available subsidies.

In South Africa since 1994, there has been an increase in the gap between poverty and wealth exacerbated by the perpetuation of political corruption. Considering the barriers to upward mobility, Marx denounces the social impact of commodification and considers that some things ought not to be for sale: data, knowledge, and education (Marx, 2003). The wavering morality of the current government is well documented and met with a growing response from citizens, as Johnson's second premonition of major political change in South Africa, in his new book, appears to be gaining momentum. While self-help does foster a sense of ownership of place, or the act of owning, through participation and partnership, this process also puts the state in a position of largely divesting itself of provision responsibilities and conforming to capitalist procedures.

Shack urbanity is not only a local phenomenon, and is potentially instructive regarding the making of a reasonable civic life somewhat after the manner in which Sen and Banerjee and Duflo (2011) are instructive not only for developing cities but also alert one to primary issues of placemaking. The host city, the formal city that situates concentrated economic opportunity, can be perceived as providing livelihoods for those living in places of shack urbanity. Much like Bhabha's theory on postcolonial discourse seeks to "rearticulate or even reformulate methods through which knowledge is produced" (Hernandez, 2010:15) so we should be rethinking postcolonial urbanity and seeking ways to make our cities inclusive by recognising that the relationship between the formality and informality – the host city and shack urbanity – is in fact mutualistic.

Chapter Three

Constructing Evidence

Taking off in a light plane at 7:30AM, up into a sunny but chilly winter sky, promised a new perspective on Duncan Village. I was able to glimpse the routines and – despite being unable to hear the sound of the street, something I had heard on my visits on foot – to understand something of the rhythms of everyday life. This 'earth from the air' style of observation afforded me the opportunity to step back from my initial close proximity to the case study as architect; and facilitated my researcher-observer role by distancing me and reducing the effect my presence had on the places I wanted to study when engaging face-to-face with the citizens and being in the spaces, and as an architect seeking to understand connectivity of spaces, it is something I have always taken the opportunity to do, much like the approach of Barac and Southwood (2007). This alternative view of Duncan Village revealed its geography and topography, its physical boundaries and visual connections to the host city of East London.[47] This heightened awareness afforded me a new viewpoint on my position as, firstly, a white, middle class, mid-30s female in the predominantly black context of shack urbanity and, secondly, an internationally trained professional in the institutional context of policy implementation – both positions relevant to understanding the degree of possible impact that my being in Duncan Village might have, as architect and as researcher.

[47] The aerial photo session took two attempts as low level flying required clear weather and authority clearance in Johannesburg and East London. A detailed flight routing was required by the authorities with estimated time of flight, as DV is situated in the flight approach path to East London.

Within the four conceptual themes discussed in the previous chapter: host city, urbs and civitas, upgrading narratives and ownership of place, two strands of investigation are now prioritised in this research: the process of project delivery, and the place made or changed by intervention.

The epistemological framework in which the study has been carried out offers a dual perspective on the housing delivery process: from the inside looking out and from the outside looking in. An insider perspective is represented by my personal, professional engagement as Project Architect on the case study project at Duncan Village (DV) combining experience of systematic interaction with the process of housing delivery through texts, drawings, meetings and other aspects of architectural activity. The research can therefore be characterised as 'practice-based' fieldwork, with the researcher immersed in the productive context of work (Candy, 2006). The outsider component of the fieldwork method seeks to account for place from the perspective of local citizens, guided by both impartiality and reflexivity. The intention was to adopt an ethnographic approach, but this was modified to accommodate the ethical difficulties of working safely in DV. Data in both arenas was collected from sources that can be grouped as 'citizens' and 'institutions'.

Information was collected from three studies: a primary study at Duncan Village, which I refer to as the case study, and two secondary studies that are important for comparison and as a vehicle for demonstrating the institutional context which I have called reference studies. The case study is a source of primary anecdotal and heuristic information comprising project minutes, production information, correspondence, and knowledge constituted in professional practice and the experience of being part of the in situ upgrading project delivery process.

Fieldwork carried out at the case study site took me outside of my role as Project Architect, a role in which I had easy access to information and insight because I was effectively embedded in the research context. By contrast, my efforts to research the site as a concrete place and lived experience were thwarted by concerns about my safety. The two reference studies provide secondary data including anecdotal information obtained through correspondence and interviews with project personnel. They provide a platform for comparative discussion of selected aspects of housing delivery in upgrading projects.

Before entering DV, an approach to ethical research practices had to be carefully considered in light of safety constraints and the objective of collecting impartial information and untainted citizen narratives by providing one-to-one environments for discussion as opposed to group discussions with political leaders present. In this politically charged environment it was necessary not only to minimise the risk of personal harm of participants and avoid victimisation by local citizens observing interaction with me, but also understand the risks to my personal safety in a place known for activism, protest and violent acts. Vandalism of structures built during intervention

projects is often used as means of reaction to state violence. This research therefore adopts an investigatory style that is underpinned by the metaphor of the crime scene that guides the language of this dissertation. Vandalism took place on houses in Mekeni Road and thus the metaphor of house-as-victim was formulated. These crimes are, however, against both citizens and structures in the process of protesting the state. I followed standard principles of "obtaining informed consent; avoiding deceptive practices; and providing the right to withdraw" (Bryman, 2012:135-143), which was done by obtaining advice and permission for conducting qualitative research in Duncan Village from relevant organisations. As it was a real constraint that I could not present each interviewee with a form to sign, due to safety concerns, and emailing was not an option due to the often-minimal level of education and the greatly reduced probability of access to a computer and internet facilities in this impoverished area of shack urbanity, I devised a method for disseminating questionnaires that I call 'infiltration', detailed later in this chapter.

As Bryman warns, there is a risk that the quality of data collected is diluted or reduced by following ethical principles in research and thus can affect the quality of the data and its comparability (2012:144-145). Thus, while the constraints of safety affected my initial preferred method of first-hand engagement – my method of infiltration produced a better outcome because it provided a way to lower barriers to engagement, as the 'infiltration agents' were Xhosa-speaking and known members of the community. This also meant that should an informant decide to participate they would be able to express themselves in their own language to a person known within the community, which would then offer a more engaging platform for discussion. While the method of infiltration, with its associated term 'infiltration agents', presents, ironically, as spies going behind enemy lines, it was developed out of the response to real and present dangers to personal safety during the fieldwork process, and it was the only way to meaningfully engage with the place in order to understand its inner workings. The ability to construct a way to effectively approach the process of placemaking relied on this focused interaction with its citizens.

To ensure that the research method responded to the principle of protecting anonymity and confidentiality, names of all the people that I have engaged with during fieldwork research have been changed. The names of those whose connection with the information documented here are in the public domain have not been changed. During fieldwork, participants were fully briefed that they were not required to give their name or details if they did not feel comfortable doing so. This process was carried out in Xhosa to ensure clarity and avoid miscommunication.

Gadamer's concept of 'effective history' is a critically useful tool in facing the challenge of objectively accounting for life in DV as experienced by those who live there, mindful of the reflexivity discourse. Drawing on Gadamer's "historical consciousness" it is impossible for the researcher not

to be affected by their own particular historical experience, culture and demographic. It is also impossible not to take into account “the tension that exists between the identity of the common object and the changing situation in which it must be understood” (Gadamer, 1975:308). Understanding that the researcher is never impartial is important to this research because it affects decisions regarding methodology, which has impact on the quality of data collected.

Gadamer’s fusion of horizons has been necessary for interpretation. I reject claims of objectivism and absolute knowledge. A text cannot be articulated in a single horizon, instead one must embrace one’s own historical consciousness while interpreting and understanding (Gadamer, 1975). Gadamer did not intend to make a programmatic statement on hermeneutic methodology, but rather an explanation of what we do, often unconsciously, when interpreting text. He explains: "My real concern was and is philosophic: not what we do or what we ought to do, but what happens to us over and above our wanting and doing” (Gadamer, 1975:xxvi). Gadamer’s fusion of horizons is thus relevant in this research as it navigates diverse data types (such as interviews, documents and photographs) in investigating and interpreting, analysing and discussing the information.

Aristotle’s ethics also calls to move beyond philosophical discussion to practical action. In this research, practical action was useful for interpretation, bringing the *praxis* and narratives (obtained from the infiltration process) of intervention projects together for identifying commonalities.

Investigatory aesthetics, as described in the section Visualising Praxis, was used to visualise data that draws together issues of process of building structures and effect on the citizens living in the place, for comparison and analysis. Changing between the perspectives of architect and researcher offered alternating viewpoints, which was important in avoiding a single entry of professional encounter with actors, offering heuristic, nuanced narratives to the quantitative data used to understand the effects of intervention projects. The relevance of this effective history is important when considering the political views and aspirations of Duncan and also personal reflexivity and positionality.

The multi-staged research methodology, described in the next section, was an adaptive response to the situation, combining methods that addressed the aims of understanding process and place. A composite research approach Simone describes as a “long term systematic comparative research interweaving survey and ethnographic methods” (2004:17), the fieldwork consisted of a layered viewing of the place, ranging from aerial views to walking the streets, personal interactions, and questionnaires backed up by professional engagement and heuristic data. It offered a range of perspectives for interrogating case studies that developed into a multi-dimensional view of intervention.

Adapted and Combined Method

Duncan Village is divided by its urban features. Zooming in from the wide-angle views across DV afforded either from the air or the arrival point from the city at the Douglas Smith Highway (DSH or the highway), it is clear that the complexity of DV is in its very different spaces. In pursuit of a tactile understanding of the social and political fabric during my visits to DV I started to explore the areas further from the crazed bustle and sensory overload of the highway. Veering north, walking up the side streets at eight o'clock in the morning, I was against the flow of people going about their daily routine. This ground level front-door perspective brought a reality to the qualitative desktop understanding of the place – a harsh reality. It started to show the micro-grain of DV and differences within its boundary. While I initially perceived DV as a homogenous area, the spatial divisions were described by its inhabitants in interactions and answers during the infiltration process, where differentiating language like 'this side and that side', was used as they described experience of DV. The division was also noticeable in the comparative level of detail and extent of answers offered by interviewees, which differed depending on where they lived in DV.

In a country of 11 official languages, opportunities for miscommunication are rife, with many well-meaning intentions lost in translation, as often-incorrect interpretation of need forms fragile foundations for housing delivery. In this complex forum of hope and change, non-verbal exchanges are key to building trust, to opening channels of communication and removing potential barriers – understanding not only what to say but how to say it. While nine of the 11 languages are African, there is a commonality in body language and gestures that speak volumes. The first interaction is a gamble that can be quickly swayed in a positive direction by a showing of hands as a gesture to express honesty – 'you can trust me; I have nothing to hide'. When being handed something, anything, one hand is extended to receive what is being offered while the other hand is placed over the wrist of the outstretched hand as a symbol of honesty.

When I met Malusi for the first time, eye contact, "howzit,"[48] and a to-and-fro handshake sequence served as an icebreaker. This is standard when black people greet each other therefore as a white person greeting a black person, shaking hands this way subconsciously serves as a suggestion to start on common ground. It offers a respect for cultural ways and in my experience, is instantly received with a smile. In South Africa finding that common ground and gaining immediate insight into a person's views, approach, and understanding on historical segregationist laws sets the scene for interaction moving forward in an easy and relaxed tone. Malusi is a DV resident who was integral to the infiltration of Duncan Village. As the chair of the Mekeni Road

[48] This is an idiosyncratic South African word that bundles 'how is it' together and means 'how are you?'

Street Organisation he was willing to assist from the get-go.

Insight into the way the methodology unfolded is best described by telling the story of the conversations had with Lwazi at the East Cape Non-Government Organisation Coalition (ECNGOC) when speaking with him about the route to ethics approval for fieldwork research in DV. Dr Leslie Bank of Fort Hare Institute of Socio-Economic Research (FHISER) and Ronald Eglin of the East London based NGO, AFESIS-Corplan, directed me to the ECNGO. Artwell, a Zimbabwean man working at the ECNGOC, gave me the number of Lwazi, who is on the executive board, suggesting that as he also lives in DV, he would be the best person to speak to. Artwell was very concerned about my suggestion to spend time at the *spaza* shop[49] and his first statement was: "you are aware of the crime statistics at Duncan Village, I'm sure". My apprehension was increased by issues of safety in mass gathering situations after violent reactions had been reported at a community gathering just two weeks prior to my telephone discussion with him. Artwell recommended speaking with Lwazi, who could better advise on safety and the best way around my approach to speaking with people in DV. Lwazi quickly warmed in our first phone conversation in which I described my research and also personal interest in shack urbanity upgrading, and he offered insights and advice on my suggested methodological approach of snowball sampling. Lwazi was born in DV in 1968 and still lives there and after describing my methods of 'connecting' with the community via circumstantial interactions, he agreed the snowball sampling was a good way to achieve an untainted viewpoint, avoiding propaganda of the ward councillors (who he initially suggested I contact), and the potential for 'group think' responses.

As with Artwell, Lwazi sternly advised of the dangers, yet he spoke of DV with pride: "you need to be careful who you speak to though because some people have only been here one month for example and others just speak negatively about DV" and explained: "Some (people) who have lived there for maybe two or three days might say negative things". I mentioned Malusi, whose name and number I got from my translator Toto's friend Nokuthula (through township methods of word-on-the-street knowledge dissemination). As it turned out, Lwazi knew Malusi very well and confirmed that, as the leader of the Mekeni Road Street Organisation, he would be the best person to contact: "he has also lived in DV for a very long time, his whole life, like me" and that he would be a good entry point into the world of DV, as he has lived there all of his 52 years. Lwazi also spoke about another friend in DV, "He has been through the struggle," he said. Lwazi phoned me back instructing that I phone Malusi first and let him know where I got the number and asked that I call back to give him feedback. He was specific with his instructions on how to approach Malusi: "The first thing you are going to say is that you got his number from me".

[49] A *spaza* shop is the equivalent of a small corner store, often run from home, with a limited range of day-to-day necessities.

I noticed an immediate change in tone during our first conversation after I mentioned to Malusi that I was given his number from Lwazi and from then on, we engaged regularly by phone calls, texting, and meeting in person. On a couple of occasions the meetings didn't have an agenda except to discuss how the questionnaires had gone which really only took five minutes together with the gift cards as payment for his assistance. We still sat around chatting over a cup of tea and it has been in those moments that I have learnt the most about Malusi and Duncan Village.

Toto grew up on the rural outskirts of East London. She enjoyed showing me around on our visits to DV. Toto came with me in response to the advice from Malusi to be seen with a black person when in DV and having Toto come along on visits to DV had a multitude of positive effects, not least the breaking down of social and language barriers. Toto led introductions to interested people whom we met on the street, in Xhosa. We hadn't discussed it before, but she naturally assumed a 'buffer' role and explained what we were doing there which, in most instances, was met with a smile and willingness to engage.

These initial circumstantially-occurring interactions raised discussions between Toto and I of violence, and the means to gain an economic end. While the interviews conveyed some of this, they also revealed a different side of Duncan Village – pride, a fairly cohesive community (albeit largely in two separate groups), social capital, and aspiration for improvement, both personal and of the place.

The conclusion to the story about how the methodology arrived at the same person (Malusi) to contact for infiltration and to ultimately start the path to engaging with the community – following official paths of communication versus 'street talk' information transfer – is perhaps a metaphor for the path to upgrading, considering McCloed's diagram of 'how things are done' (seen in fig.14) when following informal and formal processes, or top-down versus bottom-up, housing provision. Both paths led to the same outcome, which not only confirmed but also reinforced the effectiveness of the opportunistic sampling and 'street talk' network as a way to access information and engage with place.

Process Methodology: Site Selection

Following the selection of the case study, Duncan Village, which was a natural choice based on professional involvement as project architect, I followed a process of purposive sampling in order to select appropriate reference studies (Bryman, 2012:418). As the research-question set out to investigate intervention projects in the Eastern Cape, a geographic constraint of keeping within the same province as the case study was automatically imposed. A combination of sampling types was

used: criterion sampling for selecting reference studies for process analysis and comparison, and opportunistic sampling and snowball sampling (by proxy) using my infiltration method for engaging with place and social understanding and effects of case study intervention project.

The criterion sampling process followed to identify reference studies required extensive interviews with project managers, town planners, city engineers and implementation agents of projects spanning decades from the early 1980s to now based on the simple criterion that the people interviewed had been involved in intervention project delivery of any kind in the Eastern Cape. In the next stage I met with those who had been involved in projects pre-1994 and/or post-1994. A series of discussions with Roger Matlock at the GM Foundation, formerly the Urban Foundation (UF) and Jacko McCarthy at The Housing Development Agency (The HDA), followed. Jacko had previously delivered projects with Roger Matlock while both were involved with The Urban Foundation pre-1994, and has also subsequently delivered extensive award winning projects through The HDA. One such project was initiated under the new BNG policy, at the same time as the case study project at DV. Adriaan van Eerden of Auercon and Lance del Monde of Metroplan, had both also previously been involved with UF pre-1994, and Lance Del Monde has since delivered extensive upgrade projects on behalf of Metroplan, including the award winning Sakhasonke.

An assessment of the case study characteristics informed the criteria upon which the reference studies were selected. Situated on the urban fringe DVRI was a completely top down incremental upgrade project that included provision of services and top structures fully funded by the three governmental tiers. These tiers form what is described as the client body in the Project Business Plan, a document required under NHC for Phase 1 and 2 of incremental upgrading (NHC, 2009). The significance of the history of the place within the Eastern Cape and South Africa together with the prioritising of the DVRI project by national government adds to the importance of this mega project. The project uses both in situ and greenfield sites for intervention. In situ intervention in this project is proposed by relocation of shack residents to a Temporary Relocation Area (TRA) while services and top structures are built. Displaced residents will be offered land at the serviced TRA which is yet to be identified and the project yet to go to tender for awarding to a contractor.

Ultimately a list of five criteria was developed for identifying reference studies to compare with the case study to provide a database to analyse and understand the process of upgrading shack urbanity.

1. **Project Driver**: Taking into account the Top-Down (TD) state-driven implementation versus the Bottom-Up (BU) people driven.
2. **Sites of Upgrading:** In situ (I) versus greenfield (GF).

3. **Density:** Low density is not considered. Medium (M) versus High density (H) settlements. The density in this instance refers to the existing informal settlement as opposed to the desired density of the proposed upgrading project. (Appendix 17 illustrates densities in DV and excerpt from LSDF for approach to densification in the DVRI project).

4. **Significance:** For either positive or negative reasons it needs to have been a well-known settlement. Significant by way of size (S), History of settlement (H), Priority Project status (PP), or settlements with regard to extensive publicity, awards, or political focus (A).

5. **Location:** Located in Eastern Cape. The settlements should be within the Urban Edge (UE) or on the immediate periphery or in the City Centre (CC) within the municipal boundary - the settlement would benefit from the infrastructure of the 'host' city being extended to incorporate its location.

The two reference studies were selected based on similar density and proximity to their host cities when compared with the case study, simultaneously ensuring various sites were used, and that a combination of top down and bottom up delivery was implemented across the studies.

DVRI and Zanemvula are termed mega projects in terms of their size, and priority projects in terms of the order on the national political agenda. A decision was made at the national tier of government to implement pilot projects simultaneously by way of the DVRI and Zanemvula mega projects after the new BNG policy and NUSP programs were introduced in 2004. The HDA is the appointed implementation agent for the Zanemvula intervention project. Jacko McCarthy, who is Project Manager on the Zanemvula project, has decades of experience in upgrading processes straddling pre and post democratic South Africa and more specifically he was involved with the pre-1994 project at Soweto-on-Sea, the site of which forms part of the Zanemvula project.

The table below was drawn up to list the narrowed down reference study options and allow for a tabulation of criteria, which ultimately became a visual tool for comparison.

		Project Driver		Sites of Upgrading		Density			Significance				Location	
		TD	BU	I	GF	L	M	H	S	H	PP	A	UE	CC
1	Case Study: DVRI	•		•	•			•	•	•	•		•	•
2	Zanemvula	•	•	•	•			•	•	•	•	•		•
3	Soweto-on-Sea		•	•			•		•		•	•		•
4	Sakhasonke		•		•		•		•			•	•	•
5	Missionvale		•		•				•					
6	Walmer Link	•			•				•			•		

Table 2: Illustrates how each of the studies fulfills one or more of the characteristics.

Place Methodology: Infiltration

This aspect of the methodology responded to the initial aim: to engage with the citizenry of Duncan Village – the people who make up the community that often become a paper trail of *erf* (plot) numbers and beneficiary lists in the process of upgrading – and to develop a vehicle to access the place in between its concrete and abstract manifestations.

Infiltration was a pseudo-ethnographic component that contributed narrative and a sense of 'being there' to the quantitative understanding of processing intervention. In the integral relationships between the spaces, speeds and rhythms of the city, ethnography "pursues the lived relationships between structure and agency or how individuals address circumstance" (Hall, 2012:15), and allows for understanding "parts of the world more or less as they are experienced and understood in the everyday lives of people who 'live them out'" (Crang & Cook, 2007:4).

I shifted between 'walking the streets' and the infiltration method of speaking with citizens, thus "placing the city at the foreground of the ethnographic exploration of *City, Street and Citizen.* "Contemporary urbanism has renewed the tradition of *flaneurie* to read the city from its street-level intimations" (Amin & Thrift, 2002:11), a method that is more than tourism, becoming "purposefully lost in the city's daily rhythms and material juxtapositions. The walker possesses both a poetic sensibility and a poetic science that is almost impossible to distill as a methodology for urban research (Amin and Thrift, 2002:11).

A series of efforts at gaining access to DV started with attempting to use the official housing beneficiary list for direct snowball sampling. It proved to be a near-impossible task of to-and-fro discussions with the relevant Buffalo City Municipality (BCM) departments to receive the updated version of the list I had used as architect on the project,[50] despite approval from the City Manager to access records. The so-called official list represented a spectrum of political issues and corruption both systemically and socially, so it was used as a base for interactions on Mekeni Road, but not a sole point of departure. This was combined with a method of opportunistic sampling and circumstantial interactions or unplanned encounters[51] while walking the streets of DV as an

[50]I initially phoned the department at BCM responsible for beneficiary application and processing (fieldwork notes in Red note book No.1 pp6-7). 05.08.11 Frustrating call to Ms Skenjama at ECDH. Been sent back and forth between Joyce at BCM and Lumanyano Zide at Eastern Cape Department of Housing to obtain beneficiary contact details. Each contact maintains it's not their duty. 13.09.11 Mthunzi, the DVRI Project Manager, then said he would instruct Vuyani in the housing department at BCM. Vuyani replied saying no access to details and needs formal instruction letter from Devan Govender to get go ahead. This did not get beyond Lucy, PA to Devan. 28.10.13 As it actually turned out, when trying to get GIS information from Annemarie Fish in BCM she explained the full process of action required in order to obtain access to any BCM information which involved submitting an application to Andile Fani, the City Manager and Jack Fine at the Knowledge Management department. The letter I was sent ended up being the incorrect one which I was told after having driven 300km to East London, upon hand delivering the letter.

additional means of access to place and I started to meet and speak with people on the streets of DV and some already living in the new DVRI houses on Mekeni Road.

Based on the aspirations of accessing rich and nuanced narratives, the approach with lists of questions on clipboards set a formal, rigid and somewhat intimidating setting - like that of a population survey which caused a negative impact - was not going to work. There are many who find refuge in the slums and want to stay below the radar, such as illegal immigrants from Zimbabwe. I met Yekile on my first visit to DV as a researcher with clipboard in hand. He lives in one of the new DVRI houses on Mekeni Road. Noticing the ornate burglar bars that seem to attempt to beautify a serious underlying reason for being there - keeping crime out - I knocked on the door, in a process of 'opportunistic sampling' (Bryman, 2012). The woman who answered the door invited us in. Toto and I stepped into the front room of the house where the elderly woman went back to cooking over a gas burner. She seemed nervous suddenly and, falling back on the ethics principles of research, I asked Toto to explain that we would leave at any time that she didn't want to speak with us. She briskly passed us to call a young man who came into the house from the neighbouring, uncompleted dwelling. He too seemed nervous through a wide set grin and intermittent giggling, despite hearing our project explanation and posing for a photograph. We found the surname he gave us on the beneficiary list but there were parts of his story that didn't add up and he seemed very uneasy. Yekile explained that they had moved into the house in March 2013 and that the shell next to them had become a problem as people would go there at night to smoke marijuana and he couldn't sleep. On a second attempt to understand his story, Yekile told us his father was the beneficiary. When he pointed out the name on the list however it cited a 28-year-old man, whereas Yekile told us he was 17. He continued to giggle and look very uneasy and his story shifted a few more times as we were told that the lady at the cooker was his grandmother, that his mother was the beneficiary and that his mother's boyfriend's name was the one on the list. None of it made sense and after much to-and-fro I started to wonder if these folks were perhaps of the new style squatters – people who had moved into a house that wasn't theirs. I stopped asking questions, and while he was at ease enough to pose for a photograph, the woman at the cooker was not happy to even speak to us.

The formal approach, which had failed with Yekile, was immediately abandoned as I realised that I would not get relaxed story-telling and nuanced detail of daily life in DV. I then moved towards a less formal approach that relied on my memory and immediate post-discussion note-making in order to set a very informal conversational atmosphere, with no clipboard or questionnaire. This approach was well received, resulting in more positive welcoming interactions with chatting and in some instances, photographs.

With each visit to DV came more involvement and understanding of the deeper layers of the place, in particular the latent violence and risk to my personal safety. The warnings by the ECNGOC[52] of risks associated with entering DV and acknowledgement by the Fort Hare institute for Social and Economic Research (FHISER) as to difficulties of working as a single researcher in DV, became apparent as I started to feel uneasy on my fourth visit, when a red Toyota, carrying four men, cruised slowly up and down Ndende street, the car's occupants watching me closely. This, together with the anecdotal and reported knowledge of gang activity and the history of violent activism within DV, concluded this approach of Toto and I walking the streets and meeting people, as it became clear that not only immersion but also the method of opportunistic sampling would no longer be possible.[53]

As a consequence of the risks, my method of infiltration was developed. I had built a rapport with residents of DV who assured my safety in DV as long as I was with them. They offered assistance and became my eyes and ears on the streets – my 'infiltration agents'.

This infiltration method was carried out by DV community members, who took the printed questionnaires to people's homes. Agents were both Xhosa speaking and black which allowed engagment with the wider citizenry as the interviewer was better positioned to relate to and connect with the people of DV, without me there. This created a relaxed atmosphere where the interviewee was more willing to offer a fuller and wider narrative – a way to observe with very limited effect on the observed. The effectiveness of infiltration was made clear by the different quality of responses received when comparing initial attempts at circumstantial interaction without the aid of Infiltration Agents.

This distancing reduced the impact of my being there and closed the gap on difference in race, gender, age, and historical and socio-economic background. Infiltration addressed issues of social barriers and boundaries by diluting the contrasts that exist in terms of positionality, described in Chapter Two. This method also allowed an initial distance, as researcher, considering the difficulty of remaining reflexive when surrounded by obvious inequality.

The infiltration agents were gatekeepers[54] to knowledge of place. The street talk and my having been in Duncan Village myself, responds to the necessary step in understanding place

[52] ECNGOC vision has four principles, one of which is *Ubuntu*, described by Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu: "A person with Ubuntu is open and available to others, affirming of others, does not feel threatened that others are able and good, for he or she has a proper self-assurance that comes from knowing that he or she belongs in a greater whole and is diminished when others are humiliated or diminished; when others are tortured or oppressed".

[53] With different research objectives and accepting extensive risk David Kay used immersion methodology in Duncan Village documented in his unpublished dissertation. He lived in a shack and conducted 28 interviews. (Kay, 2004).

[54] A term coined by Kurt Lewin in Field Theory of Social Science (1951).

through “grasping a phenomenality, underlying the urbanism of the everyday that cannot be known through theory or cognition alone” (Seigworth, 2000 in Amin & Thrift, 2002:9).

The questionnaires used by the infiltrators were designed to answer the research question, why does a project high on the political agenda with all the ingredients for success, still struggle towards completion? Allowing for the language barrier meant wording of the questionnaire was basic and clear to avoid ambiguity or misunderstanding. Only 15 of the 106 interviewees told their story in Xhosa, reducing the amount of post interview translation, a process with which Toto assisted me. The questions were coded into five categories to decipher the relation between the concrete and abstract phenomena of DV.

	To gauge	By asking
1	Degree of social capital in DV and depth of respondents connection with DV	Family living there? How long lived in DV? Friends in DV? Who looks after children when they are at work?
2	Emotional connection with place	Is DV a good place to live? If not, what would the respondent change about it?
3	Ability to use the connection with the city that the proximity of DV affords and whether needed	Are they employed? If so, how far away is work? Where are groceries and goods bought - in EL city or in DV?
4	Adaptation and re-creating space i.e. Responsive spacemaking.	How many times has the respondent moved? Why?
5	Effects of the project on the place	Are they or do they know of anyone benefiting from the DVRI project? Is it a good project? How did the project affect the respondent? Do those that benefit like the houses in Mekeni Road?

Table 3: Coding schedule for questionnaire.

106 questionnaires were given to infiltration agents, who engaged with citizens from door-to-door and explained the research project. If interviewees agreed to continue with the discussion then it was explained that they were under no obligation to respond. In addition my contact number was left for participants to contact me post-questionnaire processing, should they have any concerns or simply to follow up communication. For personal safety reasons, a dedicated phone number was acquired for research uses. While interviews could have been conducted telephonically, the nuances of storytelling would be lost, and there was already an allowance made for loss of nuance in translation from Xhosa to English.

The questionnaire sheets, seen in Appendix 10, were numbered and on return were arranged onto a spreadsheet, which prints out at 2.2m when full size, as found in Appendix 11. The aim was to produce a depth and quality of data to undertake a “Narrative Analysis” which is using storylines to explain fabric and metabolism of place (Bryman, 2012: 565) in order to understand the

effects of intervention projects. The narrative of the interviewees, speaking to questions of life in DV and satisfaction and knowledge of intervention projects, and suggestions for change, provided a qualitative qualification to the quantitative desktop data. Four questionnaire variants were used, with two types being used in Mekeni Road to gauge perceived effects of the intervention project as viewed by beneficiaries of the project versus existing residents.

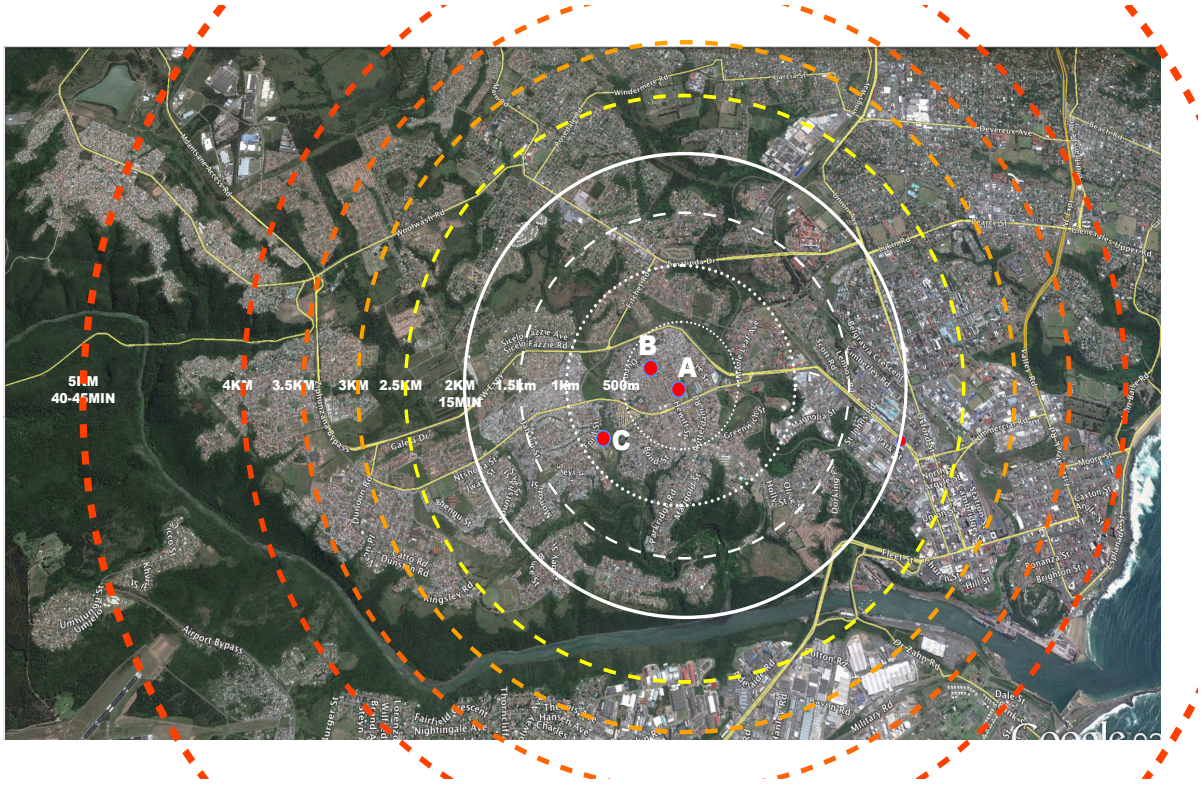


Figure 19: Map illustrating location of infiltration sites and distances between as well as distance to the telecommunications tower illustrated by the red dot on the solid 2km white circle. Distances respondents travelled to Duncan Village from surrounding cities in the Eastern Cape having moved 100km from Alice, 50km from King William's Town, 20km from Need's Camp and 17km from Mdantsane, from the West of Duncan Village, while others had moved 180km from Mthatha, 35km from Mooiplaas and 20km from Kwelera to the East of Duncan Village. Google Earth image with edits by author. The concentric circles indicate distances as labeled and the colours offer quick visual reference.

The infiltration agents were Malusi of Mekeni Road, as beneficiary of a DVRI house and in his capacity as leader of the Mekeni Road Street Organisation; Boniswa and Bonani, as future DVRI beneficiaries still living in a shack; and Kuthala, who owns a *spaza* shop on the opposite site of DV as seen in the aerial view of figure 19 at point 'C', offering opportunity to engage with a wider 'sample' type of DV through her patrons.

Malusi, Boniswa and Kuthala (fig.20) preferred that supermarket gift cards were used as payment for their assistance as well as expenses paid for travel and lunches. We met, with Toto the translator, on a couple of occasions for briefing sessions for lunch at a neutral place: a restaurant in town. This decision related to personal safety and also to ensure that, if there were to

be any issue related to demographic differences of race, gender or age of the facilitators that I had brought together, then it would minimise social discomfort.

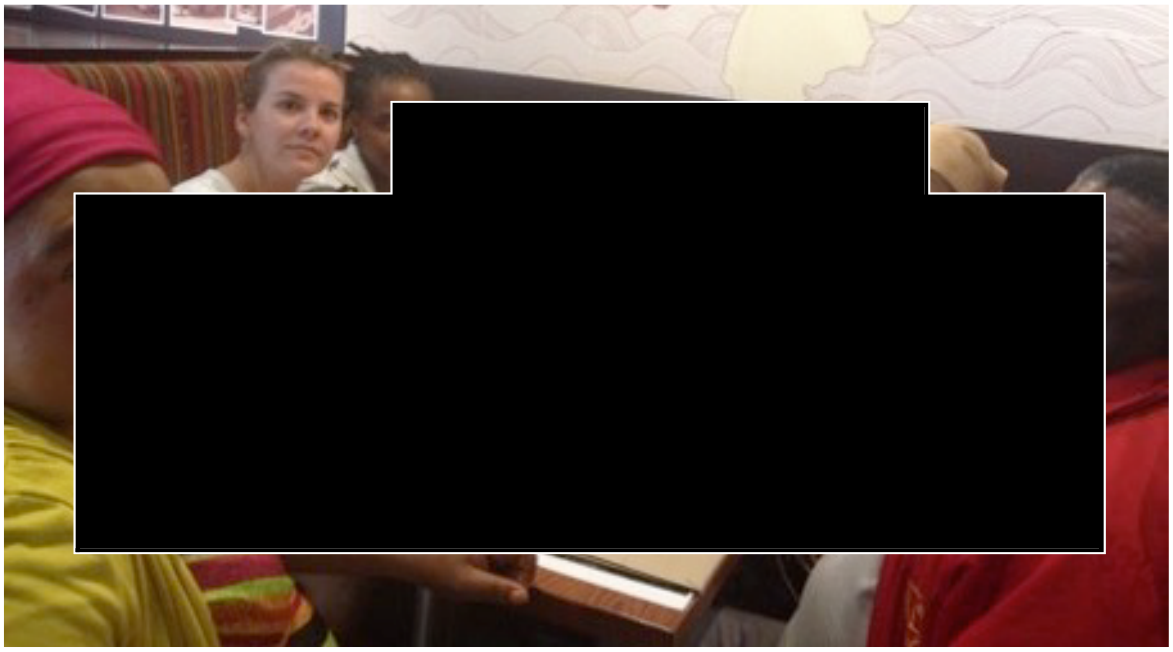


Figure 20: Briefing facilitators in East London CBD. Clockwise from left: Kuthala with the yellow jersey, me, Toto, Boniswa and Malusi. Photograph taken by waitron at restaurant.

A widely varied demographic of respondents was an automatic result of identifying three geographic locations in DV, illustrated on the maps below (figs 21–23), to disseminate questionnaires. The locations were selected based on the following criteria while keeping within the wider boundary of Duncan Village.

The first criterion was beneficiaries of the DVRI project, within Duncan Village Proper, some of whom were already in their new homes while others were still living in shacks and awaiting delivery. This generated two locations to facilitate interviews, one at Mekeni Road and one at the Competition Site at the end of Ndende Street. The non-DVRI beneficiary residents across the road from the pilot site[55] were also interviewed. The second criterion was the immediate community surrounding intervention sites, which automatically identified residents around the site at Mekeni Road. The third criterion was to engage with people who would be able to contribute by confirming and elaborating, or by negating the street talk discussions of a divided DV.

The infiltration sites included the two DVRI pilot sites located in DV Proper and one across the DSH in Ford Street (fig.19). The third DVRI site is located in Haven Hills outside of Duncan Village Proper and thus has a sense of being completely separate as, although it is at the end of the DSH, it is geographically separated by the Ziphunzana pass, a major motorway as illustrated in detail in

[55] Pilot projects are a way that SA government tests delivery. Pilot projects are smaller versions of the larger project.

Chapter Four. For this reason, Haven Hills was not included. Ford Street was included for comparative purposes and based on the intimation through circumstantial interactions, that the DSH divides DV socially.

Figure 21: Mekeni Road infiltration sites and numbering and distance mapping. Google Earth image with edits by author. Concentric circles are graded in distance by colour as labeled.

Figure 22: Competition Site infiltration sites and numbering and distance mapping. Google Earth image with edits by author. Concentric circles are graded in distance by colour as labeled.

Figure 23: Ford Street infiltration sites and numbering and distance mapping. Google Earth image with edits by author. Concentric circles are graded in distance by colour as labeled.

Using agents had its limitations, and education level was one of them. Four questionnaire variants were used, with two types being used in Mekeni Road to gauge difference in effect of the intervention project on the place as viewed by beneficiaries of the project versus existing residents in the street. During the infiltration process there were continual reminders of the years of oppression during the apartheid era, beyond the concrete manifestations of segregation planning that were in front of me. The hangover of years of substandard or no education for black people, or symbolic violence, is still affecting South Africans today. While the language barrier was an issue covered by the agents being bilingual in Xhosa and English, the ability to engage and discuss as well as write and translate were required skills to effectively document responses. Boniswa, who carried out her interviews at Competition Site, despite a full briefing and explanation in English and in Xhosa, completed the first round of questionnaires by answering all the questions herself. During the second round, after a re-briefing, she only asked people in the street and sporadically filled in one-word answers, most of which ended up being from scholars on their way to school who were not best positioned to answer questions about access to livelihood and issues of housing. Kuthala, the *spaza* shop owner on the other hand, had facilitated interviews before and produced full notes complete with names, numbers and often five-sentence answers from interviewees, all written in clear English already translated from Xhosa (these original answered questionnaires can be viewed on the USB memory stick of raw data appended to this thesis). The limited education is a symbolic violence but also indicative of rural migrants where education is less about school and more about contributing to subsistence labour with the family.

The infiltration process in itself revealed important nuances of place. In the debriefing Malusi mentioned that many participants were apprehensive and first wanted a full explanation of the research. Apprehension in interviewees often resulted in them avoiding giving full answers and Malusi relayed that they were not sure if I had any 'councillor friends'. In explanation: there is a lot of quasi-public life that takes place as networks of allies or friends in doorways, alleys or between houses. Councillors are the link to jobs and food parcels and the participants feared that this study would show the municipality in a bad light to councillors if they were to hear about negative responses, so they either chose not to answer or gave one-word answers and did not provide a name and/or number. Residents of Competition Site in particular were less likely to give their name and number - people at CS have more to lose, as they don't have a house yet.

The infiltration process provided insight into the civic metabolism, which shows a spectrum between pride and malevolence, where citizens have developed skills of adaptation to adversity that can be understood by way of concepts such as Bremner's "loose spaces" (2010:74) in which pavement inlets become car wash stops or roadside grass patches become stalls to sell cooked corn on the cob for passersby on their way to work, and ways of responsive placemaking to set back and divide, raising the question of whether DV survives on hope versus the idea of it being a self-sufficient town. As a system for fleshing out the practical understanding of the issues, this interrogation of place is conveyed through informants like Malusi as head of the Area Committee in Mekeni Road; Ziyanda and Kuthala, the entrepreneurs who live on the East and West of DV; Bonani and Boniswa, approved beneficiaries for a house in the DVRI project, who are living in a shack while awaiting the completion of their house as they navigate their boundaries of belonging, both concrete and abstract, and others who offered their narratives.

The Shack Urbanity Intervention Tool (SUIT)

The SUIT is a data map that creates a visual translation of the discussion table at which all actors' views become visible, aligning with Hesse's writing that "everything that is thought and expressed in words is one-sided, only half the truth; it all lacks totality, completeness, unity" (1951:112). The SUIT expresses more than just words.

Investigatory aesthetics has been used as a vehicle in this research for navigating between *urbs* and *civitas*, to understand the process of intervention projects and their effect on place, and to identify project inhibitors. Common ground between the concrete issues of development and the social fabric or philosophical issues of a community was sought. The data on the case study and reference studies comprises a multitude of files, practice notes, meeting minutes, fieldwork notes, interview notes, 'street talk' discussions and photographs, historical and current aerial photographs,

requiring arrangement to allow accessibility and interpretation. Visualisation was thus used to collate and to draw together these multiple data types, and to bring together the concrete and abstract aspects of intervention projects; the process and narratives; the buildings and the citizens, into a single realm for reference, comparison and analysis and to respond to Simone's call to "concern the invention of a platform or scene on which the cacophony of urban voices are audible and become understood, and on which speakers are made visible" (Simone, 2004:12). Visualisation also aligns the diverse actors of the process in a multi-level platform for interpretation and analysis, drawing together information to better understand intervention as a self-contained 'whole'.

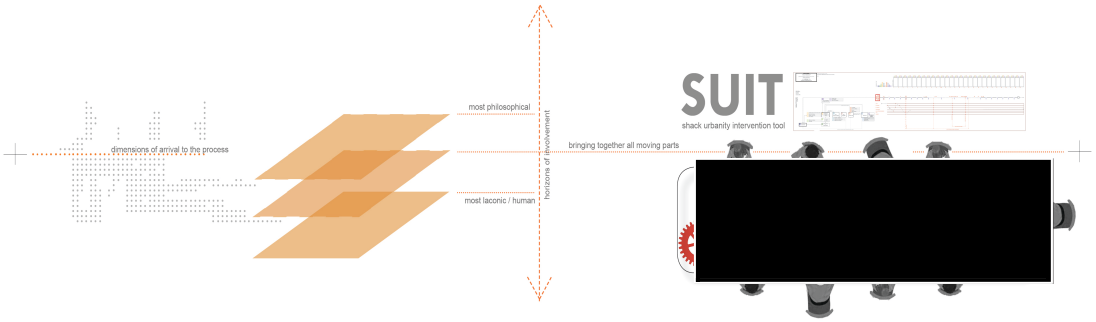


Figure 24: Illustrates the varied dimensions of data that arrive at the project, bringing about a horizon of involvement ranging philosophical to laconic, where the data map offers charts the narratives. These moving parts are then sorted and monitored at the 'table of intervention'.

A purpose-designed visualisation tool, the Shack Urbanity Intervention Tool (SUIT) is used to establish a single dimension of reference, a symbolic table to sit around, for the purpose of navigating the concrete and abstract phenomena of an urban environment in the throes of change – a city in the making and its citizens yet to come. The SUIT went through a number of permutations, testing the equality of representation at the metaphorical table. This tool provides a structure in which all roles and relationships of the agents of change, resistances, problems and allowances made during the construction process can arrive from polar entry points yet be easily accounted for and included. For example, it offers a seat at the table for actors from institutions, Project Managers and local government departments, and also for the community. It displays a real-time visual presentation of conflicts and reciprocities and in this research it affords case study and reference study reflection, comparison and analysis.

This drawing-together of the concrete and abstract also represents a coalition of actors involved in, and benefiting from, the process of upgrading and the resultant place, something well described by Hajer's "discourse coalitions" (1993:47)[56] and again by Watson (2002:6), with the ultimate pursuit of a coalition of discourses. A coalition of discourses is desirable because it draws together knowledge of lived situations into the policy realm to better effect change. The SUIT

[56] "A discourse coalition is the ensemble of a set of story lines, the actors that utters these story lines, and the practices that conform to these story lines, all organized around a discourse"

answers to Simone's interests which lie in finding a "more diffuse but no less concrete" way in which diverse urban actors are assembled and act" (2004:112). This ideal for a discourse coalition is the lens through which case study and reference studies are organised, presented and analysed and the basis on which the SUIT is developed. The SUIT is thus not only a heuristic means of clarifying the themes set out in Chapter Two, but also a way to present a snapshot or temporary static for reflection to consider all contributory aspects of intervention – a "dialectic of standstill" (Benjamin, 1999) – and find relationships between them all.

The SUIT draws together various dimensions of data that are arranged into three components that take account of all the moving parts, bringing together the various horizons of involvement (fig.25). The first is the sequenced display of actors in the process, connected by lines of communication. The second is in the form of stacked individual staff lines along the project timeline, mapping significant events in the life of the project and their effect on the discourse. The third is the narrative of events effected by the actors or 'change agents', the most relevant are represented in the individual 'table of elements', created by taking the sequenced illustration of actors and translating it into a simplified graphic, which is then below each narrative.

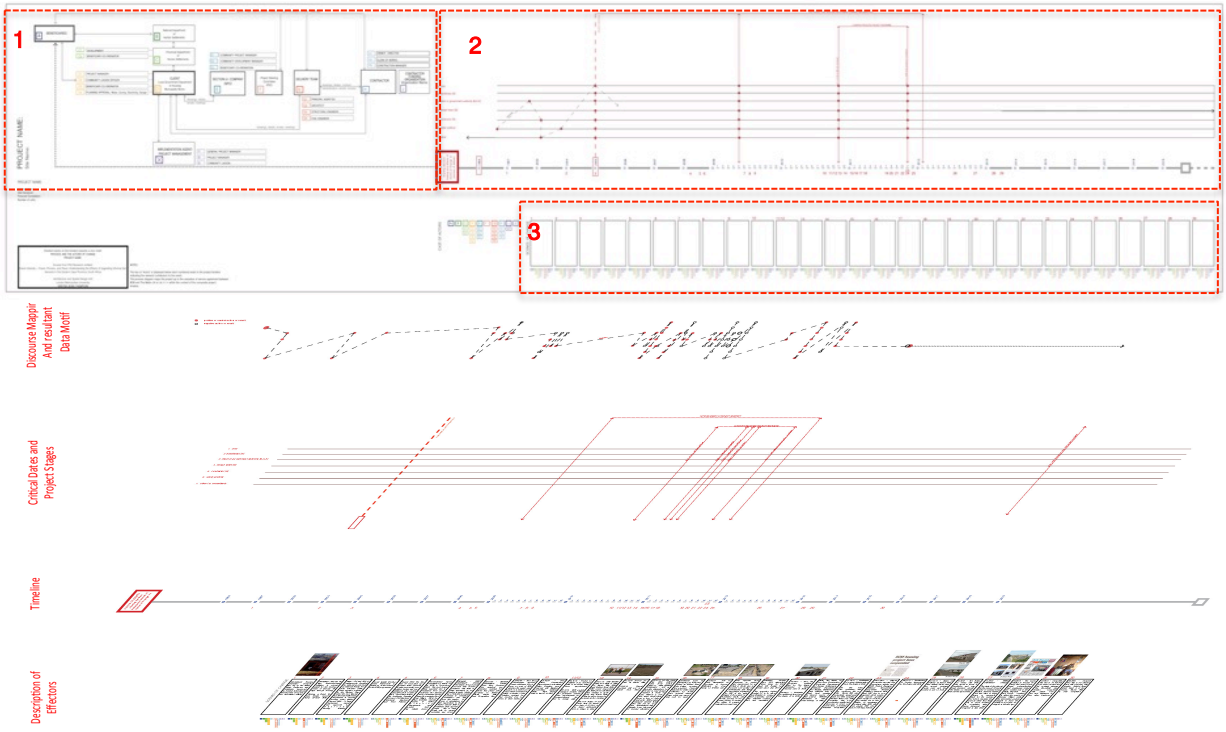


Figure 25: Illustrates a blank SUIT and an exploded axonometric of components 2 & 3 of the SUIT See full-scale diagrams for all studies in Appendices 25, 26 and 27.

The lines of communication between actors are indicated in the first horizon. Communication between the local authority and beneficiaries is forged through the housing provision application process, with the intention of being maintained by the Community Liaison Officer of the local authority and monthly meetings with the community (NHC, 2009). The

implementation of this link is interlaced with political tensions. Ward councillors link the beneficiaries with the local authority in terms of expression and understanding of need as intended by the policy shift of 2004, placing more ownership in the hands of local government (Tissington, 2011).

The actors of change in this research have been identified through reflection on practice and are grouped according to the role of impacting the delivery of the project, and include:

A: Beneficiaries are the catalytic actors of intervention. These citizens are often from within the existing community and understand that the civic context or citizenry within which intervention takes place is to be prioritised. Marx points out that upgrading informal settlements requires incorporation of "wider economic and social processes" to ensure a holistic approach and mindfulness of the impact on the residents and citizenry alike (2003:310).

