Plastic View: an exploration of the experiences of the poor in an urban informal settlement in Pretoria

By

Student: Lynette Mashika

Student number: 11197562

*Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree **MSocSci** in the Faculty of Humanities, University of Pretoria*

February 2019

Supervisor: Dr Sepetla Molapo

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

This document must be signed and submitted with every essay, report, project, assignment, dissertation and / or thesis.

Full names of student: ...…………………………

Student number: …………………………………

Declaration

1. I understand what plagiarism is and am aware of the University's policy in this regard.
2. I declare that this dissertation is my own original work. Where other people's work has been used (either from a printed source, Internet or any other source), this has been properly acknowledged and referenced in accordance with departmental requirements.
3. I have not used work previously produced by another student or any other person to hand in as my own.
4. I have not allowed, and will not allow, anyone to copy my work with the intention of passing it off as his or her own work.

SIGNATURE OF STUDENT:........……………………………………………………………………

SIGNATURE OF SUPERVISOR:……………………………………………………………………

Ethics statement

The author, whose name appears on the title page of this dissertation, has obtained, for the research described in this work, the applicable research ethics approval. The author declares that he/she has observed the ethical standards required in terms of the University of Pretoria's Code of ethics for researchers and the Policy guidelines for responsible research.

ABSTRACT

The urban landscape is always a politicised space characterised by struggles centred on the right to control it. The major actors in these struggles are usually: government officials, developers, as well as urban and informal settlement residents. The current study explores the experiences of the inhabitants of Plastic View using the concept of 'place' as an analytical tool. Based on this, the study highlights the power dynamics between the state and the residents of Plastic View. It demonstrates that the state is not a helpless and innocent victim of land grabs by the poor, but that its policies and actions towards the poor have contributed significantly to the establishment of informal settlements in South Africa. In addition, the policies of the government play a significant role in the formation of informal settlements as they influence people's access to the city and the benefits it offers. Moreover, the study demonstrates that the making of Plastic View cannot be attributed to a single cause, but rather to many actors and events. The findings indicate that there is no single sense of place that one can speak of, but that the different identities in Plastic View experience the place differently and have varied interests. The findings demonstrate the insurgency of the poor who have created their own cities under conditions not of their choosing; and thus, highlights their agency. In light of these findings, the study recommends a more collaborative approach to dealing with the housing challenge in South Africa, and that this should begin with a critical reflection of how informal settlements are thought of, and thus, treated as well as learning from the way in which residents of informal settlements use their space so that planners and the state can come up with resolutions that actually work for the people.

Keywords: Apartheid; city; citizenship; global cities; informal settlement; institutions; insurgency; place; urban; state

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF FIGURES

ACRONYMS

ANC   : African National Congress

BNG   : Breaking New Ground

CBD   : Central Business District

GEAR   : Growth Employment and Redistribution

IMF   : International Monetary Fund

NDP   : National Development Plan

RDP   : Reconstruction and Development Programme

SAPS   : South African Police Service

StatsSA : Statistics South Africa

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

With 46% of Africa's population projected to be living in cities by 2020, and while in most cities and towns located in third world countries, the bulk of housing, transportation, employment opportunities and trade occur outside the formal sector (Kihato, 2004), it seems that informality is likely to be accepted and condoned in making up for the failures of governments. In the South African case, the failure is two-fold: first the intentional failures of the segregation and apartheid governments, and now, that of the democratic government.

Although the democratic government has made advancements in terms of housing provision with reports of close to 4 million houses having been built since 1994 (StatsSA, 2017), there is still more that needs to be done to achieve the decent living of the vast majority of the people. By allowing the market to be a distributive mechanism, the post-apartheid governments in South Africa have indirectly contributed to the barring of the poor from residing in the areas they work. The result has been the mushrooming of informal settlements as people strive to be closer to work and ease the economic burden of commuting (City of Tshwane, 2017). This, therefore, implies that people live in informal settlements not because they do not have housing, but because the housing they have is not ideally located in relation to their livelihood opportunities.