B, C, D: Client or local authority is responsible for managing, and co-ordinating the project. This actor outsources a spectrum of professional resources required to provide the identified beneficiary needs and in this capacity, is acting as client. Once again, the success of this relationship relies on the particular personalities employed by the municipality to take cognisance of and responsibility for the impact of their decisions. Lack of co-ordination between the internal municipal departments often affected timeous progress. "Costs and budgets are departmentalised, and accountability and performance are measured in terms of the individual performance of the department rather than their ability to co-ordinate their work with other departments" (Marx, 2003).

E: Support Organisations: to provide organisation, technical, and financial support to community-based processes.

F: Community Liaison: Keeps the community informed of project progress and serves as a point of contact for community and beneficiary concerns.

G: Design team refers to the professional services called for in the NHC to deliver the project, i.e., Quantity Surveyor, Civil Engineer, Structural Engineer and Architect. In the SUIT, key communication lines are with the contractor and the local authority.

H: Contractor is the building professional who delivers the final built product and has a contractual and direct relationship with the local authority that once again performs the role of client.

I: Implementation Agent is a role that was developed to assist local governments in delivering their housing mandates after it was recognised that capacity and capability were two issues affecting successful processes.

J: Contractor Funding Mechanism refers to the model of implementation followed which directly impacts on the way that the housing is funded.

The final data map combines the use of text and imagery where text is derived from project notes, meeting minutes, personal diarising of project events, and fieldwork notes, and imagery is compiled from national resources of historical photography, aerial photography, and fieldwork photographs.

The SUIT draws together the *praxis* of the case study and reference study projects in order to analyse the process of intervention. It is not an assemblage, as each part of the whole diagram makes a specific contribution, affecting the way process unfolds. Place and processes of change are used to track the efforts of the state to intervene in what has become the defacto mode of urbanisation, formulated here as shack urbanity.

The retrospective construction of facts is used as evidence in order to explore hypotheses of intervention project failure. The resultant data maps – the images created by charting the data on the staff lines of the SUIT - were superimposed onto each other to identify the abstract contributors to concrete phenomena of placemaking. This allows re-occurring inhibitors to be identified and analysed in Chapter Six in the context of existing implementation theories.

In terms of replicability of methods of upgrading shack urbanity, the SUIT identifies inhibitors and keeps the knowledge available to inform decision-making, and avoid encountering these hurdles in future projects. The SUIT layout is kept constant for all studies, allowing quick comparison and a continual assessment of information. It provides an immediate visual reference to the current status of the project as well as its history, avoiding the need for a new project coordinator to trawl through files of information before being able to start meaningful engagement with the process. It becomes a living document, which affords a real-time response to issues as they arise. Replicability appears at first to conflict with the argument around understanding specificity of place, however replicability of approach to processing placemaking that is proven to be successful, is required.

The SUIT is also used to map or chart processes, and aims at delivering housing through a metered and calculated approach, offering an illustration of the day-to-day 'happenings' alongside explanatory text that conveys the nuances and 'on-the-ground' issues facing delivery. While it follows events chronologically played out by each actor affected by the concrete phenomena of the intervention sites, it is not simply a timeline, but also notes scenes of change that affect the path to delivery. It does not intend to advocate a purely project management approach – quite the opposite – it assists in illustrating peripheral and contributing actions affecting delivery that a purely project management approach fails to take into account, namely specificity of place.

Finally, the SUIT offers reflection on practice that, despite logical order and noble aspirations of theory and policy, causes upgrading agendas to fail on some critical points during the reality of

implementation.

The SUIT timescale is thorough. The start point of the SUIT is any significant event or decision that led to the initiation of the project. In terms of planning policy and development processes each project incorporates all phases of the development process, namely: pre-planning, planning application; project initiation; project implementation and housing consolidation. The significance of this lies in identifying lengthy periods of time where typically a project may be halted. For example, the pre-planning stage is notoriously complicated and time-consuming and, as explained by Warren Smit in conversation, it often takes up to seven years to complete this single stage.

The SUIT visualises manifested and experienced realities faced during intervention projects while taking account of the nuances that affect the upgrading delivery process. These nuances of place are to be understood; not only by taking cognisance of current day rhythms and responsive routines, but also an appreciation of the history of place that have bearing on its growth and development. The data that is entered into the SUIT draws together incidents and effects of intervention on the case studies.

Constructing the evidence for this research meant continuous response to barriers and gatekeepers while addressing the two strands of investigation – process and place – resulting, through this adaptation, a combination of approaches and ultimately a formulated method of infiltration for fieldwork undertaken to better understand shack urbanity and its citizens.

Chapter Four

Infiltrating Place

This chapter introduces Duncan Village in detail. In the first and second sections, the layering that makes up Duncan Village as a specific, dense and complex place is understood from two different angles: first, the historical intervention, politics and policy of the locality, illustrated by the concrete effects of housing policies that have defined local boundaries and are barriers to integration; and second the topographical layout, boundaries and connection with the host city. I consider both the macro grain, through aerial and street views, and the micro grain of introspective and more private spaces offering calm, away from the bustling daily interactions.

Connections between Duncan Village and its host city, East London, and the ability of or need for DV citizens to engage with the 'formal' city are discussed in the context of socio-political history of DV and South Africa. The chapter also explores the perpetuation of physical violence such as fire, and symbolic violence such as corruption, significant to understanding the Duncan Village context.

The third section discusses adaptive response to change and the narratives of people that make their home on the edge of the host city. It illustrates the nuances and 'small-scale, big-change' realities of 'on-the-ground' theory implementation. This leads to the discussion of responsive placemaking and the resourcefulness of poverty and environments of shack urbanity; the architecture of change and the role of urban planning in providing the tools for spatial adaptation in dynamic urban environments.

A History of Intervention in Duncan's Village

The institutional setting within which DV started frames tumultuous scenes of political unrest. A legacy of resettlement and removals has plagued Duncan Village from the early 1900s, a microcosm of the issues faced nationally at the time, some of which are still seen today. The history of apartheid can be read through its topography and housing typologies.

There are signs of early spatial segregation in response to continual arguments between Europeans and natives, and the later notorious 'Group Areas Act' did not miss the city of East London, with defined areas for Africans, Coloured people (an accepted term in South Africa for mixed race people), Asian people and White people, while the African people lived in settlements called the East Bank and West Bank, 2km from East London CBD (fig.26).

Within the macro grain of DV is the finer grain of social structures that affect its spatial organisation. Located in the Eastern Cape (EC), the poorest of the nine provinces in South Africa, East London (nicknamed 'Slummies') is cited by the UN State of the Cities Report 2010/2011 as having the highest inequality coefficient in the world based on monthly expenditure.

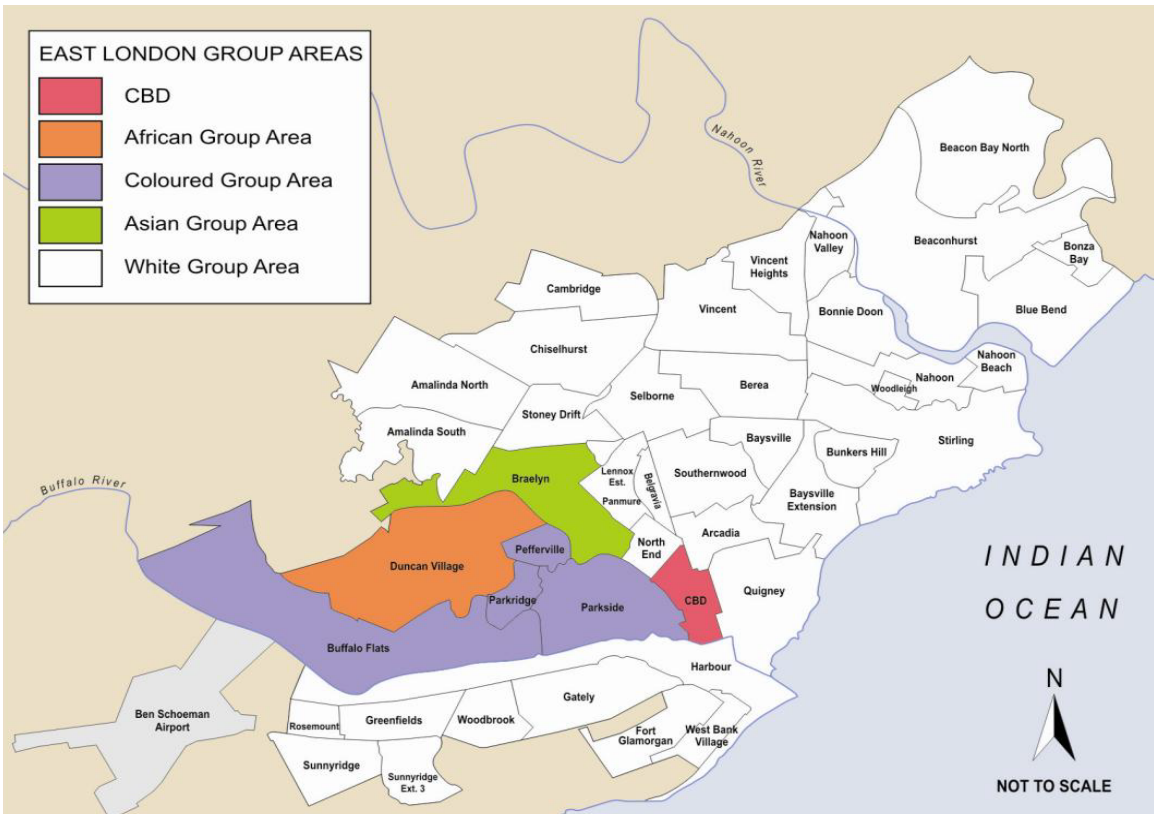


Figure 26: A map of allocated land in and around East London according to race as per the Group Areas Act illustrates the removals from cities and resettlement into Homelands during apartheid. Group Areas: East London, South Africa (1950-1991). Source: Adapted from Gordon, T.J. (1980).

Duncan Village is one of the oldest settlements in South Africa, with over 100 years of history dating back to 1890, when the municipality translated a racial divide into the geographic locations of the East and West Bank of the city. Topographical, political and man-made boundaries define East London with both natural borders of rivers and hills and concrete barriers of the apartheid planning regime in the form of the Douglas Smith Highway (DSH), which historically provided access to the city for use by black people only.

During the 20th century, East London boomed. In the 1920s the industrial city developed fast with an influx of migrants and African labourers to designated areas on the fringe. The new industrial parks of the 1930s led to the quadrupling of job availability for African workers. From the mid-1940s, there was a period of secondary industrialisation and rapid economic change after the Second World War and "by the 1950s, the East Bank, East London's largest location, had been declared one of the most overcrowded in the union, a festering, uncontrolled slum with open sewers" (Bank, 2011:22).

From 1964 to 1979 the Group Areas Act saw some 15,000 families forcibly removed to Mdantsane township, 32km away, rendering a dramatically different scene of Duncan Village after the demolition of the wood-and-iron houses (fig.30 and 31). This process of relocation to the "soulless" place of Mdantsane, changed the highly dense conditions of Duncan Village to a municipal- controlled township of single-sex dormitories (Bank, 2011:23; BCM, 2008:11). Political and labour activism caused unrest repeatedly as the apartheid model started unravelling in the 1980s. Workers were dissatisfied with low wages, and major strikes put strain on the city's industries (Bank, 2011:26). Unfortunately, Duncan's Graeco-Latin ideals aspiring to "wholeness and unity", "a love of beauty in a spirit of simplicity", and "a sense of value of the individual,"[57] starkly contrasted the *realpolitik* that still plagues DV.

The dissatisfaction of the 1980s peaked with the DV Massacre of 1985, which occurred when a village meeting was declared illegal, ordered to stop, and then met with police fire into the crowd, killing 28 people. The monument to the struggle is located near the Duncan Village Cemetery and in front of a high school. This massacre was a symbol of a countrywide struggle for freedom and rights intertwined in the fabric of this settlement – a freedom that Mbeki declared "is not free" at the unveiling of the massacre memorial in 2008 (BCM, 2008). Today, on approach to the city, the collage of make-do urbanity of some 18,400 shacks or nearly 100,000 people envelops almost two square kilometres of the densely populated landscape of corrugation and timber (BCM, 2008). Figure 27 shows DV in relation to the centre of East London.

[57] UCT Jagger Library, 1927. Duncan. BC 294 A9.8.1. Cape Argus, 28 May.

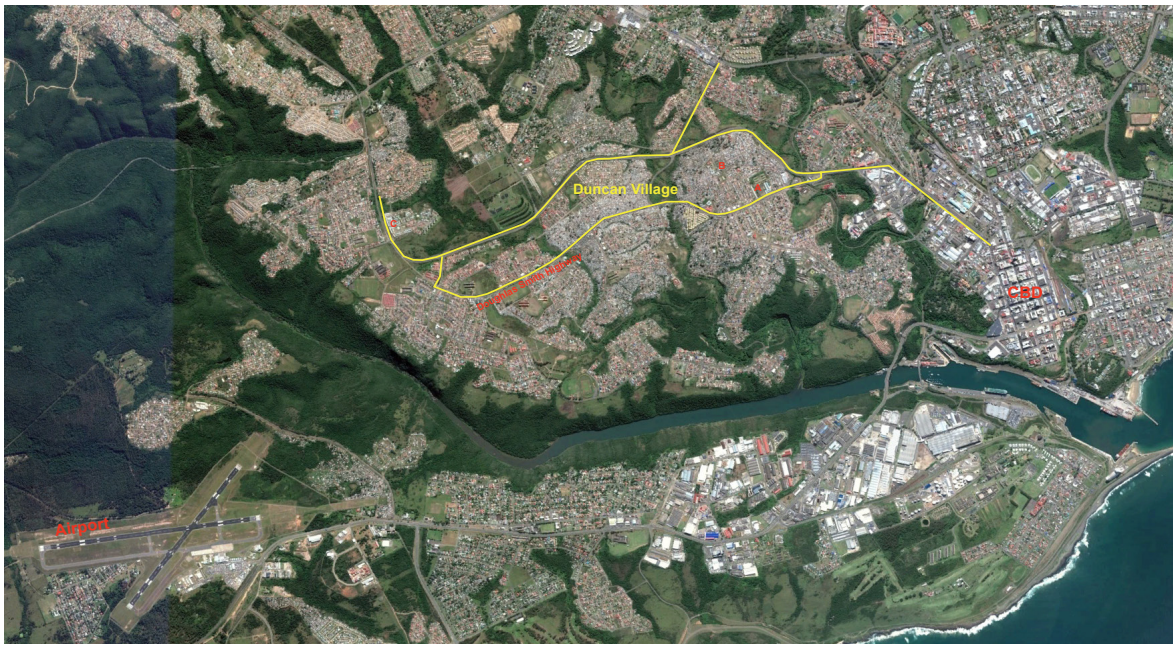


Figure 27: This image shows DV in the context of the city of East London in 2015. The yellow outline is used as a location indicator for photographs in this chapter. Google Earth image with edits by author.

Housing is the focus for political change historically and remains so today. The history of legislated transience in Duncan Village can be illustrated using the various 'house typologies' to navigate its concrete topography, one that depicts an unsettled testing ground – a palimpsest for policy implementation over the last century. While housing in Duncan Village is predominantly informal, this century-long history is made up of attempts at formalising town and placemaking. The varied housing typologies represent degrees of affluence in DV, giving physical form to Bank's distinction between 'borners' and 'towners', (that is, the people who have lived there all their lives versus the migrants) (Bank, 2011). Descriptions of housing types and socio-spatial division at Duncan Village sets the scene for a discussion of successes and failures of the intervention project, in the context of community needs and expectations.

The illustrative composition below (fig.28) serves as a visual geographical key to the detailed descriptions of housing typologies that follow. The key reads from right to left following the growth pattern of the 'village' from the arrival point to DV from East London CBD, at the Douglas Smith Highway. This series of images depicts a lifeline of actions and reactions dating back to 1891. Sites A, B and C on the key are the three pilot study sites for the DVRI project. Sites A and B have been investigated in depth as they fall within the topographical boundaries of DV proper and the Core Study Area of DVRI.

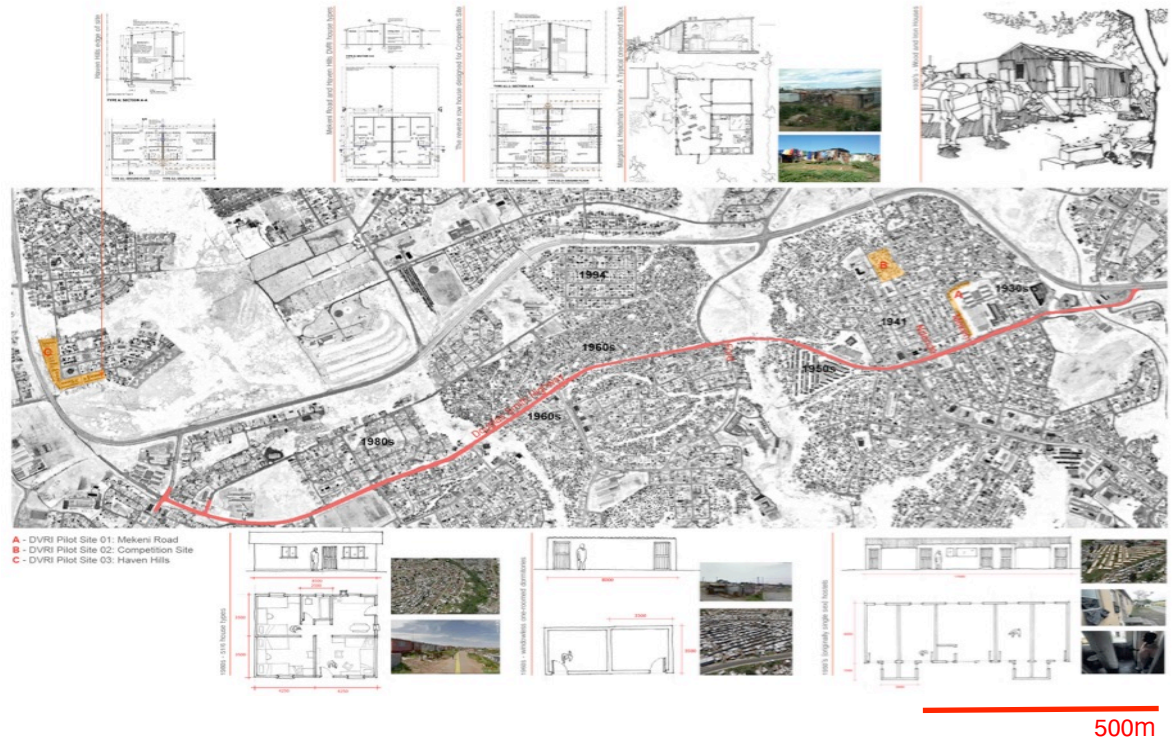
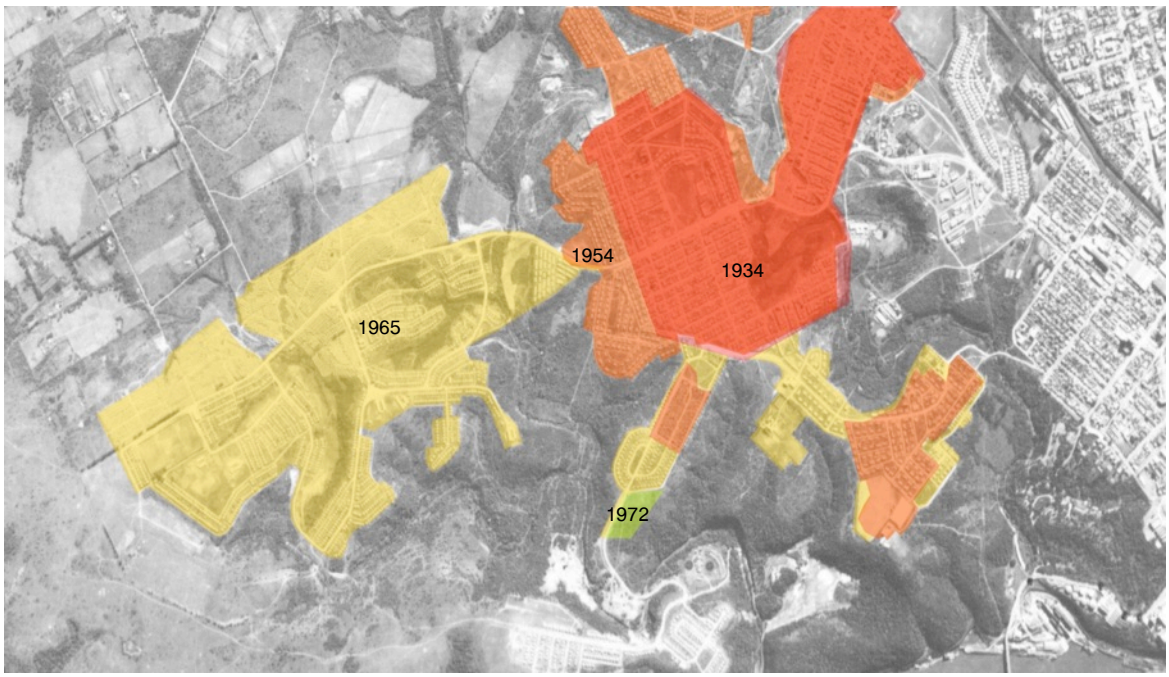


Figure 28: A history of intervention mapped out along the Douglas Smith Highway. See Appendix 13 for full-page image. Maps from Government's National Geographic department date back to 1934 and show the impact of policy implementation on DV over 80 years and a full diagrammatic account



is illustrated as a timeline of intervention. Source: South African National Geographic archives, Cape Town, adapted by author.

Figure 29: 1965 aerial photograph with overlays of red, orange, yellow and green added to illustrate growth from 1934, 1954, 1965 and 1972. Duncan Village Proper, where first houses were built. This map, received, dated and verified by the South African Government National Geographic department is different from the same dated aerial photograph in Bank's book. Source: South African National Geographic archives, Cape Town, adapted by author

Wood and Iron House Types

The first formal houses in DV were the wood and iron structures of the 1941 housing scheme (fig.30), which were 10 to 12 roomed government-built structures. The image below is in Frederick Street and is to the East of the area of Duncan Village, which is situated between the North West Expressway and the Douglas Smith Highway. The exact position is identified on the historical aerial in figure 29 in the red section highlighted as '1934', which shows the development of the area as it was in 1965.

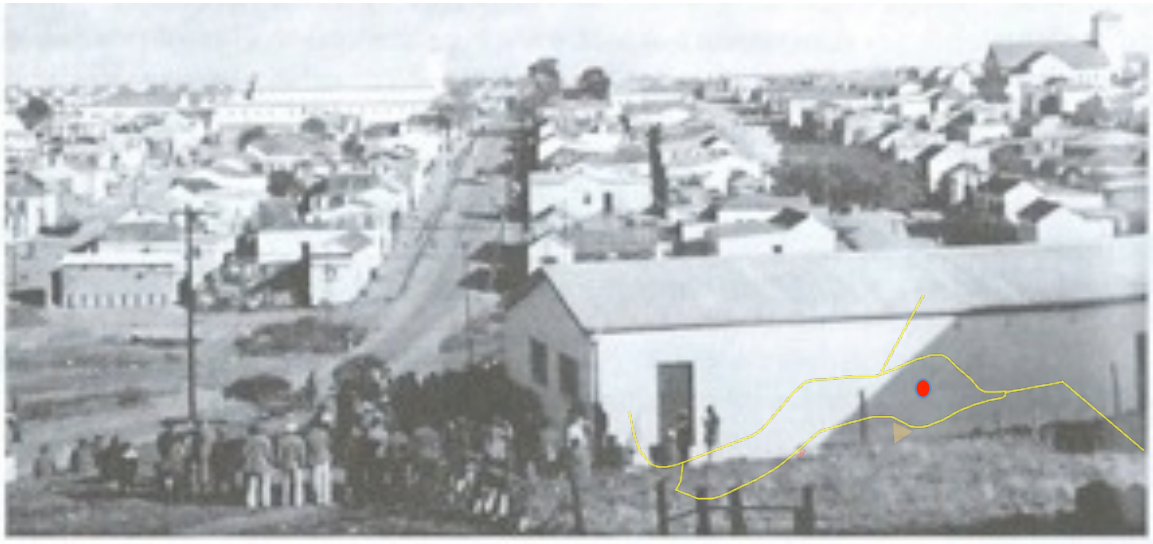


Figure 30: East Bank location as it was in the 1950s. Source: East London Municipal Collections in Bank 2011.

Figure 31: Hand drawing by author, based on photograph of demolition of wood-and-iron house in Bank, 2011:23 which were torn down during the forced removals of the 1970s.

The houses of the East Bank were victims of policy shifts resulting in forced removals of the 1960s and 1970s when a planning regime change was implemented to take account of the new ideal for a clear divide between urban and rural spaces and reinforcing the views of the East Bank as the "working-class community in the city designed to serve industry" (Bank, 2012:70). The "tin town" was thus to be demolished (fig.31) to accommodate the new 51/6 and 51/9 style urban houses and address the areas on the fringe of the city, which included the West Bank, officially referred to as the "irredeemable slums, which had little potential for proper regulation and incremental redevelopment" (Bank, 2011:71) and so the cyclical discussion for-or-against razing Duncan Village to the ground began.

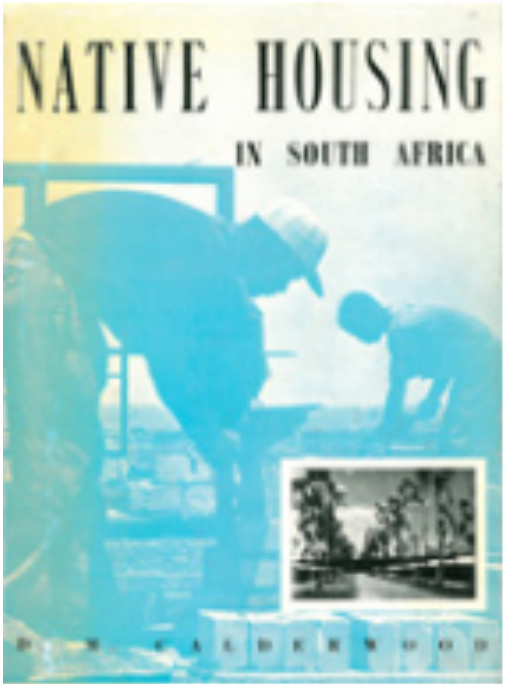
Figure 32: A 1965 aerial photograph of Duncan Village illustrating the areas of forced removals in darker red while the yellow dot indicates Mekeni Road, one of the pilot sites of the DVRI. Source: South African National Geographic archives, Cape Town, adapted by author.

51/6 and 51/9: Calderwood House Types

The four-roomed housing typology was municipal houses for families in modern workmen's cottages, which were built at Ziphunzana / DV Extension. Anyone not housed in these pavilion style houses on single plot with garden, due to not qualifying for permanent urban residence under the Section 10 regulations, was "either relocated to Mdantsane or housed in a limited number of new male hostels in Duncan Village" (Bank, 2011:71).

The 'one-house-one-plot' low-density house plans were produced from research into best-suited housing typologies, conducted by the National Building Research Institute (NBRI) between 1948 and 1951 and revolved around the ideas of architect Douglas Calderwood (figs 33-38). It became generally known as the NE 51/6, where 'NE' stood for *Non-European* and '51' was 1951, the year of Calderwood's doctoral dissertation, and '6' was the drawing's number in the dissertation.

Figure 33: The location of 51/6 and 51/9 house types in the area known as Duncan Village Proper. Biermann's knowledge of the Cape vernacular is evident from the plan of the average Soweto house, a four-roomed unit which resembled a double-pile 'Kaapse lang huis', translated from Afrikaans to read 'the Cape long house'. Source: South African National Geographic archives, Cape Town, adapted by author.



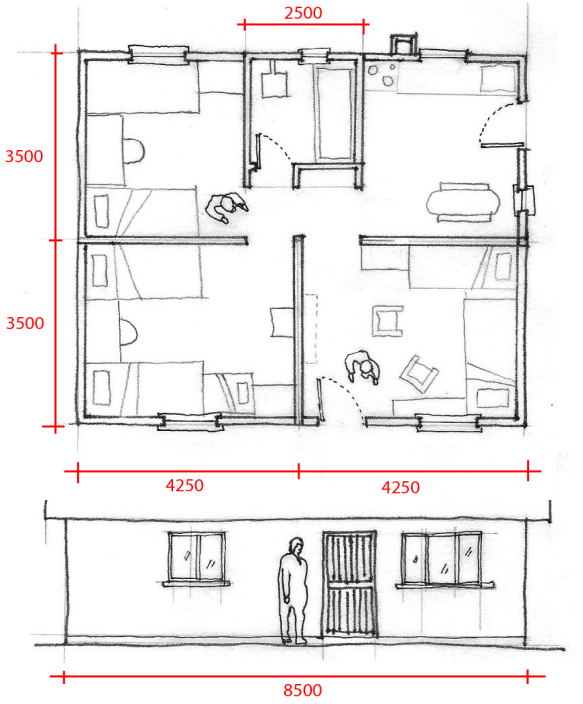


Figure 34: Calderwood dissertation.

Figure 35: Calderwood plan from his dissertation of the 51/6 and 51/9 houses. Drawn by author.

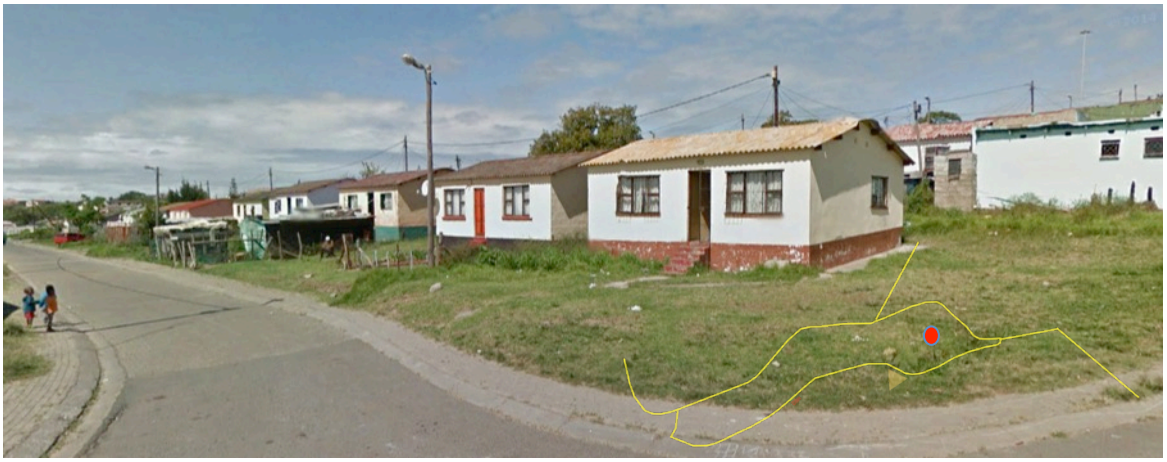


Figure 36: Calderwood House types at Mekeni Road. Photograph by K. Thompson.

Figure 37: Calderwood House types in Mekeni Road, opposite the DVRI development.
Figure 38: The Calderwood House in the distance, with the DVRI RDP houses in the foreground in Mekeni Road. Photographs by K. Thompson.

Figure 39: A view from a side-street lined with backyard shacks looking towards Mekeni Road and the city beyond. Photograph by K. Thompson.

B-Hostel

The rural component of the East Bank is visibly ring fenced by the B-Hostel Complex, which was built in the 1950s and based on the *kraal* layout to create a village space in the city. A *kraal* formation is a typical African arrangement of huts fenced off creating an introspective layout to keep livestock in the centre. The occupants had strict regulations regarding access to CBD 2km away, which was closely regulated, and only for persons described as 'fit and proper' (Bank, 2011:71). Today these hostels, seen on plan in figure 40, form the cream-roofed landmark (figs41-44) along the Douglas Smith Highway where the buildings are obscured from sight by the steep drop off away from the pavement edge.

Figure 40: Aerial photograph of Duncan Village illustrating the areas of B-Hostel in darker red. Source: South African National Geographic archives, Cape Town, adapted by author.

Figure 41: Google Earth and Street View collage of B-Hostel. The interpretation of a kraal formation, in this housing layout, refers to the inward facing organisation of the buildings that create a semi-public area between them.

DAMAGED: Poor living conditions at B-Hostel houses which were renovated many years ago

CONCERNED: Phila Meyeliseli is one of residents who is affected by poor living conditions at B-Hostel houses in Duncan Village, where some residents live in houses without Doors and windows

Figure 42 & 43: Interior and close up images of the derelict B-Hostel. Source: *Daily Dispatch.*

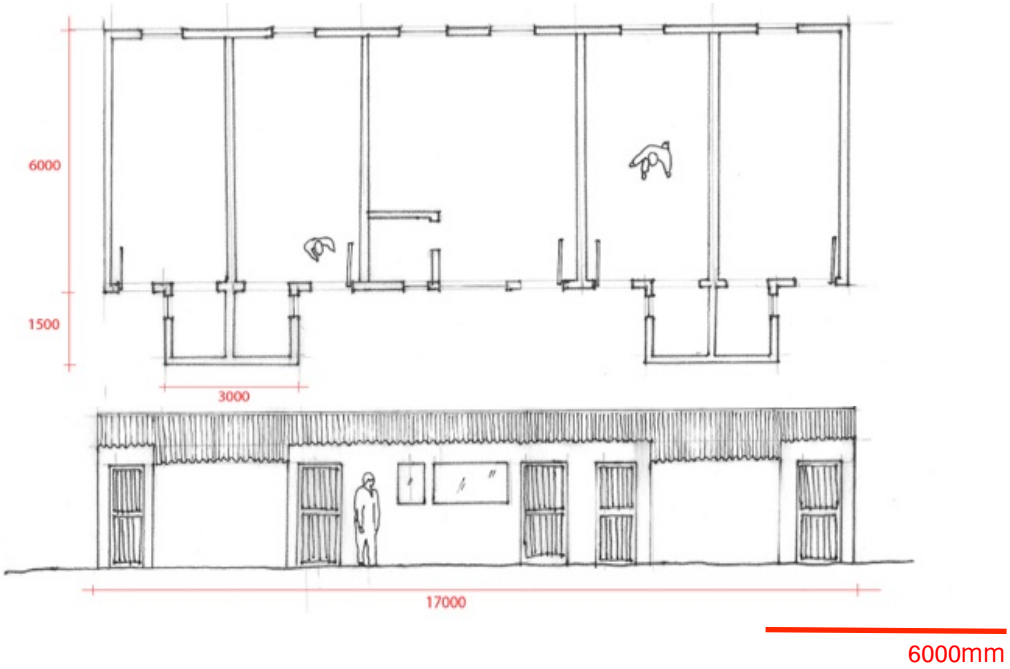


Figure 44: Plan and Elevation of 1950s hostels drawn by author scaled from own photographs taken in Duncan Village.

When considering the definition of formal versus informal, and the translation into the built form as concrete versus corrugation, and incorporating de Soto's views on tenure, it is impossible to conclude that in this instance, the life-narratives of citizens have been upgraded. This illustrates the points made earlier purely providing 'formal' housing does not necessarily improve the lives of citizens.

C-Section

One-roomed windowless rows seen on plan in figure 45, named C-Section, were built in 1961 as 'transition houses' with the intention that those moving there would do so temporarily while the new area of Mdantsane was being built. These 3.5m x 3.5m units (figs 46-48) were built to house those

that did not meet the strict new regulations for DV residency (Bank, 2011). These were built at a high-speed delivery rate of over 100 per month from later in 1961 resulting in 35,000 units built.

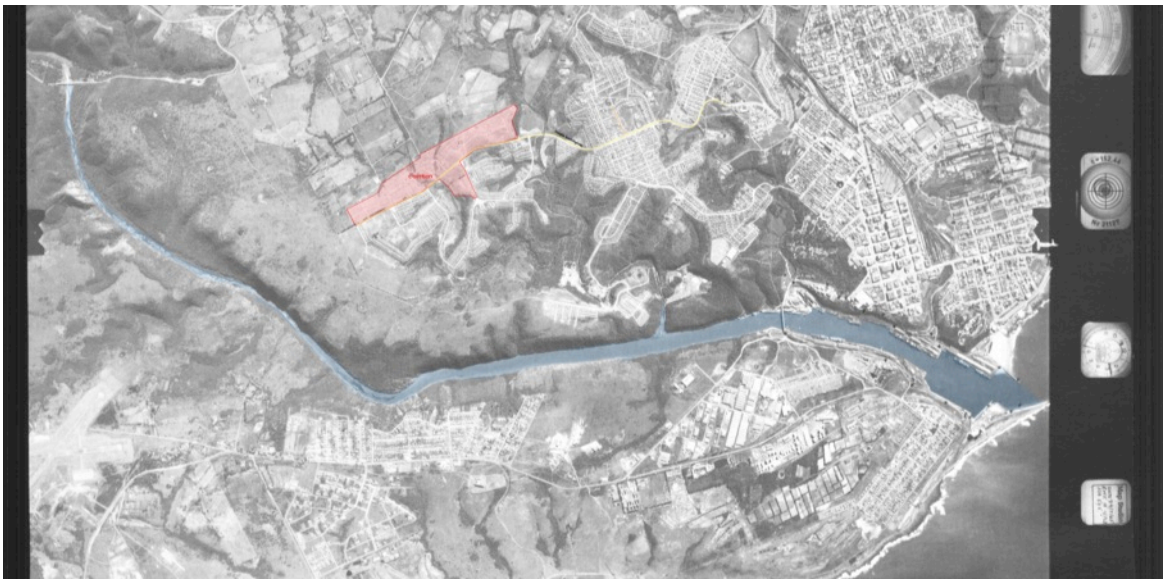


Figure 45: A 1965 aerial photograph of Duncan Village illustrating the areas of C-Section development. Source: South African National Geographic archives, Cape Town, adapted by author.

Figure 46: Google Earth and Street View image of C-Section. Source: Google Street View.

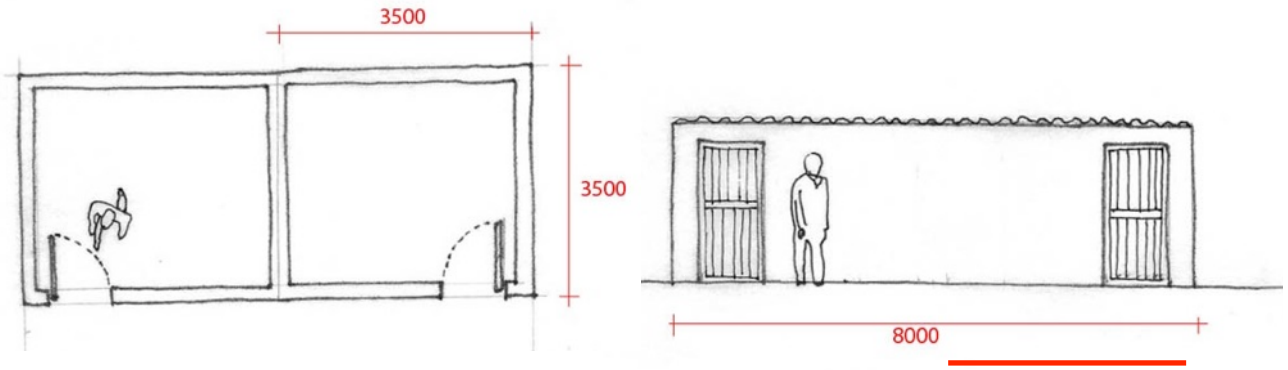


Figure 47: Plan layout and elevation of C-Section.
Drawn by author based on scaled Google Earth imagery and correlation with descriptions in Bank.

Figure 48: A view up the DSH with C-Section to the right. Source: Google Street View.

Comparing the 2002 aerial image of C-section (fig.49) with that of 2011 (fig.50) one can see how housing policy had a concrete impact on place, where most of the structures north of the DSH have been removed. Looking further along the timeline to 2013, 2015 and 2017 (fig.51) there is a clear increase in density of shacks on the same land. People are resilient to policy that negatively affects placemaking, and there is strength of force with which development will take place when done in response to proximity to opportunity – this land is well located for access to East London.

Figure 49: A 2002 aerial photograph of C-Section houses. Source: Google Earth.

Figure 50: A 2011 aerial photograph of C-Section houses. Source: Google Earth.

Figure 51: A 2017 aerial photograph of C-Section houses. Source: Google Earth.

Sites and Services Upgrading Model

The collage of urbanity in DV is not only made up of varied housing typologies but also a range of intervention methods. In Duncan Village the top-down methods are overwhelmed by bottom-up claims to space and incremental response to need by individual households.

Further west along the Douglas Smith Highway from C-Section, incremental intervention was used to approach upgrading at a household level, indicated on plan in figure 52. Each individual site was provided with a toilet structure offering an opportunity for self-help that the PHP and ePHP policies sought to use as a replicable model for housing delivery at large scale. This was an example of a 'serviced site' or the pejorative 'toilet towns' in DV Proper, post-1994.

Figure 52: A 2007 aerial shows area of Duncan Village where houses were built post-1994.
Source: South African National Geographic archives, Cape Town, adapted by author.

It is evident that there is a cause and effect in the topography of place that unfolds with relocations and removals occurring in one area of DV causing density to increase in another part. For example, in the 2011 aerial image of C-Section, there are increased numbers of formal structures and backyard shacks for the same aerial image in 2011 of the Sites and Services 'toilet town' area of DV (fig.56). The initial implementation of this typology of serviced sites was built in one go by a post-1994 government. The earlier aerial images of 2002 and 2004 show a very slow uptake of the provision of a serviced plot with a toilet structure. Perhaps this was less appealing when there was still promise of government provision of a complete house. The serviced site option for housing clearly became a 'better than nothing' solution when C-Section removals took place. A series of images, figures 55 to 57 on the following page, shows the serviced sites evolving over two decades from the original toilet structures on the site, followed by houses being built around them.

Figure 53 & 54: Current street scenes in the Sites and Services area of Duncan Village. Source: Google Earth, 2017.

Figure 55: 2002 aerial image shows a slow uptake citizens to implement this self-help typology. Source: Google Earth.

Figure 56: 2011 aerial image shows a much denser image with the addition of shacks. Source: Google Earth.

Figure 57: 2017 aerial image shows both the sites and services model and the previously cleared C-Section area completely developed. Source: Google Earth.

Bonani and Boniswa's House: Shacks and RDP House Types at DVRI

On one of many visits to DV, I noticed an unusual clearing between the standard patterns of wall-to-wall shacks. On one side of the street a man looked on from his door and on the other side of the street a display of three African drums caught my eye (fig.58). I asked Toto if it would be safe to get out and without hesitation she said, "Yes, it's fine here". This was my first-time meeting with Bonani and his wife Boniswa who live in Ndende Street in the section of DV Proper that runs through the demarcated Competition Site of the DVRI. They will live in their shack until a new house is constructed for them across the street.

Bonani is a quiet-spoken, proud man, with a wide welcoming smile and a very gentle nature, and has lived in Duncan Village for all his 63 years. His wife Boniswa has a job as a housekeeper and Bonani used to work in a clothing factory before it closed down - he's been making drums ever since: handmade, animal skin-covered African drums, which he sells for R200 (£8). Bonani had made six drums that Tuesday. Later, he showed me the narrow storeroom filled with supplies and more drums. "Come in, come in," Boniswa said with question in her tone, as if wondering if I would, while holding open the 'garden gate'. Bonani was standing sipping a thin soup from a bowl, which he put down as he moved to the bench in the middle of the room.

When I was inside Bonani and Boniswa's shack, I did feel tucked away from the known dangers that I had become more aware of as I went further into DV. When we were inside, it felt like a home - a retreat from the chaos, dirt and noise. Duncan Village is loud and has a constant hum of sound that reminded me of a conversation with Toto when she described the township as "a very loud place," explaining her preference for living on the edge of the settlement as opposed to in the middle of it. The continuous sounds make for an almost festive atmosphere of the place, and perhaps what mentally takes you away from its reality. I asked Bonani about the music coming from a few shacks down, wondering if it was a party in the middle of the day, and was met with a smile and a shrug and, "it's just the people here". We visited for about 15 minutes and they spoke about how they built their shack, about looking for work, and about waiting for their future house.

Their shack was filled with hope and clutter (fig.59). The 4m x 4m shack, with a single window, is constructed of box profile metal sheeting to some walls and roof; with some walls of timber planks overlaid shiplap style and cardboard lining to the inside for insulation. There are two blue cabinets, a lighter green cabinet and a vegetable rack. It was neat and clean with a broom and mop propped at the entrance – which surprised me because the shack is situated in the middle of a mess of dirt and rubbish strewn on the pavement and when water washes past it turns the dust to squelching, unpleasant-smelling mud. The pride in their home was unexpected and wonderful as it contrasted with the arrival to their shack.

Figure 58: Boniswa's and Bonani's shack from the road. Photograph by K. Thompson.

Figure 59: The house with the blue door – shack no 1618 - visiting Boniswa and Bonani. To Bonani's left is a calendar pinned to the cardboard lining on the wall with a biblical quote above it saying: "Bathande Bonke Kodwa Namnye Ungathembi" – "love them all but trust no-one". This quote starts to give insight into the scenes that make up the place that is Duncan Village.
Photographs by K. Thompson.

DV became a very familiar place and navigating the streets got easier despite the absence of proper addresses. Their shack was no.1618 or 'the shack with the blue door' as I came to identify it.

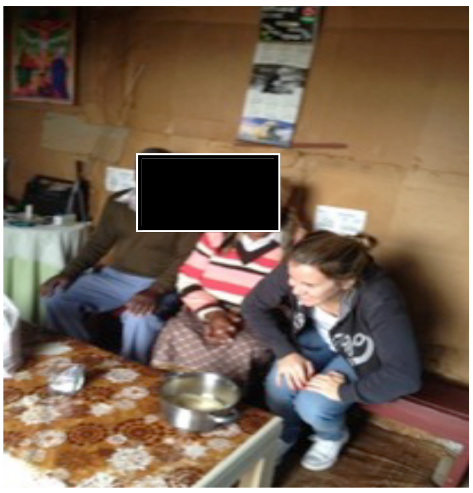


Figure 60: Sharing a joke while visiting with Boniswa and Bonani. Photograph by Thobeka Mbovane
Figure 61: Boniswa and Bonani. Photograph by K. Thompson.

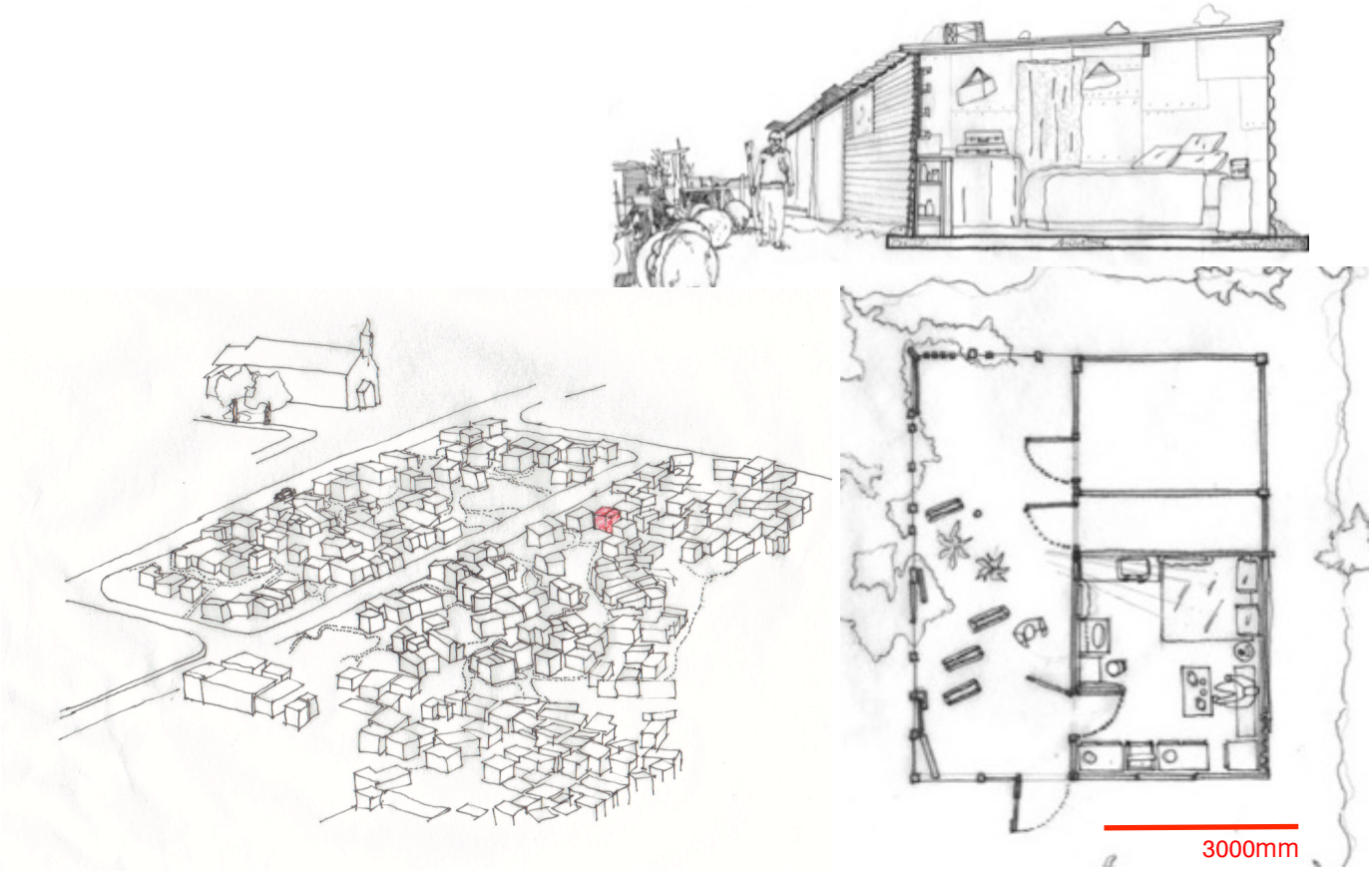


Figure 62: Axonometric locating Boniswa's and Bonani's shack and a sectional elevation and plan. Drawn by author.

Despite ever-present reports and warnings about issues of safety in areas of shack urbanity, the place Boniswa and Bonani called home - Competition Site (CS) - has a sense of calm from the chaos. There were a lot of onlookers and people milling between the shacks and spaces as they go about their day. When stood at the entrance to Boniswa and Bonani's shack, I noticed a man in the communal space outside his shack, while a young child looked on from the doorway.

At CS, the sanitation is still a bucket system and the water supply is still by communal tap. These collection points (figs 63 & 64) become public spaces where people gather and exchange, adding to the constant-ness of the place. This constant busy-ness is translated into a three dimensional collage of materials, signage, advertising, and cars and the ceaseless sensory input of colours, music, talking and hooting and the relentless peripheral movement of driving, people carrying out chores, wandering township animals, mostly dogs and chickens, in an all-encompassing experience of a variety of smells from cooking food or open fires.

I visited with Boniswa and Bonani several times, phoning to arrange before each visit and arriving with care packages with tinned meat and fish, cooking oil, salt, milk, a soured milk called Amasi that Xhosa people enjoy, and some chocolate. "I'm so happy to hear from you! When are you coming to visit us again?" Each visit brought with it an ease of familiarity and asking to take photographs was always met with "Yes, please, its fine". Toto joined in the conversations and often she and Boniswa would chat in Xhosa. In one of their chats, Toto explained that Boniswa had said of me, "Oh, she is so very nice", validating my perception of the level of ease in our visits.

Figure 63: The usual sight of chickens and shacks built hard up against the edge of the street.
Figure 64: Communal taps become gathering spaces. Photographs by K. Thompson.

Mekeni Road and Competition Site, the two pilot projects in the DVRI, use the same housing typology with different upgrading and intervention methods. At CS, existing shacks will be replaced, while at Mekeni road, no shacks exist, as the strip of land is used as a refuse-dumping site. The CS pilot is on a brownfield site and will make use of a Temporary Relocation Area (TRA). (A TRA is a designated site to which beneficiaries are relocated while construction of houses takes place on the site from which they moved. Beneficiaries then return to their new houses.) The Mekeni Road pilot is on a greenfield site and also intended to make use of TRAs to allow the construction of new houses on the site and beneficiaries to return to their new, formal houses. Looking at figure 74, it is my experience that a shift in mindset is required with the shift to formality. The site at Mekeni Road was cleared of fly-tipping several times before breaking ground.

The image below outlines the development area of Competition Site, East of St Peter's Claver's Catholic Church.

Figure 65: Shacks at Competition Site within the red line. Bonani and Boniswa's shack is located at the red dot to the East of Ndende Street. They will be relocated across the street upon return from the TRA when their house is complete. Source: Google Earth, adapted by author.
Figure 66: The red shaded area indicates the future location of unit No.40 that has been allocated to Bonani and Boniswa. This is a type A.1 design of 48sqm double storey four-roomed house, as shown in Figure 67, into which Bonani and Boniswa will move. Source: adapted from The Matrix.

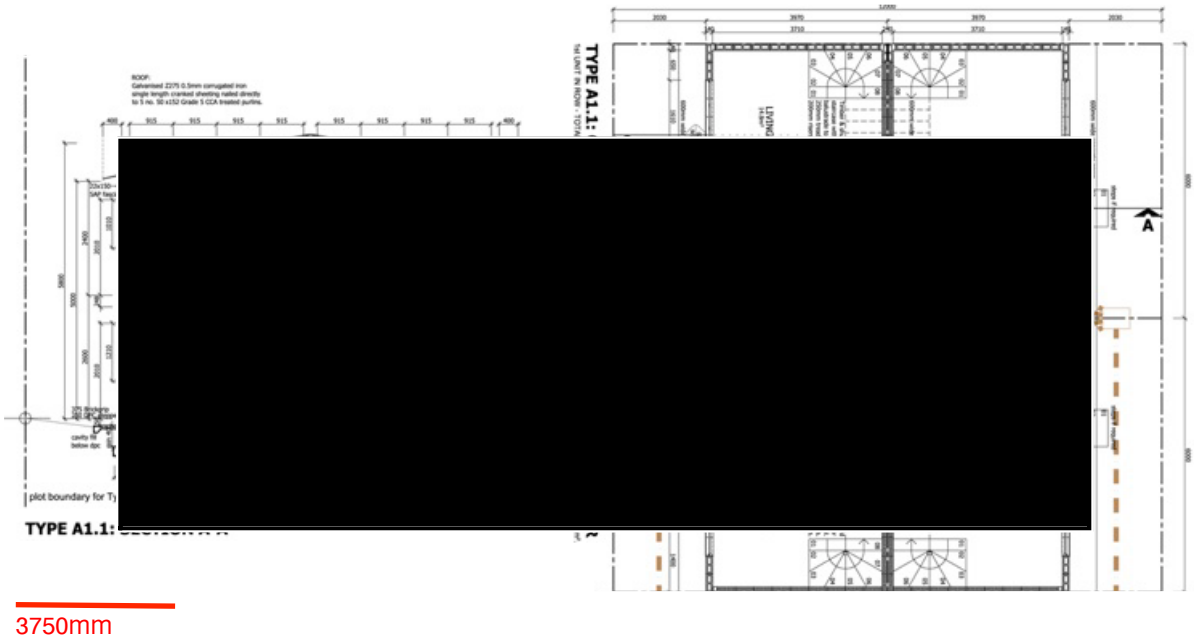


Figure 67: Mekeni Road house types A1.1 that I adapted from Type A1 while working on the DVRI pilots as Project Architect and called 'the reverse row house'. This allowed the project to retain the public open space while developing preferential densities.

The images below (figs 68-70) show the development of the Mekeni Road site of the DVRI between 2002 and 2017.

Figure 68: A 2002 aerial image of Mekeni Road. Source: Google Earth. 200m

Figure 69: A 2011 aerial image of Mekeni Road. Source: Google Earth. 200m

Figure 70: A 2017 aerial image of Mekeni Road. Source: Google Earth. 200m

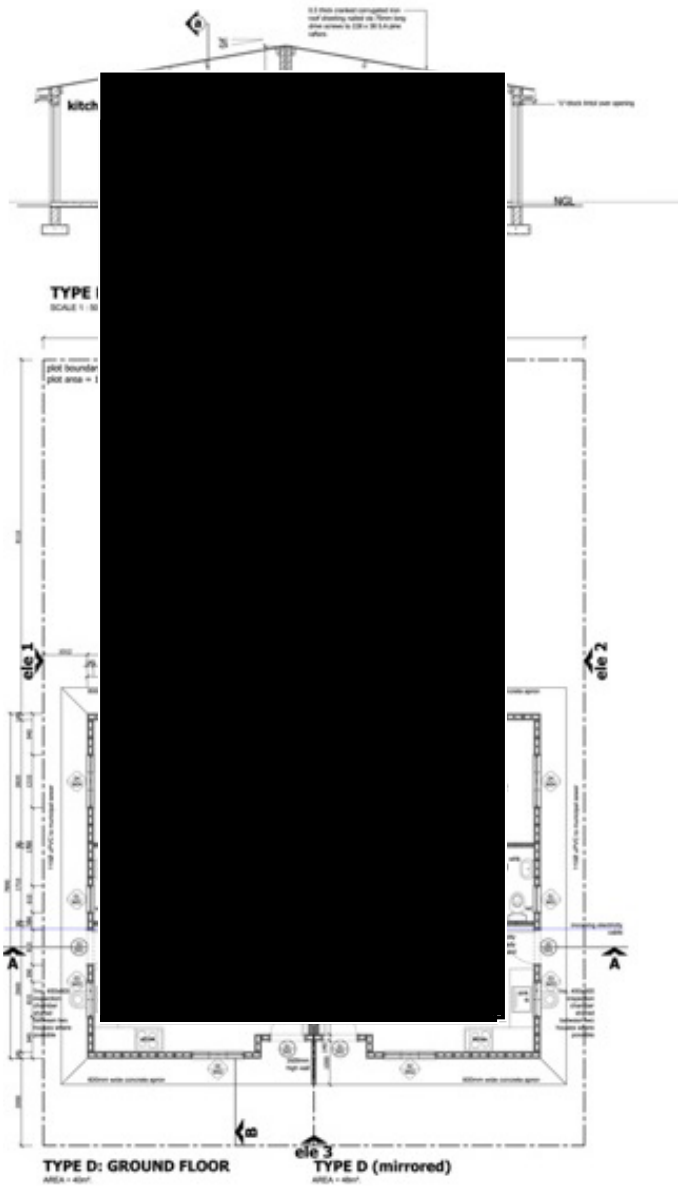


Figure 71: Section and plans of Mekeni road pavilion style houses – Type D.

Figure 72: Mekeni Road House type. D.

Figure 73: Mekeni Road Houses implement TTT and the added T – 'Toilet Tap Tenure and Top structure' added to the serviced sites incremental intervention policies.

Figure 74: The immediate urban setting is messy and many of the respondents asked for it to be cleaned. Photographs 73-75 by K. Thompson.

Within the macro grain of DV is the finer grain of social structures that affect the town and its spatial organisation. Between the corrugation, bricks, cement, paving – the stuff that place is bound by – is the busy, moving, exchanging, hooting, chatting, hand-shaking, fighting, arguing, laughing, buying, selling – the civic metabolism where social capital grows.

Barriers to Biko: Connecting the Host City

In this section, I discuss the spatial composition of Duncan Village and its connection with its host city, East London, and the ability or need of DV citizens to engage with the 'formal' city. As Lefebvre notes, "a social space cannot be adequately accounted for either by nature (climate, site) or by its previous history. Nor does the growth of the forces of production give rise in any direct causal fashion to a particular space or a particular time" (1974:77). Casey's "Place as Container" in *Fate of Place* and his reference to Aristotle's declaration that change only happens in "respect of place", is relevant in the discussions of the boundaries to belonging and apartheid planning in Duncan Village we have later in this chapter (1997:50). This section will illustrate a deeper understanding of DV from having walked its streets to understand its current metabolism and boundaries.

In discussing the questions of whether DV has a fate of dependence or self-sufficiency I aim to establish whether DV is surviving on hope, with no real prospect of a viable future as an environment where people can thrive, or if it is a self-sufficient mini-town.

The Douglas Smith Highway

Arriving at the start of the Douglas Smith Highway (DSH), Boxer Superstore is where most interviewees in the infiltration study buy their groceries (fig.75).

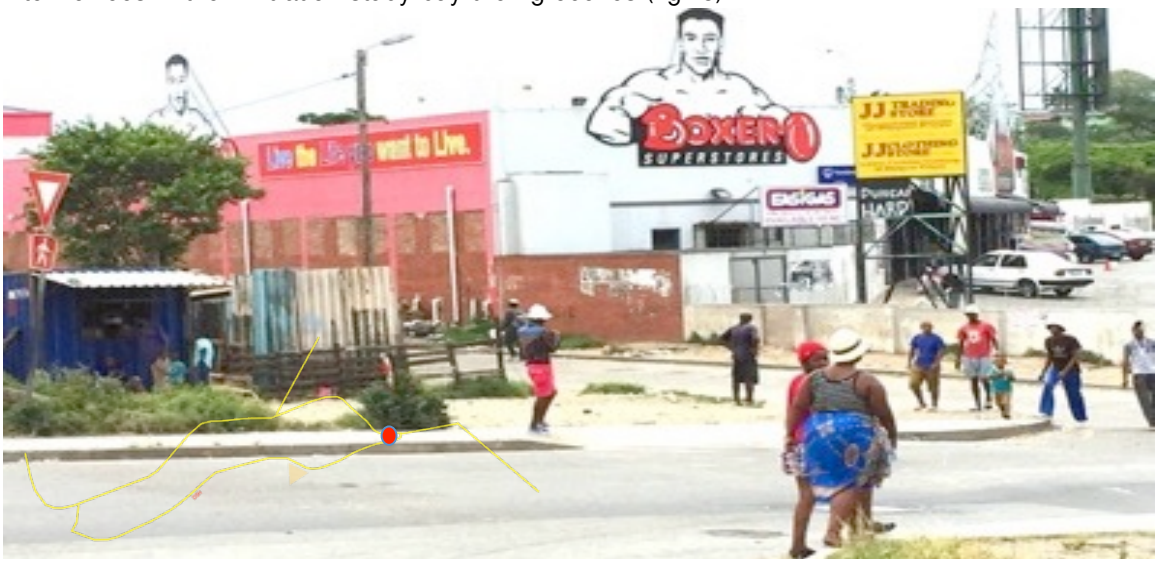


Figure 75: Boxer's Superstore located on the Douglas Smith Highway. Photograph by K. Thompson.

This is the bustling strip that is DSH and the entrance to Florence Street, where a small local businessman waits to trade from his corrugated structure, while people find shade sitting against a modified shipping container.

A vibrant, continually bustling, full sensory encounter happens along the DSH, where there is a high-street 'flavour'. The smell of roadside fires cooking food for folk to buy along their route to

the city, the sounds of moving trade, with hooting cars and kwela-kwelas,[58] with people hanging out of the sliding door shouting, "Town! Town!" as they drive towards the city. All these happenings occur amidst a collage of multi-coloured overlapping materials: shacks hard up against the back of the pavement; a crèche housed in a shipping container; a building in pale peach with 'public phone' painted on the front of one side, 'shoe repair' on the other side with a metal shelving unit on wheels outside it with some fruit and vegetables for sale – tomatoes, potatoes, apples, bananas; school children walking in the street; young children walking on their own on the pavement; a car stopped in the middle of the road with one wheel off and appearing as though someone would be back soon to attempt to change the tyre, causing all traffic to have to go around one-by-one and the ever present irony - a signpost with a banner reading, "keeping Buffalo City free of litter", with piles of refuse bags around the bottom of it.

There is a perception of chaos, while the rhythms of the place create temporal permanence out of the daily habits and routines of its citizens. The walkthrough 'high street' collage of figure 76, gives a visual array of these spaces. The video on the memory stick provided gives a sensory experience of the sounds and sights in motion when driving down the Douglas Smith Highway.

Divisions within Duncan Village

DV is topographically and concretely divided into East and West but divisions in DV are also ingrained in its citizenry through various perceived and perpetuated barriers – Bank's "borners and towners" (2011), and the "takers and givers" as explained by Malusi – divide the temporary and permanent groups that occupy the place. The initial macro image of DV existing as a whole, is thus on closer inspection made up of a finer grain of socially and physically divided spaces, many such divides are ingrained and expressed in the interactions of the abstract metabolism.

The Douglas Smith Highway (DSH) is the physical implementation of segregation and a divided citizenry, enforced by topographical boundaries to demarcate space, historically restricting access to the city beyond to a visual connection. The small brick Calderwood homes to the north of DSH that have managed to survive forced removals and the increase in shack density - pushing up against their garden walls and lining the backs of pavements - anchor the spatial order of DV. The south side of the DSH is both the same in its ordering of residential space, and different in that some of its elements are more robust, with large civic buildings standing two stories tall on wider areas of land, as seen in the collage of Figure 76 and Appendix 14.

[58] The Xhosa name for a 14-seater taxi.

Figure 76: Duncan Village town 'square' – The Douglas Smith Highway. This diagram illustrates the linear connection of spaces along the DSH, which is flanked by shops and entrepreneurs, giving it the high street flavour. Activities such as trades that rely on foot traffic of people on their way to work are concentrated along the Douglas Smith Highway highlighted by the red line. See full-size version in Appendix 13. See Appendix 15 for BCM diagram on land uses. Source: National Geographic Archives, Cape Town, adapted by author.

The history of Segregationist ideas of 1929 as advocated by Smuts and that Duncan opposed, in terms of the worker's wages and housing, lead to the apartheid laws. This divide was reinforced by boundaries restricting poor and black people's access to cities and marginalising the poor across South Africa. This perceived and sometimes-physical divide also represents a tipping point between the host city and shack urbanity, formality and informality, opportunity and poverty, race and social integration, and equality all within the constraints of history and the aspirations of the present day. Containment of a space, Hall explains, is best addressed through the understanding of the boundary, such as DSH.

> A boundary is a form of ordering that denotes a physical and perceptual moment of differentiation. Whether historic or contemporary it is a marking that commands a political and cultural attitude to crossing: a zone from which one is compelled to venture beyond; and limit set to establish containment (2012:31).

The location of Kuthala's shop is far enough away from Mekeni Road and CS that the infiltration process gathered responses that told a different story about life in DV from responses gathered at Ford Street (where her shop is). Despite the geographic separation between the infiltration sites, Kuthala gives insight into the political forces within the wider community life of DV, which reinforced discussions earlier in this dissertation about a socially divided DV.

In response to questions regarding the vandalised homes of Mekeni Road that I discuss later, Kuthala explained: "The people on that side of Duncan Village don't want us to move in there." Barriers and boundaries of belonging are thus not only physical and used to define ownership, but

also ingrained in a political and social patina of policy and processes of placemaking, setting parameters for social engagement and cultural integration beyond cultural location. Bhabha speaks of 'beyond' as being a realm that is "neither a new horizon, nor a leaving behind of past", describing the moment of transition as being "where space and time cross to produce complex figures of difference and identity, past and present, inside and outside, inclusion and exclusion" and the spatial distance, progress and promises that 'beyond' signifies (1994:6). The term boundary implies finite edges, compared with Saunders' "transitional spaces – arrival cities" of which, I conclude, DV is neither, but rather an integral part of East London that is dependent on the unskilled labour DV offers. The social and policy barriers have become more porous, in line with Bremner's 'striated' and 'smooth' spaces (2010:78). Striated spaces are defined physically with enclosed spaces and paths connecting A to B, and coded using institutionalisation and polices. Smooth spaces are without borders and operate outside of the state arrangements.

> … cities come to exist less as bounded places and more as smooth or nomad space. For many groups in contemporary society … cites are points on trajectories, places reinvented to be moved through … More and more people are inhabiting the city as nomads, occupying its space as if it were smooth, as if it were an 'infinite succession of linkages and changes of direction (2010:80).

In DV, the two exist simultaneously, making a hybrid mixture and are not mutually exclusive. The following collage offers a visual key to the variety of activities that happen along the spine through DV, the Douglas Smith Highway, where the completely public nature of the space is occupied largely by make-do structures in *loose spaces*, interspersed with government support centres and remnants of formal housing.

The paired concepts of *urbs* and *civitas*, and host cities and shack urbanity, can be understood to operate congruently. In discussion about the transformation of existing cities and promulgation of "city-like spaces", Bremner explains that the process of de-territorialisation and re-territorialisation produces spaces that are "in-between arrival and departure, the transit terminal serving as its spatial model" (2010:81). Understanding DV as a 'city-like space' in Bremner's terms is relevant as DV has experience the processes of territorialisation through policy changes and it serves as a transitory space in the upgrading of narratives.

Hall's theory on "the symbolic spatial order of place (that) may serve to reinforce the boundaries that confine and relegate people to place" (2012:46) is echoed by Malusi's description of two different DVs: "There are two types of people that come to DV. Those that come here honestly wanting to be close to the city and jobs, and the people that do crime - unemployed youths mug and steal". By "honestly", Malusi clarified that they move there for the genuine benefits of access to economic opportunities afforded by the city. This was said in response to my discussion around

Toto's point that DV wasn't a bad place to live. She explained: "I must be in my house by 5 o'clock and stay there – not go out after, then it's fine". This is a social divide that is rooted in DV history and became evident as inscribed in space, through the infiltration process. Monica Wilson's paper *Reactions on the Social Organisation* purports that

> whatever one's views as to the degree to which economic condition determines the type of social organisation, it must at least be admitted that economics profoundly influence the social organisation, and such revolutionary economic changes as have been described necessarily react on the social organisation of the Bantu. The political changes resulting from the British annexation of Pondoland also react with the social structure (UCT Archives).

The engagement of both beneficiary and non-DVRI residents' views in this research highlights the reality of boundaries of 'us and them' (Hall, 2012:40). It also casts light on the symbolic violence – the passive aggressive or non-physical restrictions that politics places on groups, discussed previously.

Figure 77: Shack number 1618 - The view from Duncan Village Proper to the telecommunications tower on Oxford Street, 2km away. Photograph by K. Thompson.

Figure 78: Aerial photographs orienting DV around the telecommunications tower on Oxford Street and showing wider context and connection to the host city. Photograph by K. Thompson.

Connections Between Duncan Village and its Host City, East London

Steve Biko, who was from Ginsberg near King Williams Town, is remembered as being a working force of the struggle to end apartheid and a key figure in its unravelling in the 1980s. He was a leader of the Black Consciousness Movement and used his position to draw a gathering by exposing injustices to black people in South Africa and encouraging self-worth and pride. Biko managed to publish a book before government banned it, and arrested him. He died in detention in 1977 and was buried next to the Garden of Remembrance in the King Williams Town cemetery. The Steve Biko Foundation was established and a statue of him (fig.79) stands outside City Hall in East London, while the Steve Biko Bridge connects DV with East London over the Buffalo River. There is a direct line of sight from the 'struggle' memorial to the 1985 massacre in DV (fig.80) to the Biko memorial in Oxford Street.

Figure 79: The Steve Biko memorial offers a visual representation of the different worlds that citizens experienced in apartheid South Africa with the backdrop of the colonial building of city hall in East London. Photograph by K. Thompson.
Figure 80: The Duncan Village Massacre monument is fenced off and situated in Duncan Village. The aerial image below draws together a visual connection of the respective locations of these two monuments and thus between DV and its host city. Photograph by K. Thompson.

Connecting the memorial and the statue is about more than the two-kilometre line-of-sight between Duncan Village and Oxford Street in East London (fig.81). It represents the worlds apart over a short distance and the difference between experiences of the city. The two-kilometre distance offers a concrete metaphor for the history of the city – the colonialism, the reaction to colonialism, apartheid, and the struggle for freedom for which many are still fighting.

The best vantage point to see the two statutes, taking in sweeping views of Duncan Village, is from the top of Ford Street standing on the line-of-site connection between the two statues. The geographic connection begins with the colonial history of the city, because the Steve Biko monument stands outside the colonial-style City Hall on Oxford Street. It ends with the struggle to claim space in the city and the wider national democracy at the 1985 massacre memorial in DV.

Figure 81: Aerial photograph from South of DSH indicating the line-of-site connection between DV and its host city. The landmark of cream-roofed hostels is shown in yellow to the right along the DSH. A visual connection, along a 2km line of sight, from the 1985 massacre memorial in the township to the Biko statue outside the colonial town hall in Oxford Street in East London speaks of a narrative that still leaves many wanting. Turning off from the city, the winding DSH drops steeply to the South where the cream roofs of the 1950s hostels, seen in the image below, barely peek above road level. Photograph by K. Thompson.

Figure 82: The view looking across East London with the city in the distance and the landmark of triangle shaped layout of cream roofs of the 1950's single sex hostels of Duncan Village marked in a red outline. Photograph by K. Thompson

Working, Making Do and Entrepreneurialism in Shack Urbanity

Those living in the 'formal' city perceive DV as a place that embodies temporality and difference, one that people occupy as a product of unfortunate circumstance rather than by exercising a degree of lifestyle choice. "Live the life you want to live" is painted in large, colourful letters on the side of the Boxer Superstore as one arrives at the start of the DSH from East London. This Bob Marley phrase, that is perhaps an attempt to encourage a shift from entitlement and hope to action, suggests that circumstance is a choice.

In some respects, the East Londoners' perception that residents of DV are not there by choice is accurate. DVs arrival citizens do aspire to moving up and out; people are seeking a way out of the village and a better life. For example, Malusi is, among all his other roles in which he aspires to helping the community, a boxing instructor during the week. He is part of a group of five men who teach boxing for free at a local school to children aged 10 years and up from 3-5pm every day and Malusi hopes that boxing will be a way out of shack-living for some of the young people he coaches. He is certain he has good talent in his boxing group, some of whom show as much promise as the DV amateur turned pro, Nomevo Xolisani, who had won R1.2-million two weeks prior at a boxing competition. The use of any available spaces for such activities in the absence of dedicated spaces shows a level of aspiration, tenacity and willingness to make-do.

Boxing is a hope of a way out of the unbalanced divide of the slum, even the superstore at the start of the DSH is called 'Boxer', alongside the slogan 'Live the life you want to Live'. Baby Jakes Mahlala, the famous boxer, was from DV. The Buffalo City Municipality (BCM) logo boasts the image of Mandela as a boxer. Mandela was born in the Eastern Cape; some 200km East of East London in a village called Mvezo and was an avid boxer. With the exception of boxing, the youths of DV are offered little by way of opportunity, a sentiment reinforced by the majority of respondents to the questionnaires complaining about the aimless paths of the youth in DV, asking for ways to direct them and offer a path to a meaningful future.

In general, even among those who have been in DV a long time, the feeling is that the way out is access to tertiary education and employment. In the infiltration process responses, many speak of a wish for improved education at secondary and tertiary levels in Duncan Village, but there is a very different outlook on education in rural parts of South Africa – one of preference for subsistence and practicality versus formalised learning. While a certain level of education is sought in rural areas, many stop their schooling early and while sometimes this can be attributed to the reasoning that a job will bring an income, in other cases a failure at final secondary school year often sees scholars not going back to school, even if there is financial support at home. It is clear to city dwellers, however, that education is vital for getting higher paid jobs.

Attempts by religious groups to institute change can almost seem naïve, considering the plethora of causes of the continual eruptions of protests and wrongdoing. Gospel bands have come to Duncan Village to deliver their song lines with agendas of delivering hope and offering channels for access to opportunity beyond the boundaries of the settlement, either through advice on the music business, or offering opportunities of recording through record labels, and also speaking at schools with known elevated statistics of drug abuse and drop-out rates (*Daily Dispatch*, 24 January 2014).

The street talk and infiltration process showed a juxtaposition of division and unity within the community. Post-apartheid years have seen division and contrast among South Africans and between institution and citizens, perpetuated by recurrent episodes of non-delivery of housing by the state. While housing policy over the last two decades has been revised to address these issues of non-delivery, journalists continue to capture images of smoldering ashes of shack urbanity with *déjà vu* headlines of fire and fury in the settlement, as seen in figure 87.

The same front page of the *Daily Dispatch* reports under-spending by the housing department of the Buffalo City Municipality by R499-million (*Daily Dispatch* 6 March 2013). Whether this under-spending is from apathy or lack of capacity or capability or all, it directly affects the economic inequality in East London.

Inequality is at the root of the social and economic fabric of the developing world, South Africa and Duncan Village. In Geoffrey Payne's address at the Urban Landmark Conference in 2013 in Johannesburg, under the discussion theme entitled 'Moving from Knowledge to Change', he made reference to Wilkinson & Pickett's *The Spirit Level* concurring that: "Apart from climate change, the greatest challenge of our day is inequality". Economic inequality is dire in East London, illustrated by the UN Habitat State of the World's cities report 2010-2011 that cited East London as the city with the highest inequality in the world based on household monthly expenditure. These facts and historical layering of disenfranchisement are manifested concretely in East London, evident when viewing the towers of the city and well-to-do suburbia of the host city from its periphery of shack urbanity at Duncan Village.[59]

Self-reliance, resilience and resourcefulness are the survival tactics of poverty. One morning Toto arrived at the front door and exclaimed, "The rat ate my shoe!" offering anecdotal insight into life in informal settlements. While this can be attributed to the effects of the well-recited complaint of lack of service delivery, it is not a holistic account of shack urbanity. The overall view of Duncan Village is divided between those who say it is a good place to live based mainly on concrete

[59] See the graph in Appendix 8, from the *Economist*, depicting inequality over the lifetime of Nelson Mandela in South Africa.

phenomena of location and proximity to services, while many cite ills as an inhibitor to a good life. The divide is almost equal as 44 of the 106 respondents (41.5%), feel that Duncan Village is not a good place to live. In response to being asked, "What would make Duncan Village a better place?" responses included wanting solutions to issues of safety, job creation, crime, corruption, shebeens, cleanliness and service delivery, removal of informal settlements, development of the area, community-oriented projects, food parcels, youth development and skills development. Based on this, it is understandable that one might question the integrity of the civic fabric of DV and whether it exists purely as a shack urbanity spin-off or whether as result of intentional, albeit subconscious, placemaking.

Delving into the inner workings of DV, one starts to notice the resourcefulness of poverty – the ability to "adapt to vast opportunities and crises".[61] For example, from his yard where he hand-makes his animal skin drums, Bonani has a line of sight to the telecommunication tower of the city – the city into which he strives to integrate, and from which he hopes for economic gain, selling his wares at R200 each.

Pumza, like the majority of DV residents, relies not only on supermarket chains and formal trading but also 'hawkers' for groceries. The opportunism of informal trading relies on circumstantial trade offered by busy intersections: laybys, parking spaces, or pavement edges. Each trade is an exchange closer to escaping the confines of the bottom billion. A trader is set up under an umbrella on the corner, while a car wash business makes use of the layby on the roadside of DSH. A woman stands over fire-filled oil drums used to *braai* (barbecue) *mielies* (corn on the cob) sold for R10 each or R10 for three, uncooked. Some people relocate this entrepreneurial mind-set to the city, gaining exposure in an area where there is a higher surplus cash flow. Below, a person is seen working on an engine on the back of his *bakkie* (a South African term for a pick-up truck) in the CBD, an area where a higher population would own cars (fig.83). In environments of hand-to-mouth expediency, everything is about make-do and almost everything is a commodity. As Simone argues, it is important to recognise:

> If the limited resources deployed for urban development in Africa are to be effective, it is important to make common cause with the daily efforts of African urban residents. This is a common cause about using the city as a generator of imagination and well-being, … The only way to make such common cause is to amplify the sensibility, creativity, and rationality of everyday practices and behaviours that are either invisible or appear strange (2004:16).

The creative make-do at DV epitomises Charles Stokes' differentiation between 'slums of hope' and 'slums of despair'. Stokes' "slums of "hope" (1962:190) disappear as migration slows

[61] Abdoumaliq Simone. n.d. Uncertain Rights to the City. Accessed on www.scribd.com.

down. 'Slums of "despair" do not disappear. For in the slums of "despair" live the poor' (Gilbert, 2007:705).

Half a century ago virtually all squatter settlements were seen as slums and city cancers. Few saw the difference between 'slums of hope' that have the potential for development, and 'slums of despair' which did not. Failures of eradication and resettlement policies strengthened the view that many informal settlements solved more problems than they created (Stokes, 1962:190 referred to by Turner in Wakely & Riley, 2011:ix).

Figure 83: This image illustrates the industrious nature of poverty. A mobile workshop is created for fixing engines in the back of a *bakkie* in a side street in the CBD. Photograph by K. Thompson.

Unemployment rates in South Africa are high. The time and cost to travel to work can deplete already small paychecks of those that have managed to find work in the city, yet live in remote locations, and can thus be a barrier to economic engagement with the city. Thus, well-located land is a priority for delivering housing and sustainable communities and it is therefore important to note the travel distances of DV residents to work.

While unemployment is high, roughly half of survey respondents[62] (based on the 106 interviews in three locations in DV) are in work. At Mekeni Road and Ford Street 50% of the respondents, and at Competition Site 60%, are employed. This still leaves many unemployed and it is clear that there is a need for residents of DV to explore options of making a living and preferably, closer to home. Understanding travel distances is also significant in understanding the relationship between East London and DV as it could be instructive on the extent of the mutualistic relationship. The area of Duncan Village covers two square kilometres and travel distances to work of the 106 respondents ranged zero to 20km, with the predominant distance to travel of just fewer than 70% of respondents, being 2.4km. Of the employed respondents, from all three infiltration sites, 75% travel less than 1km to work. That includes those who are self-employed.

[62] 16/32 (50%) of all Mekeni Road respondents are employed.
20/36 (55.5%) of CS respondents are employed (eight of 44 respondents were discounted for this analysis as they either were school students or those that didn't answer. Unemployed included grant recipients and pensioners).
15/30 (50%) of Ford Street respondents are employed.

Chart 4: Distances travelled to work from the individual infiltration sites in Duncan Village.

- Of the 50% employed at Mekeni Road – 6/16 (37,5%) travel less than 1km to work; 1/16 (6.25%) travel 2.4km; 5/16 (31.25%) travel up to 5km; 2/16 (12.5%) travel 10km; 1/16 (6.25%) travel 15km; 1/16 (6.25%) travel 20km.
- Of the 60% employed at Competition Site 5/20 (25%) travel less than 1km to work; 6/20 (30%) travel 1.2–2.4km to work; 3/20 (15%) travel 4km, 1/20 (5%) 5km, 2/20 (10%) 6km, 1/20 (5%) 8km, 2/20 (10%) 10km of which one respondent stated that she travels "two taxi rides".
- Of the 50% employed at Ford Street – 2/15 (33.3%) travel less than 1km to work; 5/15 (6.7%) travel up to 2.4km; 3/15 (33.3%) travel up to 3km; 4/15 (13.3%) travel 5km; 1/15 (6.7%) travels 6km.

Ziyanda's butcher stand, seen in the collage of figure 84, is a three-sided corrugated shelter with a table where she dissects a cow under a hand-painted sign that reads "*inyama*", meaning meat in Xhosa. Ziyanda sells cuts of meat in clear plastic packets for R5 or R10. We happened upon her stall as we walked the streets. Ziyanda has broken the perceived norm of a hands-out approach to poverty. She has been proactive and used her resources to generate a livelihood.

Initially, Ziyanda was not sure of us – a white, 30-something female with her black friend is not a normal sight in DV.[63] Once Ziyanda knew I was there as a researcher, however, there was an immediate shift in body language. I had started to earn more eye contact as she explained that she is a beneficiary of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP, started 1994) house across from which we were standing. She started to soften when I was speaking to her about the cow and made dramatic gestures in a joking manner, with laughs and shrieks; and then she started

[63] Gathering a lot of interest from passers-by, who stopped unnervingly close to us, shoulder to shoulder, which I soon realised was out of curiosity rather than intimidation. Over the years, I had learned that the sooner commonalities of interest were established, accompanied by acceptance, laughter and praise, the quicker the channels of communication opened and flowed. That, and demonstrating understanding and offering personal background, serves to chip away at barriers to free discussion.

laughing at me and introducing the odd word of English. Toto had asked, in Xhosa, if she knew about RDP housing projects in DV and Ziyanda turned to me to answer in English: "I got a RDP – it's here". With pride, she pointed across the street to three brick, plastered and painted rooms that she had built along the boundary of her RDP property that she rents out to tenants. She had funded the construction with proceeds from her butcher business. With her knife, she pointed to vegetables to the left of her stall. Ziyanda then showed me her garden, where she was growing vegetables on either side of her shop - lettuce on one side and cabbage, spinach and parsley on the other – all of which get displayed on her vegetable stand for selling. Ziyanda's business is growing steadily from passing trade despite being only a few metres away from the next street vendor.

Figure 84: A collage of images of Ziyanda's hawkers stall and dissected cow.
Photograph by Thobeka Mbovane and K. Thompson.

On the opposite side of the DSH Kuthala relies on the passing trade on Ford Street for the *spaza* shop[64] that she runs from the front room of her home, seen in Figure 85.

[64] A term used for a small general store that stocks limited basic supplies.

Figure 85: Kuthala's *spaza* shop on Ford Street. The resourcefulness of the poor in areas of shack urbanity was made evident through the infiltration process, reinforcing Glaeser's view of the attractiveness of cities for the poor. Photograph by K. Thompson.

Looking at the physical and the economic connection between the host city and shack urbanity – it appears that DV is only hosted in so far as, like urban primacy, East London hosts the economic and population density. In tracking the history of the place it is evident that the ability to respond and adapt to circumstance is only one of the strengths of DV and its citizens. Drawing examples of making-do in this section into the discussion about boundaries, belonging and host cities, Duncan Village and East London appear to work mutualistically. Duncan Village appears to be a powerhouse of contributors to the workforce that enables the city to keep working - informality facilitates the functioning of the formal city. DV is an environment in which resources; skills and social capital are a useful currency. It has social networks with and connectivity to the host city, so it is attractive to people who are poor, yet entrepreneurial.

Constant Change: Adaptation and Responsive Placemaking

Change in Duncan Village has many catalysts: the ebb and flow of arriving and temporary citizens; fire and the resulting spatial response; and political intervention and policy implementation. This metabolism is about architecture and urban design, and also about politics, self-empowerment and the economy. Change which happens as a consequence of intervention projects raises questions about the effect of upgrading on place and its ability to entrench existing social ills and segregation planning and perpetuating shack urbanity, versus the intention of upgrading projects to improve

places by formalising them through architectural intervention. Historical spatial segregation has, in terms of physical connectivity, become more and more porous as transport linkages have improved, through taxi and bus services, and attempted reversal of apartheid planning is implemented. In proximity terms though, Duncan Village is in fact no further away from the city centre than some of the former whites-only suburbs, and thus it will always have to address issues of density and a reactionary mode of placemaking as people arrive ad hoc, as it offers favourable distance to the city.

Without first having understood the place, there would be no grounding to discuss what does, can and possibly will still change in Duncan Village. As Casey explains: "place is requisite even for grasping change itself (kinesis), ...for 'the most general and basic kind [of] change is change in respect of place'" (1998:53). As a direct spin-off to the discussion of change, in this section, the degree of permanence is brought into question – not only permanence of structure but also social permanence and neighbourhood and family structure. This will also assist in understanding the non-physical connection with the host city.

"I have lived here my whole life; I was born in Duncan". Cecilia's narrative is not unique and despite the social ills, there is pride and social cohesion at the core of DV; most speak of a sense of community and being able to rely on neighbours for help, friendship, and working together for greater development of place. Most of the 106 respondents have family living in Duncan Village, with only 21 of the sample of 106 who don't (chart 5). Permanence of residency in Duncan Village was a surprising finding in discussions with its residents. Nearly a third of respondents, with ages up to 87 years old, have never moved, while another third have moved only once (charts 6 & 7). These strong ties within DV suggests that integration into the host city of East London could be limited to working networks and not necessarily extend to the social fabric.

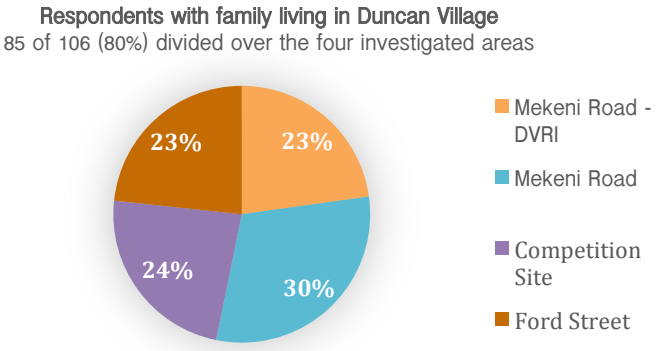


Chart 5: Proportion of respondents with family living in Duncan Village.

In terms of the architectural permanence of shack urbanity in fast-growing South African cities, Mitchell explains:

> The first shack erected on an urban plot may very well be temporary – perhaps even erected overnight by its inhabitants. From then on however, if successful, the family will replace and adapt this replacement with a staged permanent development. Urban settlements which were squatter areas can turn into prosperous neighbourhoods in less than a generation (1992:53).

Social networks and social equity develop over time and there is direct relation between permanence and social fabric where family and friendship ties are strong. As discussed earlier, many respondents feel that DV is a good place to live with many responses relating to proximity to amenities like Bacgo who says, "yes, I am near work and hospital and shops" and others who discuss social connections like Zanzi, "yes my neighbours are nice". Comparison of figures between infiltration sites, however, gives insight into the internal social divide in DV with three quarters of the respondents at Mekeni Road expressing DV to be a good place to live versus only a few Ford Street residents feeling that DV is a good place to live.[65]

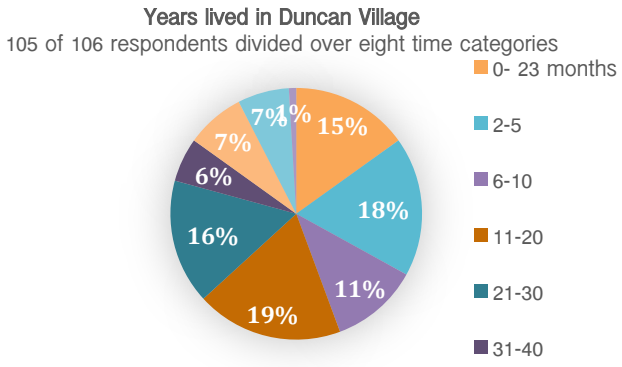


Chart 6: Number of years that respondents have lived in Duncan Village.

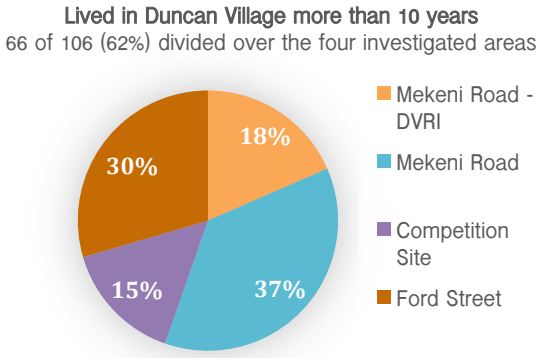


Chart 7: Number of respondents who have lived in Duncan Village for more than 10 years.

All beneficiaries in Mekeni Road have moved at least once, nearly 40% of non-DVRI beneficiaries have never moved, with most of the rest having moved only once, while nearly 65% of residents in Ford Street have never moved. Due to the Competition Site being largely shack

[65] 25/32 (78%) of all Mekeni Road respondents feel that Duncan Village is a good place to live.
11/22 (50%) of CS respondents feel that Duncan Village is a good place to live.
4/30 (13.3%) Ford Street respondents feel that Duncan Village is a good place to live.

urbanity, all except three of the 44 residents interviewed at Competition Site have moved up to five times. The reason for moving home differed across the areas investigated, with 16% of respondents at Competition Site (seven of 44) citing fires as the reason for rebuilding their shack.

Connecting the discussion on satisfaction with DV as a place to live (Ford Street being least satisfied) and permanence (Ford street having the lowest rate of relocation), together with the fuller answers of respondents from Ford Street, the comments made by Malusi about the differences across the DSH start to make sense. There is more affluence among those living around Ford Street and thus less dependence on the state and more freedom to speak about the ills and lack of delivery in DV.

Fire, Violence, Corruption and Urban Change

Fire and flood are foiled regularly on the steep banks of the Buffalo River, an arrival-village that precariously provides places from which to play out daily routines. Inhabitants are constantly aware of the life-altering prospects of rain or flames. These usually life-giving elements have caused many people to repeatedly lose their belongings and rebuild their shacks. This state of permanent change develops skills of adaptation and responsive space-making and space re-creation.

Fire in settlements is sometimes deliberate and sometimes accidental from knocked-over paraffin lamps or oil burners. These fires are fed by the close proximity of fuels in densely populated shacks. These areas of smoldering ashes of shanty materials present opportunities for change and rebuilding, often embraced by planners for reblocking – formalising the layouts of settlements to more easily provide services.

Figure 86: *Daily Dispatch* excerpt as roadside poster reads: "I saw the flames of hell".
Figure 87: One of many regular newspaper articles, this one from the *Daily Dispatch*, reporting fires in Duncan Village, where 200 residents have lost their homes and the few possessions they had, is side-by-side with a piece on under-spending in the municipality budget for housing, giving substance to claims of inadequacy of governance and lack of capability to effect change.

At street level, the response to fire is immediate and in Bonani's case, as shacks have been burnt down, he has claimed extra space and created a defensible semi-private area where he works on his drums. This process of setback and divide is well versed in the 123-year history of Duncan Village, with newspapers yet again reporting displacement of hundreds of residents due to fire (*Daily Dispatch* in August 2011). Looking at DV at the area where the fire in the article of figure 87 took place, the rebuilding and spatial reorganisation appears to have moved quite slowly. Figures 88 – 92 capture the parallel changes occurring at CS, which could be interpreted as a case of successive decanting in response to the DVRI pilot project at CS and vice versa.

Figure 88: A 2002 aerial locating the fire in the article of figure 87. Google Earth. 200m

Figure 89: A 2011 aerial locating the fire in the article of figure 87 showing the response of the community over time. Google Earth. 200m

Figure 90: A 2013 aerial locating the fire in the article of figure 87 showing the response of the community over time. Google Earth.

Figure 91: 2017 aerial shows reduced density at Competition Site with simultaneously increased density at the site of the fire. The red cross marks the memorial to Sister Quinlan at St Peter's Claver's Catholic Church. Source: Google Earth.

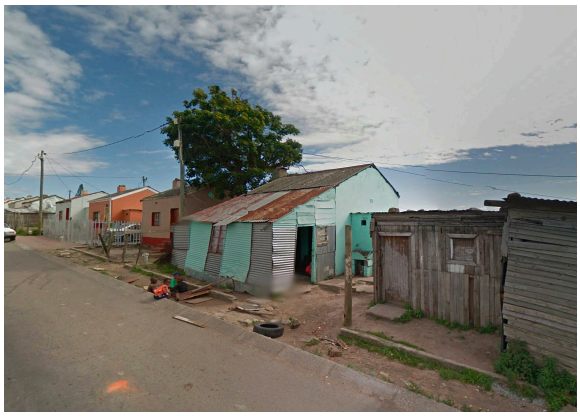


Figure 92: 2018 street view images indicating that the open spaces created by the fire have become areas of subsistence farming in between the shacks. The green outline indicates that the area is designated park land.

Nomphambili has rebuilt her shack six times after fires. In DV there is an acceptance of unstable temporality entrenched in the conscious understanding of these spaces by the constant possibility of raging flames in this dense settlement. While the loss of physical possessions is problematic, the effect on the social fabric is also evident. The 30% that reported rebuilding due to fires, interestingly all have family living in Duncan Village, which suggests that there is an anchoring to place despite the prospect of continual rebuilding. This affords people like Nomphambili a place to stay while she salvages any useable materials or saves for new ones to reconstruct her home in the place where it was before.

In conversation with Toto about the cause and social reaction to fire, she explained a civic approach of accountability and finding the person responsible. That person is then brought to task and made to help rebuild and replace. The guilty person must either leave the community and live somewhere else or come forward, apologise and take on the community service of rebuilding.

Bank, in his research, found that fire was largely connected with people practicing witchcraft and thus the source was sought and dealt with as extremely serious. Bank explains the effects of fire on the social fabric of place, using Duncan Village:

> "For these people (of Duncan Village) the trauma of fire went far beyond the ordeal of lost possessions and dragging frightened children from burning shacks. It hit at the very fabric of this urban society and at people's perceptions of themselves and of the city. Because fires were frequent, uncontrollable and random, people actually became conditioned to think of themselves as victims, caught up in powerful and destructive forces over which they had no control" (Bank, 2003 in De Wet and Fox, 2003:154).

Bank draws on Wilson's observations that fire is seen, among black people in South Africa, as a malevolent force used by witches to engage in evil deeds (Wilson, 1951 in Bank, 2003 in De Wet and Fox, 2003:155). The social effect being that fire constantly tested the ability of the communities to maintain a mindset of stability and order. Fire, according to Wilson, "represented the standardised nightmare of the group" (1951:313). It is significant for this thesis to understand the way that DV residents conceptualise fire as a malevolent force because it situates their frame of mind when they respond to the event or threat of fire.

Heraclitus, a favourite character in Duncan's *dramatis personae* of philosophic companions, speaks of fire as the catalyst of change, which is true for the South African context in particular, considering uprisings and protest using fire as a means of expression of dissatisfaction. Fire is both consequence and catalyst for unintended change when protesting and standing together for a cause. When speaking with Malusi about how protests become violent, ending with looting of community resources, he describes the flames of fury as an unintended "mob mentality" that transforms a goal-oriented protest into senseless damage to buildings, but he also describes a remorse in the wind-down from the hour of 'group think'. Fire and protest, as Fanon explains, is a

method of communication. Duncan's reference to Heraclitus' fire as catalyst sparking change and reaction and the permanence in change is particularly apt when absorbing the topography of DV and the constant fight-or-flight mode in response to fires or the flooding banks of the Buffalo River.

Catalysts for violence range through tiers of civic involvement, from organisation and systemic corruption and inequality, to general gang activity and attacks, all undermining the safety of DV. As far back as the 1950s, "Violence was a catalyst for the creation of new political order in the city" (Bank, 2011:66). Crime is a significant dimension of public life, where robbery and rape and a certain amount of gang warfare aim at controlling territories. As Buur explains, "Mobs and their history are 'about constant boundary setting and transgression'. Once the crowd-turned-mob forms, it tends to claim a political space and life of its own, claiming sovereignty for itself and its unquestioned right to act 'for the people" (in Bank, 2011:66).

Figure 93: An image from the *Daily Dispatch* shows an angry group of Duncan Village protestors using fire and toyi-toying – a term that describes the dancing and singing done by groups to express dissatisfaction during protests. Source: *Daily Dispatch* 30 April 2013.

Nondise lives on the opposite side of Mekeni Road to the new DVRI houses and gives insight into the negative views of existing residents on this development: "(There are) fences (between properties) and we have become targets for thugs." Coming out of the house near the intersection of Mekeni Road and the Douglas Smith Highway, three women in their early twenties stopped to engage in a conversation filled with hand gestures, smiles and intrigue, giving nuanced insight into residents' perception of the crimes. "Is it safe to walk here?" was met with an immediate and emphatic "No!" "There's rage here," said the woman in pink. In the easy going conversation they mentioned the issue of high crime rates and a social divide in DV demarcated by the concrete

geographical divide of the DSH separating “people on this side of DV that don’t want people from that side to get houses,” a point bolstered by a subsequent discussion with Kuthala. There was little knowledge of the cat hanging I describe in the following section, but when asked they shrugged, replying, “That’s probably (an) example, like they (are) saying you must not walk here.” The mob spirit of mostly unemployed youths, of which Malusi speaks, at its height, causes the destruction of civic facilities.

Figure 94: Collage of images of vandalised houses in Mekeni Road. Photographs by K. Thompson.

While upgrading suggests improvement to whatever exists, a site visit to DV in 2012 only showed destruction of what had been developed. The vandalism of the unoccupied houses at Mekeni Road was extensive and could be seen from far on approach to the site (fig.94). I went to see the effects on the new houses after a cat hanging; rapes, fires and stripping of building components had also been reported. But as I peered tentatively into the houses, I was not confronted by any smell or sight of human remains or defecation, as was reported – it had been cleaned up. There was a lot of other debris and empty soft drink and alcohol bottles, along with other odd items, like a single black slip-on shoe.

While the new houses at Mekeni Road have been developed in a space previously used for fly tipping, they also attracted crimes closer to the homes of the existing community across the road. The architecture of intervention, as will be discussed later, can inhibit or encourage positive placemaking with simple 'secure by design' principles which may prevent crimes.