The South African government's human settlement policy, the Breaking New Ground[1] (BNG) purports to build sustainable human settlements which give residents access to basic needs and amenities such as educational activities, health, welfare and police services. However, Plastic View, a settlement located in Pretoria East, close to work opportunities, shopping malls, clinics, a church, schools and major transport routes has been threatened with relocation as well as experienced several illegal evictions attempts by the City and its agencies. This is a threat to the realisation of the rights of the poor, it also shows a state that is intent on keeping the poor out of the city and thus maintaining segregation. It is therefore important to explore the experiences of these people who have tried to insert themselves in the city and access an otherwise inaccessible city, so as to explore alternative ways of addressing the housing challenge in South Africa.

This study explores the experiences of the inhabitants of Plastic View, an informal settlement located adjacent to the suburb of Pretoria East, Moreleta Park, and places its establishment in context; arguing that the establishment of the informal settlement is a consequence of the

---

[1] Breaking New Ground human settlements policy of 2004

segregational developments of the past, as well as the inability of the current government to effect substantial redress. The study explores these experiences using 'place' as an analytical tool, which highlights the different players and dynamics that influence place-making. Looking at these experiences, the study makes the case that the actions of the Plastic View inhabitants represent a form of insurgency of the poor.

1.2 Rationale of the study

It has been argued by some researchers that in South Africa, the rise of informal settlements (squatting or land invasion) seemed to undermine the apartheid city structure which sought to keep the black population in the townships and the White population within the city Huchzermeyer (2003). The informal settlements attempt to bridge the gap between the two areas and highlight a refusal to conform to the state-sanctioned land use and human settlement. However, because these settlements tend to be placed even further away from places of potential work opportunities - on the outskirts of townships (Hindson & McCarthy, 1994), the tradition of segregation is continued, albeit, on an economic rationale instead of an overtly racial one.

Taking this into consideration, the establishment of Plastic View is an interesting phenomenon which warrants exploration. This is because it is an area which is strategically linked to transport routes that lead to where there are employment opportunities as well as social and economic amenities - something the South African department of Human Settlements desires for all the country's human settlements (City of Tshwane, 2017). By looking at the experiences of the inhabitants of Plastic View, the study showcases the dynamic power relations between the poor and the different institutions of the state, and also highlights the way in which informal settlements, particularly those located in the city, are undermining the apartheid city. In this way, the study broadly reflects on the relationship between the poor and the city in post-apartheid South Africa, especially in Pretoria.

While recognising the work that has been done on informal settlements in Johannesburg (Harber, 2011), Cape Town and Durban (Obudho & Mhlanga, 1988; Smith, 1992; Coquery-Vidrovitch, 2005; Huchzermeyer, 2011), focusing on the specifics of an individual city, like Pretoria, will assist in enabling a better understanding of the housing challenges faced by South Africa and providing a finer analysis. This is because the city has already seen an increase of roughly 20% in population growth since 1996 as a result of the abolition of racist acts that prohibited black people from residing in Tshwane (City of Tshwane, 2017); and because the city

is home to one of the areas that are seeing major developments in the Gauteng province, Menlyn, thus attracting many job seekers and informal settlements (Mclagan, 2016).

1.3 Aims and objectives of the study

The study aims to:
- Explore the reasons behind the establishment of Plastic View Informal Settlement;
- Examine the experiences of the inhabitants of Plastic View; and
- Reflect broadly on the relationship between the poor and the city after 1994

1.4 Research question

The key question this dissertation aims to explore is: What does it mean to be in an informal settlement that is closer to work but constantly faced with potential eviction and/or relocation?

1.5 Outline of mini-dissertation

The current study is divided into five chapters. Chapter One has introduced the study by outlining research objectives as well as highlighting the rationale behind it. Chapter Two reviews the literature on the social processes that give rise to informal settlements in South Africa. Chapter Three provides the research methodology that was deployed in the study. The chapter highlights the research design, research approach, and data collection procedures. The chapter briefly discusses grounded theory as the main research design used to conduct the research. The fourth chapter presents the results of the study using 'place' as an analytical tool. It explores the process of Plastic View's establishment through the attempted evictions, the consequent court battles, and the everyday practices of its residents. The study concludes in Chapter Five by highlighting the major findings, makes conclusions, recommendations and also highlights areas of future research.

1.6 Conclusion

The current chapter introduced the study as a whole. The motivation of the study has been to explore the experiences of the inhabitants of Plastic View, an informal settlement located adjacent to the suburb of Pretoria East, Moreleta Park. The chapter introduced the background to the study, provided the problem statement, outlined the research objectives and questions as well as the layout of the study. The current chapter and the study as a whole argue that the establishment of this informal settlement is a consequence of the segregational developments of the past, as well as the inability of the current government to effect substantial redress.