Corruption extends to the social core of Duncan Village. Malusi outlines the problem with government funding of boxing, explaining that the funding is mostly pumped into competitions with large prizes. He details how it is well-known that funds are allocated for the prizes but that only part of the money makes it to the winners while the rest gets pocketed by officials for so-called administration costs. Nepotism has become a cliché in discussions of government delivery and available opportunities. Residents repeatedly cite disappointment at opportunities for jobs continually being offered to the same people, whether they can demonstrate need or not. Carlos Morales-Schechinger lists four i's that prevent change: Ideology, Interest, Inertia and Ignorance while Payne speaks of professionals working in silos perpetuating the debilitation of change as well as the lack of administrative continuity.[66] Mzuvukile has lived in DV for 47 years and sees the solution as simple: "If only our politicians can prioritise by putting people first, everything else can follow". Ineffective governance and the self-serving agendas of politicians are openly discussed as the reason for little to no action to improve the social ills and service delivery issues in Duncan Village.

Corruption extends to the housing beneficiary list, which appears on the surface to be a formally approved registration of need and approval. Only 50% of the respondents in the new Mekeni Road houses are on the official beneficiary list received from the Buffalo City Municipality. A smokescreen that has been exposed by respondents' lack of knowledge of the system or even the DVRI project. Malusi explains the propaganda methods of ward councillors who embark on door-to-door visits to the homes of prospective voters, shortly before elections, either delivering food parcels or supposed 'official lists' of housing beneficiaries who will be guaranteed a home should their name be on the list – a list that would only be made official should they be voted into a position of power during the next session at the polls. The beneficiary list at BCM, which has actually been compiled through the formal process of application and approval, was lost, as councillors deliver 'official' lists to the desks of the housing department at the corner of Oxford Street. "If only we can receive houses instead of food parcels!" pleaded Sinoxolo of Ford street. On discussions of the beneficiary list, divide, and dissatisfaction in the DVRI houses, Malusi explained that lifelong residents of DV did not understand why they were not living in one of the new houses

[66] Personal notes from Morales-Schechinger and Payne discussion at the Urban LandMark Conference entitled Moving from Knowledge to Change. 13 March 2013.

and why the people who did receive one of the new houses had come from outside of the community.

There is a further issue of older age beneficiaries on the list not being given homes before younger people. The beneficiary list, as explained by the Western Province MEC, needs to "prioritise most deserving people according to age, child-headed households and disabled" (Isandla Institute Roundtable, 2015). Trevor Manuel's video illustrating problems with the planning system highlights these acts of corruption and their perpetuation.[67] A government hotline has also been set up to anonymously report incidents of corruption.

There is a general dissatisfaction about those not from DV being given a house in the DVRI project as there is a sense that they haven't contributed to the development of the community – why should they then be offered permanent lodgings? Mandla explains his annoyance at the housebuilding at Mekeni Road as a long-standing resident from across the road: "I don't feel good about them (the new houses) because we have been living in DV too many years but [we are] still homeless and people from eZiphunzane they do have houses here in DV". Mandla is annoyed that the length of residency does not equate to being given a formal home. Esther, at 87 years old, is the oldest person on the beneficiary list for the DVRI, and has lived in Duncan Village for more than 25 years and is still waiting to move from her Competition Site shack to her house. Many have been in DV their whole life; yet within DV the distinction between permanent and transient residents is translated into formal homes versus shacks.

The seeming contradictory notion of standing together for individual gain is a scene played out time and again in DV. The Duncan Village Resident's Association (DVRA), formed in 1985, demonstrates the ability of place to mobilise civic action. Connie Manse Ncgaba, who used to live at 711 Bashe Street, just a short walk from the Mekeni Road site as seen on the map in Appendices 13 and 14, details the forming of this organisation in her autobiography, which describes growing up in the Eastern Cape and becoming a nurse, a community figurehead and voice against apartheid (2014). Today this organisation still exists, together with more focused civil organisations such as the street organisation at Mekeni Road of which Malusi is chairman. Understanding the DVRA and that it exists gives insight into the degrees of social cohesion in DV – that organisations are formed for the better good while wrongdoing continues to be prevalent.

In a spectrum of both malevolence and scale, DV thus appears to be a place where loyalty and revenge hover in close proximity and vigilante tactics are part of the culture. Gangs are a representation of solidarity that characteristically form when the official tiers of citizenry are

[67] Manuel, T. Planning issues facing South Africa. Animation. Accessed 09.11.2011. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mXhPtMoaGa0&mid=5241.

perceived not to work, illustrated by the corruption and unfairness in the housing lists. In the range of good and wrongdoing, we are talking about anything from those who gather around the tap, like Boniswa and Bonani, to the four men in the red Toyota who were circling the block, patrolling their territory. Violence is both part of the ethos and the local economy through extortion, that is, you pay to prevent it.

> "Every culture has its characteristic drama. It chooses from the sum total of human potentialities certain acts and interests, certain processes and values, and endows them with special significance ... The stage on which this drama is enacted, with the most skilled actors and a full supporting company and specially designed scenery, is the city: it is here that it reaches its highest pitch of intensity (Mumford, 1958 [1938] in Bank, 2004:3)

Duncan Village embodies a lineage of shack urbanity ills. Newspaper articles, such as those seen in figure 95, are seen regularly. A mob mentality brought shock not only to the white citizens in the city but also to those in DV not connected in any way to the barbaric events of 9 November 1952. Black Sunday, as it became known, was the day that Sister Quinlan, a nun and medical doctor who had been living in DV for 14 years, was beaten and her body left to burn in a car before being dragged into the street and attacked by passing cannibals who cut off pieces of flesh, leaving only her torso by the time the police removed her body later that day (Bank, 2011:65). She was targeted by a group of protesting black youths in DV during the protests of 1952 because she was white. A memorial was erected in DV at the site of the murder, 5 decades later, in 2012. Bank views this day to be the catalyst for change to a confrontational style of "local identity politics and paved the way for the introduction of a 'racial modernism' in the city, which used housing as the primary means for 'norming and forming' of new African subjectivities in East London" (2011:61). Wilson and Bank both write about the mindset of people engaging in ritual killings; Bank speaks about the similar attacks by the Mau Mau in Kenya at the time (2011), while Wilson writes about rituals killings and the related belief in the continued existence of the dead (Wilson. *Magical and Religious Beliefs – The Ancestor Cult*. UCT Archives). Perhaps using fire as a means of protesting is a way of connecting with and imposing their own fear of witchcraft and the ability for it to incite fear in those who are causing them distress. These protesting citizens feel that they don't have the voice or political strength to incite symbolic violence, thus resorting to the use of their most powerful weapon.

NEWS

Honours for the brave men in blue

Crime-busters hailed for heroics

Safety and liaison chairman criticises grade three R3 000-R5 000 salaries

Cops bust DV tavern owner

'Sheeben queen' held after double murder

By ZWANGA MKHUTHU
Crime Reporter

A DUNCAN Village "sheben queen" was arrested yesterday and the business shut down two days after a bloody stabbing and shooting incident.

Police said yesterday that the arrest of the 49-year-old woman was not linked to the stabbing and shootings on Sunday afternoon, which resulted in the death of two people.

"She is being arrested and charged for dealing in liquor without registration," said Duncan Village police spokesman Captain Stephen Marais at the scene yesterday.

Members of the Duncan Village police and officials from the Eastern Cape Liquor Board stormed the shebeen in Bebelele Street just after 8am and started confiscating liquor items including:

- 24 bottles of Castle Lager;
- 36 bottles of Black Label;
- 24 bottles of Hansa Pilsner;
- 24 bottles of Castle Light;
- 24 bottles of Hunters Dry;
- nine bottles of Klipdrift; and
- 12 bottles of 2L Pearl Perle wine and other liquor items.

Police said the confiscated liquor will serve as evidence against the suspect in court.

The woman, who was expected to spend

NABBED: Police arrest a sheebeen owner for operating illegally

Evidence in Duncan Village murder trial questioned

By SIYA BOYA
Court Reporter

DISCREPANCIES were found in the evidence of a defence witness in the murder trial of a Duncan Village man in the East London High Court yesterday.

Masixole Wokona was testifying in the case involving his brothers, Vuyolwethu and Sviwe Wokona, and their co-accused, Luvuyo Ngemntu, Yonela Jobodwana and Nqaba Dzingwe.

They are facing two counts of murder and are accused of beheading a rival gang member.

Wokona told Judge Lusindiso Pakade that he and Ngemntu shared a flat and on the night of the murders Ngemntu was at home. "He came home at 10.20pm and I locked the door thereafter," said Wokona.

He told the court he kept the house keys in his room and if Ngemntu wanted to leave, he would have had to ask for them.

State advocate Zukile Mdolomba pointed out to Masixole that in a previous proceeding he had said Ngemntu came home at a different time.

"There are discrepancies in your evidence," said Mdolomba.

"It is also highly improbable that accused number one [Ngemntu] was dependent on you for the house key. The reason you're telling the court about this abnormal arrangement is that you want the court to believe he was home."

Although the trial first started in 2011, proceedings had to start from scratch after it was discovered that an attorney for the accused did not have the right to appear in the high court.

The charges relate to the killing of Xolani Zwide and Thando Gabayi, who was decapitated.

A sixth accused, Masibulele Mkohlwa, was allegedly only involved in the Gabayi murder.

The accused suspected Zwide and Gabayi of murdering their gang member in May 2010 and decided to kill them in revenge, the indictment said.

They allegedly stabbed Gabayi several times and severed his head.

After putting his head in a plastic bag, they showed it to another person and left. The trial resumes tomorrow. — siyab@dispatch.co.za

Figure 95: A collage of articles that frequent front pages of the *Daily Dispatch*, the East London daily newspaper.

Malusi's house is almost directly opposite from Kup's Tavern (figs 96 & 97), yet this occupied house where Malusi lives remains untouched by the vandalism events, that tend to happen over weekends. The attacks appear to only be on the unoccupied houses. Malusi's body language is much more diffused as he now openly discusses matters of councillors and shortfalls of the BCM with an unstated expectation of reciprocity as he registers interest in the final research document.

Figure 96: Malusi and Boniswa are both on the list of beneficiaries to receive houses in the DVRI pilot project at Mekeni Road and Competition Site respectively. Malusi has already moved into his home in Mekeni Road, while Bonani and Boniswa were unaware that they had been approved. The fifth house from the end of Mekeni Road has been painted blue; a garden wall built around it, and a house number 36 has gone up, demonstrating beneficiary funded investment through incremental upgrade. Photograph by K. Thompson.

Figure 97: Kup's Tavern in Mekeni Road. Photograph by K. Thompson.

The house, a symbol of hope, has fallen victim of the fury of citizens. Protest as reaction to frustration pent up over decades, has played out repeatedly in Duncan's Village over the last five years. It is clear that violent actions define and alter the course of urban development. It is easy to connect the anecdote of Toto, who explained that safety was no issue in DV provided you are in your house before dark or 5pm, and the role of the house, not only as a symbol of hope but also as a refuge, near to the work place, but where residents are not vulnerable to violence.

Architecture, Urbanism and Change

Change is not always due to catastrophic events. Hall, on change and adaptability, speaks of the role of urban planning and architecture to allow for the unpredictability of "the urban patterns of convenience and connectivity that afford viability and vitality, and ultimately adaptability", referring to Jane Jacob's *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1958).

> Spatial adaptability is based on the underlying principle that urban form absorbs a variety of appropriations over time while acknowledging that this approach leaving open the interpretation of space does not sit well with the formality of the urbanism envisaged in training by planners and developers (Hall, 2012:122).

The dynamic and temporal nature of space means that spatial production must be understood as part of an evolving sequence, with no fixed start or finish, and that multiple actors contribute at various stages. Lefebvre explains:

> All productive activity is defined less by invariable or constant factors than by the incessant to-and-fro between temporality (succession, concatenation) and spatiality (simultaneity, synchronicity) (1991:71).

Duncan Village further reinforces this understanding of space with its history of removal and relocation either through natural or political forces such as forced removals, people-storage in hostels, allocated space, and shack urbanity squeezing between formal structures that constantly push out to keep the claim to space. The type of buildings designed and their response to understanding particularity of place have direct impact on the success of intervention projects. The RDP housing typology was challenged in Duncan Village much like Sakhasonke's Gro House, with the use of back-to-back semi-detached units, as opposed to the traditional centre party wall. This typology was an implementation of my master's research and afforded increased densities while retaining defensible space to the front of the house, which also allowed natural surveillance by the community and designs in security by taking away narrow rear gardens.

The history of divided views on segregation laid foundations for creation and re-creation of the spaces of DV. The approach to creating an urban township from a location in the forced removals of the 1970s, according to Bank, is in line with the view of Rabinow (1989, 1995):

> I define the township model as a form of middling modernism, a version of modernist planning focused principally on reconfiguring the home and domestic life, as opposed to other versions of modernism, which concentrated more on public spaces and the integrity of the city centre. Like many cities in South Africa, East London underwent a facelift in the post-war period that saw the city centre restructured with new multi-storey modern office blocks and shops in wider roads (in Bank 2011:23).

It is important to this thesis to understand the township model as a form of middling modernism because the development of place needs to move away from focus on simply houses to holisitic community development, as SA policy has been aspiring to over the last decade. City planning needs to take a proactive approach to the major concerns around the effects and reality of urbanisation to avoid the largely reactive approach to placemaking.

There is continuity in change in the short-term relocation from rural areas to find work opportunities in cities during the working week. This constantly adjusting dynamic requires responsive space-creation and adaptation. Economic change also requires situational adaptation and the resourcefulness of poverty or what Hamdi calls "the intelligence of informality" (2010:36) discussed earlier. With an income threshold of R3500/month to qualify for state housing assistance, if people in shack urbanity were in fact moving onward and upward or had done so in the last 20 years, then it would have helped towards the reduction of need for housing provision. Toto lives in a backyard shack in Kwanomzamo, a settlement on the periphery of a small town called Humansdorp in the Eastern Cape, and despite her salary being double the state defined minimum wage, it is not easy to cover all expenses in a month without further assistance. Considering then that her doubled minimum salary is R1500 over the threshold to receive housing assistance through the UISP model, one can see how easy it is for poor South Africans to fall into the gap between state assistance and private finance.

The social and economic fabric of DV today is rooted in its historical beginning as a space inhabited on the periphery of its host city. DV has evolved over time as responsive space making adapting to constant change – a skill developed not only by DV residents but all citizens in shack urbanity. Over the past seven years, on every visit to Duncan Village, I have acquired a deeper level of understanding of the place as I encountered new people and spaces and a tangible understanding of Kolb's description of Duncan Village as both "dense and complex … with a long and contested history as well as a strong set of local and trans-local associations and connections. Kolb explains that the striated spaces of DV are 'not all present at once, it does not come at you from one angle'" (in Bank, 2008:14) and this chimes with my experience.

In South Africa, discussions of racial divide and the history of apartheid are generally understood to be about discord between white and other races. Animosity among minority groups; black and coloured people, was however an unexpected realisation. I learnt of this before my first visit to DV,

as a researcher, while speaking with Toto about meeting her friends in DV. Toto told me that she had spoken with her friend Nokuthula who had detoured from her usual route to work to get the telephone number of the chairman of the area committee, whom I later came to know as Malusi, who lives three streets away from her. Nokuthula, despite living only three streets away from Malusi, had gotten his number via a friend, not wanting to go herself because “there are coloured people living there”. Toto described a friction that often exists between black and coloured people who she described as culturally quite different explaining that Xhosa men expect to be cooked for and cleaned after and “don’t look after their children”. It is important for this thesis to understand the social divisions along race lines in DV in order to move away from the idea that DV is a heterogeneous group of people all with the same background, which is important in understanding aspirations and need necessarily for successful upgrading intervention projects.

Conclusion

Despite the various divides in DV, issues of safety and the perceived temporality of shack urbanity, like any domestic environment, offers respite from the bustle of public life; a way to find a calm in the chaos - what Tuan calls “the difference in emotional temperature between inside and outside” (1977). A natural effect of shack urbanity is small private spaces resulting in extensive use of communal or semi-private spaces, which facilitates or perpetuates the ‘street talk’ means of information transfer in informal settlements.

Figure 98: Rainbow nation: Communal spaces between shacks become urban living rooms affording passive surveillance. The symbolism of the spectrum and the national rugby jersey is not lost in this scene. Photograph by K. Thompson.

"Love them all, trust no-one" is a biblical passage hung on the wall of Boniswa and Bonani's shack. This gives insight into the perception and preconceived ideas of the place of Duncan Village. The regular reports of violence and threats to personal safety, vandalism, corruption, and inequality, divide and social diversity and other social ills like drinking, drugs and gangsterism. On speaking with Boniswa about her social circle, she replied: "We know many people here, but we only have a few friends. People in Duncan Village drink a lot and we don't drink." Circumstantial interactions reinforced some points such as crime as an issue and safety to walk on the streets and highlighted further social issues such as drinking and the issues of the shebeens.

The intelligence of poverty allows DV to operate as a mini-town, fully engaging where necessary with East London, which is thus only a host in so far as it hosts the economic and population density, moving between the now porous barriers between spaces. Having taken a comprehensive account of the place, it is useful to compare the process of upgrading in DV with other areas of shack urbanity, based on coding the similarities and differences, to gauge what the institutional differences were that contextualised intervention.

Infiltrating DV provided insight into the abstract phenomena and the concrete manifestations of DV – the historical political ills, the current social ills, the divide and unity, and the spectrum of pride and malevolence – a civic metabolism that plays out within its spaces, between its buildings and connects to the host city. The citizens have developed skills of adaptation to adversity that have moved from hope and ideals to being both a self-sufficient town and a town that has fostered a mutualistic relationship that transcends, together with the planning reform, the historical boundaries of belonging.

Chapter Five

Intervention Process

Case Study and Reference Studies

This chapter details the process of delivery for the case study and reference study intervention projects, by combining primary data for implementation as architect on the case study project, and secondary data as researcher. The Shack Urbanity Intervention Tool (SUIT) is used to chart each project and produce data maps to interrogate trajectories of commonality of the projects in Chapter Six. The Duncan Village Redevelopment Initiative (DVRI) case study is charted using heuristic information from direct observation and knowledge accessed as Project Architect. Secondary data from files and anecdotal discussions on the implementation process is used to chart the two reference studies. One of the reference studies, Zanemvula, is used for comparison largely as it is a pilot project, like DVRI, but located in a different metropolitan municipal boundary in the same province, and with different professional teams and project inception methods. At the time of writing, Zanemvula had been fully occupied for half a decade while the DVRI was still struggling to halfway completion. The process of upgrading is discussed where a combination of top-down and bottom-up methodologies have been used in projects within the defined research area in the cities of East London (DVRI) and Port Elizabeth (Zanemvula). Both are the largest cities in their metropoles and both are industrial port cities. With so many similarities, including their colonial past, this chapter aims to uncover why there are such vast differences in delivery outcomes.

I sought reference studies that would offer varied contexts within the range of criteria stipulated in the research strategy, to compare process of intervention. The two selected intervention projects, Zanemvula and Sakhasonke, are composite reference studies with intricate histories and networks of actors. I refer to these projects as reference studies to differentiate between my levels of involvement as architect on the case study project and the use of primary data compared with the collation of secondary data of the two reference studies. The application of reference studies for comparison assists with writing across diverse urban contexts, distinctive and unique, but also interconnected (Robinson, 2006). The application of the forensic tool (SUIT) sets out to produce a static, non-dialectical lens of categorisation to achieve an understanding of diversity and specificity to transform theoretical categories into practical use of knowledge.

The approach draws on Gadamer's hermeneutics of application. He urges that we regard not only understanding and interpretation, but also application as a unified process: "We consider application to be just as integral a part of the hermeneutical process as are understanding and interpretation" (Gadamer, 1975:307). The approach also takes cognisance of Lefebvre's understanding that knowledge ought not to be reduced to ill-defined or indefinable things that "get(s) lost in classifications, descriptions and segmentations" (1974/1991:81). To that end, the SUIT approach incorporates an understanding of social structures into the process of intervention and the development plan of spaces. In alignment with *Spatial Agency* and the discussion on "organisational structure", which "deals with the invisible flows of spatial production"[68] (Awan, Schneider & Till, 2011:Kindle 1120) this chapter applies the SUIT as a means to capture the data and uses it as method of managing and potentially changing the way in which spatial intervention is carried out.

> This approach brings attention to how the very set up of a practice or institution prescribes the parameters within which projects happen. The motivation for rethinking organisational structures often starts from dissatisfaction with received professional values … It is argued that these values are inscribed in the way that organisations are managed and run, and it follows that for new values and methods to emerge one has to reconsider core working practices … the site for *Spatial Agency* here is thus the reconfiguration of spatial practice, and refers in particular to worker and other co-operatives, to practices which work in explicitly collaborative and interdisciplinary ways, and to groups that start with an overtly political and ethical agenda (such as Sakhasonke and the committee formed for its development) (Awan, Schneider & Till 2011 Kindle 1164).

[68] For yet another group of spatial agents the driving force is the empowerment of others to organize themselves. This is not a new discussion and Tom Woolley in 1977 argued for responsive structures for project delivery "four elements of real alternative practice: change in the relationship between all architectural workers; the establishment of new sectors of work with a broader social remit; the use of new participatory techniques not only to demystify expertise but also to help everyone understand processes more fully and, … a commitment to greater accountability of the entirety of the profession" (Awan, Schneider & Till, 2011:Kindle 1164).

Case Study

Five kilometres from the Central Business District (CBD) of East London, grows the bustling community of Duncan Village. Over this short stretch of undulating topography and swelling riverbanks, the differences in experience of city life are vast, as discussed in the previous chapter. The 2011 Census refers to East London as a portal industrial town, largely oriented around the motor industry of Mercedes Benz covering a land area of 168.86 km², with a population of 267 007 (1581.21 per km²) incorporating 83499 households (494.48 per km²). The port around which the industrial city is built (fig.99) is connected to the rest of South Africa via good rail networks and boasts the largest export grain elevator in South Africa, which has recently been converted to handle imports in addition to exports.

Figure 99: East London Harbour. Photograph by K. Thompson taken during aerial assessment of Duncan Village.

The BNG policy of 2004 set out to right the wrongs of the decisions made in Duncan's day and was introduced in the EC through pilot projects in 2005, prioritising Zanemvula under the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Municipality (NMMM) and Duncan Village under the Buffalo City Municipality (BCM). Both municipalities show the highest number of households residing in informal dwellings in the Eastern Cape at around 27% (Census, 2011). Subsequently, the Local Spatial Development Framework (LSDF) incorporated the vision of the DVRI and was finally produced in 2008, aiming to intersect with and continue to develop on existing initiatives in the city. Appendix 16 indicates full project phasing.

The post-1994 democratic government focused on housing delivery. Taking heed of Mandela's primary concern, The Housing Generator competition sought to provide much needed

housing while drawing from international experience of high volume delivery. The competition titled 'Fragmentation or Integration' was sponsored by the Swedish International Development Co-operation Agency (SIDA) and encompassed three projects across South Africa, namely Cato Manor in Durban, Duncan Village in East London and Watville in Johannesburg.[69] It was initiated to address issues related to urbanisation and low cost housing in South Africa and sought to develop "innovative, qualitative and affordable urban housing through a process of investigation, research, workshops, conferences, a design competition and possible implementation, undertaken by South African and Dutch interest groups, in cooperation with local communities, municipalities, government, and developers".[70] The results of the competition were envisaged to highlight that an interdependence of a myriad of factors exist namely, "urbanism, housing, architecture, finance, land tenure, ownership, affordability, quality, sustainability, technology, access and infrastructure".[71]

Intervolve Foundation, formerly the Van der Leij Foundation, is a section 21 company that has its roots in development of low cost housing in East London.[72] Founded in 1996 the organisation championed local projects. In 1998 it took initiative from the UN World Habitat Conference, Habitat II held in 1996, and developed the High Return Housing Project training programme, and aimed to empower underprivileged residents of townships in East London. In addition the Haven Hills suburb was developed, where 132 project-linked low-cost dwellings and 258 apartment dwellings for rental were constructed. This development is now managed and rented by Own Haven Housing Association, which also builds new homes.

Intervolve was part of the Duncan Village Redevelopment Initiative at the start in 2005 when DV was home to 100,000 inhabitants.[73] Situated on the urban fringe, this completely top down incremental upgrade project, DVRI, includes provision of services and top structures fully funded by the three governmental tiers. These tiers form what is described as the client body in the Project Business Plan, a document required under National Housing Code (NHC) stipulations for Phase 1 and 2 of incremental upgrading (NHC, 2009). The significance of the history of the place within the Eastern Cape and South Africa together with the prioritising of the DVRI project by national government adds to the importance of this mega project.

---

[69] http://www.africaserver.nl/hg/front.htm. Accessed 2012.
Housing Generator Competition – Susan Hall and Barbara Shuttleworth.
Involved institutions include USN affiliates (Afesis Corplan, BESG) DAG, Duncan Village Development Forum, Duncan Village Housing Committee, Duncan Village Residents Association (DVRA).

[70] Ibid.

[71] Ibid.

[72] Section 21 of the Companies Act 61 of 1973 allows for not-for-profit company or association incorporated not for gain.

[73] Intervolve. http://www.inter-volve.org/en-van-der-leij.html. Accessed 2012.

"Start Small, Start Now" is a chapter in the LSDF written for the Duncan Village Precinct that aligns with the NHC and focuses on informal settlement upgrading. While the three DVRI sites in this research includes the sites developed in the pilot phase, which will deliver 323 homes, the full DVRI project aims to deliver in excess of 20,000 houses by 2019. The pilot phase seeks to test key proposals and their feasibility for the roll out of the full scale DVRI comprises two greenfield sites at Mekeni Road and Haven Hills, which broke ground in December 2010 and are still clambering to final delivery of 44 and 133 houses, and the Competition Site (CS) which involves removal of existing shacks to allow for the building of 131 houses.

Displaced residents are offered land at serviced Temporary Relocation Areas (TRA) to erect their shacks while construction is underway. At DV this is still the intended process for the CS, as the TRA is yet to be identified and the project yet to go to tender for awarding to a contractor. The delivery of housing in East London is prone to halt and delay compared with project programmes in Cape Town and Port Elizabeth, for example (FHISER, 2004).

This study of the DVRI is a snapshot in time covering the two years of personal involvement and charting the preceding events and subsequent follow on. This research focuses on the sites at Mekeni Road and Competition Site being located inside Duncan Village Proper.

Figure 100 & 101: Mekeni Road, one of the two greenfield sites of the DVRI. These modified images illustrate the areas of social and concrete effect of intervention projects, respectively – that is, the upgrading of narrative and place and the upgrading of houses. Photographs by K. Thompson.

The primary objective of the LSDF planning approach is to de-densify and relocate residents from areas prone to natural disaster, mainly fire and flood. This is in line with housing policy calling to "focus on settlements located in areas posing a threat to health and safety" (NHC, 2009:Pt3:Vol.4:3.3:25). The higher densities in DV of up to 200 dwellings unit per hectare (du/ha) mean that de-densification through relocation is required to achieve the aspired 85du\ha.

Incremental or staged intervention in DV has been proposed and developed as per Breaking New Ground (BNG), which put forward new development objectives aimed at quality of

construction versus quantity of delivery. The staged approach was implemented prior to the National Upgrading Settlements Programme (NUSP), seeking also to upgrade quality of people's lives through the improvement of living conditions by staged delivery of services, infrastructure and houses. Incremental upgrading, on a private and individual level, also describes a staged self-help approach to improvement as funds become available to upgrade either through additions or from corrugation to concrete.

Public Participation in Duncan Village

While the situation in Duncan Village may be endemic and not applicable to all settlements, public participation was allegedly tainted by councillor's political propaganda in their address to the community about the DVRI project. In addition, momentum was lost during two 12-month periods where the project was stalled during the construction phase, and the design team was not always invited to the community meetings.

A disparity exists between the extensive claims of public participation in the LSDF (which made use of qualitative surveys by FHISER in 2004), and knowledge of workshops and public meetings being compromised by repetitive scenes of unrest and instability and political indecision (BCM 2008), and repeated comments by residents: "people are tired of what is happening in Duncan Village. This place is neglected and no one really cares about us" (*Daily Dispatch,* 30 April 2013). In the same article, Keith Ngesi, a BCM spokesperson, stated: "we have had successful Integrated Development Plan (IDP) meetings in all Duncan Village wards recently, with nothing raised during those legislated platforms that could have led to what the city woke up to today", he said referring to the rioting and burning of tyres on the Douglas Smith Highway. In addition, the infiltration process reveals little to no knowledge of the project in DV among its residents. Of the 30 respondents at Ford Street, none were aware of the DVRI project and 13 (43%) did not know anyone benefiting from a government house with some responding that "it's all about empty promises". Some respondents understood the houses to be "DA and ANC membership offered houses" while a third mentioned other initiatives named Mabubuye Ubuntu, Sibindi and Kwanda projects. At CS the responses were similar with Boniswa saying: "No, I don't know about any upgrade plan for the area. Are we getting a house?" followed by "but these fires are bad, I hope houses are coming soon." A total of 90% of the 102 respondents did not know about the DVRI pilot intervention projects. One questions the effectiveness of the process when it becomes evident, through discussion with beneficiaries, that there is still no common understanding of the project within the community which holds varied views on why the project stalled, why vandalism occurred and by whom, and who the rightful beneficiaries are, despite official lists of approved names.

It is common knowledge that politicians, with canvassing agendas, often cast the beneficiary lists aside. Unlawful occupation of completed government homes has not spared the DVRI and protests were staged by desperate citizens who had, in their possession, title deeds to their new homes only to be met with threats on arrival (*Daily Dispatch*, 11 March 2011; 30 April 2013). This research has thus identified a new-style squatter, where people have invaded new homes intended for approved beneficiaries, which is different from the common understanding of the term squatter in South Africa, which refers to illegal occupation of land. A point made clear when comparing infiltration responses at Mekeni Road and realising that half of the Mekeni Road residents living in the new homes are not on the official beneficiary list received from BCMM.

Corruption and its prevalence in housing delivery processes in South Africa were discussed in Chapter Four. Corruption shifted from buzzword to reality on the Duncan Village project and suspicions became allegations and public knowledge (*Daily Dispatch* 08 November 2011). The alleged taking of bribes during the tender stage is a cliché that was played out on the Duncan Village project and it is widely understood that policy makers, academics and practitioners are suggesting reform to a system rife with corruption. On discussions of corruption and the effect on housing projects in South Africa, Lance del Monde, Project Manager of award-winning intervention projects, noted that, "because of corruption there are too many checks and balances which inhibits the process."[74] The knowledge of corruption in institutions in South Africa is well known and the National Department of Human Settlements hosts an anti-corruption link and hotline on their website to allow reporting of incidents of corruption.

As with all projects and previously discussed, participation by all actors is vital. The social context of this upgrade project presented issues that were often greater than the logistical infrastructure installation considerations, such as the reluctance of residents to allow the surveying team into DV to acquire geological data. The reason for this is unclear but it is possible to deduce that it either had to do with illegal immigrants finding refuge in the settlement and who want to remain under the radar, or that residents were uninformed of the reason for the survey team being in the settlement. The resulting effect has been that what started out as intention to deliver a finite programme at Duncan Village turned into a process with dwindling hope and no finish line in sight.

The circumstances for DVRI became dire, with beneficiaries facing non-delivery and the resounding empty promises of shack eradication of a past era. This, met with a recurring reality of unlawful occupation and the history of activism in Duncan Village, made for a volatile start to intervention. Due to these issues faced on Duncan Village pilot projects, a focused cross-section of time in the life of the project has been used for the purposes of this research incorporating project

[74] Lance del Monde. Personal discussion (Red Notes, 1:34).

information up until the cessation of the contract for the second 12-month phase and a documentation of the state of the project at the start of the third contract for implementation. At the end of 2017 most of the houses were complete except for the two that were started on the edge of the slope, where now only a cast concrete floor stands, and a semi-detached house remains in its bare state of concrete block and openings, with rubbish dumped in the shell. A couple of the homes have added front boundary walls and one has added ornate burglar bars to the windows.

Communication with the community needs to continue throughout the process and include discussions of need and expectation. The post occupancy discussions at Mekeni Road revealed that just over a third of Mekeni Road respondents do not like their new home, citing close proximity to road and noise between semi-detached homes. In addition the size of the plot was considered too small to allow for extension as the family grows or for subsistence planting. While one should take into account the community's requirements, here I argue that understanding of characteristics of urban housing is required by those seeking to live close to the city. In addition to the occupants of the new homes, just over a third of Mekeni Road residents living across the road from the intervention project, don't feel the houses were the best design, citing size and lack of defensible space. They were also dissatisfied at longstanding members of the community not being the primary beneficiaries of the new houses.

As described in the Chapter Four, part-completed houses at Mekeni Road became crime scenes during the second project stall, as reports of murder, rape, a cat hanging and extreme vandalism left defeated shells stripped, with not a toilet, door handle, or pane of glass remaining. The torn-down ceilings and fire damage were the starting point for the third attempt at completion. Confusion about what triggered these reactions raises doubt about the view that these homes should have a positive effect on the community. Whether violent acts are related to gang rituals, as some community members suggest, or whether the community members from the East of Duncan Village are staging protests against the selected beneficiaries who would occupy the houses built in the West of Duncan Village, is not known. Supposed symbols of hope appear to have instead become loci of crime in the community they sought to upgrade.

The issues related to communication, public participation and the apparent disregard for the beneficiary list have affected Boniswa and Bonani. They were also not aware that they had been allocated a house on the approved CS and would in effect simply move across the road into a formal house at 40 Ndende Street, when the pilot phase completes. As it stands, CS has still not benefited from the temporary relocation process for the new houses to be built, where 11/22 (50%) of respondents rent their shack, 10/22 respondents own their shack, and 1/22 rents an RDP house.

The Project Team at DVRI

The local authority is responsible for managing, and co-coordinating the DVRI project. This actor outsources a spectrum of professional resources required to provide the identified beneficiary needs and in this capacity, is acting as 'client'. The success of the relationship between local authority and subcontractors relies on the particular personalities employed by the municipality to take cognisance of and responsibility for the impact of their decisions.

The relationship between the contractor and the design team did not start well. The design team comprised a Joint Venture between the Quantity Surveyor (QS), Civil Engineer, Structural Engineer and Architect, and provided professional services called for in the NHC. During the first full team meeting after the contract had been awarded, which was also the day that the site was being handed over in contractual terms from the municipality to the contractor, a phone call was received, half an hour after the scheduled meeting time, from the director of the contracting company to say that he would not be able to meet that day. Some weeks later a meeting between the QS and the contractor ended abruptly after the QS was allegedly accused by the contractor of racial bias for requesting a follow up on the provision guarantees and surety from the contractor. The QS contacted the Project Manager to inform him of his resignation, which was revoked in a subsequent meeting convened by the municipal Project Manager to resolve the conflict.

Figure 102: Hand over of the DVRI Haven Hills (HH) pilot site on 03.11.2010. Here the Project Manager on the DVRI, [redacted] is seen far right shaking hands with the ward councillor – that is the politician assigned to the ward or geographic area within which the HH site falls. One of the few times that there was agreement on the intervention project. Photograph by Principle Agent.

On the DVRI project, apathy by project team members in the municipality negatively affected the rate of response and project progress, although not all actors within the municipality. One example of an efficient individual was the assistant Project Manager at Buffalo City Municipality (BCM), working on the DVRI, who was always contactable on the phone. In the corner of his office, behind his desk, he mounted a copy of his engineering certificate on the wall. He always had

project information ready-to-hand and was willing and able to engage and assist in delivery of project objectives. The shift in momentum and ability to obtain information was noticeable when he left BCM. Lack of co-ordination between the internal municipal departments often affected timely progress and completion. The efficiency of one individual can mean the difference between delivery and non-delivery.

The following example of an issue encountered on the DVRI project illustrates the point about how attitude of project team members affects the course of a project. A meeting between the design team and provincial government project team, at the municipal offices, highlighted an issue on the project: houses had been allocated to six more beneficiaries than there were plots available due to original incorrect survey information. The solution offered by the Town Planner was to simply fill in the Public Open Space (POS) designed into the DVRI Site Development Plan, claiming, "the space would be filled in by shack dwellers anyway". After requesting 48 hours to solve the issue, I was able to implement what I called the 'reverse row house', which is a back-to-back row house as opposed to a side-by-side row house. This became the A1 type in the DVRI project. The success in the convincing argument was two-fold – retention of the POS and thus a more responsible urban design, and increased densities without forgoing the defensible space. In this experience and in discussions with the QS, I realised that the wish for a quick solution was rooted in experience at constantly struggling to close the gap between policy and implementation and to bring the change needed.

Emerging contractors is a term synonymous with the last 20 years of change in South Africa, and is well known in housing delivery, and also with DV. The term refers to building contractors that employ general and semi-skilled labour and more specifically it is a term that refers to the implementation of the Black Economic Empowerment Act (no53 of 2003) that aims to bring economic equality by supporting previously disadvantaged South Africans in business. Miscommunication between the emerging contractor on DVRI and his sub-contractors created ongoing issues on site, causing some houses to be built according to superseded drawings. The contractor employed two highly experienced Project Managers, each of whom left a short time into their appointment. The tension within the contractor's consortium played out into poor construction quality in parts and extended to delayed progress by the contractor, with delayed payments by the local authority.

Capability and workmanship of the contractor was questioned a few times when incorrect levels were taken at setting out, and foundation trenches weren't correctly prepared or according to drawings, and organic material was not sifted from sand before preparing mortar. These seemingly

minor points are quite specific to the consolidation phase of the upgrading project, but they give insight into the spectrum of on-the-ground issues that affect actor relationships and process.

> The project is back on after a halt period of over a year because of the political disputes with regards to beneficiaries and the contractors' cash flow problems, which he attributes to non-payment by the client. There still are problems with the beneficiaries; although a list has been issued by the municipality listing names of the beneficiaries, the dispute is the old one of some of the community members not being happy about the people who are in there; so far 15 units have handed over in Mekeni and 32 in Haven Hills. The contractor is now busy with remedial works on the vandalised units in Mekeni, replacing window frames and doors that were vandalised to sell to the still recyclers by the locals. It does look like we are going to see the units being finished this year.[75]

My observations from my two years as Project Architect offer insights into possible issues and effectors of non-performance on the DVRI. From the first project team meeting it was evident that in some instances political agendas were being prioritised over project delivery and could be greater inhibiting factors to the delivery of settlement upgrade schemes than funding, which was often discussed as an afterthought towards the end of the project meeting. The DVRI faced continual challenges to the minimum quality standards for construction and materials for low-cost housing, with continual attempts by the municipality to value engineer the scheme on one hand by removing fascia boards and internal plastering, while on the other hand increasing the quality of specification and requesting alternative details for tiled roofs instead of corrugation, which required redesign of roof trusses and the addition of ceiling material options. In this value engineering process, as architect, I argued to keep the wall plaster specification to the interior walls rather than an unfinished grey concrete block to keep the better quality space and house. In addition, as a newcomer to the project, I questioned the lack of provision of units for disabled persons, which then required reworking. This caused extensive to-and-fro of communication despite referencing the minimum standards in RDP housing policy document, which calls for both fascia and internal plastering. Ironically, this was the very policy that I was referred to when asked to send through sanitary fitting specifications.

Fortnightly meetings, which often ran for three hours, regularly saw little if any progress as issues that should be easily resolved were mulled over repeatedly, such as electrification and the funding-related issue of selecting either the cheaper overhead spider web of cables or the less intrusive underground installation. One of the main problems with DVRI delivery, a systemic issue that Marx has identified, was the lack of coordination between the internal municipal departments.

> Costs and budgets are departmentalized, and accountability and performance are measured in terms of the individual performance of the department rather than their ability to coordinate their work with other departments (Marx, 2003:299).

[75] Fieldwork Notes: 08.03.2013, site visit report and discussion with engineer 23.11.2012

I often witnessed a tendency for blame shifting at project team and site meetings, in relation to non-performance. I was at the receiving end of this diversion tactic at my first fortnightly meeting with the team in 2009, when the BCM Project Manager called for DVRI team members to identify reasons for lack of delivery. Some DVRI team members who had done little to no work in their respective departments wanted to save face and avoid being blamed in the meeting for lack of project progress. The designs of the housing types on the DVRI had changed for various reasons, such as the one mentioned above, and instead of blame being placed at the foot of the person responsible for allocating plots to beneficiaries in accordance with the survey; the blame was placed with the architectural team for lack of production of drawings. I did however also realise, through reasoning for delays from other team members that it was often the bureaucratic red tape that was the inhibiting cause and not the lack of willingness of individuals or the team to deliver. In addition there are issues with communication between departments, as Marx explains:

> There are few coordinated responses to supporting informal settlements between sectors (such as housing, land, transport and job creation) and budgeting process. A strategic capability needs to be developed within the state to improve the quality of life (Marx, 2003:299).

While this statement by Marx is poignant for DV and many other municipalities and shack urbanity intervention projects, to generalise it as a state problem does not take account of the nuanced reality of the effect of particular personalities placed in positions within the municipality. The assistant Project Manager left BCM, and some months after, the Project Manager was suspended indefinitely on corruption allegations, and DVRI ceased to build houses for another 12 months while contractual terms and conditions for continuation were negotiated. During this time, it was noted that some of the team members, and often key decision makers, presented an apathy and reluctance to accept responsibility, often simply ticking boxes and not understanding the requirements of their role or the implications of their actions. This negatively affected the rate of response and thus the project progress. By way of illustration, the JBCC[76] for DV was in essence abandoned in pursuit of maintaining communication with the contractor, as a soured relationship with the BCM was affecting the completion of the project. Non-performance and 87 contract delay days were overlooked instead of imposing penalties on the contractor. In response to Berrisford's question, "How, legally, do you respond to a situation where the majority operate outside of the law, and where public servants apply the law selectively?" (2013), the situation at DV was dealt with by necessary adaptation, and a formal contract was adapted and a responsive informal method of formalising the informal was implemented. In the lengthy team meetings, particular points for project

[76] Joint Building Contract Committee (JBCC) is the most commonly used building contract in South Africa.

logistics were discussed. Site enclosure, not only for safety but to prevent the ongoing fly tipping by existing residents onto the site and also to prevent unlawful occupation of the completed units, was included in the contract. Despite its formal agreement, both the contractor and BCM dismissed its implementation based on the grounds that the contractor had not made allowance for it in the tender or approved contract, and BCM stating that it did not have funds to cover the oversight. It was also discussed, and to give credit, it was raised by Mthunzi, the municipal Project Manager seen in figure 102 above, that houses needed to be handed over in batches of 10 as they were completed, in order to avoid houses standing empty, which would and did cause a myriad of issues – much like the illegal occupation that occurred at Mekeni Road.[77] In the process of implementation, some administrative hurdles were also encountered. Invoices and the constant request for changes to their format caused delays in payment by BCM. Requests, as architect, to be invited to attend community liaison meetings were ignored by the Project Manager.

Reference Studies

Within the borders of the Eastern Cape Province and 300km South West of East London along the coast, The City of Port Elizabeth (PE), affectionately known as The Friendly City or The Windy City, is an industrial port town largely oriented around the motor industry (fig.103). The Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality (NMBM) logo incorporates three colours where blue represents the sky, golden yellow the sun, and earthy red the land and agriculturally rich area. The city, falling within the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Municipal (NMMM) governance, covers a land area of 251.03 km² with a population of just over a million people, and is where the two reference studies, Zanemvula and Sakhasonke, are located (fig.104).

Figure 103: Port Elizabeth Harbour. Source: Internet accessed October 2015.

[77] This was recorded in a site report that I compiled on 23.11.2012.

Zanemvula was selected as a reference project as it met the primary criteria of its host city being located within the geographical research boundary of the Eastern Cape Province. In addition, the existing high density and the mega-project rollout intention at Zanemvula is the same as the DVRI, with the significance of the project being its concurrent start with the DVRI. The upgrade methods include in situ upgrading of houses, civic facility provision after de-densification, and relocation to serviced sites, all of which provide a platform for exchange with the DVRI methods. Another forum for comparison is the differing collaborative approach to project delivery, which implemented a top-down and bottom-up approach through the Independent Development Trust (IDT), followed by the top-down only approach post-1994. The Zanemvula project can be tracked consistently over the 10 years from 2004 to 2014 with a burst of development between 2014 and 2017.

Figure 104: Port Elizabeth aerial photograph (2017) amended to illustrate locations of Reference studies: Zanemvula and Sakhasonke in context of Airport, Harbour and CBD. Source: Google Earth image adapted by author.

The NMBM made headlines in 2015 when a delegation of 11 national officials arrived in the city to address issues around extensive corruption in housing delivery processes (*The Herald*, 20 September). The city fell victim to protests, aimed at officials, with residents citing the tired claims of lack of delivery. Brick throwing and tyre burning spanned the widths of roads; cutting off access to the airport and major arterial routes caused disruption in the city in September 2015. Scenes of change regularly fuel violent protests, as was the case again on 6 February 2016, when would-be beneficiaries of Chatty, Joe Slovo and Booysens Park shouted their grievances outside City Hall. The issues reported in Port Elizabeth thus appear to be the same as those in Duncan Village. There did however seem to be a more proactive approach to addressing bureaucratic red tape, such as accessing designated funds that often delayed implementation. A newspaper article discussed the decision to forward the housing budget directly from the national NDoHS to NMMM, an amount of R348-million, to expedite the process of delivery of RDP houses (*The Herald*, 27 February 2015), thus allowing immediate access to funds. The transfer of this large amount also meant that responsibility was transferred from national government to the local government/municipality.

Zanemvula

Zanemvula, which means "come with the rain", is a mega-project (a term used for multi-site housing projects), identified and implemented at the same time as the DVRI, also a mega-project. With the origins of this reference study deep in the apartheid era, Soweto-on-Sea Restructuring (SOS-R) aims to reorganise the existing haphazard town plan and make good the poor quality of the original Soweto-on-Sea project implemented pre-1994 on a dangerous flood plain. While the growth of the masterplan is illustrated below, for the purposes of the comparative study of project process, extent of information has been limited to the two sites named SOS-R and Chatty 1347.

The eight sites are termed 'reception areas' to which communities will move in the de-densification process and which also provide a place for newly arriving citizens, providing access to a livelihood in the host city. This is a preemptive approach to urbanisation, because the project makes place, through houses and serviced sites, for arriving citizens as opposed to a reactionary approach that requires retrospective installation of bulk services. The relocation necessity arose from non-negotiable risks that the existing site posed to some 2700 shacks that were located in the 1:50 year flood plain of the Chatty River, and 778 shacks obstructing upgrading of roads and services.

SOS falls within the boundary of the One City concept area. This was an initiative to acknowledge the contribution to the city of the informal area, and to formalise it as an official administrative ward within the city. Port Elizabeth One City was an initiative started during

campaigning for the 1994 elections, and became known as the Port Elizabeth Transitional Local Council thereafter. Today SOS is part of the NMMM as an established ward with a designated councillor who serves on the Metropolitan Council.

I was granted access to original project files, aerial photographs, reports, minutes, and documents compiled for the World Bank on lessons learnt, by key players from the first of a series of intervention projects at SOS, who also imparted anecdotal knowledge of the project during discussions. Key players in the SOS project included Roger Matlock of the General Motors South Africa Foundation, Lance Del Monde of Metroplan, Jacko McCarthy of The Housing Development Agency (HDA) and Adriaan van Eerden of Aurecon (formerly Africon). The selection of this reference project for comparison, is to illustrate the work of the top-down post-1994 housing project in the context of the bottom-up pre-1994 housing project.

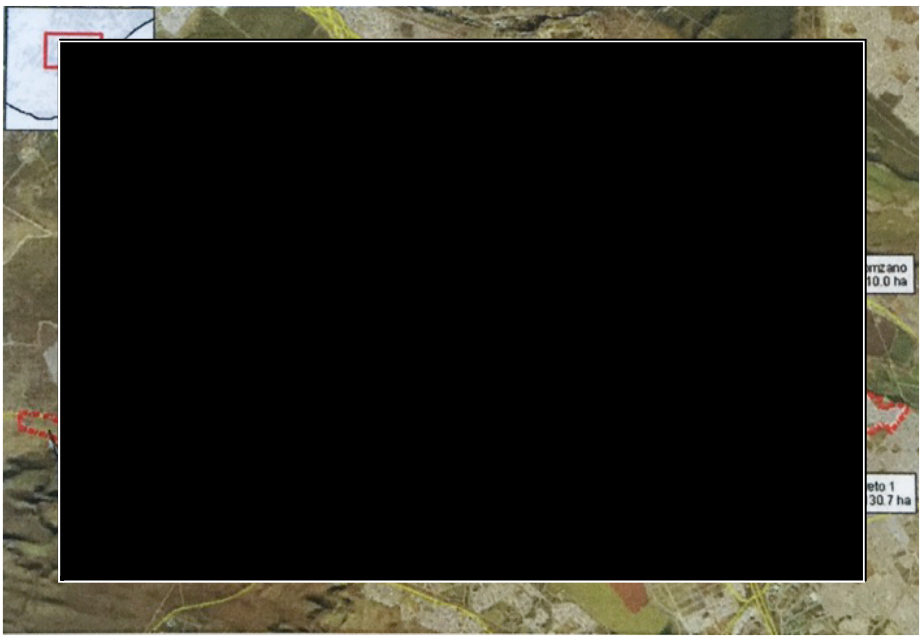


Figure 105: Zanemvula locality Map. Source: The HDA.

SOS is subject to the same threats from fire and flood as DV. Situated largely within the 1:50 year flood plain of the Chatty River, SOS has long been the subject of rectification to address the issues of poor housing in South Africa. In 1985 the Vusisiwe Trust, a small Port Elizabeth component of the organisation comprising two Urban Foundation (UF) representatives and 12 trustees, was formed at the same time as the Independent Development Trust (IDT).

The UF, later known as the Delta Foundation, discussed in its policy context of Chapter One, was formed in late 1976 as an NGO and funded by Anglo-American and other large South African businesses. In interviews with the original UF members, their relationship with the Nationalist Party ruling government was described as tense, and one of toleration, as government turned a blind eye due to the taxes paid by the large businesses funding the UF. Del Monde called this “guilt

money that ticked corporate responsibility boxes" (Del Monde, personal communication, 2013). The UF was linked with the political party, the United Democratic Front, as the organisation rebuked the Nationalist Party at a jamboree for the first time in 1981.[78]

The Independent Development Trust (IDT) was a subdivision of government, which provided funds for upgrading informal settlements without becoming involved in the processes of delivery – it was thus a vehicle for addressing issues of shack urbanity without contravening apartheid law. With the origins of this reference study deep in the apartheid era, Soweto-on Sea represents a bottom-up activism of a white citizenry in a pre-1994 South Africa, which was no small task in a country still vehemently supporting segregation of races. The *Dompas*, (meaning passbook) was used to control the access of black citizens to the cities and suburbs also made it illegal for white citizens to go into townships.

The SOS upgrade project was initiated at a meeting between Govan Mbeki, Judge Jan Steyn and Roger Matlock. The justification by the group for initiating the project was based on their view that there was/is a "historical absence of appropriate urbanisation and housing policies" which they believed caused and perpetuated the emergence and continual expansion of shack urbanity. The IDT, through their capital subsidy scheme, made R75-million available in a one-off payment, to fund the project. Mzukisi Banzana headed the Mzingizi Development Trust (MDT), formed specifically to manage the SOS project. The trust had a contract with the UF and was the same entity as the Vusisiwe Trust, only specifically for SOS. The UF worked extensively with the community at SOS to deliver an upgrade solution. This was part of the initiation of community-based involvement in housing delivery and the catalyst for the government formulation of the Peoples Housing Policy (PHP) discussed previously. At a time in SA when political racial divide was at its worst, the team on the SOS project was made up of black and white people who wanted to see positive change. Jon Hopps was overall coordinator of the MDT and Sister Ethel Normoyle started, and still runs, the Missionvale Care Centre.[79] Duma Makanda controlled community liaison, as seen in the picture on the SOS SUIT diagram in Chapter Six, where he is getting the generator out of the car boot to provide power for presentations to the community. Flip Alberts was the Town Clerk at the iBhayi Town Council, (now the NMMM) at the time of the project. Consent of the council was required for the project to continue; yet representatives of local government rarely attended UF meetings.

[78] Roger Matlock – personal communication, 2013.

[79] The Missionvale Care Centre is an interdenominational non profit organisation operating in the extremely poor township of Missionvale in Port Elizabeth, South Africa. It was founded by Sister Ethel Normoyle, from humble beginnings, under a tree in 1988. It has grown into a centre which provides love and care for the poor and destitute, with particular emphasis on those living with HIV/AIDS. It remains true to her original vision and is still directed by her and a Board of Directors.

Violence had a massive impact on the SOS project, like Duncan Village, and the murder of Christ Hani, a political figure assassinated in 1993 outside his home in Johannesburg, was a catalyst for violence at the SOS project site. All structures were burnt and contractors abandoned work after being injured by protestors and equipment was damaged. There was a major task in finding replacement contractors that would even operate in SOS. The link with the UF created a forum for discussion with between the MDT and the communities to encourage them to allow the project to continue as Kangaroo Courts[80] were set up and SOS was declared a no-go zone for the police.[81]

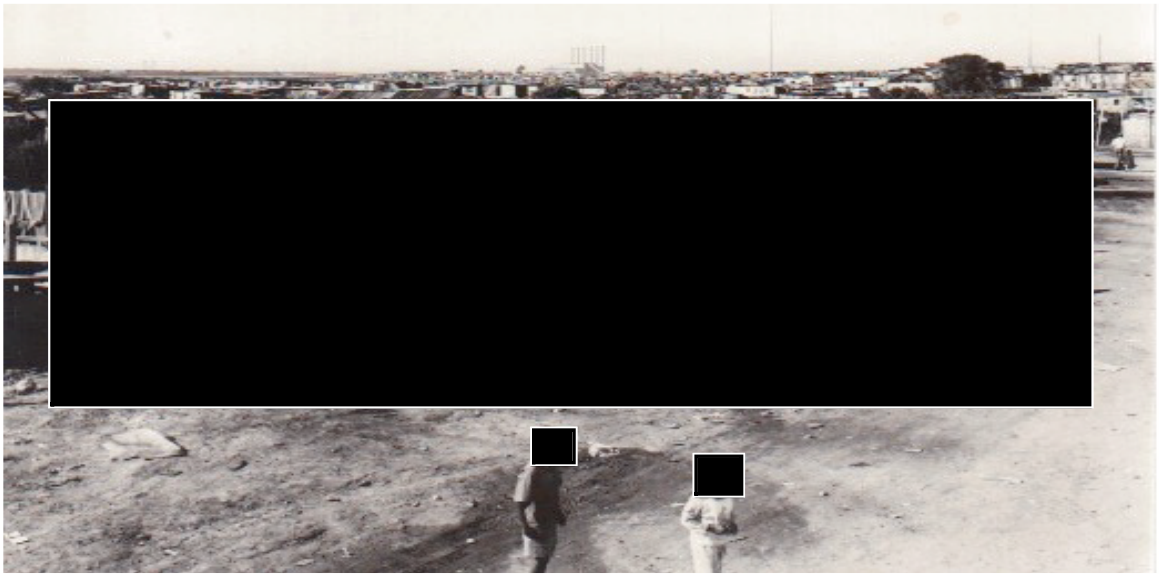


Figure 106: Soweto-on-Sea circa 1992. The R75m Soweto-on-Sea project has been recognised as the biggest in situ upgrading project in the world. Jacko McCarthy conveyed that the Development Bank of Southern Africa had recognised the SOS project as the largest of its kind, globally. Source: Source: UF and Roger Matlock project file.

The SOS project had development goals, set out at the start, which put in place a way of gauging success or failure against its own deliverables and not only against theory and policy expectations, as it aimed to improve the lives of nearly 75,000 people living in 15,000 shacks. To obtain information on numbers, shack counting was done from aerial pictures and the total area divided into six zones. Shack counting was done not only to provide phased and named segments to the project, but also for street level management of the project and engaging with the community – a priority set out at the start of the project. While 15,000 shacks were counted on 1 August 1993, it was decided that the upgrade could not take account of backyarders and so a total number of 10 506 sites were earmarked to be serviced and accounted for. One of the sites was Missionvale and analysis illustrated that 3546 plots could be accommodated there. The upgrading of the remaining 6980 was therefore done in situ.

[80] Local courts set up to deal with unruly citizens promptly.

[81] Anton Rupert and Harry Oppenheimer, billionaires and philanthropists were also anti-apartheid activists. Rupert, much like Duncan, references to Greece in his speech, as quoted in *Anton Rupert, a biography* by Ebbe Dommisse and Willie Esterhuyze, published by Tafelberg.

The upgrade of each of the six zones was carried out by a different consultant, which liaised with its own Area Committee. The Area Committee chairman then employed liaison officers who spoke to the communities in further subdivided areas about boundaries between areas and plots. This was an integral part of SOS, and is a notable difference between SOS and DVRI. Roger had originally been asked by the community to take decision on where plot lines would go. This issue arose from wanting to provide services to irregularly laid out plots and the need therefore to give more geometric and logical order to the settlement plot layouts. It was the view of the UF, however, that it was important for the community to decide among each other to further instill a sense of ownership of the upgrade project and of place.

The project was divided into two phases. The first was services and land tenure. The second was consolidation, and upgrading of each of the six zones was awarded to six different contractors. For the services and land tenure phase, much like the DVRI, the method of delivery was an upgrade of the existing brownfield area, and servicing and development of a greenfield site to provide for those who were relocated. Basic services included serviced bus routes, gravel roads and lanes and overland storm water channels. Individual plots had water connections and meters, a flushing toilet, and a wash trough. The consolidation phase, carried out between the MDT and local government, was the identification of parcels of land for the development of civic structures deemed by the UF to be a necessity for sustainable development such as crèches, schools, clinics, sports fields and parks, community centres, churches, a post office and a police station. The MDT, through the appointment of the UF as the Project Managers, carried out the services and land tenure phase. One of the points that Lance Del Monde made from my questions about the SOS project is that the TTT (toilet, tap, tenure) scheme should have included H for housing or another T for top structure as it would have avoided the need for restructuring.

In response to housing policy requirements for sustainable placemaking, the SOS project included the construction of a multi-purpose community centre (fig.110), and includes other civic facilities such as schools and the inclusion of public open space in the masterplan. In addition, the One City vision has been reinforced with incorporation of larger civic facilities such as an additional Nelson Mandela University (NMU) campus and the multipurpose centre. The Port Elizabeth airport is 15km from the Zanemvula area.

SOS-R is a completely top-down project with government funding compared with the civic initiated SOS project of pre-1994. Jacko has given me access to original documents for the Zanemvula project from inception, including the three tier governmental business agreement on interaction and responsibility of National, Provincial and Local government, as well as some of his personal video footage. Lindiwe Sisulu and her company Thubelisha Homes identified Zanemvula

simultaneously with the DVRI project in 2005, as one that could deliver much needed housing, quickly and at scale. Thubelisha Homes was a Section 21, a non-profit company that assists on projects government cannot deliver for various reasons (some being capacity and capability). It was dissolved in 2009 due to a conflict of interest with Sisulu's position as housing minister.

Zanemvula was handed over to The Housing Development Agency (HDA) to assume the role of implementation agent – an organisation that assists local government with the delivery of upgrade projects in light of limited capacity and capability. At The HDA, Jacko, the Project Manager from the SOS project of the 1990's, is currently project managing the mega-project: SOS-R (R = rectification) and four other development components collectively called Zanemvula.

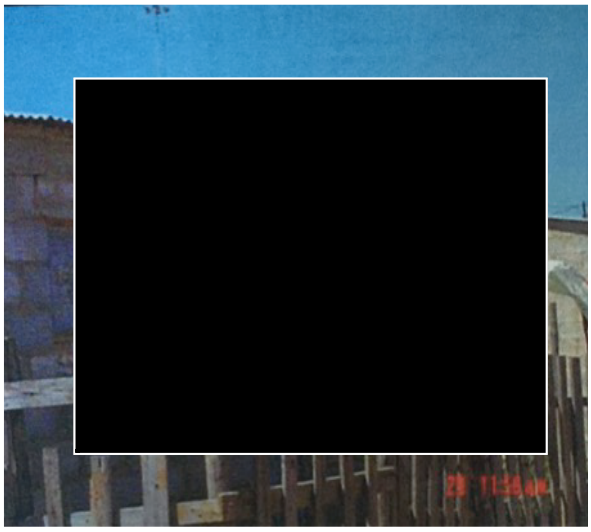


Figure 107: A typical house in SOS that requires remedial work. Source: UF and Roger Matlock project file.
Figure 108: A typical street scene in the SOS-R area where bulk services have been installed and houses refurbished. Source: Google Earth.

In discussion, Roger Matlock quoted Robert Macnamara from the World Bank as we spoke about lessons learnt on the SOS development, "It is no use doing good work in a bad policy environment" who also noted SOS to be "the largest upgrade project of its kind to ever have been done" at the time. A document citing the lessons learnt on the SOS project was requested by the World Bank. The list of anecdotal points addressed the roles of engineers and town planners, concepts of fast-tracking intervention projects, standards in development, issues regarding vandalism and theft, as well as socio-political issues surrounding realities of community relocation, disjointed areas of development within a single project, planning in general, and provision of single point access information data bases for team referencing.

Figure 109: Aerial pictures of Zanemvula, 2015. Source: The HDA.
Figure 110: Multipurpose centre at Soweto-on-Sea. Source: The HDA website. Accessed May 2016.

Zanemvula has faced major hurdles to completion including the discovery of local graves, which halted work until required consultative procedures, and exhuming and relocating had been conducted, and another incident in which beneficiaries held contractors and implementation agents hostage at Zanemvula over delayed delivery. Despite this, the series of images below indicates the growth of the project over 10 years (figs 111 – 119), with major growth from 2004 to 2011.

Figure 111: Aerial images of Zanemvula 2004. Source: Amended Google Earth.

Figure 112: Aerial images of Zanemvula 2008. Source: Amended Google Earth.

Nelson Mandela University – Missionvale Campus

Areas of development

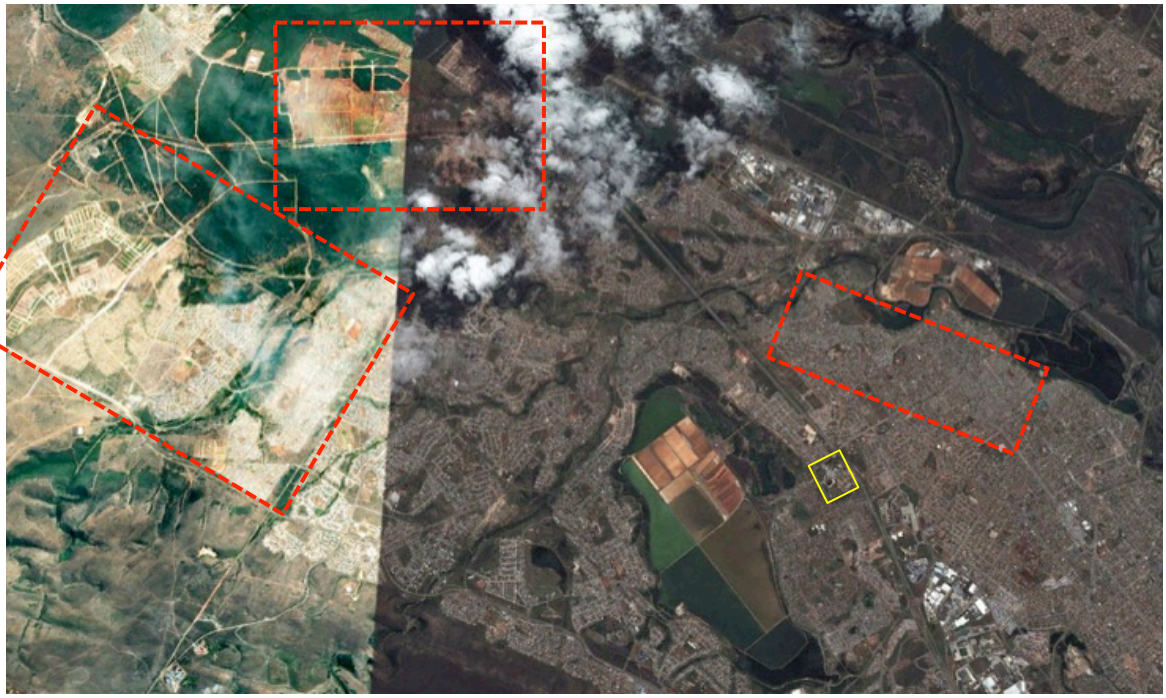


Figure 113: Aerial images of Zanemvula 2010. Source: Amended Google Earth

Nelson Mandela University – Missionvale Campus

Areas of development

Figure 114: Aerial images of Zanemvula 2014. Source: Amended Google Earth. 2500m

Nelson Mandela University – Missionvale Campus Areas of development

Figure 115: Aerial images of Zanemvula 2018. Source: Amended Google Earth. 2500m

Nelson Mandela University – Missionvale Campus Areas of development

Sakhasonke

Much like Zanemvula, the change agents involved in the Sakhasonke project included an extra component when compared with DVRI - the implementation agent. The method of implementation at Sakhasonke, however, differed substantially from both Zanemvula and DVRI with a comprehensive and constant inclusive approach, and methods of quality control and systems for regulation and monitoring that were and remain unique to the project and are discussed further in Chapter Six. The notice of rules and regulations set out for the development shows a level of control over the social aspects of the community which appears to have fostered early ownership of and pride in the community, as residents reported any activities which went against the rules set out for occupation of the village. To further encourage positive involvement, an internal cash prize competition entitled Sakhasonke Village Garden and Home was held in June 2006 and recognised those who put effort into continued improvement.

The Sakhasonke reference study is strengthened by discussing the Missionvale Community Housing Initiative that preceded it. Missionvale is located 15km from the centre of Port Elizabeth, near the NMU Missionvale Campus (figs 111-119). Sakhasonke Village, however, is in the centre of Port Elizabeth in the township of Gqebera, formerly known as Walmer Township. Implemented by the same actors, the Missionvale project and Sakhasonke Village were projects materialising not only out of the quest to challenge existing methods of housing delivery but also the typologies and provision for the physical and social need of the receiving community. Both projects were greenfield projects that sought to increase density and integrate poorer citizens into the formal workings of the host city.

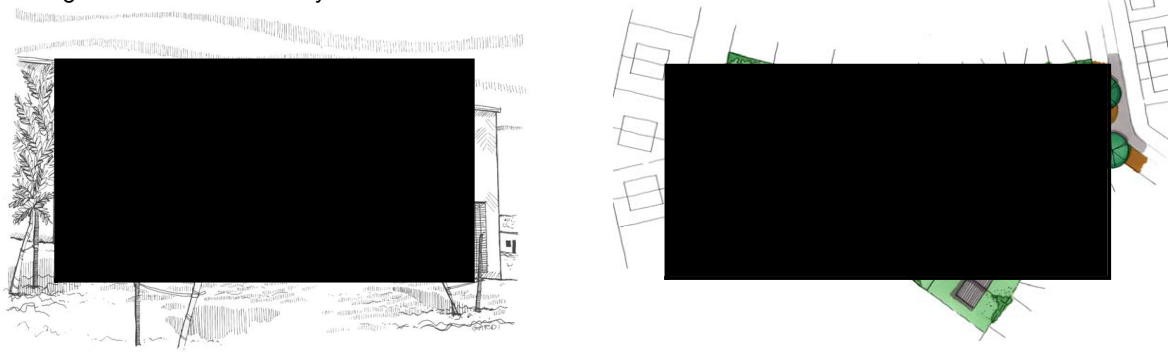
The Missionvale project set out the aim of providing housing to "the poorest of the poor" and was aimed at citizens who were within the income band of R0 – R1500/month. The dire need at Missionvale presented a problem that was more than the project could deliver for, with approximately 2,500 families or 10,000 people living well below the poverty line of $2.34/day, with average monthly income of R500 and people squatting in conditions with no water or sanitation systems. Land adjacent to the squatter settlement, developed as part of the SOS relocation from the 1:100 year flood plain, was identified for development and calculated to provide enough space for 493 families.

Originally initiated by the DF, formerly the UF and now the General Motors South Africa Foundation (GMSAF), the development was implemented by The Missionvale Housing Development Trust (MHDT) while seeking to use housing delivery processes as vehicles for "broader social reconstruction" (Del Monde, Metroplan project information file, 2003). The DF set out to implement a project at Missionvale that challenged the usual modes of development that largely excluded

community inclusion, by encouraging a bottom-up system. They used the house as the catalyst for the project in which beneficiaries built their own houses. This approach was preferred as a way to involve as many stakeholders as possible in the process while incorporating ideals of developing sustainable communities. In addition, there was a focus on providing skills and jobs, while "cultivating a sense of ownership over the project and the beneficiary homes" (Del Monde).

One key method of community inclusion at Missionvale was that beneficiaries built their own homes. Lance gives insight into unforeseen issues of implementing a project of this nature and working with the extremely poor people of Missionvale, "Many days we had to first start with buying them food. They are so poor they can't actually afford to eat regularly" (Del Monde in personal communication, 2013). He also spoke about the logistics and human aspects of encouraging good quality building. People would only put in required effort when they knew they were building their own home. To address this, teams of four people were put together to build four homes – no one was informed of whose house was being built at any given time until they were completed.

Missionvale also challenged the standard RDP housing typology and provided formal housing using only the state subsidy.[82] After starting in 1996 the project delivered 493 Housing units at R17250 each[83] using seven house typologies combining single and double story semi-detached units ranging 36–56sqm on 110sqm plots (figs 120–121). A maximum residential density of 34 units/ha and 144 persons/ha was achieved. A composite funding mechanism used state subsidy per unit of R17250 (R15000 Basic Project Linked Subsidy plus variances allowed) with a final total project subsidy of R8 573 250 based on a freehold tenure. The delivery was through development partners including GMSAF, who contributed R600 000 for research costs and a R500 000 surety; NMMM; the Department of Local Government, Housing and Traditional Affairs; Institute for Building Research and Support of the NMU; Urban Services Group; Metroplan; East Cape Training Centre and Khanya Training Centre. Within two years the 493 families had moved form shacks to brick homes.



Figures 116 & 117: An elevation sketch of the Missionvale development and plan of a typical precinct.

[82] http://impumelelo.org.za/awards-programme/our-winners/missionvale-community-housing-initiative-1. Accessed 2013.

[83] This is £960 GBP at the November 2017 ZAR to GBP exchange rate of 18:1.

Sakhasonke Village (figs 122–125) adopted lessons learnt from the Missionvale experience. The name for the development, meaning "Together We Build" was decided upon after selection from a list of six. An approach which avidly follows Turner's *Houses by People* is made evident in the alternative name options such as Vuku' zenzela meaning 'wake up and build for yourself'. As Del Monde explains, "the model seeks to promote a sense of community and village life in which people establish their own support networks and live closer to their places of work" (Article 1999). Sakhasonke Village was initiated by the GMSAF and developed by the newly formed Walmer Housing Development Trust (WHDT). After its 2002 start, the project, aimed at citizens within the income band of R0 – R1500/month, delivered 337 housing units by October 2005 using freehold double-storey semi-detached housing typologies with a 46m^2 average floor area on a 72m^2 average plot size.[84] Like at Missionvale, the funding mechanism made use of the state subsidy per unit of R30,837 made up of the R23,100 basic PHP subsidy (now ePHP), plus variances allowed for with a total project cost R10,392,069 with a GMSAF input of R250,000 for research costs, R250,000 for bridging finance and R800,000 as surety. Development partners included GMSAF; NMMM; Department of Local Government, Housing and Traditional Affairs; Institute for Building Research and Support of NMU; Urban Services Group and Metroplan. There were social issues faced at Sakhasonke, just as there were at Zanemvula and DVRI, as seen in letters to the police regarding stoning of cars along Victoria Drive on 31 October 2006. This inner-city suburb of Walmer is where the riots and blocking of access roads with burning tyres is a regular scene.

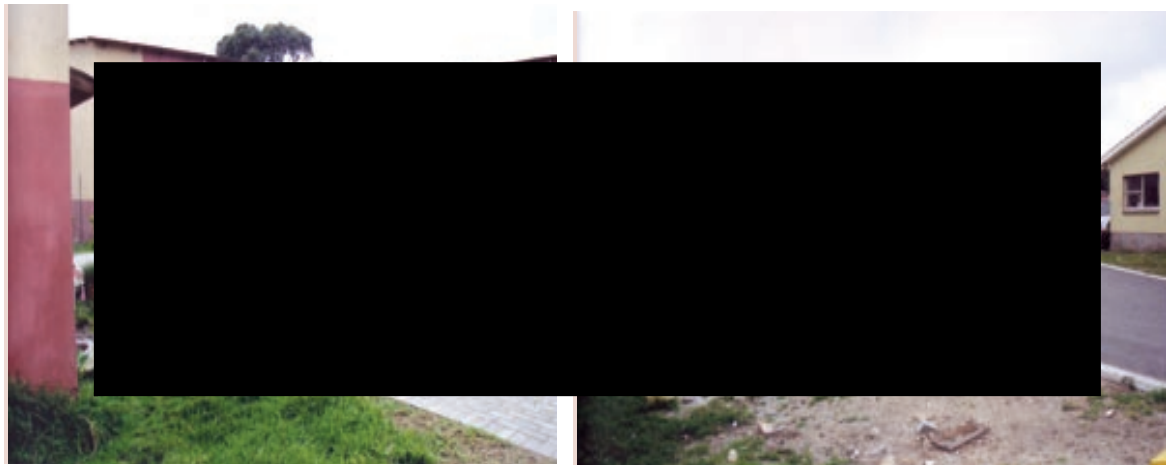


Figure 118 & 119: Sakhasonke completed medium density cluster development. The Walmer Housing Development Trust (WHDT) that was formed on 25 March 2003 included Councillor Ntombesizwe, Princess Didiza, Nontobeko Victoria Mbanga, Amelia Mildred Buchner, Roger Orman Matlock of Delta Foundation (who initiated the project), Phillipus (Flippie) Cornelius Potgieter and Lunga Dyani. Source: Metroplan and Lance Del Monde project file.

[84] Application submitted to NMMM on 25 February 2003 – acknowledgement of receipt on 8 April 2003. MEC approval for PHP Subsidy on 22 August 2003 after 20 May 2003 application.

Figure 120: Sakhasonke Locality Map
Source: Metroplan

Figure 121: Sakhasonke Aerial Photograph.
Source: Google Earth

Sakhasonke preceded DVRI and Zanemvula but followed on from SOS and the lessons learnt were well documented by the UF Project Managers, although a large amount of this knowledge is anecdotal and has been obtained by me through extensive meetings and interviews with involved professionals, rather than being written down anywhere for future reference.

I return to the question of the location of knowledge and how it can be transferred during upgrading projects in Chapter Six with the detailing of the implementation of the SUIT. The essence of Sakhasonke was one of unemployment but with a willingness to work, as seen in a motivational letter for the start of the development, Lance wrote to Mr Richard Du Plessis at Housing and Land Affairs at NMMM on 11 September 2003, requesting acceleration of the approval of the application for subdivision and rezoning of ERF 3923 (Old Walmer Caravan Park Site) explaining that they were being approached daily “by people from Walmer Township seeking work”. The following images (figs 126–136) show how the Sakhasonke project was a catalyst for growth in Walmer. With its location in the city, the availability of land in this area is a rarity for social and low cost housing in South Africa, where one of the major hurdles for housing provision is the availability of well and appropriately located land.

Sakhasonke Development

Figure 122: Aerial images of Sakhasonke 2004 Source: Amended Google Earth.

750m

Sakhasonke Development

Sequence of Development

Figure 123: Aerial images of Sakhasonke 2006 Source: Amended Google Earth.

750m

Sakhasonke Development

Sequence of Development

Figure 124: Aerial images of Sakhasonke 2011 Source: Amended Google Earth

750m

Sakhasonke Development

Sequence of Development

Figure 125: Aerial images of Sakhasonke 2012. Source: Amended Google Earth

750m

Sakhasonke Development

Sequence of Development

Figure 126: Aerial images of Sakhasonke 2013. Source: Amended Google Earth

750m

Sakhasonke Development

Sequence of Development

Figure 127: Aerial images of Sakhasonke 2016. Source: Amended Google Earth

750m

Figures 128 - 130: Aerial and Streetview images of Sakhasonke 2019. Source: Google Earth

Sakhasonke received multiple awards including a runner-up position in the Nelson Mandela President's Award for community initiative, The South African Housing Foundation Award for the best low-income housing project in 2006 for units costing below R80,000; and the Impumelelo Platinum Award by Impumelelo Innovations Trust. The American Chamber of Commerce in South Africa also commended the project and commented on its innovative approach to dealing with critical issues of housing and education. AmCham raised some critical points around the extent of the impact of the models on policy and the implementation of sustainable communities. In an article about the project winning a national award, Lance said, "it's not a perfect project, but it has very important and applicable laments of how development should be approached in a contemporary South Africa. It's a model for community development" (*The Herald*. 27 November 2006). Unfortunately, the lessons learnt and the success of this project didn't make their way to the DVRI.

The aims of the Sakhasonke development went well beyond the house as a symbol of hope and change, and sought to develop a sustainable community with established networks and in a location that could easily access the city's infrastructure while stepping outside of the RDP model. Lance explains how the project responded directly to the need for alternative housing types with a variety of choices for beneficiaries (2013). Sakhasonke typologies challenge the RDP house model and 51/6 and 51/9 house types, much like the typologies at Duncan Village do. Housing typologies at Sakhasonke offer a great extent of flexibility and ability to expand and adapt to the individual needs of beneficiaries and the modular approach, comprising 23m^2 modules was aptly

named the Gro House. There was a strong drive towards replicability on this project with the intention that it be used nationwide and as a vehicle for social housing delivery. As well as offering flexibility and adaptability, the houses at Sakhasonke delivered on the ultimate aim of bringing people out of poverty through houses, because the development location was appropriate for people finding employment.

Conclusion

The case study and reference study projects in my research were selected based on similarities in order to, as far as possible, create and define common denominators and trajectories of commonality for assessment of process to delivery. This chapter has highlighted the differences in process and institutional composition and approach, despite these topographical similarities. This indicates the depth of layering of effectors on intervention projects and also the weight that the social component of intervention carries. The discussion in this chapter has shed a spotlight on recurring hurdles and the next chapter will discuss these as trajectories of commonality to further interrogate causes of success and failure of upgrading shack urbanity in South Africa.

Chapter Six

Trajectories of Commonality in Upgrading

This chapter will draw together primary data from my first-hand experience of the case study as architect, and secondary data from the reference studies to identify common trajectories: concrete and thematic alignments between the studies at points of progression or crisis, of efficiency or failure in processes of intervention and placemaking. The Shack Urbanity Intervention Tool (SUIT) is used for analysis, which brings diverse discourses into a single realm for comparison - the architecture, space, the provision of a formal house, the meeting of expectations, the response to need, and the worlds of the various actors. The first three sections of this chapter detail the three components of the SUIT and their contribution to accumulating and mapping the process towards delivery. Component One details the composition of change agent structure, Component Two explains the data map illustration, and Component Three draws in the narratives and abstract phenomena that occur along the timeline of delivery. In the last section the alignment of discourses, in pursuit of successful implementation, is discussed.

This chapter also considers how citizens contribute to placemaking processes and the concrete phenomena of place. It discusses the abstract phenomena of place between the trajectories of the SUIT, taking cognisance of narratives of urban change and upgrading. This platform for understanding is made available by the SUIT and infiltration, together giving a holistic view of the polis of Duncan Village, keeping an understanding of the city-in-the-making and the citizens yet to come on the periphery, for analysis and comparison. View the screenshots of the developed web-based application at www.suitool.com in Appendix 24, to see the process of comparison between projects.

The SUIT, with its three components, intends to answer the question of houses as symbols of hope versus currency for freedom. The currency for freedom means that they become an asset for trading among citizens desperate for homes, and unlawful occupation of newly delivered houses result in no tenure security. The path to delivery is a continual ebb and flow between concrete and abstract phenomena, institutions, civic involvement and representation, and the narrative of events along the project timeline. Neither the supposed beneficiary, nor for the squatter who will not have a title deed for the house will have security of tenure – which defies the policy intention for the function of the asset to allow citizens to gain a step on the property ladder and build a capital and personal wealth to ultimately bring them out of poverty through the process of upgrading seeking to respond to Sen's unfreedoms discussed in the following chapter.

The SUITs start with institutional forces and possibilities in the flow between actors of change seen in figures 140, 141 and 142, inciting engagement with systemic structures through the process, by providing a place in the layout to document each actor's role and lines of communication between them. The SUIT then connects the actors and the narrative of events that are documented in real time from heuristic information. This highlights the impact on the project of the specificity of the person involved in its implementation, as it indicates reaction and response to circumstances that effect change on the process. These alignments between process and placemaking seek to convert houses as a currency for freedom, into narratives of upgrading – freedom for rather than freedom from.

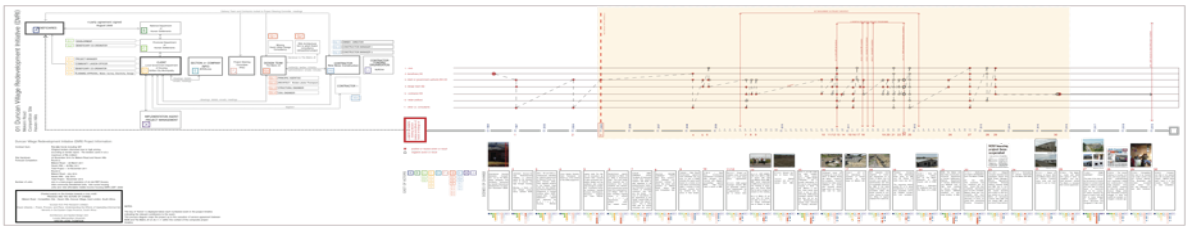


Figure 131: Duncan Village Redevelopment Initiative SUIT. See Appendix 25 for full-page image.

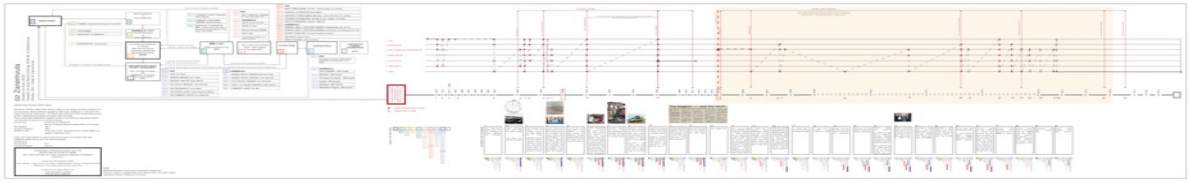


Figure 132: Zanemvula SUIT. See Appendix 26 for full-page image.

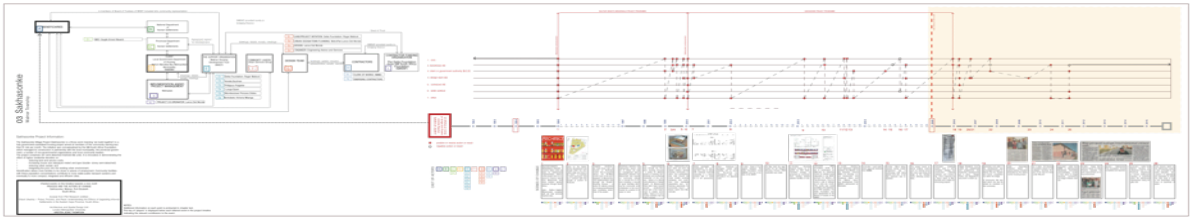


Figure 133: Sakhasonke SUIT. See Appendix 27 for full-page image.

Within the framework of the four themes of Chapter Two: host cities, *urbs* and *civitas,* upgrading narratives, and ownership of place, the challenge of placemaking takes shape in the SUIT, as all the moving parts – comprising both the concrete and abstract phenomena – are taken into account. The SUIT is a critical tool and an analytical screen that both captures and interprets relationships and dependencies of multiple dimensions.

For an upgrading process to meet successful completion, all affected individuals and their interests must be involved and remain in view. As Carl explains, each city presents horizons of involvement (2013) through everyday changing rhythms with their "amalgam(s) of often disjointed processes" (Amin and Thrift, 2002). Unique urban metabolisms are represented by the SUIT, which affords an Africa-specific tool for urbanism. The primary goal and challenge in any upgrading project is to build and retain trust in the system and keep everyone around the proverbial table, where the table represents both the coming together of change agents involved in systemic processes, and also engagement with the city. There is an ever-present opportunity for disagreement due to conflicting rationalities (Watson, 2003) in the process of delivery; non-commitment by even one actor can result in a toxic situation. The 'table', both facilitated by and represented by the SUIT is a setting for collaboration, or Gadamers 'horizon' (1975). Each citizen, whether representing an institution or a community is a citizen working towards a common goal.

Watson offers a definition of a citizen:

> a person who exercises their individual democratic rights through established channels (democratically elected councillors, chosen by ballot, not self-proclaimed leaders) in a prescribed and lawful way (not through violence or corruption), and on the basis of support for a defined political programme (not personal support for an individual politician). Councillors and officials (assumed to be impartial public servants) are similarly bound by municipal codes of conduct which hold them to a set of ethics and the rule of law. They are required to acknowledge that public resources belong to the organisation (not to individual public servants or representatives) and to accept that public duty, not private interests, provides overall motivation (2003:297).

The influence of particular social structures and their history and internal processes - that is, particularity of personalities of the agents of change, both systemic and within the community, and specificity of place - on the success of intervention projects, is generally understated by project implementers. In this chapter, and the chapter that follows, recommendations to assist with the improvement of the process of intervention are made that take account of the deceptively temporary nature and the highly functional role of shack urbanity in adapting existing urban topography over time by a process of responsive inhabitation. It is necessary to start thinking about the African city in a way that will develop tools that will consider shacks as part of the urban fabric and require a plausible response to their need. Intervention projects are about upgrading 'narratives', as discussed in Chapter Two, and not just physical structures and infrastructures.

Component One: Composition of Change Agent Structure

This first horizon of the SUIT highlights existing lines of communication and opportunities for collaboration between actors, to form partnerships for delivery, what Andrew Boraine calls 'collaborative intermediary organisations'.[85] The lines of communication each represent an institutional conversation. The legislative framework of the country and municipality is represented from implementation through to impact on the ground. With the intention of interventions to upgrade not only homes but also narratives of citizens in the intervention community, the SUIT tracks both.

In this horizon the actors are illustrated in order to understand their interconnection – in doing so each actor retains their identity, allowing the intervention team "to recognise each other, to learn to see the other" (Hesse, 1930:41) and also to respect each position at the table. Hamdi explains the importance of equal representation which avoids reducing citizens to 'beneficiaries' by disregarding the knowledge brought by the people for whom the intervention is intended, as they become paralysed by the process which places the importance on the expert, explaining, "… the expert comes to be seen as a special kind of person, rather than that every person is a special kind of expert" (Hamdi, 2010:145).

Actors and their relationships are identified and grouped according to actions that affected the projected discourse.

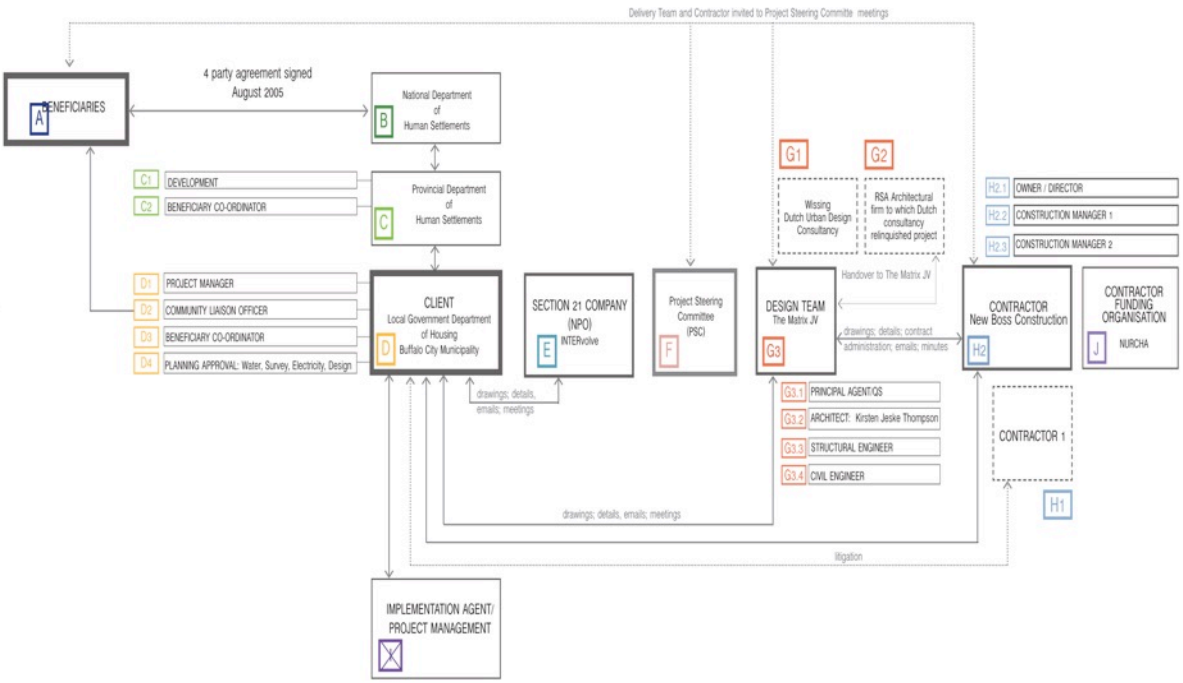


Figure 134: DVRI - Illustrates the Actors of Change and their lines of communication.
See Appendix 25 for full-scale diagram.

[85] Lecture at The ACC in 2013, documented in personal red notes 2:104-105.

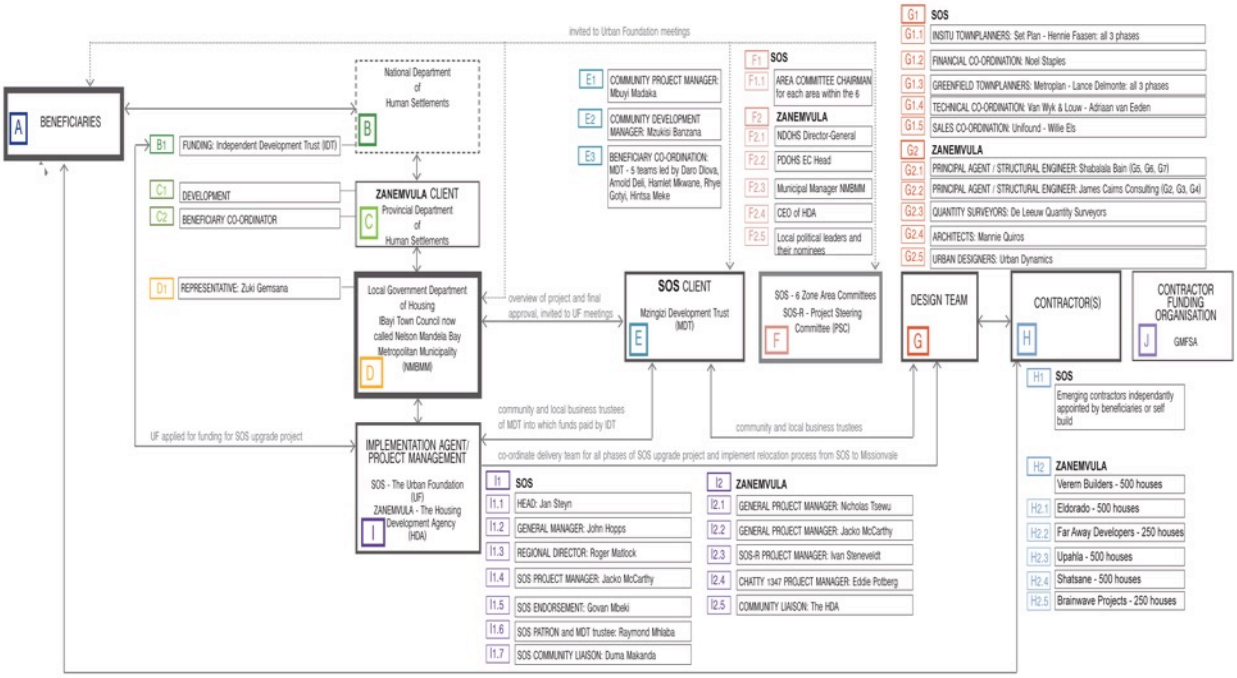


Figure 135: Zanemvula - Illustrates the Actors of Change and their lines of communication. See Appendix 26 for full-scale diagram.

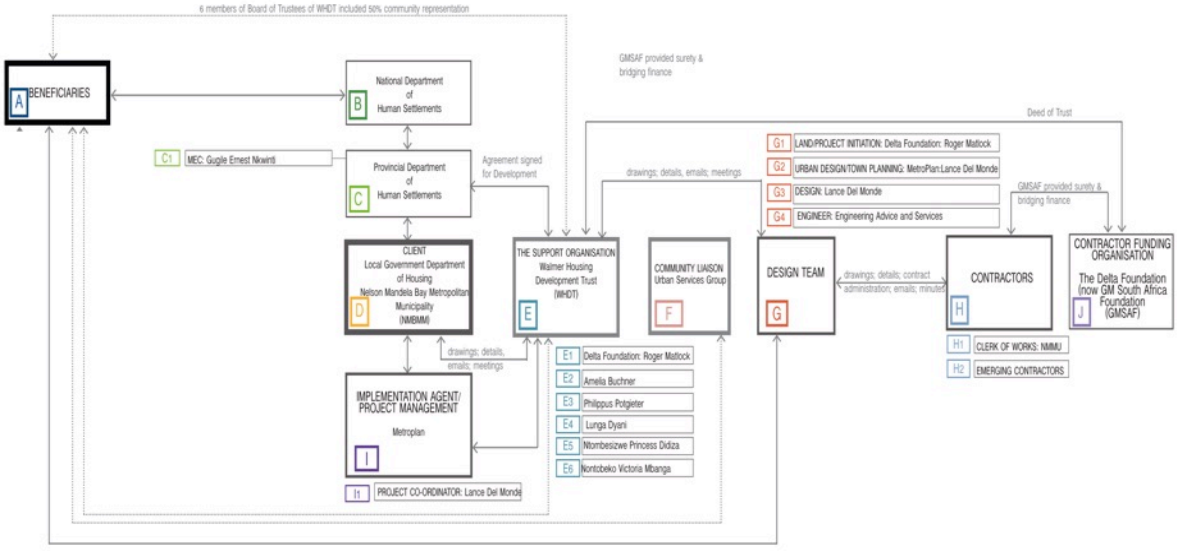


Figure 136: Sakhasonke - Illustrates the Actors of Change and their lines of communication. See Appendix 27 for full-scale diagram.

The role and importance of each of the change agents represented in the organogram have been detailed in the description of the SUIT in Chapter Three. The three projects vary in their degrees and methods of institutional organisation. The advantages and disadvantages of the organisation of the institutions used in each of the projects start to emerge when viewing the composite image of the SUIT for each project. Essentially, the more vertical lines connecting the red dots, the more the actors remained around the table, which has also tied in the success of each project gauged against its own project objectives and against the objectives of policy. With that in

mind a summary of the advantages and disadvantages of the particular organisation and incorporation of various institutions in each project is possible. Sakhasonke has the most red dots in vertical lines, followed by Zanemvula and then DVRI, which we know is still struggling to produce a completed pilot project after 15 years.

The table below presents a descriptive comparison of actors for the three sites.

	DVRI	Zanemvula	Sakhasonke
A: Beneficiaries	Came largely from the local area but also from fairly far away. Some residents of DV and some arriving from outside the community.	Existing communities. Moved between components of the project and decided on by the communities. Restructuring/re-blocking for SOS-R required a degree of decanting. Those who agreed to or were voted as going were assisted and moved together to the Govan Mbeki site less than 2km away.	A tightly controlled beneficiary list based on a centralised application process managed by the Support Organisation (E).
B,C,D: Client	Buffalo City Municipality.	The SOS project client was the Bay Town Council (pre-1994). The client for SOS-R and other sites in the composite Zanemvula projects is Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality (post-1994).	Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality.
E: Support Organisations	The support org. is an international Section 21 Company, an NPO, called Intervolve.	The Mzingizi Development Trust (MDT).	The Walmer Housing Development Trust (WHDT).
F: Community Liaison	Project Steering Committee.	(SOS) Zone Area Committees (SOS-R) Project Steering Committee.	Urban Services Group.
G: Design Team	At the start of the project Dutch Urban Design Consultancy, Wissing, were working on the project. The project was then relinquished to a local Architectural practice, RSA. The ultimate team to implement the design was a Joint Venture team comprising a Principle Agent who was the QS, Architect, Structural	(SOS) Design team comprised in situ town planning professionals, greenfield town planning professionals, financial coordinator, engineer as technical coordinator and a sales coordinator. (SOS-R and other Z sites): The six project sites were divided between two structural engineers each working on three sites. Same Quantity Surveyor,	Project initiation by Delta Foundation. Urban Design and Town planning by MetroPlan who also went on to do Z, and who also did the housing typology design, and an Engineer.

	Engineer and Civil Engineer.	Architect, Urban Design teams used for project.	
H: Contractor	First contractor was Grinaker. Errors in their tender led to new appointment of New Boss Construction. Issues arose over lack of legal process being followed for cessation of Grinaker appointment and a court case halted the project for 12 months before NBC were allowed on site. NBC also had a high turnover of Project Managers that caused delays.	(SOS): Emerging Contractors independently appointed by beneficiaries themselves or self-building. (SOS-R and other Z sites): six contractors among which the houses were divided according to their size and track record with three being appointed to build 250 houses each and the other three being appointed to build 500 houses each.	Emerging Contractors appointed one semi-detached unit each. A Clerk of Works (retired NMMU site officer) employed to monitor quality, progress. The bus ticket system doubled up as the contract and was thus carefully guarded by contractors as it was a currency for work and materials. As houses were completed to standard, further contracts would be awarded.
I: Implementation Agent	No Implementation Agent.	(SOS) The Implementation Agent: The Urban Foundation. Private NPO (SOS-R) Implementation Agent: The Housing Development Agency.	Implementation Agent: Metroplan. Private Corporate organisation.
J: Contractor Funding	National Urban Reconstruction and Housing Agency (NURCHA).	General Motors Foundation South Africa (GMFSA).	The Delta Foundation, now General Motors Foundation South Africa (GMFSA).

Table 4: Tabulation of agencies and people from Horizon One of all three case studies.

In comparing the performance of the three projects across the categories in the table above, clear conclusions can be drawn about the most effective ways to organise upgrading projects. In the paragraphs below, I analytically discuss relevant differences for each of the categories from A to J in the table, the summaries for which are on pages 104 and 105.

The management of the beneficiary selection process was starkly different between all three projects; in response to the discussions about the over involvement of ward councillors in the housing process and their tendency to push personal political agendas, it is important to note that both Zanemvula and Sakhasonke were, to a large degree, removed from local government control. It has become apparent, through practice and extensive research and as understood through the corruption in housing delivery discussed in Chapter Five, that the housing list is considered to be a myth (Rubin, 2011; Huchzermeyer, 2010; Tissington *et al*, 2013). The housing list is another form of corruption or symbolic violence, and Tissington *et al* recommend that there is a shift from the idea that housing can be allocated as part of a queue-bound process (2013) towards taking cognisance of information such as age and whether the would-be beneficiary is an existing member of the community in which upgrading will take place. For example, at DVRI, the difficulty in obtaining the

beneficiary list for sampling was typical of the way things are managed at the municipality, similar to the frustrations of implementing the intervention project when I was Project Architect on DVRI. There was never anyone immediately available who seemed to know anything about the list, and then they did not know how to process the request. It seems that ward councillors should not be involved in the housing beneficiary selection or implementation process. My suspicions of corruption by way of bribery and nepotism were confirmed when reports of the DVRI Project Manager's contract bribery made newspaper headlines.

SOS and SOS-R invested more in community involvement and had lesser involvement of government, with a collaborative top-down and bottom-up approach implemented through the formation of the WHDT. Sakhasonke incorporated the bottom-up approach to the greatest extent of all study projects and together with SOS, both projects used an implementation agent. This is significant because it connects with earlier discussions in Chapter Five about marginalised capacity and capability in local government, and the implementation agent's role of supporting local government in their implementation efforts. While Sakhasonke applied extensive bottom-up implementation, it is seen to have used a hybrid approach of both bottom-up and top-down. Government procedure for land registration was followed, but the project was initiated by a non-community team structure, and that the decision-making for the project lay with the community represented by members on the board of trustees selected specifically for the project. The inquiry into the citizenry takes account of social, political and legal composition of place. The differences in community involvement become important when gauging degrees of success across projects.