The next chapter reviews the literature related to the study.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Informal settlements are not a new phenomenon that has just emerged suddenly and without cause. They have a long history of development. This chapter briefly outlines the various reasons that result in the emergence of informal settlements as part of an effort to give context to the establishment of Plastic View. The chapter begins with a discussion on urban informality, followed by an outline of the history of conquest in South Africa which then led to cities and urban spaces being established as a preserve of the white and rich. The main argument supported in the chapter is that it is the apartheid racially motivated pieces of legislation meant to force the blacks and the poor to reside far from work opportunities, and which placed on them the burden of expensive transport fares and long commutes between home and the city centre that encouraged the emergence of informal settlements. The chapter also explores what it means for a city to be 'global', and what impact that has on housing and those considered to be outsiders. It concludes by exploring the perspective the African National Congress (ANC) government has on informal settlements and housing through its various policies.

2.2 Urban informality

The term 'informality' which comes from economics where the informal economy is the opposite of the formal economy (Dovey & King, 2011). Informal settlements are therefore viewed as encroachments in the formal cities as they are built without state sanction (Knudsen, 2007). Although this is not true, considering that cities are built from both formal and informal processes, the term got traction, thereby leading to the development of the informality theory. It is argued that the theory relating to human settlements can be traced back to the Chicago School's descriptions of massive urbanisation in 'Third World' cities in the 1950s and 1960s, with 'urban informals' described as the new city migrant that was marginalised. This reinforces the idea that informal housing is linked to 'delinquency, breakdown and general malaise' (Lombard, 2014:7).

In the 1960s and 1970s, the idea of self-help housing wherein the owner/occupier built their own accommodation completely or in part without any assistance from the government was developed (Lombard, 2014). This led to many countries adopting and implementing policies of site-and-services as well as the upgrading of homes during that same period. This was however, seen as the privatisation of housing supply and also as governments' abdicating of their responsibility to provide adequate housing to their needy residents (Lombard, 2014). However, even with the criticism it heralded, this practice continued for many years in various countries,

including South Africa. Further, in line with the idea of self-help, some Latin American countries, Peru and Mexico for example, adopted 'formalisation' which was meant to reduce poverty by giving poor people official ownership of their land and housing through title deeds. Nevertheless, these programmes are argued to have over-simplified poverty, and ultimately failed to generate the expected wealth and thus, have not resolved informality. It is in this considered view that some scholars have argued that what has actually been witnessed has been an increase of poverty (Lombard, 2014).

West Africa, for example, did not have as many urban informal settlements prior to 1990 (Grant, 2006). This is said to have been due to several reasons, some of which being the easy access to land that the land tenure system enabled; the government's role as a provider of low-income housing; as well as the people's beliefs which affect their attitudes to land (Grant, 2006). For example, beliefs about spirits protecting family land prevented people from acting in any wrong ways towards others' land, such as taking it or using it without permission, as the spirits might harm them. Further, by virtue of being communal landowners themselves, migrants understood the various challenges that usually accompany occupying someone else's land in the urban area. This is an interesting assertion by Grant (2006), as it implies that those who do hold this view were more likely to illegally occupy someone else's land, as though people are not aware of the consequences of such actions and are not driven by desperation to act in that manner. In addition, Grant (2006) asserts that the affordability of land made it easy for people to not illegally occupy others' land. However, things have changed, and informal settlements have become the genesis of almost all developing cities. This is due to the inability of these cities to match the rate of urbanisation with the growth of formal-sector employment. Additionally, natural population growth and urban employment keep growing (not at an impressive rate though) thereby rendering both the states and the market unable to provide affordable housing for the poor (Dovey & King, 2011).

The next section briefly outlines the history of South Africa as one of the African countries whose cities are surrounded by informal settlements.

2.3 The scramble for [South] Africa

In order to understand informal settlements in South Africa, as well as the relationship between social processes and spatial outcomes', one needs to first understand the history of Land Acts in the country (Lombard, 2014). This historical background is important for tracing the emergence of informal settlements, which, like Plastic View, have been influenced by a long history of conquest, plunder and various legislations that deliberately aimed to keep the black working class out of the urban space.