All three projects had a support organisation. Intervolve, a Dutch NGO, supported the DVRI. Zanemvula and Sakhasonke both created project-dedicated support organisations where the local community had a minimum of 50% representation on the board. The DVRI was supported by NURCHA, which is a government organisation, while the other projects were supported by the private organisation, General Motors Foundation South Africa (GMFSA). International interventions, much like the one at the start of the DVRI, and the Niall Mellon 'blitz builds', appear to negatively affect the process by reducing capacity for partnerships and participation by making bold the line between service providers and the citizens. I purposefully use the term 'service providers' as an alternative to 'professionals' as, like Hamdi, I question who the real professionals of placemaking are, in a community that knows too well what it means to build and rebuild.

All three case studies had community liaison groups. My experience with the DVRI was that the Projects Steering Committee met regularly; however, as the architect, I never received information regarding times and dates for meetings and often found out afterwards that meetings had been held and minutes not distributed.

The DVRI design changed hands three times after starting with the Dutch company, Wissing, and ending up with The Matrix JV, of which I was a part. Both the other projects started and ended with the same teams and were South African and local to the town of implementation. The awarding of the contract for construction of the three pilot projects of the DVRI struggled to site handover after two 12-month project halts. Neither Zanemvula nor Sakhasonke used pilot projects and rather adopted a metered and steady approach and kept monitoring progress. It is clear, therefore, that a pilot project actually prevents progress, rather than speeding it up. It is also apparent that that changes in the design team also caused significant delays for DVRI.

At the DVRI the start of the relationship between Principle Agent and contractor was shaky. The Principle Agent presented the terms of the construction contract to the Contractor when timeframes for initial document delivery were repeatedly missed. This was met with insult from the contractor who allegedly accused: "You're just saying all these penalties because I'm a black contractor and you want to see me go down! You are a racist!" This is quoting the Principle Agent, who was paraphrasing the contractor's words when explaining the event to me on one of my trips to East London, and had said he would no longer work on the job if this was to be the working environment. The Project Manager at BCM spoke with the contractor separately to address and defuse the situation. The contractual relationships on the other two projects were not subject to many of these issues faced at DVRI. The contractor on the DVRI was an emerging contractor as described previously. At Sakhasonke and Zanemvula many different contractors were appointed as opposed to a single contractor for the whole project. At Zanemvula six experienced contractors, with track records of successful delivery, were given separate individual sites for development. The approach to contracts was unique at Sakhasonke, where small teams of local building contractors were employed with elements of beneficiary involvement. A site control officer was appointed to monitor but mostly assist emerging contractors during the construction process to ensure quality as the development was being completed. In addition, the tender system at Sakhasonke only allowed one contract to be awarded at a time, with successive contracts depending on performance. While there have been a myriad setbacks on DVRI, perhaps there is merit in the continual rebuilding of relationships that was done in order to attempt achievement of project delivery. For example, the building contract was in essence abandoned in pursuit of maintaining communications with the contractor where a strained relationship was preventing the completion of the project.

At DVRI disputes regarding cash flow and a slow rate of delivery between the contractor and the municipality were supported by reports in the *Daily Dispatch* on 6 March 2013. These disputes continued to move out the completion date and negatively affect the working relationship. Zanemvula and Sakhasonke were not without their issues, however, they were addressed in a

timely manner by the implementation agent at Zanemvula and the private organisation at Sakhasoke. This meant that despite minor delays trust continued to build as the process progressed.

On comparing the organisational structure of the three case studies, the DVRI did not make use of an implementation agent, which, it has become apparent, not only relieves issues of capability and capacity, but also acts as a mediator and watchdog to address corruption and violence in the process. Both Zanemvula and Sakhasonke employed implementation agents. The Housing Development Agency (HDA) appointed for Zanemvula was also involved in the SOS project and thus has over two decades of implementation experience. In addition, a personal passion for understanding the impact of the change that the project can offer the citizens awaiting their home was obvious through observation of interaction between them.

The UISP seeks to level inequality through three pillars: basic services, tenure security and community empowerment. With the task of implementation falling on the local governments, few have capacity or capability to deliver on all three counts, with community empowerment suffering most. The NUSP provides assistance through The HDA, an implementation agent, offering "technical assistance for municipalities to undertake planning in conjunction with communities" (NUSP website, 2014). The NUSP has been implemented retrospectively on the Zanemvula project but not the DVRI where riots, caused by a frustrated community and schisms within the community over response to upgrade projects, are rife. While one can't draw a wide conclusion from a sample of two, in my observations Zanemvula continues to deliver amidst myriad of hurdles, achieving awards for upgrading (The HDA, 2012) while Duncan Village continues to run behind programme. At Sakhasonke, where people have been encouraged to protect and improve their home, and at Zanemvula where the project has been continuously delivered since its start – there emerges a strong argument for a partnership-based approach with less than 50% representation from ward councillors on support organisations, where beneficiaries make up the balance because these projects are more sustainable. This means that they are successfully inhabited and continue to thrive as opposed to many projects that have been developed on poorly located land and see beneficiaries returning to their shacks, leaving their formal house abandoned.

There are differences in institutional structure but also the degree of institutional involvement between the projects. At DVRI there was lack of co-ordination between internal municipal departments, apathy and blame-shifting fuelled by marginalised capacity, capability of actors, ongoing engagement with the community, corruption of municipal officials and politicians, and policies that do little to take account of specificity of place. Having been on the 'inside' with first-hand experience and being a target of blame shifting, lack of regard for timing, inability by

some to make informed decisions, lack of skills in high powered positions, suspension of municipal members due to corruption allegations on the project, vandalism, disregard by some for efforts to try and improve quality of life for others, political 'hold' over people and the bureaucratic red tape, it became apparent how team members, who had been involved in a series of intervention projects, had become jaded by the process. This is important for understanding institutional structure and involvement because it again speaks to the effect of specific personalities of actors involved in the process, on the success or failure of an upgrade project, as well as the complications that the process has.

A perpetual problem at Zanemvula was managing beneficiary expectations regarding timing and delivery. Implementation Agents regularly requested that ward councillors conveyed facts and reasoning, instead of simply saying what people wanted to hear, which only delayed and then exacerbated frustration. But, ward councillors continued to say what people wanted to hear because it temporarily satisfied residents and beneficiaries who were frustrated at delayed delivery. DVRI did not make use of an implementation agent and so this intermediary role connecting government and citizen was not there, and the marginalised capacity and capability of the municipality was not bolstered. Another key issue is the personal experience of the actors involved. The implementation agents involved with Zanemvula and Sakhasonke delivery have well over two decades of relevant and unparalleled experience. The emerging contractor appointed on the DVRI had considerably less experience. The significance of greater experience is witnessed in the methods used in dealing with issues as they arose.

Civic Structure and Specificity of Place Being Upgraded

Extensive research and theory around the social considerations in upgrading, together with policies on participation, have not sufficiently prevented an extensive box-ticking exercise in response to policy during process implementation, and thus still fails to positively affect some intervention projects, as is the case at Duncan Village.

Over 80% of the 106 respondents have family living in Duncan Village, only 21 people of the 106 don't. As a consequence, when relocation is part of the upgrade solution, it can cause unravelling of communities. The Mekeni Road site is right in the middle of DV and closest to the town centre. Haven Hills is 3km further out of town, has a community centre, school, and formal houses making up the layers of the suburb, and though there were people on the streets there was a completely different atmosphere. It was more of a suburb while the atmosphere in DV proper, i.e., along the DSH and MR was a livelier atmosphere with an engaging street scene. Along the DSH this would of course be attributed to the fact that it has a mixed-use street frontage and is a main

road, but the same liveliness is felt in MR, which is a little side street off the NW Expressway but with a few amenities nearby, like the post office and the tavern. Zanemvula projects, that built schools and a community centre, sought to create sustainable communities in open space, while the DVRI project was seeking to insert housing into an existing infrastructure of mixed uses.

In conversation about Zanemvula with The HDA, the Project Manager explained that they had turned down the invitation to tender for the DVRI, because "Duncan Village is a very different community! I have worked in Mdantsane right next door and it all worked well. (In) Duncan Village, the people are very difficult to work with." This raises the question, why do some citizens accept and embrace intervention, while others actively resist? The table above and analysis of differences between projects, gives some insight into the effect of the institution and civic differences on the process of implementation of the upgrade project. An understanding of three variables between projects has given insight into the reasons for the main differences in the process of the upgrade project: how citizens arrived at the host city, reasons for their arrival, and the history of place. Citizens arriving as asylum seekers from hostile environments affect their level of engagement with place. The reality of illegal immigrants creates another genre of citizens that do not want to be deported. Citizens that arrive from rural areas as weekly residents want to keep expenses at a minimum and the cost of living in the formal system is more expensive than living under the radar. The engagement by these citizens is different from those that aspire to become part of the formal economy. Understanding the specific nature of citizens in a place, how they have come to be there and why they stay, is important in organising upgrading projects because it gives insight into the degree of 'buy in' and willingness to participate in the process. The best way to understand it is through both the infiltration process that distances differences between those acquiring the information and the community, and through implementation of the SUIT that constantly encourages interaction with the community throughout the upgrade process, as well as instant response to community concerns.

Component Two: A Data Map

Understanding what led to the crimes of vandalism on the DVRI project is done through the mapping process of the SUIT. Thus, as discussed in the Introduction in the section Visualising Praxis, and Chapter One in the section introducing the SUIT, compiling the sequence of events produces investigatory aesthetics that frame the process-as-crime. The vandalised houses in Mekeni Road are symbols of what went wrong, leading to questions of culpability and blame and how the crime can be stopped before it happens – a minority report, much like Phillip K. Dick's 1956

short story, The Minority Report in the book *Fantastic Universe,* in which crimes are preempted through a system and then prevented from ever happening.

Figure 137: Minority Reporting - Engaging notation and the SUIT: integrating *praxis*, process and place. Photograph: Patrick Thompson

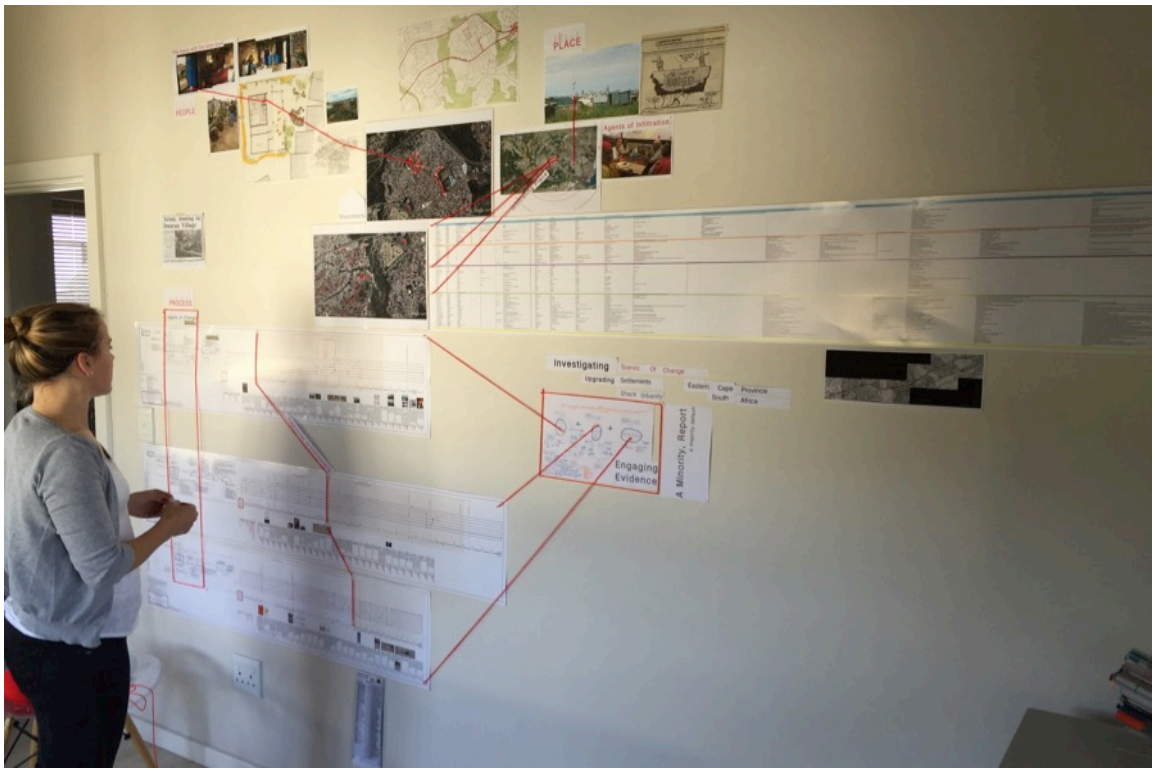


Figure 138: Minority Reporting - Engaging notation and the SUIT: integrating *praxis*, process and place. Photograph: Patrick Thompson

The mapping of the second horizon is done on seven staff lines, each representing the institutions and agencies along a timeline of the project, both intended and actual, on which the narratives of citizens and events are mapped to produce the final data map. The events are mapped with either a solid red dot, which represents a positive interaction with the process, or a hollow black circle representing a negative impact on the process. The dashed lines connect all these dots moving along the timeline towards the completion date and always seeking to move upwards on the staff lines toward the top line.

A redacted view of the SUIT draws out the path to completion and the effectors on the process of all three case studies, all hinged around the year 2005.

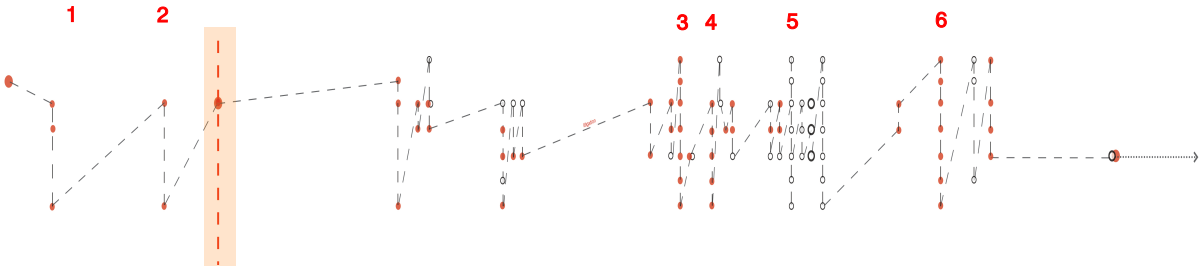


Figure 139: Data map of DVRI. See larger scale print in Appendix 25.

DVRI showed promise at the start of the project with no black markers and some verticality at points 1 and 2. This was at competition stage of the project and before the international support organisation and design team withdrew from the project, severing chance for continuity. Points 3 and 6 were when the project restarted and points 4 and 5 illustrate process breakdown.

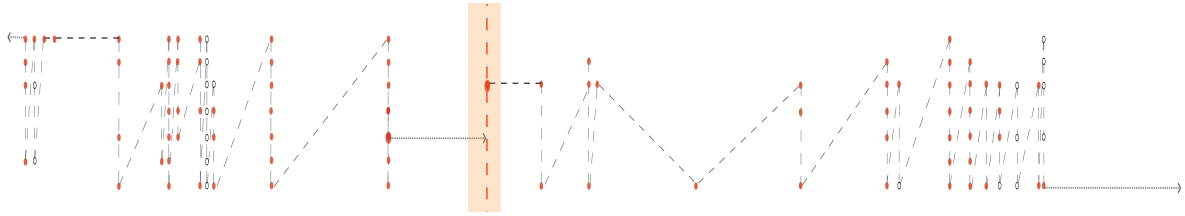


Figure 140: Data map of Zanemvula. See larger scale print in Appendix 26.

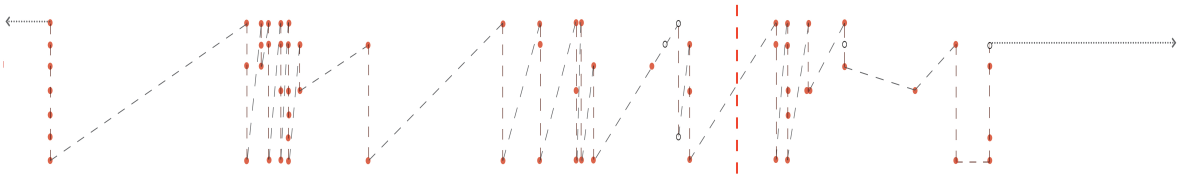


Figure 141: Data map of Sakhasonke. See larger scale print in Appendix 27.

At a quick glance, it is easy to recognise the difference in the prevalence of red markers in vertical lines and the lack of black markers for both reference studies. Reading this in conjunction with the narratives of horizon three, the effects of continual participation, communication and the specificity of the personality involved are highlighted again. For example, there is a growing

awareness within communities that the food parcel handouts, door-to-door discussions and demagogic public-address sessions tend to happen near election time (personal communication with DVRI and Kwanomzamo residents). The political career path of politicians and specifically the ward councillors appear to cloud the objective of upgrading for the families they profess to represent and pose a possible conflict of interest.

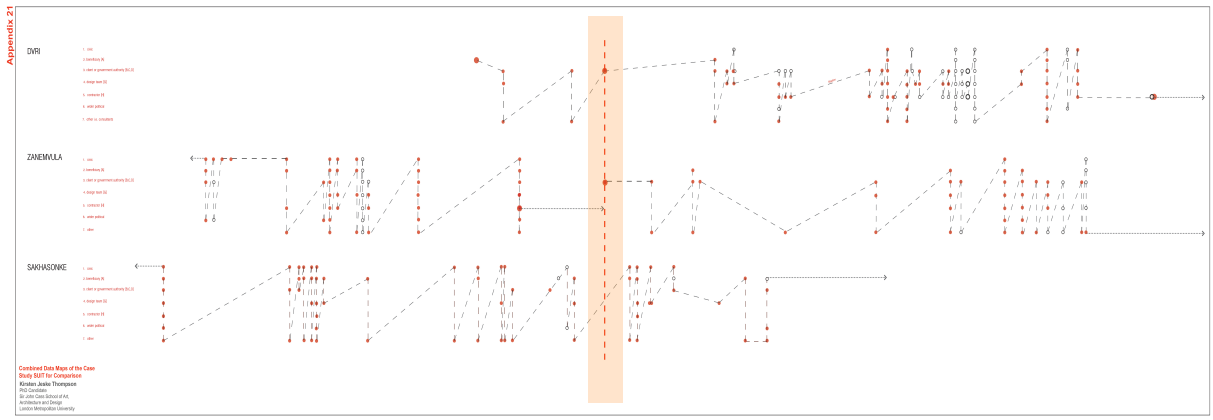


Figure 142: Combined data maps of all three projects. The shaded rectangle highlights the timing overlap of all projects in 2005. See larger scale print in Appendix 21.

Questions about the real victims of the process of change start to emerge. Whether they are the vandalised houses, the community, or the beneficiaries that did not receive their houses, or even the removed citizens caught in the process of de-densification. Furthermore, a question of whether the justice for the crime should be sought in the courthouse or by social response. At SOS, as previously discussed, kangaroo courts were set up to respond quickly to wrongdoers in the community in pursuit of continuing with the project. In principle, upgrading promises inclusion of urban immigrants into full civic participation. In practice, however, it has been a narrower effort to deliver new houses, and often badly. The result is a radical mismatch between hopes and reality that has persisted for decades, through different political regimes and policies. By concentrating on the full expectations of upgrading – the opportunity to participate in a thriving civic culture, and therefore upon town, rather than just houses – many of the trade-offs and conflicts that have arisen from the partial understanding of upgrading fall into place. The upgrading of place is equally about upgrading individual narratives and thus, moving from analysis of actors and events, horizon three provides a platform for descriptive acknowledgement of events – detailing cause and effect as it ensures a voice for all actors, and especially civic and beneficiary contributions to the process.

Component Three: Narratives and Abstract Phenomena

This horizon presents the abstract phenomena – the citizenry in the city, the corrupt systemic bodies, nepotism, inequality, dependence and need, but also strength of community – standing together for individual gain, social capital, hope, and freedom. The key below each narrative illustrates the actors involved in each event. The snapshots of information depicted along the path of delivery convey an understanding of 'small-scale, big-change' realities of 'on-the-ground' theory implementation as well as types of mismatches and disjuncture that undermine or disrupt these processes. Events are detailed that took place both within the professional realm of implementation, i.e., contractual issues and interplay between actors in the delivery team, such as accusations of racial issues, and lack of capability and capacity. This horizon also links the project discourse with events that occurred in the community – either reactionary or catalytic – which impacted delivery, such as fires caused by tyre-burning as reaction to lack of delivery, versus repeated fly tipping as prevention to starting project on site.

Figure 143: Narratives at DVRI. See larger scale print in Appendix 25.

Figure 144: Narratives at Zanemvula. See larger scale print in Appendix 26.

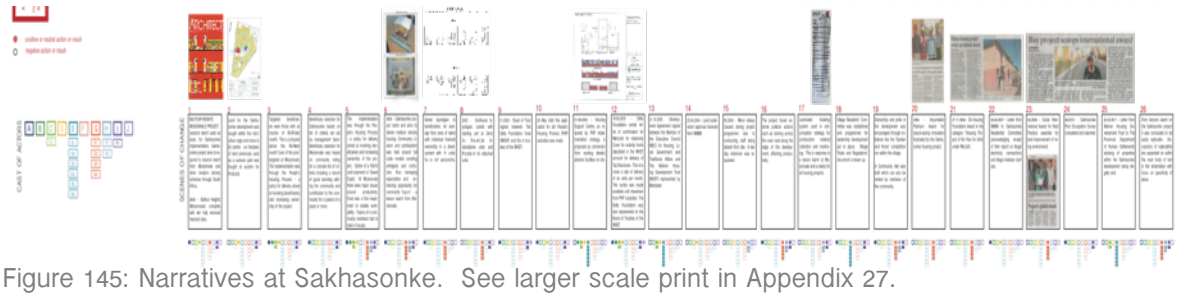


Figure 145: Narratives at Sakhasonke. See larger scale print in Appendix 27.

The life-giving metaphor of rain in their names seems to be the first of many commonalities between the Zanemvula and DVRI as Patrick Duncan, the namesake of Duncan Village, was affectionately called Ngangemvula by the natives in the 1940s, and means 'as wide as the rain'.

There are three recurring negative abstract phenomena common to all case studies – corruption, crime, and institutional apathy fueled by lacking capability. Corruption in the process of delivering housing projects in Duncan Village, and South Africa, is endemic and fraught with the likes of bribery in the tendering process and meddling in beneficiary housing lists. In conversation, Malusi spoke about the agreements made between ward councillors regarding Mekeni Road houses and the overriding of housing lists in favour of queue jumping through nepotism. It was made clear to the community that allocation depended on the chain of friendship with councillors and the promise of a vote in the next local election. There is a distancing required between the citizens and the political agendas of ward councillors, discussed in Chapter Seven. Malusi's description of councillor involvement reinforces the theory derived from comparing the degree and type of narratives recorded from the infiltration process in different areas of DV.

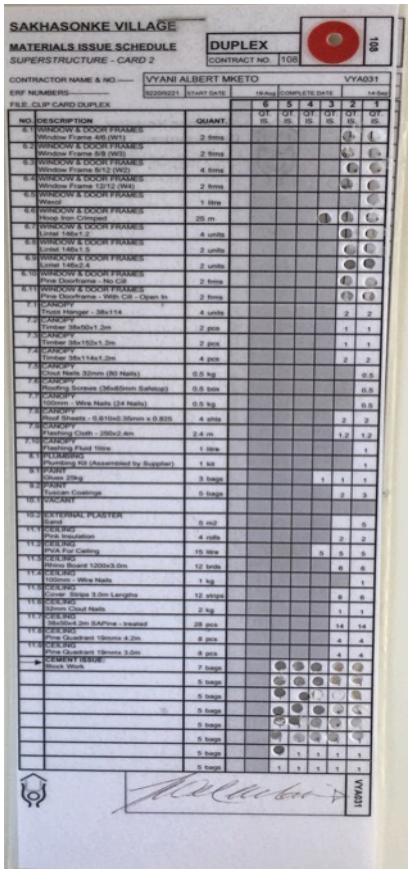
At CS answers to questions were short and lacked detail compared with Mekeni Road, which were still shorter compared with responses from the Ford Street infiltration process. There is a direct relation between the willingness to answer fully and expectation or awaited need for delivery. In Ford street many already have permanent homes and are willing to answer fully without fear of being struck from a list, while many respondents at CS, where most still live in shacks and are awaiting houses, did not give personal information and restricted themselves largely to one-word answers.

Corruption at DVRI extended to the inner workings of the local government and the appointed Project Manager, who was suspended. At Zanemvula and Sakhasonke, a pre-emptive approach was taken based on lessons learnt on previous housing projects and knowledge of African endemic corruption. For the poor, anything is a commodity and preventing theft of materials is a key concern in upgrading environments. This is often the case with building materials on construction sites, thus a duplicated laminated list of materials seen in figure 152, referred to as the 'bus ticket', was bound and handed to each contractor to be used to collect materials from the site office at which point it would be punched. This also served as the contract and transferred ownership and financial responsibility to the builder.

While Zanemvula did not implement this system, it benefitted detailed vetting through the tender process where each company was awarded contracts of such a nature that the company had a track record in delivering successfully. Zanemvula also went directly to delivery without the

pilot project approach, which I conclude only contributes to the apathy experienced in the process of many housing projects.

At DVRI there was eventually no government involvement and invitations to community meetings were eventually sent to the municipality as a formality. The importance to this thesis is answering questions around why the DVRI is still struggling to deliver housing through its pilot projects.


SAKHASONKE VILLAGE
MATERIALS ISSUE SCHEDULE
SUPERSTRUCTURE - CARD 2
DUPLEX
CONTRACT NO. 108
VYANI ALBERT MKETO
VYA031


Walmer housing project scoops up national award

By SIPHO MASONDO

THE Walmer Housing Development Trust has won the South African Housing Foundation's 2006 National Housing Award in the category "housing project of the year for units under R80 000".

"It was for the innovative and pioneering Sakhasonke Village project – a fully government-subsidised housing development project next to Walmer Township. The project is a brainchild of the General Motors Foundation – an agency funded by General Motors whose task is to promote national replication of innovative and developmental ideas in housing and education.

"It's a wonderful award to win. It's a wonderful project which can be replicable in other parts of the country. In fact, hundreds of people are coming to Port Elizabeth to look at the project for possible replication in their areas. We have had five delegations from the Johannesburg city council already," GMF chief executive Roger Matlock said.

Although the project was conceived by the GMF, the Walmer Housing Development Trust in partnership with the Nelson Mandela Bay municipality, the GM South Africa Foundation, the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, the Eastern Cape housing department, the Urban Services Group and Metroplan took full responsibility for its logistics.

Matlock said about 317 houses had been built and provided a new model for providing acceptable housing for families with a monthly income of below R1 500.

"A total of 317 semi-detached and double-storey freehold units have been constructed, with each fully serviced unit having a floor space of 46m².

Roofs blowing off, concrete crumbling and walls collapsing because of poor quality building material and sloppy workmanship from emerging contractors are familiar stories in most low-cost housing projects in Nelson Mandela Bay.

But Matlock said the involvement of the NMMU's building research unit and the municipality's inspectors from the onset had produced top quality houses.

Not only did the project provide a paradigm shift in the way housing was provided in higher residential densities, but it did so in a cost-effective way, he said.

Lance Del Monte of Metroplan said: "It's not a perfect project, but it has very important and applicable elements of how development should be approached in a contemporary South Africa. It's a model for community development."

smasondo@johnnicec.co.za

HOME, SWEET HOME

SMART HOUSING . . . Danile Nkani and Lena Felix, who live in the Sakhasonke Village, with Roger Matlock (right), chief executive of the General Motors Foundation. Picture: MIKE HOLMES


Local housing project wins top SA award for space-saving innovation

By BIANCA CAPLZOOKO
Business Correspondent

Figure 146: 'Bus ticket' contract system used at Sakhasonke. See Appendix 22 for full-page image.
Figure 147: Sakhasonke: Walmer housing project scoops up national award.
Figure 148: Sakhasonke: Local housing projects wins top SA award for space-saving innovation.
Source of figs 146 - 148: Metroplan project file.

Crimes such as violence, vandalism, and service delivery protests that led to mob spirit, were a reality for all case studies. At DVRI, this was to a greater degree, with houses being burnt and stripped of components, i.e. toilets, doorframes, doors, window frames and handles, before beneficiaries could move in. The remaining shells became sites for protest, and a cat hanging was reported in one of the houses, as well as multiple reports of rape and attacks on passers-by mostly over the weekend when people were returning from hours of drinking alcohol at the shebeen near Malusi's house. In my conversations with local residents, while walking along Mekeni Road, they suggested that the crimes were a combination of the violence that DV residents (and all South Africans) have learnt to think defensively against to stay safe. In addition, gang related

"demonstrations", such as the cat hanging, were allegedly carried out in protest against the newly built houses either because the members of the gang were not beneficiaries of the houses, or that citizens from across the DSH were beneficiaries and would be moving into their neighbourhood. The chief town planner at BCM described feeling as though the institutional hands were tied in his round table discussion on upgrading in South Africa, explaining that communities protesting forced government to react. However, as long as violence is the only way to get a reaction, it will continue to be the method of communication.

In discussing apathy as a common abstract phenomena faced in intervention projects it is necessary to take cognisance of influencing reasons. Inter and intra departmental government processes and bureaucratic red tape is noted by all actors to draw out the time taken for processes in housing delivery. Apathy is also fueled by lack of capability, that is the experience and expertise required to implement the project within the institution, which in some instances is linked to lack of capacity or available people to implement the project. In the DVRI example above, had the local government followed through from early participatory processes to implementation, and communicated effectively along the way, instead of producing shining reports on engagement only to stop further interaction with the community, there might not have been a maddened, furious crowd committing crimes.

There were not just negative endemic effectors on process, the positive and surprising phenomena at DVRI were pride in place and hope to achieve and earn emancipation. At DVRI, despite all the social ills, all respondents from the infiltration process conveyed a desire for neighbourhood cleanliness and a way to avoid fly tipping, as well as access to tertiary education and jobs. This was the same for all studies and speaks to my use of the term shack urbanity versus slum dwellers, the latter of which attaches a derogatory connotation to the type of people living is shacks.

Aligning Discourses for Successful Implementation

Horizons of Involvement

Building upon earlier discussions of Gadamer's 'fusion of horizons' (1975), the SUIT draws the polar entry points of actors, that are typical of upgrading projects, into a single realm symbolised by the table, allowing quick and simple navigation between, and engagement with, the concrete phenomena of process implementation and the abstract phenomena of place. The SUIT also illustrates a structured layering of discourses[86] representing roles and relationships of the agents of

[86] Altered from Hajer's and then Watson's 'discourse coalitions'.

change and institutional order in the background, and resistances, problems and allowances made during the construction process – the *horizons of involvement* (Carl, 2013).

The ultimate goal of the SUIT is the coalition of discourses, represented by the alignment of 'dots' on the staff lines – the diagrams representing successful projects have verticality. In addition, there is a relationship between the amount of vertical lines in a data map and the events that show positive participation between the beneficiary and the management team and the process, i.e., a lot of simultaneous purple and dark blue squares coloured in the narrative key called the 'cast of actors' at Sakhasonke correlates with the extensive amount of vertical lines with red dots. A quick visual reference to a vertical line immediately indicates that those stakeholders are around the proverbial table and a coalition of discourses has been achieved and that where there is a misalignment, it is responded to immediately, thus providing a continual health check on the project implementation.

The SUIT takes account of all the actors involved in the project. Initiated by the need of beneficiaries, it aims to peak and pull the line of discourse to vertical alignment at important points in the timeline, always seeking to address all aspirations and achieve the overarching goal of implementation success. Comparing the narratives of the three studies it is evident that this happens naturally when there is civic involvement.

For example, particular personalities involved in managing, designing, quality assuring, and construction have a marked impact on the outcomes of the housing delivery process. The actions of the community within which the upgrading is proposed have also been considered. The charting of the studies has shown that there is a connection between verticality in horizon two and successful intervention projects. A vertical data map can be relied on to mean successful intervention and thus also represent a civic motif where need, identified at the outset of the project has been met, i.e. housing delivered, rightful beneficiaries occupying their homes and continued growth of the community beyond the intervention – that is, the development of a sustainable community. Previous experience in Duncan Village by the same professionals implementing Zanemvula led them to believe DV to be untamable. I suggest that if the SUIT was used, flashpoints could be identified and avoided.

Application of the SUIT during the course of the project, as opposed to the initial method used for the purpose of retrospective analysis in this thesis, draws data maps of the discourse, alerting to on-the-ground issues of upgrading as they happen. In this way, the SUIT allows a live application of theory, translated into placemaking in real time and a continual engagement with community, process diagrams, interviews, mapping and drawings, experiences on site and with architects and bureaucrats, literature and understanding of potential town via hermeneutics.

The SUIT analysis affords a type of comparative urbanism during implementation as the data map, the image created by charting the data, unfolds. Many theorists advocate comparative urbanism as an approach to theory building to consider new processes of urbanisation and the growing cities of the world (Robinson, 2004, 2006, 2011, 2015, 2016; McFarlane, 2006, 2010; Jazeel and McFarlane, 2006; Abbott, 2001; Nijman, 2007). The SUIT can add value to this method by incorporating concrete difference and similarities, while mapping abstract phenomena through narratives, and capturing change.

Ongoing Participation is Vital for Successful Upgrading

In discussing upgrading, and sites and services as components of the Incremental Intervention policies of the NHC, Hamdi illustrates the scale of impact and varied degrees of resources in his Placemaker's Tool diagram (2010:10) (fig.155). This graph illustrates types of response to need that are also relevant to the policies implemented in South Africa. The case studies I have engaged fall somewhere between sites and services and upgrading, where Hamdi describes upgrading and the shift from community participation to stakeholder participation, drawing in all those involved and not just the community. The current policy discussions in South Africa are, however, moving back up Hamdi's graph in an attempt to better apply the sites and services model as a means of moving away from the 'hands out' society discussed earlier.

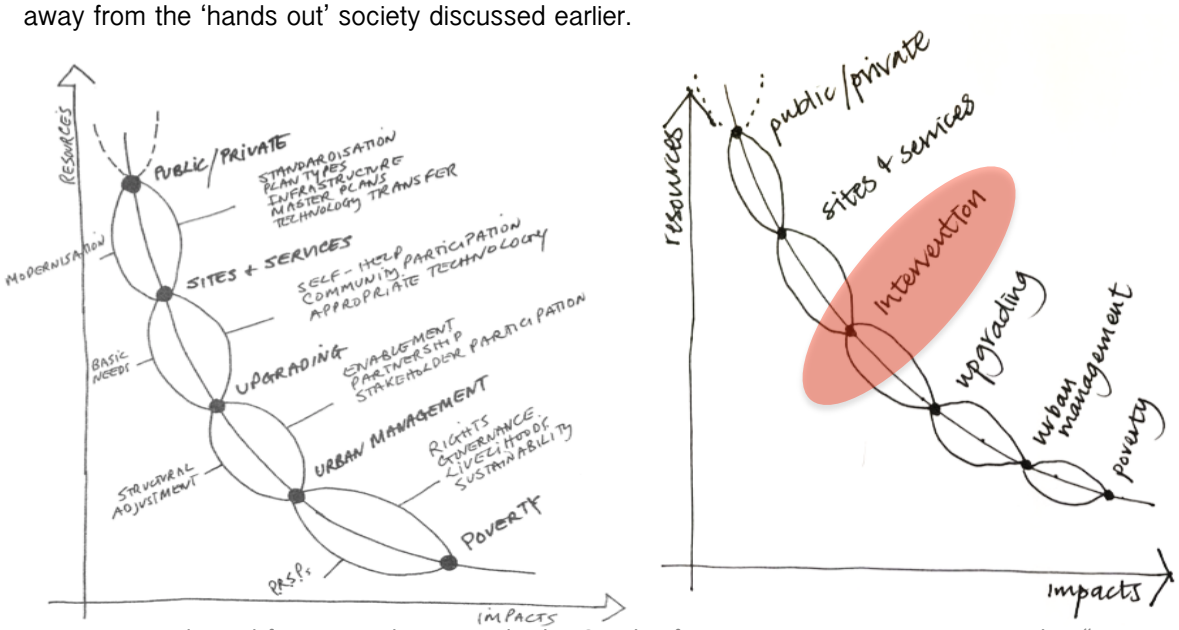


Figure 149: Adapted from Hamdi to include the South African Intervention project onto his "evolution of development and the placemaker's tool" (2010:10).

The analysis outcomes of the SUITs applied to the case studies give insight into what the tipping point between success and failure in intervention housing delivery projects and what degree of bottom-up and top-down implementation better sets the scene for success. The success of a project would not only mean that the process delivered on the objectives set out at the start of the

intervention project, but that there is sustainability and a community that continues to thrive and grow through engaging economic opportunity. The answers appear to lie in the casting of a wider partnership net, forging mutualism in housing delivery, and distancing the systemic agendas, such as those of the ward councillors, from the needs and expectations of citizens, including both the beneficiaries and surrounding community. Widening the partnership net to include citizens assists with understanding of place, as the ice is broken sooner between those engaging, and not directly linked to political ward councillors or municipal officials, who are often not trusted within communities. Hamdi's graph needs an additional 'link' for intervention: combining self-help, participation and technology with enablement, partnerships and the participation of stakeholders and responding to well documented theories on specificity of place and actors, and lessons from previous projects. Intervention should provide a hybrid of the government-intensive upgrading and the individual-intensive sites and services. Intervention can be seen as the tipping point between the two and thus between bottom-up and top-down, where the partnerships net is wider, much like the Sakhasonke process of delivery.

Where architectural and urban interventions fail, violence occurs. We have learnt, in the discussion developed in Chapter Two, from thinkers Marx, Durkheim and Fanon, that the horizon for violence is ever present. The understanding of specificity of place together with committed implementers is a major driver for intervention success. While communities are treated as a collective, the nuanced micro composition of place is often lost. The use of the SUIT to ensure the civic participation of all actors, including those who might cause violence (either institutional or in protest), has the potential to prevent violence erupting. In mapping narratives and events, the SUIT illustrates horizons for violence to be prevented.

While I have mentioned a lack of focus on financial and skills capacity of institutional actors generally, when comparing the other studies with the DVRI, it is clear that a concerted effort was made to develop local skills and employ local labour. By contrast, at the DVRI the contractor who cited unreliability and reduced time for training, abandoned use of local labour, which went directly against the requirements of the contract. The consequence of the contractor abandoning use of local labour amounted to a breach of contract, yet his appointment was not terminated, and local members of the community did not therefore benefit from a potential for skills development. Multi-pronged interventions such as DVRI, however, can also have influences on social issues at strategic level, not just in giving local people temporary jobs as labourers.

Smit's 10 Points For Upgrading

Warren Smit's 10 points (2005), listed on the spiral graph in Chart 8, is a useful framework in interrogating the success of upgrading, and plotting the data from the case studies reveals some commonalities and gaps. The two reference studies, shown by the SUIT to be more successful than DVRI on comparison of points such as their timely path to delivery and their development of community and other points, have a better application of Smit's first five points, which all involve the way that the actors implementing the project work with the community in which change takes place. DVRI has extensive reporting on community engagement, as discussed earlier is mentioned in the DV LSDF, yet the infiltration revealed that less than 10% of the community respondents knew about the initiative. DVRI has not benefited from a well-executed (abstract) liaison process, resulting in angry, protesting citizens. While the Zanemvula and Sakhasonke did implement points 7 – 10 (concrete) where possible, these projects focused heavily on implementing points 1 – 5.

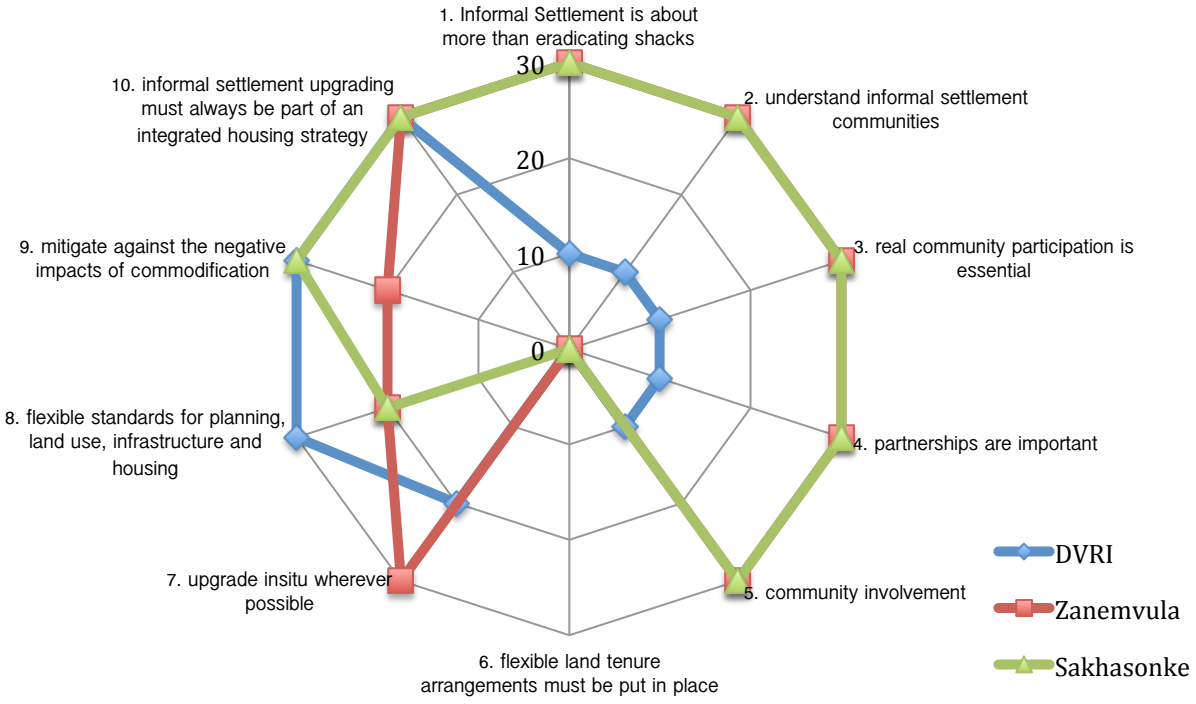


Chart 8: Trajectories of commonality when applying Smit's 10 points to the case studies. The numbering of 0,10,20 and 30 is a range from least to most implementation of the point.

Evidence presented here demonstrates that placemaking requires the interwoven consideration of concrete and abstract phenomena, but the effects of the social elements of the process result in more successful implementation, as well as increased sustainability of the intervention. Smit agreed with me, in conversation, to add "a parallel process of pre-empting the start of informal settlements" while upgrading occurs, which is in line with Sisulu's call for a pre-emptive approach to urbanisation, discussed previously in Chapter One.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have examined the SUIT in detail and analytically discussed the findings of comparing the three intervention projects using the visual tool I have designed. The first key finding is that civic participation is essential both for the initial success and for the long-term sustainability of upgrading projects. Application of the SUIT during the course of the project, as opposed to the initial method for the purpose of retrospective analysis, draws data maps of the discourse alerting to on-the-ground issues of upgrading as they happen. It is my contention that if the SUIT were used at DVRI throughout the process, then problems could have been avoided.

At the time of writing, the situation in South Africa has not changed and ongoing problems are reported regarding community dissatisfaction about beneficiary allocation, despite an application procedure and list of qualified beneficiaries being followed. This was attributed to ward councillor disagreement among each other over how many of the newly built houses each would be allowed to allocate to their political followers.

By May 2013, more than 50% of the Mekeni Road site had been completed and occupied and the Haven Hills Site had reached 70% completion. The Competition Site was awarded to the same contractor as the used at Mekeni Road and Haven Hills, who, in the discussion of November 2012, agreed a July 2013 start. Discussions in a meeting at the UN Habitat World Urban Forum 2018 with the Director General of the NDoHS, Mr Tshangana, about the SUIT, revealed that he has been commissioned by Minister Sisulu to clean the slate on the DVRI process, assess the reasons for project failure, and implement a new approach. Once again Duncan Village is victim of trial and error in housing implementation, but implementing the SUIT could improve hopes for the future.

The SUIT has been digitised and developed into a computer-based application, as mentioned earlier, and will be available at the domain, www.suitool.com. It has two tiers of user login – one for the Project Manager allowing editing and updating, and the second for viewing and printing updated project information. It is accessible by local government for interactive purposes and by national government for project status updates through a central online portal. I have continued engaging with The Housing Development Agency (The HDA), which is now in the process of taking the SUIT on board to be utilised for the implementation of upgrading informal settlements in South Africa. Dr Thomas Chiramba at UN-Habitat has expressed interest in engaging discussions around the possibility of the tool to assist with implementing the New Urban Agenda that came out of the Habitat III meeting in Quito in 2016. Together with The HDA a path to implementation is being discussed with a view to applying it to 48 pilot projects. There are 356 of 2770 informal settlements currently earmarked for upgrading in SA.

Chapter Seven

Navigating Change

> "What is now clear, just 20-odd years later and beyond any reasonable doubt, is that 'liberation' has failed, that the regime it has produced is quite incapable of governing South Africa as a free, democratic and functioning country" (Johnson, 2015:238).

At the time that Turner was addressing exigencies in housing in *Housing by People*, Johnson was predicting the fall of apartheid in his 1977 book *How Long Will South Africa Survive?* Forty years after the Soweto uprising, and Johnson is again predicting the unravelling of the current fragile South African democracy. The quote above epitomises the current state of politics in this third decade of Mandela's democracy that still sees agitated scenes across South Africa, as people question the perpetual state of hope for change. Duncan's advice in an article, published 80 years ago, entitled *Lessons Democracy Can Learn* (Appendix 12), in which he explains that true test of democracy is the ability for individual freedom to be equally enjoyed by all South Africans, is still relevant today

This chapter draws the SUIT components and discourse alignment for successful upgrading discussed in Chapter Six into dialogue with the four themes of Chapter Two: host city, urbs and civitas, upgrading narratives and ownership of place. The first section arranges *praxis* and process, permanence and place into a table to illustrate the interrelated *urbs* and *civitas*. The second section discusses freedom and recommendations for change in the upgrading process. The third section discusses the current policy environment for housing delivery in SA and the ability for the SUIT to assist with how policy is implemented and rethinking the removal of shack urbanity, while the fourth section discusses the choice of informality and the transience of arrival cities.

People controlling urban change through civic involvement, choosing change, is very different to the notion of a 'right to the city' (see Chapter One). Through civic participation in placemaking, people can exercise their freedom and hope, and perhaps can view informality as a choice. Given the lack of continued civic participation in DVRI and in light of Sen's explanations of types of freedom: poverty as capability; the effects of deprivation on individual freedom of choice, it is clear that SA has a long way to go to achieve freedom for citizens living in shack urbanity. While they have access to the city's resources, they do not enjoy all their rights.

Praxis and Process, Permanence and Place

Upgrading projects require a process of conflict prevention to address the diverse milieu of intervention sites, in pursuit of collaboration and keeping all actors around the table. "Cities are crucial sites of social, political and cultural interaction and fusion" (Turok and Parnell, 2009:161), which, due to their complexity, often cause internal friction in community structures and in turn set fragile scenes for intervention projects. Kuthala and Nokuthula live on opposite sides of Duncan Village (East and West respectively) and each offers different accounts of life in DV, both speaking of divide and discord. As Simone explains:

> In most African cities, policy and programmatic interventions have focused on the need for the enhanced integration of cities. This is often pursued without coming to grips with the ways in which fragmented urban space - that is, highly divergent characteristics of quarters and their relationships with each other – embodies the heterogeneity of urban opportunities and offers possibilities for the elaboration of livelihoods that don't easily correspond to imposed normative frameworks (2004:10).

Duncan Village, like any place, can be in ordered into the '*urbs* and the '*civitas*'; the structures and the politics; the concrete and the abstract; the 'ville and the cite'. To understand the relationship between concrete and abstract phenomena affecting intervention, Table 5 below arranges *praxis* and process, and permanence and place to illustrate how concrete phenomena affect social life - the conflicts and similarities that Carl refers to in his lectures as a "metabolism of making". *Praxis* and process connect with discussions of systemic and community roles in the upgrading projects, while permanence and place concern the impact of the concrete elements of upgrade projects.

These points are reciprocal, simultaneously independent and interdependent and this table illustrates a cause and effect. For example, in *praxis* there is an effect by the physical upgrading on the social fabric of communities and it needs to be taken account of. Also, the concrete process of upgrading needs to take account of the abstract process of interpretation of community need and views. The permanence of upgrading is not only the produced concrete houses, but also the sustainable communities that grow beyond project completion. Finally the development of place on

sites needs to take account of the abstract tool of understanding the citizens for whom upgrading is intended.

	URBS: Concrete Phenomena – *city ... in the making?*	CIVITAS: Abstract Phenomena *Citizens ... yet to come?*
Praxis	Ethical implementation of delivery and intervention: physical effects on community.	Understanding and expectation of upgrade project: Social effects on community.
Process	Of delivery and upgrading.	Interpreting need and views of the impacted community.
Permanence	Of houses and of place.	Social capital: of people living in an area and building relationships.
Place	The city and the right place to build i.e. in situ, Greenfield, inner city, periphery.	Understanding of citizens and *Spatial Agency*.

Table 5: Table illustrates connections, both horizontally and diagonally, between process and *praxis*, and place and permanence.

The research strategy described in Chapter Three, investigating quantitative and qualitative data through process and place methodologies, dovetails with the conceptual framework discussed throughout this dissertation - the interrelation of concrete phenomena of the city (of place) or *urbs* and the citizenry and the city's metabolism or *civitas*. The SUIT visualises this interconnectedness and accounts for concrete and abstract phenomena relating to intervention projects. It brings the level of involvement by the project team to a point where the process is made clear through a 'ready-to-hand' tool that is tangible and immediately highlights barriers to completion.

In addition to the SUIT, it is necessary to address issues of capacity and capability as explained in Chapter Five. The availability of staff to process applications from potential beneficiaries, as well as the skills of those persons to effectively implement and carry out the upgrading process, are primary issues. For example project management and community liaison. Solving the problem of lack of capacity and capability is the driving force behind The HDA's role as implementation agent. As with all projects, progress at DVRI relied heavily on the capability and attitude of the people involved which was a problem largely due to the minimal experience of the emerging contractor, and corruption involved in their appointment.

The issue of limited expertise and training of actors appointed to decision making positions is relevant and particularly in the South African context where a post-apartheid government has introduced policies for job provision to "previously disadvantaged" citizens. This noble policy has the unfortunate reality of jobs sometimes being awarded to people with little to no relevant experience and the negative results of poor delivery due to limited capability. There is need for a better way to involve the community and avoid high-level box-ticking, which either takes little account of real needs of the community, or does little to foster understanding of the inner workings of the social capital and networks in the community where intervention projects are proposed. It is important to eliminate the 'us-and-them' approach and distant systems of 'community liaison'.

To ensure continued participation from the intervention community, government-led housing delivery processes should include an apprenticeship system under the supervision of a person with extensive relevant experience (Thompson, 2016:256). This would be two or three people with an age and gender spectrum voted into position by the community. These elected members of the community should not have carried out the role before and under no circumstances be a ward councilor or political figure. The oldest member of the community should be identified and should count votes and deliver the verdict of the selected three. These three people will be involved in the full delivery process from the governmental municipal level. The advantages are multiple, not least the provision of skills training while ensuring an insider view without an alternative or political agenda. During the apprenticeship period relevant coursework should be compulsory, comprising modules that can be taken forward within their own community as workshops and knowledge distribution. Their salaries should form part of a project budget. Like any system, this one would have its pitfalls. With the problem of corruption, a concern would be that the apprentice would be approached by ward councillors or by members of the community with ill intentions. This scheme would, however, respond to the wish, identified in the infiltration process, for skills development and job creation, and contribute to the success of intervention projects through continuous engagement with the community, identified as a precursor to success in Chapter Six. This apprenticeship would be offered under the clear instruction that any ethical or moral default would see it taken away. Professionals appointed to manage the projects should come to the table with the relevant knowledge to contribute to the project effectively, and be able to pre-empt arising issues and respond appropriately, but the relevant skills are not always available to those still suffering the hangover of apartheid and the symbolic violence of withheld education. A systematic implementation of the apprenticeship programme could start to see the problem phase out.

Transparency and trust in the delivery system and the people implementing the policy and delivering the promises of their propaganda, is also required and the SUIT, which keeps a constant real-time check on the status of the project, bridging communication between actors of change, seeks to do this. If promises of delivery start being fulfilled successfully with more regularity, each intervention project would start with a wider trust-base upon community engagement. This would open channels of communication sooner on each project that follows, and reduce time required at project inception for taking places around the table. It is important to note that not only completion, but also placemaking, social structure, and 'buy-in' or acceptance of the project, will allow intervention projects to avoid "social chaos".[87]

[87] A paper by Wilson entitled Avoid Social Chaos. See Appendix 18 for full-page image of the newspaper clipping.

Change in Upgrading Processes

When Mandela spoke about the long walk to freedom, he was referring to the path yet to be followed – not only the path that had brought him to the moment of democracy. While there is a paper version of political freedom, the reality of corruption, nepotism, propaganda for individual gain, inhibited ability to fully engage with the economy and opportunity, and the lack of systemic transparency, are but a few of South Africa's *unfreedoms* (Sen, 1999): the institution of democracy only addresses one type of freedom.

Violent protests were reported in South Africa a month before Madiba's passing, when registration for the 2014 national elections opened. At the voting stations, people were attacked and prevented from registering if they indicated that they intended to switch support from the African National Congress (ANC) party to the Democratic Alliance (DA) party, being beaten and burned by those who felt and still feel that lack of support for the black-led ANC betrays the party and the man that led the nation to democracy. But as Johnson explains, "The problem is not black government, it is ANC government" (2015:142) and currently there is a different kind of political unravelling, as South Africans of all races protested, on 7 April 2017, against the criminal disregard for the nation's well-being by the current regime as reaction to the South African 'state capture'.[88]

Figure 150: A collage of images taken on 7 April 2017, of South Africans protesting the state capture. Internet images accessed 2017.

[88] State capture is a systemic political corruption in which private entities or personalities influence the decision-making of the state to their own advantage. The South African situation is one where the Gupta family has been accused of affecting state decision-making for their own benefit.

> It is commonplace to find people of all races who say things were better under apartheid. Inevitably, some whites feel thus confirmed in their old contempt for all things African, but much sadder and more important is that this turn of events risks confirming many Africans in their lack of self-esteem, in their anxiety that the white supremacists might have been right after all. It is this agonized sense of threatened inferiority, almost of self-hatred, that lies behind many of the most passionate black panegyrics against whites. The worse the sense of failure, the more passionately the 'liberated' ego needs to vent itself. This is strictly Frantz Fanon territory. No one has written about it better (Johnson, 2015:239).

The ebb and flow of political tensions that South Africans have become accustomed to is occurring more frequently as the 'born-frees' despair at the levels of corruption and greed at which the current government operates. There is a sense of impending change, as the country prepares for national elections in 2019, and with many now bored of the repeated accusations of racism by the ANC and its followers, seen by many as an attempt to keep the country divided and as a propaganda tool to keep ANC control. This change is playing out as a sort of controlled coup d'etat. On 8 August 2017, while President Jacob Zuma was not forced to step down after surviving his sixth vote of no confidence, it was the first secret ballot and the first motion that exposed a deep schism in the ranks of the ANC. It was announced that Zuma would not be in the running for the position of president of the ANC in December 2017 and on 14 February 2018, Cyril Ramaphosa was announced as leader of the ANC and thus the new president of the country.

Corruption is normalised in South African government with officials frequently employing underhanded tactics of bribery and nepotism, and perpetuating corruption - as the title of the article in *Cape Times* (2013) declares, "Corrupt leaders will employ wrong people". Lance del Monde pinpointed the real effect of corruption on the upgrading process in a personal discussion when he explained, "because of corruption there are too many checks and balances, which inhibit the process," reinforcing Hamdi's observation that "over-regulation and over-standardisation quickly become prescriptive and serve as a substitute for competence". (2010:144)

The Zuma presidency disbanded South African's own *Section 9*[89]*,* the Scorpions, after they announced plans to investigate all tiers of governmental corruption. Trevor Manuel's[90] YouTube address regarding the challenges facing the planning framework cites corruption, and to this end a DHS anti-corruption link and hotline has been set up. Considering the proposed additional link added to Hamdi's diagram in figure 155, and the anecdotal discussions on overregulation in order to combat corruption, the conclusion would thus be that it is the wrong type of regulation.

The right type of regulation would be as Ann Varley also explains:

[89] Reference to Ghost in the Shell. Masamune, M. & Masa, S. 1991, Kodansha Comics.

[90] Trevor Manuel served in the South African government as Finance Minister from 1999 – 2009 and as Minister of the National Planning Commission from 2009 – 2014.

> …The government's efforts and limited resources were better aimed elsewhere. They emphasized the following areas where governments could have a real effect: The provision of adequately serviced supplies of land; revision of building standards; support of local building material industries; collection and dissemination of relevant data; provision of training schemes at all levels of the process of housing. This would ensure that the skills required were available both within the government infrastructure and the local population (Varley in Thompson, 2016).

Corruption was a reality on the DVRI project, documented in newspaper reports. The theoretical role of each actor at Duncan Village was not always translated into a functioning line of communication in reality. According to beneficiaries, the political career path of politicians obscures a clear view of the need of the families they profess to represent, posing potential conflicts of interest. This was also the case at Zanemvula where beneficiaries often expressed anger to The HDA, for non-timely delivery, based on discussions with ward councillors who often resorted to simply telling the people what they wanted to hear. While it sounds logical for ward councillors, who are the supposed link between upper tiers of government and the communities on the ground, to have a role in the project delivery, too often ulterior motives of propaganda result in misguided project status at best and exaggerated story telling at worst. The conflict this causes in communities is not to be understated and it would reduce aggravation in communities if the process kept a greater distance between community and ward councillors while making sure that councillors are correctly briefed and monitored.

Inequality and poverty are barriers to upward mobility where poverty is only another one of the *unfreedoms* (Sen, 1999) causing capability deprivation, despite the resourcefulness of the poor to engage in responsive placemaking. Poverty reduction is done by "reducing or removing vulnerability, (which) in turn, demands building the resilience of community, to the shocks and stresses of daily life, the capacity to safeguard and sustain livelihoods, 'the ability to cope, adapt and improve well-being.'" (Hamdi, 2010:142). Hamdi speaks of a set of actions that are vital and co-dependent if a good development is to be practiced: Providing, Enabling, capacity to be Adaptive, and the capacity to Sustain – PEAS. I argue that this encourages and perpetuates a P(L)EAS(E) society, which is exactly what South African policy is attempting to stamp out. Sanderson's livelihood framework explains how policy can directly effect change through a nuanced street-level understanding of place and its links with issues of economy and politics.

> Policy will be more effective and equitable if it begins with an understanding of household level strategies and uses a livelihoods systems framework to understand the linkages between smaller units such as households and communities and the larger-scale economic social and political processes operating in and on cities (Hamdi, 2010:142).

A clear understanding of how spaces are used in areas of shack urbanity identified for upgrading is imperative to obtaining community buy-in. Instead of the current approach of arriving with a 'how

we think you should use the space' drawing, partners would arrive with 'how you already use the space' analysis drawings. The paths created by frequent use need to be acknowledged and could be a backbone or urban structure: so re-blocking would not start from scratch and would instead be an evolution of existing shack urbanity structure. Such paths represent the concretisation of abstract social/economic/historical forces, both shaped-by and constantly shaping people's lives, as well as dictating where new buildings can be sited – even if those buildings are shacks. To work with this structure, rather than erasing it and start again is a well-evidenced approach to urban change agreed amongst urban theorists (like Jane Jacobs) to be the one which causes fewest problems. In shack urbanity, well-trodden paths are particularly significant, because the residents are so poor that the paths have emerged as the most rational, resource-conserving routes collectively established by the citizens. This is *civitas* made into *urbs.*

Institution and Civic Discourse: Policy, Knowledge and Partnering

Policy is only as strong as the person implementing it. African Urbanism and place specificity presents unique and idiosyncratic on-the-ground issues for which consideration is required for the success of the upgrading projects to be more likely.

Building inclusive cities relies on an inclusive approach to delivery. As explained in the policy discussion section in Chapter One, there is a current shift towards policies aimed at creating more responsive and transformative frameworks within which to consider place specificity. Policy implementation, however, is still proving to be a struggle for local governments because of the complex interlayering, requirements for extensive community engagement, lack of institutional organisation and the silos of the multiple departments required to give input before the project can start - as well as other bureaucratic red tape - a very real constraint often affecting actor enthusiasm for the project. These policies have been sounded out through implementation over the last decade and the volatile reactions of protesting communities, comes with the realisation that all too often these policies have been a placation tool offering momentary hope of free homes. The ability for policies to deliver the quantum, type and quality of housing needed remains in question two decades into democracy. An altered path in approach to process of intervention is required.

Intervention/upgrading projects often suffer from a lack of knowledge about the successes and failures of previous projects: knowledge is not transferred effectively. For example, the provision of community facilities at SOS was deemed to be a necessity for sustainable development. SOS managed to achieve completion despite major political unrest. Motivation of the community must account for a large proportion of the success. SOS was completed 20 years ago

and lessons learnt were clearly documented yet do not impacted subsequent projects. There is an inherent character in such projects of complexity, and a misguided assumption that the way to fix problems is to simplify the situation, for example arriving with a completed plan for intervention versus the time consuming process of engagement. Instead there is a need for more responsive ways of seeing through the complexity. *Spatial Agency*, as discussed in Chapter Two, is quite specific about participatory techniques, which, in South Africa, is being revisited in current policy thinking for upgrading informal settlements with a revived investigation into partnership approach.

While there is not always a lack of participation between institutions and communities, very often there is a lack of continuity of engagement with communities beyond an initial interaction, or, there is poor use of the information that has been obtained from or about the community. As discussed earlier in Chapters Four and Five, Lance del Monde and other actors consider that hurdles to implementation include systemic processes, and that participation being key to successful intervention projects. But, asking local residents to repeatedly engage in processes that leads to little or nothing, like at DV, serves to anger the community who become tired of being frustrated by false hope. In many instances, the institutional actors managing intervention projects have limited capability, and a resulting apathy. A lack of progress can draw the process out, and may cause conflict in the community. A robust process, to see intervention projects to fruition, is needed and requires systemic change to break down inter and intra departmental barriers.

Before working on intervention projects, a full inventory of lessons learnt from other projects should be done. The information needs to be circulated and drawn from the anecdotal realm into the accessible problem-solving arena. Many issues addressed at Sakhasonke have been faced on subsequent projects. As Del Monde explained, while Sakhasonke and Missionvale were completed prior to the implementation of the Breaking New Ground policy of 2004, they created innovative solutions to confront many of the conflicts faced by realities of implementation of RDP intervention projects and at DVRI and Zanemvula.

Without a robust, policy-backed system for delivery, such as the SUIT, entered into willingly by actors, intervention projects will continue to both struggle to completion and fail against the definition of success in Chapter Six. Having compared the case studies, the argument comes up against an obstacle that takes the form of a provocative question: Are all communities conducive to intervention and upgrading? I will return to this important question in a moment. Another important question is whether the current methods of upgrading take account of place specificity in the *plano global* approach? Existing policy drives focusing on partnerships for successful upgrading promote a blanket approach, as do best practice ideals, including Smit's 10 points of 2005, discussed in Chart 8.

Housing policy aimed at incremental upgrading predominantly focuses on processes and systems for delivery, namely the prescriptive ordering of events in the NUSP, which clearly refers to stages and sequencing of specific tasks, each of which need to be completed within particular timeframes and before following on to the next task. Top-down housing projects implemented by municipalities involve an ordered step-by-step approach within a set timeframe. They rarely take cognisance of the community nuances during implementation. Robinson (2006) urges for a shift in approach to urban studies in her discussions on modernity and development. Acknowledging specificity of place means responding with a specific solution. As Robinson writes:

> Distinctive ways of urban life in different cities both enable diverse livelihood strategies and creatively remake senses of self. And from the position of policy-makers and urban managers cities are vital and dynamic sites where citizens are shaping autonomous and inventive futures (and) would offer considerably more scope for creative and relevant intervention than copy-cat policies that aim to reproduce the experiences of cities elsewhere (2006:6-7).

A key problem, therefore, with the advisory documents is that they don't provide the steps to take – a robust system is required to allow for the varied personalities and place-specificities that are involved in upgrading. There is need for an outlining of HOW to approach upgrading, to accompany the WHAT to do when upgrading. The problem quite specifically at DVRI was the high turnover of people involved in the project with no continuity due to little to no hand-over. The argument of this thesis is that a visualisation tool, the SUIT, can gain understanding of people and process to date, hurdles faced, and the stage in the process, through a quick visual reference.

The consequences of high turnover and no hand-overs are that the people of Duncan Village have engaged in numerous processes in the name of participation and not seen anything come of it. When reading the LSDF for the DVRI, the intent was there to implement a participatory approach, yet Boniswa – a formal beneficiary on the housing list for a DVRI home across the road from where she lives now and a key informant in this instance – knows nothing of the project or that she is soon to be a recipient. Frustrated communities are tired of LSDFs that report shining results from participatory processes. It is not surprising that the residents of Duncan Village protest when a project, which documented "meaningful engagement" in its LSDF over a decade ago, is still struggling to complete the three pilot projects of only 367 houses to its residents. The SUIT could be used to avoid or ameliorate such consequences.

The violence in DV has been perpetuated by the recurrent episodes of non-delivery. Recently, there is a noticeable contrast in the dialogue surrounding Duncan Village. Archival newspaper articles of discussions between Duncan and the locals show an amicable relationship rooted in communication and a quest for equality and well-being focusing not only housing but also on education, health and economic opportunity. Today, around the 70th anniversary of Duncan's

death, newspaper articles show images of smouldering ashes, flanked by headlines of under-spending in the housing department of the Buffalo City Municipality by R499-million (35 million GBP).

Violence Prevention Through Upgrading, Does It Work?

Consider the idea of crime prevention through design. As we have seen, violence is not only a reaction or protest – as social ills exist often without obvious reasons. Gangs and evils exist in all cities, especially those with high inequality. In the South African context there is the added layering of symbolic violence especially as a hangover from the apartheid regime. The Violence Prevention through Upgrading Unit (VPUU) is a research initiative being piloted in South Africa and was first tried in a coloured community in Cape Town and has since included more projects in more communities. Katherine Ewing advocates for intervention despite the real possibility of negative outcomes and risks. The approach has been tested on smaller projects than the DVRI, and in more stable communities than the volatile social fabric to DV. It does however respond to the need for meaningful partnerships and ongoing community engagement.

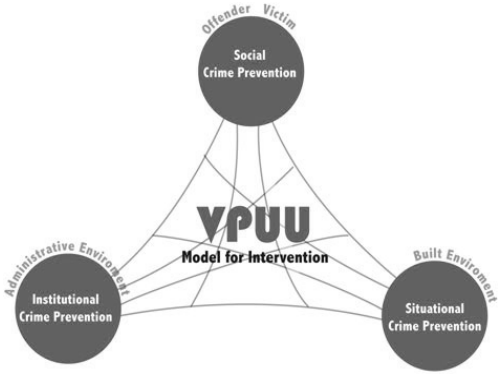


Figure 151: Diagram illustrating the VPUU model. Source: VPUU website www.vpuu.org.za, accessed March 2013.

The Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading can be critiqued. Allan Cain, Director at Angola Development Workshop, advises that there should be a "move away from swallowing 'models' for implementation, and more to a process or discourse that engages with the urban development; community platforms." (Cain 2013). It is easy to conclude that violence is an immediate action without having exhausted more passive approaches as it is here and now and demands attention. The truth is that these reactions, as discussed in the context of Fanon in Chapter One, are rooted in years of frustration and as mentioned above, are those that have been met with response. Distinctive ways of urban life in different cities both enable diverse livelihood strategies and creatively remake sense of self. Rather than assuming a developmental perspective, by which I mean a top-down approach with focus on quantity and reduced bottom-up involvement, on the challenges of life in the poorest cities, writers such as Karen Hansen (1997) and Abdoumaliq Simone

(2004) have argued for an appreciation of the close entwining of cultural practices and economic challenges.

The SUIT, used as a management tool, could enable upgrading projects to be more effective in improving people's economic lives. Sisulu, addressing Joan Clos at H3 thematic discussion for informal settlements April 2016, boasted "South Africa has benefited from the close relationship with UN Habitat, but you have abused us, and used us as your guinea pig … our policies have matured significantly, as you will see." By which Sisulu meant ... BNG policy acknowledged that the RDP model did not develop "valuable assets in the hands of the poor" (Department of Housing, 2004:4 in Adebayo 2011) because the opportunity is limited to the few who find jobs in the city doing menial tasks such as housekeeping or floor cleaning in factories to even fewer who seek out entrepreneurial opportunities like Ziyanda in Ndende street. Stories of progress and working up the economic ladder are in no way the norm in the informal settlements.

Compromised internal co-ordination affects rates of progress where decision-making becomes slowed and often halted. Ineffective meetings, or useful meetings with decisions not acted upon, are common hurdles. Non-performance is a reality for many BNG projects and DVRI was no different. Blame-shifting at team and site meetings in relation to non-performance became rife as questions were asked about lack of delivery and the imminent arrival of the Sisulu, who wanted to cut the ribbon on this priority BNG project.

Policies are for the citizens yet they involve extensive high-level meetings before engaging in the interventions, that are intended to be by the people, but rarely are. Staged processes of intervention often struggle to draw the final curtain, calling on people to play a part in its 'upgrading', but who often know little about the communities. I contend that the very people for whom interventions are designed are not being considered, they and the nuanced rituals/culture of their daily lives are excluded. Implementers, who perhaps like to see themselves at philanthropists, are surprised when met with resistance upon entering the very communities created 'over there', after decades of empty promise for reform by demagogic governments.

Getting Rid of Shacks Should Not Be the Objective

Over a century ago, Fanon in France, Marx in Germany and Wilson in South Africa compiled research discussing the impact of western culture on a native people – discussions that are rarely able to or want to view the topic in positive light. The NHC incorporates policy that seeks to measure performance of the implemented projects with the prerequisite that the indicators are cited in an approved business plan "and should be used to evaluate and regularly report on the impact of projects for the upgrading of informal settlements" (NHC, 2009). There are policies that seek to

assist implementation at site level with specific aims and objectives documented in gleaming LSDFs and recommendations and survey responses. These developments set out goals at the start which can be used to gauge success or failure against its own deliverables and not only against theory and policy expectation. If, as Berrisford claimed in his presentation at the UrbanLandmark conference in 2013, we have all the tools to deliver, yet we still have shack urbanity, then not only are we asking the wrong questions and making the wrong statements, but also giving policies incorrect titles such as 'no shacks 2014' and 'shack eradication'.

Policy language has started to change and the SDG entitled 'Affordable Housing' speaks of upgrading as opposed to eradication: "By 2030, ensure access for all to adequate, safe and affordable housing and basic services and upgrade slums" (UN-Habitat, 2014). UN-Habitat also has a suite of policies, such as the PSUP, and the New City Prosperity Index (Prosperity of Cities: State of the World's Cities, 2013/2014) and the Wheel of Prosperity "both of which are meant to assist decision makers to design clear policy interventions" (UN-Habitat, 2014) and the recent UN Habitat III global gathering and the outcomes of the New Urban Agenda.

Community liaison is key to success, but the right language in terms of need, empowerment, and development is required from the right person. As Western Cape Housing MEC Bonginkosi Madikizela reiterates, "It's not what you say but who says it". *Spatial Agency's* action plan for intervention takes account of the way in which the profession approaches projects and its responsibility for the effects of the intervention. Speaking to basic concepts such as language and jargon, it seeks to break down the barriers of practice and academia, and make "the change of space and place, as an informed practice, accessible to the people for whom it is intended" (2011). The SUIT, by representing all actors and connecting their discourses into a graphic, provides a common visual language.

I found a recent presentation by the current head of planning at BCM, at a national round table on incremental upgrading, to be indicative of problems faced in institution tiers and an example of how different actors come to a process from diverse backgrounds. The official was discussing a participatory process in East London after which residents were 'awarded a certificate for participation' and told they were pioneers for the future of their community. He also declared that he didn't buy into the notion of violence as a form of communication and that an email or a meeting is also a means of communication. He went on to refer to the issue of upgrading to be a difficult one in light of "dealing with unsophisticated end-users." Perhaps this is in line with Wirth's views on rural societies as 'primitive' and involves a, possibly often missing, change of mindset when moving to the city, or perhaps it follows Benjamin's layering of cities of different types based on achieved levels of modernity. This misalignment of discourses is something that the SUIT can

address by ensuring all actors are continuously represented and heard throughout the project process.

In addition to effective citizen participation, upgrading requires an interactive multi-actor process if interventions are to be successful (Pieterse, 2008; UN-Habitat, 2000; Misselhorn, 2008:10). In South Africa BNG called for more ownership to be taken by local government in the upgrading process, playing a facilitator role to allow people from diverse backgrounds to participate meaningfully (Adebayo, 2011). However, the marginal capacity of many municipalities challenges this vision. Pieterse explains that the UN-Habitat Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) don't take cognisance of a weak democratic backdrop when referring to themes of "enablement, partnership, participation, civic engagement, solidarity, decentralization of authority and capacity building" (2008:65).

As a catalyst for change in a community, Hamdi explains that "this philosophy of 'acting in order to induce others to act', of offering impulses rather than instructions, and of cultivating an environment for change from within, starts on the ground and often with small beginnings which have 'emergent' potential – a bus stop, a pickle jar, a composting bin, a standpipe," much like the solar panel installations at Enkhanini (2004:xx).

Preparatory work in the core DVRI study area was extensive. There is a shifted view on the project between the 'all-producing' lines of the LSDF and the apathy and capacity cited on project reflection. Interestingly, the actors involved in the development of the LSDF are not involved at the time of delivery, raising questions about scenes of change where blackouts exists from the planning to the delivery stages of the project. Perhaps the enthusiasm of theory is more easily recited without the blinding effects of the light shed on the situation on the ground. The problem of lack of continuity of documentation could be remediated by the immediate visual that the SUIT provides, serving to situate a new actor to the project team by looking to Component One. In addition a new actor would, in a short space of time, be informed of the history and current status of the intervention project by viewing Component Two and a narrative in Component Three.

A comprehensive survey was undertaken at Sakhasonke to gauge socio economic information, housing and location information, and housing maintenance information. These are very much box-ticking and thus while qualitative, the nuances of social relationships are not clearly mapped. The research does, however, deliver insights into perception of place highlighting that even award-winning projects have process hurdles to face, such as at protests and government delivered house sales at Sakhasonke. At Sakhasonke properties were illegally sold, as reported by the Residents Committee to Walmer Housing Development Trust (WHDT) and in a separate letter sent to the Head of Department of Human Settlements at Provincial Housing Department. The

difference from DV is the reporting of the incident by residents, who clearly understood that the regulations would assist them in maintaining the quality of their place and its value. The effect was that guilty parties were brought to task and a precedent set for how the community responds to contraventions of the law.

The task of keeping all actors around the proverbial table of intervention was a continuous challenge on DVRI, and is a necessary one, requiring skill and the ability to respect and value opinions of each group. Actors come to this table with diverse, often conflicting experiences that influence their views. Reciprocity between people's ideals can, however, be forged. Encouraging actors to keep sight of this is vital to maintaining lines of communication on the path to delivery. This is a primary focus of the SUIT as illustrated in figure 24.

Informality as Choice: The Transience of Arrival Cities

The idea of informality as a choice is not commonplace in theory, policy and best practice aimed at formalisation. South Africa, a signatory to the MDGs and UN-Habitat agendas presents a unique landscape for change. With all the global agendas that past and present demagogic SA governments are enthusiastically signed up to in the quest to reduce, replace and re-house shack urbanity, I contend that there has not been enough consideration for the particularity of the South African canvas and its scenes of shacks. In this section I discuss whether the drive to eradicate shacks should gain momentum or if it a case of mistaken temporality, and that shacks are a permanent home of choice for many citizens.

Through asking whether shack urbanity is a deceptively permanent temporality, the idea that formality is a false perception is offered. I drew, in Chapter One, on Tuan who suggests, "Permanence is an important element in the idea of place" (1977), connecting with tenure security and de Soto's (2000) idea that permanence can only be afforded through land ownership and policy. Between the makeshift structures of shack urbanity is the permanence and formality of daily routines - the formal amidst the perceived informal. Rhythms and routines of the everyday movements present permanence in the temporality – "being the same and always different" – and the perception of place and "seeing the same through the different" (Gadamer, 1975).

Duncan's original areas of permanence anchor Duncan Village but it is surrounded by areas of transient settlement for those who don't want to invest in the area and need access to the city. In its history, Duncan Village was first developed as a permanent settlement and later was used as a transition space before removal to the neighbouring Mdantsane. Saunders considers that 'arrival cities' that "exist to bring villagers and entire villages into the urban sphere" (2010:20) have a role of

transition – both in bringing people from poverty and within themselves, while upgrading their built environment. They also have a permanent role in the functioning of their host cities (2010:20).

The ultimate degree of permanence of a place after upgrading is related to the nature of people's reception of intervention projects. Participation in the process and in the place is directly related to ownership. If the civic make up is largely a transient population that does not see need to invest in the area, then their willingness to engage in the intervention process would be minimal compared with that of permanent residents. Intervention projects in DV struggle to completion compared with those successfully completed in the neighbouring suburb of Mdantsane, due to the lack of ownership of place.

Duncan Village, after the initial phases of establishment in Duncan's day became a free-for-all of people flocking to the city for work. These folk wanted to be there not necessarily to invest in the place, but to take the opportunities that it offered by virtue of its proximity to the city. People often then returned intermittently to their families in the rural areas either every weekend or over longer stretches. Thus DV has become the partly transient 'place' that it is today. Mdantsane on the other hand is different and people arrive with an ideal of permanence of place.

Malusi speaks of two different types of people in DV – the ones who arrive honestly and those with ill intentions aimed at personal gain. Not everyone is willing to invest in the city. Some want to sidestep formal systems: because they are wanting to stay below the radar, as they have come across the border illegally from Zimbabwe; or they don't earn enough money consistently to be signed up to formal systems of monthly payments; or they have their permanent family home in the rural areas and they are only living in the city during the week. These folks would then also want cheaper accommodation, or even to rent rather than own. Whether citizens are transient, or using settlements on the periphery of cities as a permanent place, has effect on the benefits of informality experienced by citizens. The difference between the contribution of those who temporarily 'use' the city versus long term residents that seek to invest in the city, is taken beyond the social capital argument to that of poverty: "The poverty rate among recent arrivals to big cities is higher than the poverty rate of long-term residents, which suggests that, over time, city dwellers' fortunes can improve considerably" (Glaeser, 2011:69).

The shack can be an economic resource. RDP homeowners often build shacks on their property for rental. These shacks provide affordable shelter in a location, which affords easier access to the host city. Many residents therefore have a preference to upgrade in an existing informal settlement rather than moving to formal neighbourhoods, where access to social capital and support networks, allowing work opportunities to be taken up as discussed in Satterthwaite's *Sustainable Cities*, Hamdi's *Placemakers Guide*, Sanderson's livelihood framework and the UN"s

Planning Sustainable Cities - the role of planning in implementing change (UN-Habitat, 2009), is affordable and easy. Chapter One raised the proposition that for some, shacks are the solution of choice, rather than formalised housing, with related cost.

Upgrading suggests improvement; however the buildings at DVRI, while built in places previously used for fly tipping, they also brought protest and violence closer to the homes of the existing community across the road. The final product delivered at DVRI is receiving limited positive feedback. A third cited problems with the houses, such as being built directly on the road edge, small garden, and the semi-detached design of the homes in Mekeni Road. All these points would have been easily solved during public consultation. Homes in the city are often small with little or no garden, multi-unit structures, and shared or party walls. Expectation of a rural setting in the city is unrealistic and requires mindset shift. Continuous participation and consultation would both help residents' mindset's shift, as well as improving the built and social outcomes of upgrading projects.

Catalyst Projects

A smaller upgrade, through a community project, rather than houses, is being tested in Khayamnandi in the Western Cape where solar panels are being installed. Such catalytic projects that involve the community help underpin ownership through participatory process. Adele Hosken of Cities Alliance explains that the "Cities Alliance funds catalytic projects defined as being those that impact on policy change; that build capacity of local municipalities to fulfill their mandates and that build an active citizenry." Some critics may suggest that shack upgrades, like solar panels, are inferior to provision of houses, but well-constructed shacks with power, for example, are an upgrade which improves human lives - both those for whom informality is a choice and those who hope to one day formalise their living arrangements.

The catalyst approach has proven successful in international examples such as the amphitheatre in Vigadal in Rio, Brazil, built with used tyres filled with sand on a site previously used for fly tipping. The amphitheatre has created a central space for community interaction and as they were involved in the process, buy-in and ownership have been the spin-off. This particular example would work well in Kwanomzamo. Sites are being given to people of need in Kwanomzamo, where there is a high number of backyarders yet a vandalised town hall stands empty on a fenced off piece of land. It is located in the heart of the settlement and offers a unique, place-specific opportunity as a catalyst for community engagement, buy-in, and general improvement of quality of life as there is no dedicated communal space in this settlement.

Some people who are granted a free formal house prefer to remain in their shacks. One of the methods for in-situ upgrading is the use of Temporary Relocation Areas (TRAs) which are areas,

upgraded with bulk services of water and electrification, to which folk relocate their shack while their formal house is built. The TRA method is being used for the Competition Site where Boniswa and Bonani live. This method is used for the replacement of brownfield areas of shacks with brick structures and de-densifying in the process. What happens in reality, however, is that the TRAs often drop the 'T' as they become home for five years rather than the six months it would take to build permanent structures on the brownfield site, due to stalling and lengthy institutional processes. Also, in de-densifying there is no longer enough space for everyone to move back to the original site. These factors mean that many are given houses in different areas and community networks are negatively affected, so people prefer to stay in their shack on the TRA. For these dwellers, simple upgrades such as solar power would make a material difference.

Another option for housing delivery and staged formalisation, is the prefabricated house typology. The mindset of non-permanence, and the inability of prefabricated units to deliver an asset into the hands of the poor, needs to shift. It is a plausible methodology, with a wide variety of modern construction methods including 3-D printing of buildings and components, to develop a prefabricated unit that fully delivers a product comparable to traditional bricks and mortar. A three-day house or less is possible and would require further research to develop, but could offer varied options that respond to beneficiary need.

Density and Proximity to Host Cities

For many, informality is a choice prompted by proximity to the host city. High density in shack urbanity is a problem in many instances. While in some areas, densities far exceed comfortable or humane habitation; many parts of Duncan Village earmarked for de-densification are, in planning terms, in fact medium density. The functionality of cities relies on closer proximities and with the distance to 'formal' city only being 2km, this ease of accessibility to opportunity will only be made more difficult if a policy of sprawl is implemented. Lance del Monde said that "high density is the salvation of the cities" when speaking of South African cities and specifically about Sakhasonke and Missionvale projects (personal communication, 2011). Speaking in global terms, Glaeser concludes the same saying that "the great problem of urban slums is not that there are too many people living in a city, but that those residents are often too disconnected from the economic heart of the metropolis" (2011:69).

Distinguishing features of Sakhasonke are best described in the words of the Project Manager, Del Monde who explained:

> Its innovation lies in its approach in demonstrating the effect of higher residential densities on reduced land and service costs, increased house size and type and especially its contribution to reducing urban sprawl and the integration of the urban poor with the existing

> environment. This approach allows more families to be closer to places of employment and community facilities with these population concentrations contributing to more viable public transport systems and overall sustainability being guaranteed through community support programmes. The project represents a dramatic departure from the way in which low cost housing is being delivered to the poorest sectors of our community, with one of its key objectives being the replication of some or all of the lessons learnt from the experience, throughout South Africa (Del Monde in Sakhasonke brochure, 2006).

The impact of shifting from informality to formality and the problems that upgrading brings, is discussed by various authors (Smit, 2000 & 2003; Turner, 1976:55-56; Davy and Pellissery, 2013:74). There are of course degrees of upgrading and formalisation and the freedom of informality being matched with more comfortable spaces to live. Considering the effects of formalisation, Bond and Tair argue that formalization of housing can entrench poverty:

> When informal settlements are upgraded or residents of informal settlements relocate to a new housing project there are a variety of changes in the lives of residents as a result of the formalisation process. Many of the changes caused by formalisation are positive; some of the changes are negative, however, and can further disadvantage the poor. One view, for example, is that the housing formalisation currently occurring in South Africa 'reinforces the marginalisation and stigmatisation of the poor' (Bond and Tait, 1997:28).

Turner, in discussing the 'value of housing' and the interpretation of need refers to 'the supportive shack' (1976:55-56) versus 'the oppressive house.' He cites the double loss of proximity to work and the loss of a vending business that was not allowed in the new area. More money is spent on housing in the new home – 55% of income plus 5% for transport to work, whereas in the shack it was 5% for housing and walking to work. This is the same for the residents of Duncan Village where residents don't necessarily want to be relocated. DV is 2km from the city centre and most walk to work or measure the distance to work in the number of taxi rides needed to get there, as Cecilia explained earlier: "I have to take two taxis to get to work."

Gentrification is another negative spin-off of formalisation, where arrival of wealthier people in a poorer area results in rents and rates being elevated. In effect, upgrading could lead to the same outcome as gentrification and be another reason why the poor choose informality - to avoid arriving in an environment, which they cannot afford.

Some celebrate informality as an expression of choice. The right to the city needs to extend beyond access to the concrete city, to that of abstract phenomena such as choice and the freedom to change and achieve. Urban primacy is another colonial hangover (Myers, 2011:93). While the enabling environment of shack urbanity is a slightly off-beat discussion to have, since my finding that there is a high probability that there will always be shacks I delved further into the reasons for arrivals and found that not all authors argue against informality and many discuss the appropriateness of the shack to respond to the needs of the urban poor, and the enabling

environments that informality offers (Hardoy & Satterthwaite in Mitchell & Bevan, 1992:55 and Pieterse, 2008:57; Tonkiss, 2013:91). As Glaeser explains: "Cities aren't full of poor people because cities make people poor, but because cities attract poor people with the prospect of improving their lot in life." (2011:69) "The great urban poverty paradox is that if a city improves life for poor people currently living there by improving public schools or mass transit, that city will attract more poor people." (Glaeser, 2011)

While the formal method of access to land legally follows a particular path to ownership, it would be wrong to assume the absence of a process to obtaining land in informal environments. Social structures and 'street-talk' are powerful tools of engagement and a means of being accepted and being part of the community in which land is often allocated by a community leader. Toto's family home that she inherited is built on land that was granted to her father by the village chief. Similarly, in shack urbanity access to land relies on relationships and interactions between natives and arriving hopefuls. As Myers explains:

> In contrast to the logic of land reforms that aim to formalise the informal systems, 'in their daily struggle for survival urban dwellers develop their own rationality and logic of behaviour, which often do not comply with externally imposed visions of the city' or wouldn't be enforceable in 'modern courts of law,' but they sustain 'people's livelihoods in a context of widening material poverty' (Lindell 2002 in Myers 2011:85). In these informal systems, 'access to land is neither haphazard nor spontaneous but instead follows certain procedures that are usually well-known and adhered to by the actors involved. The key actors in the process actually appear to borrow pragmatically from different normative orders' (Konigs et al 2006 in Myers 2011:86). The systems are often highly reliant on informal social networks which are themselves built from kinship and friendship." (2011:86)

These tribe-like or traditional systems of land ownership add to the complexity of acquiring land for upgrading and also add actors to the process of upgrading, actors that can easily be accounted for around the table in the SUIT.

The economy of shack urbanity is a mysterious capital where citizens are breaking to become legal, that is, engage with the formal economy, and then the cost of it breaks them. De Soto discusses grey economy and posits a tenure model where land security and permanence are only possible through freehold ownership (2000). Are de Soto's views appropriate to South Africa? (DBSA, 2007). No, there will never be 'no shacks'. De Soto model has three pillars oriented around investment, access to credit, and title ownership. Critics of this model, such as Pieterse, use quantitative data to conclude that the model folds under interrogation (Pieterse, 2008:49-50). There is a need for a grey economy that sustains the formal economy and degrees of formality and permanence. There is a need for all levels of housing that are sustainable by the recipients; there is no use in having a mansion that cannot be maintained and backyard shacks are an economic resource both for the occupiers and the landowners. There will always be a need for cheaper

accommodation and also always someone willing to build a shack in the backyard of their RDP home to secure an extra rental income. Hardoy and Satterthwaite surveyed 17 developing countries and concluded "that a squatter's shack was still a more appropriate response to the needs of the urban poor than heavily subsidised public housing" (1981 in Mitchell and Bevan, 1992:56). Informality plays a role in facilitating life in the setting of rapid change, impermanence and uncertainty, which is present in DV. Perhaps citizens of shack urbanity seek more inclusion in the city, but through their own choice. "Everywhere in the Third World, housing choice is a hard calculus of confusing trade-offs." (Davis, 2006:27)

Choice is translated into freedom and thus, "in a free society, people choose where to live, either explicitly by moving or implicitly by staying in the place of their birth." (Glaeser, 2011:71) Freedom of choice and freedom of informality therefore amounts to informality as choice. In Outer Mongolia, informality is celebrated as the annual 'Ger season' arrives, when families stack the components of their transportable 'summer house' and trek to the steppes of the Gobi Desert.

> Choosing to live in an informal settlement is a needs-based exercise of human rights, even if the choice reflects an individual's liberty but also deprivation, poverty, racism, religious hate or exclusion. We suggest that such choices be taken seriously, not because we romanticise slums, but because making choices about one's life, and to participate in a local community, is an intrinsic element of human rights enjoyment. Regarding informal settlement dwellers mostly as victims denies them the recognition of their choices. (Davy & Pellissery, 2013:68)

The question of whether government intervention in EL and PE successfully incorporate citizens into the realm of the host city, enabling them to engage with the city, is a national systemic issue that needs to address the *unfreedoms* in the hangover of a non-democratic system. There is a near century-old discussion of top down versus bottom up upgrading. It is essential to find the exact point at which the top down and the bottom up come together, that is, the difference between the legal process of placemaking and responding to needs for an inclusive wider partnership to housing delivery. There is a necessary shift on the horizon in South Africa as discussions of the benefits of incremental intervention based on participatory partnerships make their way to the desks of policy makers responsible for addressing housing delivery. *Praxis* and process, permanence and place represent all moving parts of the concrete and abstract phenomena of placemaking and the SUIT both addresses all these aspects and is adaptable to the specificity of place and the particularity of the people involved in the upgrade process. Thus, the pilot projects of the DVRI have highlighted that the full project needs to follow an alternative process for delivery. The implementation of the SUIT would provide the 'table' as point of departure for implementation, both literally and metaphorically, are required to assist the future delivery of houses in Duncan Village which work for those for whom they are intended.

Conclusion

More than two decades since the South African people triumphantly claimed their democratic freedom, shack urbanity remains the reality for over two million households. As the 2020 deadline for the Millennium Development Goals approaches and, along with it, the much-vaunted target of improving the lives of 100 million slum dwellers worldwide, we find that Sustainability Development Goal 11 (Sustainable Cities and Communities), has modified the original timeframe, pushing it back to 2030. Significantly, the rhetoric of development has changed; the newer guidance calls for 'upgrading' rather than 'eradication'. This research set out to ascertain and consider such facts and the forces behind the decisions and actions that brought them about, zooming in from a wider, global view to begin to capture the nuances and detail of life at street level.

It sought, by way of the style of its analytical method, to open out its subject matter as if focusing a magnifying glass on the processes and places representing and embodying the DVRI scenario, one that envisaged meaningful and functional homes as its best possible outcome. This methodological style that I call intervention forensics, is inspired by Mitchells formulation "architect as detective" (2010:67), as well as Weizman's call for a "forensic" understanding of architectural research (2011-2015), guided the conceptualisation of the work as an attempt to solve a mystery: to focus an investigative lens, identify protagonists, look for clues, understand the variety of motives at play, identify probable causes, map out their implications, and speculate about likely consequences should things have worked out differently. These methodological preoccupations, which treated the vandalised homes of Duncan Village and the shattered hope that they represent as something of a crime victim depend upon, as a core task, the challenge of somehow reconstructing the situation: of assembling the evidence and bringing diverse clues together in order to build a case for understanding what went wrong and how injury, destruction, loss and disappointment might have been avoided, as well as identifying who or what might have been to blame.

At the start of this dissertation I investigated the root of shack urbanity in order to understand its perpetuation and as a basis for generating insights into upgrading processes that aim to improve the social world of their target beneficiaries in a shift from an 'informal' style of life towards 'formality'. The interrogative project further depended upon establishing probable causes of various project outcomes, and for this the case studies were put into the witness box allowing for comparison, which helped to develop an understanding of the character of what was going on at Duncan Village, and whether one might have expected events to have turned out differently. Seeing the case studies together raised questions about reasons for one project, high on the political agenda and with all the alleged ingredients for successful upgrading, struggling to complete and

deliver housing, while other projects move swiftly to completion, developing sustainable neighbourhoods. It was thus important that systemic processes be brought under the spotlight to gain a sense of the degree and methods of interaction and participation between various actors involved in and affected by intervention projects and that a way was devised to collate and consider polar entry points of data and actors and, therefore, many moving parts. The intention of the analysis was to demonstrate the value in visualising these conditions of change and has led to the production of the Shack Urbanity Intervention Tool (SUIT).

The research strategy and ultimate purpose-designed methodology for interrogating process and place was discussed with a detailed walk-through of ethics considerations; including the effects on the community and personal safety, followed an adaptive path, and also reflexivity. Considering my positionality, the methodology of infiltration took cognisance of Wilson's immersion into her research context, while adapting to the reality of issues of safety, to obtain insight and information for my research.

The importance of understanding specificity of place was understood through the step-by-step illustration of 100 years of development history in Duncan Village. The boundary as a physical or perceived barrier to place was discussed in pursuit of grasping the concrete and abstract effects of apartheid on the city, and its citizens yet to come. This underpinned a discussion of movement between host cities and formal cities, and the adaptability and self-sufficiency that is born out of suppression and making-do.

The historical barriers of segregation, which were entrenched through physical location and proximity to the city, have, in terms of physical connectivity, become increasingly porous through the attempted deconstruction of colonial urban patterns – both concrete and abstract phenomena - as accessibility through transport linkages has improved and attempted reversal of the apartheid planning is implemented. The boundaries to belonging are graded not only in terms of access to the city, but also moving away from public to private spaces within suburbs. Citizens tend to move away from the city centre towards localised industry and then to quieter side streets and finally the refuge of their own home. This is no different for any suburbs on the fringes of cities and I therefore argue that Duncan Village is not any different to the suburbs to the North and East of its host city, in that respect. This metabolism is thus about architecture and urban design, about politics, and about self-empowerment and the need for employment production.

New homes are intended symbols of hope and freedom that line the streets, creating new social facets to neighbourhoods and having an effect on the existing community in which they are planned, while aiding the aspirations of claim to space – a place to call home. The houses at Duncan Village briefly became victims of change when extreme vandalism stripped the ready-for-

occupation houses bare. These defeated shells, that fell victim to what Malusi calls "mob spirit", left damaged materials, fire damage and graffiti, and created crime scenes in the community, while officials and contractors attempted to settle their differences for over 12 months, repeating the history of halted projects in this community.

Intervention forensics focused on the house as target, and revealed Fanon's theoretical concepts of protest to be not only a century-long battle for social and political equality but also the long-awaited delivery of promises for houses. In communities rife with activism, such as DVRI, these houses appear to move away from being symbols of hope to becoming a currency for freedom – they become an asset for trading among citizens desperate for homes and unlawful occupation of newly delivered houses results in no tenure security.

The volatile energy that accumulates in the throes of protests often results in the burning of civic buildings and tyres burning in the road. Violence and unrest is still prevalent in Duncan Village, where citizens grapple with the close proximity of hope and fear daily. There is regular reporting of fear for personal safety from murder and rape, while living in hope of opportunity. With over a decade of continual action and reaction, while the DVRI attempts intervention there remains alleged institutionalisation of corruption in Duncan Village – invisible violence. The SUIT establishes a metaphorical 'fusion of horizons' (Gadamer, 1975:305) to replace the violence that suppresses possibilities of meaningful engagement with process and thus development through intervention projects.

In this research I discussed the spaces and the place of Duncan Village within the wider context of placemaking and the city and South African urbanism. It has found that corruption extends to all tiers of the *civitas* – from government to the citizenry.

Duncan wrote extensively on Aristotle and Kant and their comparative views on "duty to man". According to Duncan, Kant had a top down approach, where all actions of citizen are initiated with the 'duty to man', while Aristotle had a bottom up view, where 'duty to man' is the product of all actions of man. Duncan compared Aristotle's quest for a logical formula for achieving happiness to that of modern ethics writers who understand that the variables involved make it impossible to achieve a finite solution and that happiness can never be a permanent state of being (UCT Archives: BC294 B5.3.5).

I propose that the happiness of cities can be achieved by navigating the line between top-down and bottom-up and by properly understanding the relationship between physical and non-physical phenomena (social, cultural, economic) – *urbs* and *civitas* - what I have called in this thesis the concrete and abstract. Along with the SUIT drawings the 'horizon of involvement' (Carl) – what I have referred to as 'the table' – could be the key to moving forwards in a place like Duncan

Village. A table, literally and metaphorically, represents a horizontal balancing plane between top down and bottom up involvement and continual reference to it, through the SUIT, can assist with upgrading places, while continuing to embrace particularities of identity. The SUIT could be a place of transparency, which would facilitate the building of trust, specific to the place of the project.

The actors involved in upgrading are the gatekeepers to change in a country that, 20 years into formal democracy, remains fraught with tensions that are often played out in the housing delivery process. The success of the project relies on all actors remaining around the table to ensure equilibrium is maintained during project delivery.

The SUIT was used, and can be used, as a way of navigating between systemic processes of intervention, the narrative of affected citizens and the horizons of involvement of all, while placemaking occurs. The multi-actor upgrade process and the complexity of multi-dimensional relationships and an informed understanding of specificity of place are widely understood to be where success or failure lies regarding incremental interventions.

Reciprocity with practice is sought after by all actors and reflection on practice shows that, despite logical order and noble aspirations of policy, upgrading agendas fail on some critical points when interrogating process as viewed from nuanced 'on-the-ground' realities of implementation. Staged interventions have sought to heal the ills of the poor living conditions over the 123-year life of Duncan Village and have attempted to implement urban theories of de-densification, pilot projects, and incremental upgrading.

Policies, however, are only as strong as the institutional or individual actors who implement them. Policy needs to be adhered to in order to have positive impact: if there is not a willing systemic arrangement, intervention projects will fail to achieve policy and project objectives of housing delivery in sustainable communities.

The current review of policy, a review that I was been invited to by the Chief Director of Policy and Frameworks for the National Department of Human Settlements, will, on my advice, add guidance on how best to implement policy, after decades of policy that only instructs on what needs doing, despite it being well written. Policies aimed at creating more responsive and transformative frameworks within which to consider place specificity are still proving to be a struggle for local governments. The complex diversity of actors; interlayering of activities to be carried out in the process; requirements for extensive community engagement; institutional silos; multiple departments required to give input before implementation – all these factors add to implementation delays, already affected by capacity and often capability. At best, previous policies have been a placation tool offering momentary hope of free homes.

As Hamdi observes, “over-regulation and over-standardisation quickly become prescriptive and serve as a substitute for competence” (2010:144) where instead, understanding of the fabric of specific communities is should be obtained, and one-size-fits-all approaches avoided, in preference of embracing specificity of place, while taking into account particular personalities involved in the delivery process. The National Housing Code does not allow for this, affording narrow scenes of engagement, often reducing relationships, particular personalities and individual objectives to a ‘box-ticking’ exercise.

As with all projects, progress at DVRI relied heavily on the capability and attitude of the actor assigned the task. An apprenticeship system that allows experienced professionals to be appointed to positions within the governmental tiers while imparting valuable knowledge to younger trainees should be adopted. This would provide job opportunities while ensuring progress and delivery for the beneficiaries who rely on responsibility being taken and the capability to deliver. Each actor should come to the table with the relevant knowledge to contribute to the project effectively, and be able to pre-empt possible issues arising and respond appropriately.

In addition to an apprenticeship system to combat the problems outlined above, in different provinces and on different projects, the successes and failures are documented and filed but the knowledge is not transferred, leaving new projects with teams working on intervention projects in isolation, without detailed research into what has been achieved successfully. The information needs to be collated, stored and circulated, drawn from the anecdotal realm into the accessible problem-solving arena for on-the-ground implementation. The online SUIT is a means of executing this and ensuring that policies are adhered to, by allowing capacity and capability to grow over time in an online forum, alongside expertise being fostered through apprenticeship.

A key discussion in this dissertation addresses permanence and the perceived temporality or transience of shack urbanity in South Africa. Cities and the parallel yet interdependent existence of poverty and wealth in cities are discussed in this thesis concluding that the drive to eradicate shacks will never come to fruition as long as poverty is perpetuated - a backyard shack provides an income and a home to the poor. This deceptive view of temporality is undermined by a repertoire of constants in daily routine in settlements played out by citizens that have arrived and stay to access opportunity. Duncan Village, with its layering of social casts, and rituals of work and play, does not escape this generalisation. In many instances, informality is a choice, and the perpetuation of informality lies in the hands of the citizens who take refuge in shack urbanity, in order to access the host city more economically efficiently. Adaptability, self-reliance, resilience and resourcefulness are the survival tactic of poverty. Considering Glaeser’s statement about the attractiveness of cities for the poor, informality is needed in order to facilitate the functioning of the city.

Drawing living examples of making-do into the general discussion about boundaries, belonging and host cities, Duncan Village and East London work mutualistically - they sustain each other; the citizens have already arrived. Duncan Village appears thus to be a powerhouse of mobilising contributors to the workforce that enables the city to keep working as it intended, and the role of shacks is as facilitator to the metabolism of the city. Taking cognisance of choice by some, and of urbanisation, in the context of emerging policy, as has been advocated throughout this dissertation, there should not be a blanket application of theory and policy – there is still a need to adapt current policy to address housing need while acknowledging the choice of informality by others. This, in the context of emerging housing policy for intervention projects and ideas of eradication of shack urbanity, such as the 'no shacks 2014' policy, needs to be cast aside.

The limitations of this research relate to time, resources and safety. The DVRI case study project continued beyond the data-collecting stage of this research and thus a stop point was decided on, reflected in the data map of the DVRI SUIT. I kept a finger on the DVRI pulse, however, and progress beyond that point is discussed as far as possible. Resources for fieldwork were constrained by the reality of compromised personal safety when visiting DV. The infiltration methodology, formulated in this research, made it possible to continue to connect with DV and the people, while gathering a wide and sizeable sample. These limitations also presented opportunities. Compromised safety, in areas of shack urbanity, is a global reality and the infiltration methodology is one that could be used outside of DV. In the future, it would be a valuable exercise to expand the infiltration process to Haven Hills, the third DVRI pilot site.

While time constraints drew a line in the sand for interrogating the evidence of process and place, the work highlights areas for further research. These are as follows:

- Institutional processes and the use of the SUIT. The SUIT has been approved, by The Housing Development Agency that assists government with delivery housing projects, for implementation on 48 catalytic projects in South Africa. This would be a pilot phase to gauge its impact with a view for use on all 356 shack urbanity upgrade projects identified across South Africa.
- Citizen involvement and apprenticeship programmes for continued engagement with and participation of the community, while transferring skills. The apprenticeship programme explained in Chapter Seven, needs to be implemented in conjunction with the SUIT.
- Alternative housing typologies for intervention. This should include investigating the use of prefabricated building methods, the construction of which can be taught as a skill. Modular designs would also assist with incremental upgrading.

- Increasing understanding, by beneficiaries, of densification in well located areas of development. It is necessary to move thinking of urban housing away from a one-house-one-plot and towards an understanding that urban living largely means higher densities. This will improve beneficiary satisfaction with government delivered housing types in post-occupation assessments and would require descriptive explanations during pre-project community engagement.

Change is on the horizon in South Africa. And while this may currently resemble more of a Ryle and Koestler style *Ghost in the Machine* (Hutchinson, 1967), with a disjuncture between government and its people, it also presents a case for the situation getting worse, politically and socially, in order to get better in terms of the political-historical disruptions. Changes are afoot for shack urbanity, the concrete embodiment of years of oppression – and also in the spatial, economic and political arenas. Political events and autocratic decisions by President Jacob Zuma of the African National Congress in 2017, such as the controversial firing of the finance minister, have brought the party and its opposition under the magnifying glass, which started to play out Johnson's recent predictions. Subsequently, there were many protest marches by all races and The ANC voted Zuma out of office in February 2018. The people to whom empty promises have been made are realising that the *Long Walk to Freedom*[91] may not be along the road laid by the people who have been doing the canvassing and promising, some of whom appear to be resting on the laurels of the freedom fighters of the past and the racial identification with South Africa's majority black citizenry.

Divided opinion is at the core of South Africa's history, and refocused efforts by the Union of South Africa during World War Two, that contributed to the halting of the leased-tenure housing project in 1941 – the development of Duncan Village – was no different, with ongoing debates between Hertzog and Duncan about South Africa's involvement in the war. This debate is representative of the wider divide within the European ranks between British and Dutch visions for South Africa, as well as divides within Native communities.

For decades, the world watched closely as South Africa etched its way to democracy and fair human rights for its rainbow nation. "Freedom is coming tomorrow!" they sang in the award-winning Broadway play, *Sarafina!* Set in Soweto and made famous at the time of the raising of the oppressive curtain of apartheid, the main character is based on Nelson Mandela.[92] A circumstantial meeting with playwright Mbongeni Ngema, as he and I sat next to each other on a flight from

[91] Reference is made to the autobiographical book of the former and late South African Present Nelson Mandela, published in 1994.

[92] *Sarafina!*, meaning 'the burning ones', is a musical telling a story about students involved in the Soweto Riots of 1976 in opposition to apartheid in South Africa. First staged in 1988, it ran for 576 performances on the Cort Theatre stage in Broadway and was made into a film in 1992 with Leleti Khumalo and Whoopi Goldberg. *Wikipedia*

Johannesburg down to the Eastern Cape, left me perplexed. I was surprised that in our conversation about how we came to be there that day, Mr Ngema considered my efforts to understand housing delivery and the communities of intervention "very humane"[93] – perhaps it was unexpected to him that I, a white South African, would seek equality. I couldn't help but think that if the divide of opinion on dealing with the *Reaction to Conquest*[94], had gone the other way in Duncan's day, today's actors of change would have the luxury of staging campaigns for aspirations rather than need.

Prime Minister Jan Smuts, who held his second term during the war and while Sir Patrick Duncan was Governor-General, changed his stance on racial segregation to one which Duncan had always followed – that of opposition. Duncan and Smuts had their disagreements during the times of deciding the direction of colonial South Africa and responding to the social equality and the 'native vote' and again Johnson refers to the observations of Smuts:

> 'South Africa is a country in which neither the best nor the worst ever happens'. The wisdom behind this, even in Smuts' time, was that the multiracial nature of South African life prevented any group from having its own way completely. In the era of universal suffrage this has only become more true (Johnson, 2015: 244).

And so, perhaps the new wave of change will bring the like of Duncan back to the parliamentary halls and South Africa can start the next chapter having learnt from history and implementing, rather than hoping for, a culture of inclusion. If the SUIT, or something like it, and the recommendations in this thesis were adopted, SA could move towards developing cities, and the narrative of freedom would be translated from the rhetoric of retribution and remorse to a language of common interests and a collective trajectory. Development through upgrading of shack urbanity could be accommodated through compromise, places and processes where democracy might be worked into, as a shared project.

[93] Personal communication with Mbongeni Ngema, 19 April 2013.

[94] Monica Hunter Wilson's acclaimed book, *Reaction to Conquest, 1936.*

Bibliography

1. Abbott, J. (2001) 'An analysis of informal settlement upgrading and critique of existing methodological approaches', *Habitat International*, 26, pp.303–315. Pergamom.
2. Abbott, J. (2002) 'A method-based planning framework for informal settlement upgrading', *Habitat International*, 26(3), pp.317-333.
3. Abbott, J. (2003) 'The use of GIS in informal settlement upgrading: its role and impact on the community and on local government', *Habitat International*, 27, pp.575-593.
4. Adebayo, P.W. (2011) 'Post-apartheid Housing Policy and a Somewhat Altered state role: does incremental housing still have a place in South Africa?', *The Built & Human Environment Review*, 4(2).
5. AFESIS-Corplan (no date) *What is Ailing Low Cost Housing?* http://www.afesis.org.za/Local-Governance-Articles/what-is-ailing-low-cost-housing-delivery-in-the-ec. (Accessed: 2011).
6. Allen, S. (1999) *Points and Lines*. Princeton Architectural Press. New York.
7. Amin, A. and Thrift, N. (2002) *Cities: Reimaging the Urban*. Polity Press in association with Blackwell Publishing Ltd. UK and USA.
8. Arnstein, S.R. (1969) 'A Ladder of Citizen Participation', *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 35(4), pp.216-224.
9. Awan, N., Schneider, T., and Till, J. (2011) *Spacial Agency: Other ways of doing architecture*. Routledge, England, USA, and Canada.
10. Banerjee, A. and Duflo, E. (2011) *Poor Economics: A radical rethinking of the way to fight global poverty*. PublicAffairs.
11. Bank, L.J. (2001) 'Duncan's inferno: Fire disaster, social dislocation and settlement patterns in a South African township', in de Wet,C. and Fox,R. (eds). *Transforming Settlement in Southern Africa*. London: Edinburgh University Press, pp.147-62.
12. Bank, L.J. (2011) *Home Spaces, Street Styles: Contesting Power and Identity in a South African City*. Pluto Press, New York and Wits University Press, South Africa.
13. Bank, L,J. and Bank, A. (2012) *Inside African Anthropology: Monica Wilson and her Interpreters*. Cambridge University Press. UK.
14. Barac, M. (2006) *From Township to Town: Urban Change in Victoria Mxenge TT Informal Settlement, Cape Town, South Africa*. Unpublished PhD dissertation, Cambridge University.
15. Barac, M. (2011) 'Place resists: ground African urban order in an age of global change', *Social Dynamics*, 37(1), pp.24-42.
16. Barac, M. and Southwood, D. (2007) 'Transit Spaces: Picturing Urban Change', in Hall, M., Murray, N., and Shepherd, N. (eds) *Desire Lines*: *Space Memory and Identity in the Post-Apartheid City*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp.235-244.
17. Barac, M. (2015) 'Changing Places: Navigating Urbanity in the Global South', in Steiner, H. (eds) *Phenomenologies of the City: Studies in the History and Philosophy of Architecture*. Ashgate. Publishing Limited. England and USA.
18. Barac, M. (2017) 'Technologies of Belonging', in European Union Delegation to Sri Lanka & the Maldives and the United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat) (eds) *Building Owning & Belonging: From Assisting Owner Driven Housing Reconstruction to Coproduction in Sri Lanka, India and beyond*. European Union Publications Office.
19. Benjamin, W. (ed.)(1999) *Illuminations: Essays and Reflection*. London.
20. Berrisford, S. (2013) Urban LandMark Conference: 'Moving from knowledge to change', Johannesburg.
21. Bhabha, H. (1994) *The Location of Culture*. Routledge. Oxon and New York.
22. Bourdieu, P. (ed.)(1991) *Language and Symbolic Power*. Harvard University Press. Cambridge, Massachusetts.

23. Bremner, L. (2008) 'Recovering from Apartheid', Burdett, R. and Sudjic, D. (eds) *The Endless City*. Phaidon.
24. Bremner, L. (2010) *Writing the City into Being*. Fourthwall Books.
25. Bryman, A. (2012) *Social Research Methods*. Oxford University Press. New York.
26. Buffalo City Metro (2008) http://www.buffalocity.gov.za/news2008/mar/mar31_memorial.stm. (Accessed: 2008).
27. BuaNews (2008) www.buanews.gov.za (Accessed July 2008).
28. Buffalo City Municipality (2010) Duncan Village Local Spatial Development Framework.
29. Buffalo City Metro (2008) http://www.buffalocity.gov.za/news2008/mar/mar31_memorial.stm Duncan Village Massacre Memorial. (Accessed: 31 March 2008).
30. Burdett, R., and Sudjic, D. (ed.)(2007) *The Endless City*. The Urban Age Project by the London School of Economics and Deutsche Bank's Alfred Herrhausen Society. Phaidon.
31. Cain, A. (2013) Urban LandMark Conference: 'Moving from knowledge to change', Johannesburg.
32. Campkin, B. and Duijzings, G. (2016) *Engaged Urbanism: Cities and Methodologies*. I.B. Taurus. London and New York.
33. Candy, L. (2006) 'Practice Based Research: A Guide', *Creativity and Cognition Studios Report*, 1, November. University of Technology Sydney.
34. Carl, P. (2000) 'City-image versus topography of praxis', *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 10 (2), pp.328-35.
35. Carl, P. (2007) 'Cities', in Thomas, R. and Garnham, T. (eds) *The Environments of Architecture: Environmental Design in Context*. Taylor and Francis. UK, USA and Canada. pp.159-194.
36. Carl, P. (2013) Lecture no.8 in series. Nature and City. London Metropolitan University.
37. *Cape Times* (2013) 'Corrupt Leaders Will Employ Wrong People'. 15 April.
38. Carey, S. (2009) 'South Africa: How NGO advocacy led to changes in People's Housing Process'. Planact and Rooftops Canada.
39. Casey, E. (1998) *The Fate of Place: A Philosophical History*. University of California Press. California and London.
40. Choguill, C.L. (2008) 'Developing sustainable neighbourhoods', *Habitat International*, 32, pp.41-48. Elsevier Science Ltd. Great Britain.
41. Christopher, A.J. (1987) 'Apartheid Planning in South Africa: The Case of Port Elizabeth', *The Geographical Journal*, 153(2), pp.195-204. Blackwell Publishing
42. Cirolia, L., and Thompson, K.J. (2013) 'Incremental Housing: Research Paper'. Western Cape Department of Human Settlements in collaboration with CityLab: Sustainable Human Settlements at The African Centre for Cities. https://www.westerncape.gov.za/sites/www.westerncape.gov.za/files/hs-incremental-housing-research-paper-march2013.pdf.
43. Cirolia, L., Görgens, T., van Donk, M., Smit, W., and Drimie, S. (2015) *Upgrading Informal Settlements in South Africa: A partnership-based approach.* Cape Town: UCT Press.
44. Collier, P. (2007) *The Bottom Billion: Why the Poorest Countries Are Failing and What Can Be Done About It*. Oxford University Press. New York.
45. Cook, G.P. (1986) 'Khayelitsha: Policy Change or Crisis Response?'. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, New Series, 11(1), pp.57-66. JSTOR. Blackwell Publishing on behalf of the Royal Geographical Society (with the Institute of British Geographers).
46. Crang, I. and Cook, I. (2007) *Doing Ethnographies.* Sage Publications Ltd. London
47. *Daily Dispatch* (1938) 'Sir P. Duncan and Dictatorships: Lessons Democracy Can Learn', 4 September.
48. *Daily Dispatch* (1941) 'New £750,000 Location Inaugurated – East London Scheme Opened By Governor-General – Large Township Named Duncan Village'. 25 August.
49. *Daily Dispatch* (2011) 'Unhappy DV Residents in Fiery Road Protest'. 18 March.

50. *Daily Dispatch* (2012) 'Vandals Trash Empty Duncan Village Houses'. 17 July.
51. *Daily Dispatch* (2013) 'BCM in a Hurry to Spend R499m'. 6 March.
52. *Daily Dispatch* (2013) 'Duncan Village Flames of Fury'. 30 April.
53. Datta, K. and Jones, G. (ed.)(1999) Preface in *Housing and Finance in Developing Countries*. London.
54. Davis, M. (2006) *Planet of Slums*. New York and London: Verso.
55. Davy, B. and Pellisary, S. (2013) 'A citizenship promise (un)fulfilled: The right to housing in informal settlement'*, International Journal of Social Welfare,* 22, pp.68-84.
56. Del Mistro, R. and Hensher, D.A. (2009) 'Upgrading Informal Settlements in South Africa: Policy, Rhetoric and What Residents Really Value', *Housing Studies*, 24(3), pp333-354. Routledge.
57. de Soto, H. (2000) *The Mystery of Capital: Why Capitalism Triumphs in the West and Fails Everywhere Else.* Basic Books. New York.
58. Development Action Group, (2007) Development Action Group's Informal Settlement upgrading programme.
59. Development Action Group, (2008) *Sustainable medium-density housing: A Resource Book*, Development Action Group's Informal Settlement upgrading programme.
60. Dlamini, Z.K. (no date) http://geomatics.ukzn.ac.za/Uploads/6afe63b0-3526-4a2b-9888-362ae660c529/Dlamini%20ZK%20205506430.pdf (Accessed 27 August 2010).
61. Duncan, P. (1906) 'Closer Union'. The Jagger Library at The University of Cape Town: BC294:B12.
62. Duncan, P. (1927) 'The Greek Influence'. The Jagger Library at The University of Cape Town: BC294, B9.8.1.
63. Duncan, P. (1927) 'The Glory that was Greece'. The Jagger Library at The University of Cape Town: BC294, B9.8.2.
64. Duncan, P. (1936) A letter to Alfred Hoernle. The Jagger Library at The University of Cape Town: BC294
65. Duncan, P. (1936) A letter to Hardy Philip. The Jagger Library at The University of Cape Town: BC294: A5.8.7.
66. Duncan Village Public Spaces Upgrade http://www.bth.se/fou/cuppsats.nsf/all/f82aae33884bef62c1257075005d6b82/$file/PublicSpaceII.pdf (Accessed 07 February 2011).
67. Dunleavy, P. (2003) *Authoring a PhD: How to plan, draft, write and finish a doctoral thesis or dissertation*. Palgrave Macmillan. Basingstoke, UK.
68. *East London Dispatch* (1936) 'Reaction To Conquest', 31 August.
69. Edwards, M. (2000) 'NGO Rights and Responsibilities: A New Deal for Global Governance', Foreign Policy Centre. London.
70. Fanon, F. (1963) *The Wretched of the Earth*. Penguin Group. London.
71. Gadamer, H.G. (1975) *Truth and Method*. Second edition. Translated by J. Weinsheimer and D.G. Marshall. London: Sheed and Ward.
72. Gilbert, A. (2007) 'The Return of the Slum: Does Language Matter?' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 31(4) pp.697-713.
73. Gilbert, A. and Gugler, J. (1982) *Cities, Poverty and Development: Urbanisation in the Third World*, Oxford University Press.
74. Gilbert, A. (2004) 'Helping the poor through housing subsidies: lessons from Chile, Colombia and South Africa', *Habitat International*, 28, pp.13-40. Pergamon. Elsevier Science Ltd. Great Britain.
75. Glaeser, E. (2011) *Triumph of the City: How Our Greatest Invention Makes Us Richer, Smarter, Greener, Healthier, and Happier*. Macmillan. Unighted Kingdom.
76. Gordon, T.J. (1980) 'Mdantsane: The evolution of a dependency', in Cook, G and Opland, J. (eds.). *Mdantsane: Transitional City*.

77. Habib, A. (2005) 'State-Civil Society Relations in Post-Apartheid South Africa', *Social Research,* 72, pp.671-692.
78. Hajer, M.A. (1993) 'Discourse Coalitions and the Institutionalisation of Practice', in Fischer, F. and Forester, J. (eds) *The Argumentative Turn in Policy Analysis and Planning.* Duke University Press. London. pp.43-67.
79. Hall, S. (2010) 'Picturing difference: Juxtaposition, collage and layering of a multiethnic street', *Anthropology Matters*, 12(1), pp.1-17.
80. Hall, S. (2010) *City, Street and Citizen*. The measure of the ordinary. Routledge, England, New York.
81. Harvey, D. (2012) *Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution*. Verso. London and New York.
82. Hamdi, N. (2004) *Small Change: About the art of practice and the limits of planning in cities*. Earthscan. London and Sterling, VA.
83. Hamdi, N. (2010) *The Placemakers Guide to building community*. Earthscan. London and Washington DC.
84. Hamdi, N. and Goethert, R. (1996) *Action Planning for Cities: A Guide to Community Practice*. Chichester, New York: Wiley.
85. Hardoy, E.J. and Satterthwaite, D. (2013) *Squatter Citizen: Life in the Urban Third World*.
86. Heidegger, M. (1967) *Being and Time*, trans. J. McQuarrie and E. Robinson. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
87. Hernandez, F. (2010) *Thinkers for Architects: Bhabha for Architects*. Routledge. London and New York
88. Hesse, H. (1973) *Siddharta*. Penguin Group. London. South Africa.
89. Hirschowitz, R. (2000) 'Measuring Poverty in South Africa'. Statistics South Africa.
90. Holston, J. (2009) 'Insurgent citizenship in an era of global urban peripheries', *City and Society*, 21(2). Blackwell Publishing Inc. pp.245-267.
91. Housing Development Agency (2012) 'What is the National Upgrading Settlements Programme?' http://www.thehda.co.za/uploads/images/NUSP_newsletter_No_1.pdf (Accessed: 2012).
92. Housing Development Agency (2013) Informal Settlements in the Eastern Cape, Research Report. Part 4, pp14.
93. Housing Development Agency (2013) Informal Settlements in the Eastern Cape, Research Report. Part 8, pp37.
94. Huchzermeyer, M. (2001) 'Housing for the poor? Negotiated housing policy in South Africa', *Habitat International*, 25, pp.303-331.
95. Huchzermeyer, M. (2003) 'Policy Aspects for Informal Settlements in South Africa', Paper presented at the South African National Housing Summit, 19-20 November 2003.
96. Huchzermeyer, M. (2003) 'South African Housing Literature up to 1999', Postgraduate Housing Programme, Witwatersrand University. Prepared as briefing document to delegates at 2003 Housing Summit.
97. Huchzermeyer, M. (2003) 'The Legacy of Control? The Capital Subsidy for Housing and Informal Settlement in South Africa', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Planners*, 27, pp.594-606.
98. Huchzermeyer, M. (2004) 'Unlawful Occupation: Informal Settlements and Urban Policy in South Africa and Brazil'. Africa World Press. Trenton, NJ.
99. Huchzermeyer, M. (2006) 'The New Instrument for Upgrading Informal Settlements in South Africa: Contributions and constraints', in Huchzermeyer, M. and Karam, A. (eds), *Informal settlements: a perpetual challenge?* pp.41-61. Cape Town: UCT Press.
100. Huchzermeyer, M. (2006) 'Challenges Facing People-Driven Development in the Context of a Strong Delivery-Oriented State: Joe Slovo Village, Port Elizabeth', *Urban Forum*, 17, pp.25-33.

101. Huchzermeyer, M. (2009) 'The Struggle for Insitu Upgrading of Informal Settlements: Case Studies from Gauteng', Development Southern Africa, 26(1), pp.59-74.
102. Huchzermeyer, M. (2010) 'Pounding at the Tip of the Iceberg: The Dominant Politics of Informal Settlement Eradication in South Africa', *Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies,* 37(1), pp.129-148.
103. Huchzermeyer, M. (2011) *Cities with Slums: From informal settlement eradication to a right to the city in Africa*. UCT Press, an imprint of Juta and Company Ltd.
104. Hunter, (Wilson) M.H. (1936) *Reaction to Conquest*. Oxford University Press for the International African Institute. London.
105. Isandla Institute (2014) 'Towards Inclusive Cities: Community-Based Planning for Informal Settlement Upgrading', Research Paper.
106. Jennings, B. (2014) 'Just Cities', *Minding Nature*, 7, pp.4-10. Center for Humans and Nature.
107. Jeske (Thompson), K.J. (2008) 'The Contribution of NGOs Towards Poverty Housing Relief and Achieving UN MDG's: A Focus on South Africa', Unpublished M.St Dissertation. Prof. Peter Guthrie (OBE). University of Cambridge.
108. *Johannesburg Sunday Times* (1936) 'Gen. Smuts, Champion Writer of Prefaces', 27 December.
109. Johnson, R.W. (2015) *How Long Will South Africa Survive: The Looming Crisis*. Jonathan Ball Publishers. South Africa.
110. Jones, G. and Datta, K. (2000) 'Enabling Markets to Work? Housing Policy in the 'New' South Africa', *International Planning Studies*, 5, pp.393-416.
111. Kay, D. (2004) 'South Africa City Planning: A Study in post-1994 national planning legislation and the local planning context within the Buffalo City Municipality', Geography Department, Buffalo City Municipality.
112. Kay, D. (2004) Duncan Village PowerPoint Presentation. http://meridian.aag.org/sustainable/gallery/presentations/kay.pdf (Accessed 2011).
113. Kay, D. (2004) 'Shack Settlement Planning and Public Participation, Duncan Village, South Africa', Geography Department, Fort Hare University.
114. Kay, D. (2005) 'Shack Settlement Planning, Duncan Village, South Africa, Transforming an Informal Settlement into a viable community', Fort Hare University.
115. Kay, D. (2006) 'Development Planning and Public Participation in Slum Settlements: Improving participatory planning in Duncan Village, South Africa', Undergraduate Paper supervised by Richard Jackson, Geography Department, Brigham Young University, Utah.
116. Keivani, R. and Wena, E. (2001) 'Refocussing the housing debate in developing countries from a pluralist perspective', *Habitat International*, 25, pp.191-208.
117. Khan, F. (2004) 'A commentary on the N2 Informal Settlement Upgrade Lead-Pilot Project', Isandla Institute.
118. Kihato, C. (2008) 'Recovering from Apartheid', in Burdett, R. and Sudjic, D. (eds) *The Endless City*. Phaidon.
119. Knight, R. (2001) 'Housing in South Africa' http://richardknight.homestead.com/files/sisahousing.htm (Accessed 2008).
120. LANDfirst http://www.landfirst.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&layout=blog&id=17&Itemid=61 (Accessed 2012).
121. Lefebvre, H. (1991) *The Production of Space*. Basil Blackwell Ltd.
122. Lefebvre, H. (1996) *Writings on Cities*. Blackwell Publishers Ltd.
123. Lemanski, C. (2009) 'Augmented Informality: South Africa's Backyard Dwellings as a by-product of Formal Housing Policies', *Habitat International*, 33(4), pp.472-484.
124. Lemanski, C. (2011) 'Moving up the Ladder or Stuck at the Bottom? Homeownership as a Solution to Poverty in South Africa', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research,* (35), pp.57-77.

125. Lemanski, C. and Marx, C. (2015) 'The City in Urban Poverty', EADI Global Development. Palgrave Macmillan.
126. Lesser, E. (2000) *Knowledge and Social Capital*. Butterworth–Heinemann. Massachusetts.
127. *Listener*, 25 November 1936.
128. Lizarralde, G. (2011) 'Stakeholder participation and incremental housing in subsidized housing projects in Columbia and South Africa', *Habitat International*, 35(2), pp.175-187.
129. Lodge, T. (2003) *Bus Stop for Everyone: Politics in South Africa (From Mandela to Mbeki)*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
130. Manuel, T. (2011) 'Planning issues facing South Africa', http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mXhPtMoaGa0&mid=5241. (Accessed: 9 November 2011).
131. Marx, C. (2003) 'Supporting Informal Settlements', in Khan, F. and Thring, P. (eds) *Housing Policy and Practice in Post-Apartheid South Africa.* Heinemann Educational Books: Sandown.
132. Matsumoto, M., Frank, M.G., and Hwang, H.S. (2014) *Nonverbal Communication: Science and Applications*. SAGE Publications. Unites States of America.
133. MDG Africa Steering Group (2008) 'Achieving the Millennium Development Goals in Africa'. United Nations Department of Public Information.
134. Merleau-Ponty, M. (1945) (1962). Phenomenology of Perception. Routledge and Kegan Paul.
135. Misselhorn, M. (2008) 'Position Paper on Informal Settlements Upgrading' Part of a strategy for the second economy for the offices of the South African Presidency. Compiled for Urban LandMark.
136. MIT Urban Planning information website (2012) http://web.mit.edu/urbanupgrading/ (Accessed: 2012).
137. Mitchell, M. and Bevan, A. (1992) *Culture, Cash and Housing: Community Tradition in Low-Income Building*. Practical Action.
138. Mitchell, M. (ed.)(2010) *Learning from Delhi: Dispersed Initiatives in Changing Urban Landscape*. Ashgate Publishing Ltd.
139. Mitchell, M. and Tang, B. (2018) *Loose Fit City: The Contribution of Bottom-Up Development to Urban Design*. Routledge. NYC and Oxon.
140. Morris, D. (2004) *The Sense of Space*. State University of New York Press, Albany.
141. Myers, G. (2011) *African Cities: Alternative Visions of Urban Theory and Practice*. Zed Books.
142. Ncgaba, C.M. (2014) *May I Have This Dance?* Published by Face2Face.
143. *Natal Witness* 1937) 'The Social Life of the Native', 28 January.
144. *Nairobi Standard* (1936) 'To Avoid Social Chaos', 21 October.
145. Napier, M. (2003) 'Supporting the Peoples Housing Process', in *Housing Policy and Practice in Post-Apartheid South Africa*. Heinemann Publishers (Pty) Ltd. pp.321-362.
146. Napier, M. (2005) 'A macro-perspective on the first decade of South African housing delivery and its contribution towards the formation of sustainable settlements and communities'. DBSA Knowledge Week. Development Bank of SA Halfway House, Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR).
147. National House Builders Regulation Committee (NHBRC). http://www.nhbrc.org.za/AboutNHBRC/aboutnhbrc.htm. (Accessed 15 December 2007).
148. Nel, E.L. (1991) 'Racial segregation in East London, 1836-1948', *South African Geographical Journal*, 73, pp.60-68.
149. Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality (2009) 'Draft Integrated Zoning Scheme', Urban Dynamics for NMBM Department of Housing and Land.
150. Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality (2006) 'Interim Business Plan for Zanemvula', Informal Settlement Upgrading & Human Settlement Project. NMBM Department of Housing and Land.
151. Neuwirth, R. (2005) *Shadow cities*. New York and London: Routledge
152. Nijman, J. (2007) 'Introduction – Comparative Urbanism', *Urban Geography*, 28(1), pp.1-6.
153. Nietzsche, F. (1883) *Also sprach Zarathustra: Ein Buch für Alle und Keinen*. Verlagsgruppe Random House. Munchen.

154. Nuttal, S. and Mbembe, A. (2004) 'Writing the world from an African Metropolis', *Public Culture* 16(3), Duke University Press, pp.347–372.
155. Nuttal, S. and Mbembe, A. (2008) *Johannesburg - The Elusive Metropolis*. Duke University Press.
156. Oelofse, C. and Dodson, B. (1997) 'Community, Place and Transformation: a Perceptual Analysis of Residents' Responses to an Informal Settlement in Hout Bay, South Africa', *Geoforum*, 28(1), pp.91-101.
157. Ovens, W. (2013) Urban LandMark Conference: "Moving from knowledge to change". Johannesburg.
158. Park, R.E. (ed.)(1967) On Social Control and Collective Behaviours. University of Chicago Press. Chicago, Ill.
159. Parnel, S. and Mabin, A. (1995) 'Rethinking Urban South Africa', *Journal of South African Studies*, 21(1) Special Issue: Urban Studies and Urban Change in Southern Africa, pp.39-61.
160. Parnel, S. (1992) 'State Intervention in Housing Provision in the 1980's' in Smith, D.M. (eds) *The Apartheid City and Beyond: Urbanisation and Social Change in South Africa*. Routledge, London and New York: Witwatersrand University Press, pp.53-64.
161. Pieterse, E. (2008) *City Futures: Confronting the crisis of urban management*. UCT Press (RSA). Zed Books Ltd.
162. Phillips, E.M. and Pugh, D.S. (2005) *How to get a PhD*. Open University Press.
163. Pikholz, L. (1997) 'Managing Politics and Storytelling: Meeting the Challenge of Upgrading Informal Housing in South Africa', *Habitat International*, 21(4), pp.337-396.
164. Pottie, D. (2004) 'Local Government and Housing in South Africa: Managing Demand and Enabling Markets', *Development in Practice,* 14(5), pp.606-618.
165. Pugh, C. (2000) 'Squatter settlements – Their sustainability, architectural contributions, and socio-economic role', *Cities*, 17(5), pp.325-337.
166. Rahe, P.A. (1994) *Republics Ancient and Modern: The Ancien Régime in Classical Greece*, University of North Carolina Press.
167. Raban, J. (1998) *Soft City*. The Harvill Press. London.
168. Reader, D.H. (1961) *The Black Man's Portion: History, Demography and Living Conditions in the Native Locations of East London*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
169. Republic of South Africa (1955) The Freedom Charter.
170. Republic of South Africa (1973) Companies Act 61 of 1973 (incl. Section 21).
171. Republic of South Africa (1994) Department of Housing. Parliamentary White Paper on Reconstruction and Development.
172. Republic of South Africa (1994) Department of Housing. A new housing policy and strategy for South Africa.
173. Republic of South Africa (1996) Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Pretoria: Government of South Africa.
174. Republic of South Africa (1997) Department of Housing. The National Housing Code – The user-friendly guide. http://www.housing.gov.za/. (Accessed: 2011).
175. Republic of South Africa (1997) Department of Housing. The Urban Development Framework.
176. Republic of South Africa (1997) The Housing Act, 1997 (Act No. 107 of 1997).
177. Republic of South Africa (1997) The Non-Profit Organisations Act 71 of 1997.
178. Republic of South Africa (1999) Development and planning commission. Draft Green Paper on Development and Planning.
179. Republic of South Africa (2003) HIV/AIDS: Framework Document. Prepared by the Directorate: Human Settlements Policy and Integration. National Department of Housing.
180. Republic of South Africa (2003) Department of Housing. A Social Housing Policy for South Africa: Towards an enabling environment for social housing development http://www.housing.gov.za/content/legislation_policies/Social%20Housing%20Policy.pdf. (Accessed: 2008).

181. Republic of South Africa (2004) Department of Housing. 'Breaking new ground': A comprehensive plan for the development of sustainable human settlements.
182. Republic of South Africa (2004) Department of Housing. 'United Nations: South Africa's review report for the sixteenth session of the United Nations commission on sustainable development, CSD – 12'.
183. Republic of South Africa (2005) Department of Housing. National Housing Programme: Upgrading of informal settlements, National Housing Code.
184. Republic of South Africa (2006) Department of Social Development. Annual Report for the Year ended 31 March 2006.
185. Republic of South Africa (2007) Government Gazette, Notice 396 of 2007. Department of Housing. National Home Builders Registration Council Grading System.
186. Republic of South Africa (2007) Department of Housing. Annual Report 2005 / 2006. http://www.housing.gov.za/Content/Documents/Annual%20Report%202005-2006/Annual_2005-2006_low%20res_p14-91pdf.pdf. (Accessed: 2007).
187. Republic of South Africa (2007) Department of Housing. Social Housing Bill 2007.
188. Republic of South Africa (2007) National Housing Department. Strategic Statement www.housing.gov.za (Accessed: 02 November 2007).
189. Republic of South Africa (2007) Statement issued by Department of Housing. 'Shoddy home building is being stamped out'. www.housing.gov.za. (Accessed: 2007).
190. Republic of South Africa (2007) Department of Housing. United Nations: South Africa's review report for the sixteenth session of the United Nations commission on sustainable development, CSD – 16.
191. Republic of South Africa (2008) Department of Housing. Annual Report 2006 / 2007. http://www.housing.gov.za/Content/Documents/Annual%20Report%20-%202007/Small/01.pdf. (Accessed: 2008).
192. Republic of South Africa (2008) 2006/2007 South Africa Yearbook: Chapter 14 – Housing http://www.gcis.gov.za/docs/publications/yearbook/2007/chapter14.pdf. (Accessed: 2008).
193. Republic of South Africa (2008) Department for Social Development www.npo.gov.za/frmSNOrg.aspx. (Accessed: August 2008).
194. Republic of South Africa – Online Housing Subsidy System. http://hssonline.ofs.gov.za/hssonline/DesktopDefault.aspx (Accessed: 2008).
195. Republic of South Africa (2009) National Housing Code. Department of Human Settlements.
196. Republic of South Africa (2012) For Outcome 8 delivery agreements: Sustainable Human Settlements and Improved Quality of Household Life. http://www.info.gov.za/view/DownloadFileAction?id=135746. (Accessed: 2012).
197. Republic of South Africa. http://www.info.gov.za/speech/DynamicAction?pageid=461&sid=29051&tid=76225. (Accessed 2013).
198. Republic of South Africa (2014) Department of Human Settlements. 'Celebrating 20 years of Human Settlements – Bringing the Freedom Charter to Life'.
199. Republic of South Africa (2014) Twenty-Year Review. National Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation Department.
200. Republic of South Africa (2017) Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs. 'Integrated Urban Development Framework: A new deal for South African Cities and Towns'.
201. Republic of South Africa (no date) NGO Handbook. South Africa NGO Sector.
202. Republic of South Africa (2014) 'Habitat III: National Report by the Republic of South Africa for the Third United Nations Conference on Housing Sustainable Urban Development'.
203. Republic of South Africa. Department of Human Settlements. www.dhs.gov.za. (Accessed: 2010-2017).
204. Republic of South Africa. Eastern Cape Province website.

http://www.ecparks.co.za/about-ecprovince/index.html. (Accessed: 2012).
205. Republic of South Africa. Green Paper: National Strategic Planning http://www.info.gov.za/view/DownloadFileAction?id=106567. (Accessed: 2007).
206. Republic of South Africa. South African Government Information, Bill of Rights Chapter two. http://www.info.gov.za/documents/constitution/1996/96cons2.htm#26. (Accessed: 2012).
207. Republic of South Africa (2007) Department of Human Settlements. 'Norms and Standards, Draft no. 4: Revised Technical Norms and Standards for the Construction of Standalone Residential Dwellings Financed Through the National Housing Programmes".
208. Republic of South Africa (2014) National Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation. 'Twenty-Year Review 1994 – 2014'.
209. Republic of South Africa (2015) Department of Human Settlements. 'Budget Speech 2014/2015'.
210. The Future of Freedom Foundation (no date) 'Review on Hernando de Soto's Book'. http://www.fff.org/freedom/0201f.asp (Accessed: 2012).
211. Rich, P.B. (1993) *Hope and Despair: English-Speaking Intellectuals and South African Politics 1896 – 1976.* British Academy Press. London.
212. Robinson, J. (2006) *Ordinary cities: between modernity and development.* Routledge, London.
213. Robinson, J. (2016) Comparative Urbanism and Global Urban Theory in Engaged Urbanism: Cities and Methodologies. I.B. Tauris. London. New York.
214. Ross, F.C. (2004) 'Sense-scapes: senses and emotion in the making of place', *Anthropology Southern Africa*, 27, pp.34-42.
215. Ross, F. C. (2010) *Raw Life, New Hope: Decency, housing and everyday life in a post-apartheid community*. UCT Press.
216. Royston, L. (2006) 'Barking dogs and building bridges: A contribution to making sense of Hernando de Soto's ideas in the South African context', in Huchzermeyer, M and Karam, A. (eds) *Informal Settlements: A Perpetual Challenge?* pp.165-179.
217. Royston, L. (2013) Urban LandMark Conference: 'Moving from knowledge to change', Johannesburg.
218. Rubin, M. (2011) 'Perceived Corruption in the South African Housing Allocation and Delivery Programme: What It May Mean for Accessing the State'*, Journal of Asian and African Studies* 46(5), pp.479-490.
219. Rust, K. (2006) 'Are Hernando de Soto's views appropriate to alleviating poverty in South Africa?' Presentation to the Colloquium, Johannesburg.
220. Rust, K. (2013) Urban LandMark Conference: 'Moving from knowledge to change', Johannesburg.
221. Sachs, W. (ed.)(1992) *The Development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge as Power*. Witwatersrand University Press: Johannesburg. Zed Books Ltd: New York and London.
222. Saff, G. (1996) 'Claiming a Space in a Changing South Africa: The "Squatters" of Marconi Beam, Cape Town', *Annuals of the Association of American Geographers*, 86(2), pp.235-255.
223. Salamon, L.M., Wojciech Sokolowski, S., and Anheier H.K. (2000) 'Social Origins of Civil Society: An Overview', *Working Papers of the Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project*, 38, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Center for Civil Society Studies.
224. Sam, C. and Wiseman, A. (2006) SCUPAD presentation on DVRI. www.scupad.org. (Accessed: 2010).
225. Sassen, S. (2008) 'Seeing like a City', in Burdett, R and Sudjic, D. (eds) *The Endless City* Phaidon. pp.276-289.
226. Satterthwaite, D. (2003) 'The Millennium Development Goals and urban poverty reduction: great expectations and nonsense statistics', *Environment & Urbanisation,* 15(2), pp.179-189.
227. Saunders, D. (2010) *Arrival City: How the largest migration in history is reshaping our world*, William Heinemann, London.
228. Sen, A. (1995) *Inequality Reexamined*. Harvard University Press. USA.

229. Sen, A. (1999) *Development as Freedom*. Oxford University Press. Oxford. UK.
230. Sen, A. (2007) *Identity and Violence: The Illusion of Destiny*, Penguin Random House.
231. Schreiner, D.W. (1936) A letter to Sir Patrick Duncan. The Jagger Library at The University of Cape Town: BC294: A5.8.6.
232. Simone, A. (2004) *For the City Yet to Come: Changing African Life in Four Cities*. Duke University Press, USA.
233. Sisulu, L.N. (2005) Speech at the 'Black Management Forum', 2005 annual conference, Johannesburg.
234. Sisulu, L.N. (2006) Govan Mbeki housing awards. http://www.housing.gov.za/content/Media%20Desk/Speeches/2006/27%20October%202006.htm. (Accessed: October 2008).
235. Slum Dwellers International South Africa (SASDI) http://sasdialliance.org.za (Accessed: 2010).
236. South African Native Affairs Commission (1903) 'Extracts from Report'. The Jagger Library at The University of Cape Town: BC294:A5.8.16.
237. Smuts, J.C. (1933) A letter to Sir Patrick Duncan. The Jagger Library at The University of Cape Town: BC294: A5.15.3.
238. Smuts, J.C. (1936) A letter to Sir Patrick Duncan. The Jagger Library at The University of Cape Town: BC294: A5.8.11.
239. South African Government Information Website. http://www.info.gov.za/documents/subjectdocs/subject/housing.htm (Accessed: 2011).
240. South Africa Information Website http://www.southafrica.info/ess_info/sa_glance/facts.htm (Accessed: 2008).
241. Smit, D. (1992) 'The Urban Foundation: Transformation Possibilities', *Transformation Journal*, 18, pp.35-42.
242. Smit, D. and Purchase, J. (2006) 'A Review of the International Experience with Inclusionary Housing Programmes: Implications for South Africa', Department of Housing, http://www.housing.gov.za/Content/Documents/Inclusionary%20Housing%20in%20SA.pdf (Accessed: 2010).
243. Smit, W. (2000) 'The Impact of the Transition from Informal Housing to Formalised Housing in Low-Income Housing Projects in South Africa. Development Action Group (DAG), at the Nordic Africa Institute Conference on the Forma and Informal City, 'What Happens at the interface?' June 2000, Copenhagen.
244. Smit, W. (2000) 'Capacity and Constraints Analysis of the NGO and Community Sectors in the Western Cape with Regard to Housing Delivery', Report prepared on behalf of the Western Cape Housing Consortium for the Western Cape Provincial Department of Local Government and Housing, Cape Town.
245. Smit, W. (2005) '10 Things to Remember About Informal Settlement Upgrading', Presentation at the 'Friends of DAG' seminar on the N2 Gateway Project, Cape Town.
246. Smit, D. and Abrahams, G. (2010) 'Incrementally Securing Tenure: An Approach for Informal Settlement Upgrading in South Africa', Urban LandMark.
247. Soyini Madison, D. (2012) *Critical Ethnography: Method, Ethics and Performance*. SAGE. London.
248. Statistics South Africa (2007) 'Community Survey 2007', Statistical Release P0301.
249. Statistics South Africa. Map of Eastern Cape Economic Standing. http://www.statssa.gov.za/census01/html/C2001Deprivation.asp (Accessed: March 2012).
250. Statistics South Africa. Measuring Poverty in South Africa. http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/statsdownload.asp?PPN=PovertyReport&SCH=2349 (Accessed: March 2012).
251. Steiner, H. and Sternberg, M. (ed.)(2015) *Phenomenologies of the City: Studies in the History and Philosophy of Architecture*. Ashgate Publishing Limited. England and USA.

252. Stiglitz, J.E. (2015) *The Great Divide: Unequal Societies and What We Can Do About Them*. Penguin. UK.
253. Stokes, C.J. (1962) 'A Theory of Slums', *Land Economies*, 38(3), pp.187-197.
254. Swilling, M. and Russell, B. (2002) *The Size and Scope of the Non-Profit Sector in South Africa.* Centre for Civil Society, University of Natal.
255. Thompson, K.J. (2016) 'Visualising Process and The Actors of Change: Settlement Upgrading in Duncan Village, Eastern Cape', in Cirolia, L., Görgens, T., van Donk, M., Smit, W., & Drimie, S eds) *Upgrading Informal Settlements in South Africa: A partnership-based approach.* UCT Press. Cape Town.
256. Thompson, K.J. (2014) Western Cape Department of Human Settlements in collaboration with Sustainable Human Settlements CityLab at The African Centre for Cities, Cape Town. *Incremental Housing: Research Paper.* Assisting with the writing of this research paper while a visiting researcher at The ACC. https://www.westerncape.gov.za/sites/www.westerncape.gov.za/files/hs-incremental-housing-research-paper-march2013.pdf
257. *The Herald* (2006) 'Walmer Housing Project Scoops Up National Award', 27 November.
258. *Times Literary Supplement* (1936) 'Reaction to Conquest' by Wilson, M.
259. Tissington, K. (2013) A Resource Guide to Housing in South Africa 1994 – 2010. Socio-Economic Rights Institute (SERI). South Africa.
260. Tissington, K., Munshi, N., Mirugi-Mukundi, G., and Durojaye E. (2013) 'Jumping the Queue, Waiting Lists and other Myths: Perceptions and Practice around Housing Demand and Allocation in South Africa', Report by Socio-Economic Rights Institute of SA (SERI) and Community Law Centre (CLC). https://www.fhr.org.za/files/2013/8564/7278/CLC_and_SERI_report_-28Jun12_FINAL.pdf (Accessed: 2014).
261. Tonkin, A. (2006) 'Densification in Housing: Debating the Issues', Conference Presentation by DAG at Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, Port Elizabeth.
262. Tonkin, A. (2008) 'Sustainable Medium-Density Housing: A Resource Book', Development Action Group.
263. Tonkiss, F. (2005) *Space, the City and Social Theory: Social Relations and Urban Forms*, Polity Press. UK & USA.
264. Tonkiss, F. (2013) *Cities by Design*: *The Social Life of Urban Form.* Polity Press. UK & USA.
265. Tschumi, B. (2014) *Notations: Diagrams and Sequence*. Artifice Books on Architecture and Bernard Tschumi. London.
266. Tuan, Y-F. (1977) *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*, University of Minnesota Press. USA.
267. Turner, F.C. and Fichter, R. (1972) *Freedom to Build: Dweller Control of the Housing Process*. Macmillan.
268. Turner, F. C. (1976) *Housing by people: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*. Marion Boyars.
269. Turok, I. and Parnell, S. (2009) 'Reschaping Cities, Rebuilding Nations: The Role of National Urban Policies', *Urban Form*, 20, pp.157-174.
270. United Nations (2005) 'South Africa Country Profile: Millennium Development Goals'.
271. United Nations (2008) 'Human Settlement Country Profile: South Africa'. http://www.un.org/esa/agenda21/natlinfo/countr/safrica/human_settlements.pdf (Accessed: 2008).
272. United Nations (2008) Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Division for Sustainable Development. 'Partnerships for Sustainable Development – CSD Partnerships Database'. http://webapps01.un.org/dsd/partnerships/public/statisticsResults.do (Accessed May 2008).
273. United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN–Habitat) (2007) Information Website. http://www.unhabitat.org/categories.asp?catid=10 (Accessed : October 2007).

274. United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat) (2003) 'The Challenge of Slums', Global Report on Human Settlements. Earthscan, UK and USA.
275. United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat) (2005) 'Financing Urban Shelter', Global Report on Human Settlements. Earthscan, UK and USA.
276. United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat) (2008) 'State of the World's Cities 2010/2011: Bridging the Urban Divide'. Earthscan, UK and USA.
277. United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat) (2011) 'Losing Your Home – Assessing the Impact of Eviction', United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commission.
278. United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat) (2015) 'Sustainable Development Goals', http://www.unhabitat.org/bestpractices/2008/mainview.asp?BPID=1867 (Accessed: 2016).
279. Berg, N.P. and Oberg, M. (2005) Urban Living Rooms in Duncan Village: A Project Focusing on Public Space. Unpublished student submission. Blekinge Institue of Technology. Sweden.
280. Van Horen, B. (2000) 'Informal settlement upgrading: Bridging the gap between the De Facto and the De Jure', *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 19(4), pp.389-400.
281. Wakely, P. and Riley, E. (2011) 'The Case for Incremental Upgrading', Policy Research and Working Papers Series No. 1. The Cities Alliance. Washington.
282. Watson, V. (2002) *Change and Continuity in Spatial Planning*. London and New York: Routledge.
283. Watson, V. (2003) 'Conflicting Rationalities: Implications for Planning Theory and Ethics', *Planning Theory & Practice*, 4(4), pp.395-407.
284. Watson, V. (2006) 'Deep difference', *Planning Theory*, 5(1), pp.31-50.
285. Watson, V. (2010) 'Informal Settlements: In Search of a Home in the City', in Vlahov, D., Boufford, J., Pearson, C., and Norris, L. (eds) in *Urban Health: Global Perspectives*.
286. Weizman, E. and Herscher, A. (2011) 'Conversations: Architecture, Violence, Evidence', *Future Anterior*, 8(1), pp.110-123.
287. Weizman, E. (2010) https://www.forensic-architecture.org (Accessed: 2015)
288. Wirth, L. (1938) 'Urbanism as a Way of Life', *American Journal of Sociology*. 44(1) pp.1-24.
289. Wilson, M. (nee Hunter) Archive Material. The Jagger Library at The University of Cape Town. Folders BC880 and BC2954.
290. Wilson, M. (1951) 'Witchcraft and Social Structure', *American Journal of Sociology,* 56, pp.307-313.
291. Wilson, G. and Wilson, M. (1968) *The Analysis of Social Change: Based on Observations in Central Africa*. Cambridge University Press.