The arrival of White 'settlers' in South Africa started around the 1600s because of Dutch and British merchants trading with India, and who used the Cape as their depot. What followed included the genesis of slavery, the rivalry between the Dutch and the British, and the consequent move of the Dutch Boers from the Cape Colony further inland. The Boers were mainly Dutch (by descent) employees as well as former employees of the Dutch East India Company who had been allowed to reside on the given territory and were given farms to that effect (Rosenberg, 2017). However, due to the strict restrictions of the company, in terms of how they could use the land, the Boers moved to hinterlands where they would be independent (Rosenberg, 2017). Along the way, they engaged in battles with some of the local inhabitants, such as the Xhosa people, for the territory which they then claimed as their own republics. The Boers that had moved north of the Vaal River were then granted sovereignty over the Transvaal (later known as the South African Republic) and the Orange Free State by the British who had claimed authoritative power over the country.

It was the discovery of diamonds and gold in 1867 and 1886 respectively that completely changed the landscape of the country. With this discovery, it was soon realised that Africa was quite rich in raw materials and could be very beneficial for European powers. The Berlin conference of 1884-85 was thus convened and formalised the scramble for Africa by making it doctrine that no European power could claim any part of the continent without effective occupation (Southall, 2013). German powers laid claim to South West Africa, but only managed to secure their occupation and impose their economy after more than two decades of what included wholesale dispossession of Africans after the Herero-German and Nama-German wars (1904-08) as well as genocides of the local people (Sarkin, cited in Southall 2013), while the British occupied Southern Africa.

It had been Cecil Rhodes' ambition to extend British control from Cape to Cairo, albeit, that was not possible. Thus, through his mining company, the British South Africa Company, Rhodes gained control of Southern Africa through conquest. Some of the many wars and battles that were raged in order to expropriate land included the Pioneer Column Invasion (1890) wherein Rhodes invaded Mashonaland as well as Ndebeleland so that he could mine its raw materials (Boddy-Evans, 2017b). The Second Boer War (South African War) was also a result of British attempts to control the Transvaal (where the gold fields were in Witwatersrand) which was founded by the Boers. This highlights the beginning of 'settlers' fighting, even among themselves, for land which was in well-suited areas, which they later claimed as their own and could consequently make claims about 'natives' invading it.

2.4 Dispossession and exclusion legislated

The British won the Second Boer (South African) War, which led to a unified South Africa as a British colony in 1910 (Rosenberg, 2017). The Union granted the Boers equal political rights with the British, but excluded black people which had implications for black people's citizenship as they were not recognised as citizens of the state and denied voting rights. Shortly after the establishment of the Union, the notorious Natives Land Act of 1913 was introduced, which is said to have been the "culmination and confirmation of dispossesion that had been underway for several centuries" (Hall, 2014:1) and laid the foundation for other legislation which further entrenched the dispossession of black people.

According to the Act No.27 of 1913:

1.(2) No person other than a native shall purchase, hire or in any other manner acquire any land in a scheduled native area or enter into any agreement or transaction for the purchase, hire or other acquisiation, direct or indirect, of any such land or of any right thereto or interest therein or servitude thereover, except with the approval of the Governor-General.

4.(1) For the purposes of establishing any such area as is described in section *two* the Governor-General may, out of moneys which Parliament may vote for the purpose, acquire any land or interest in land.

This section provided the government the ability to expropriate private land, a situation which then restricted black people to about seven percent of the total arable land area, but which was later increased to 13% by the Native and Land Trust Act (1936). However, both Acts empowered white people to occupy the rest of the land. The Act prohibited black people from living on as well as from owning any territory outside of that which was specifically 'reserved' for them. It was also stipulated that the only condition under which black people could live outside of the 'reserves' was when they were in employment.

These policies were one of the many ways that the Union government used to ensure that the 'settlers' could access good living in terms of munificent resources, land and minerals (Southall, 2013). The 'native reserves' and white land seizures worked to rid white argiculture of competition from the black population, and also ensured that the mines had a secure and cheap labour supply while stripping the black rural population of its sustenance.

Another strategy included restrictions on black workers; such as the regulation of the kind of work they could do, how long their contracts could be and the conditions for termination of the contracts. Restrictions on the duration of the contracts particularly worked to ensure that workers would always return to their 'homelands' where they would sit as reserve labour (Southall,

2013). This system is also called 'labour migrancy', and it allowed the employer to pay the men salaries for a single person instead of a family so that he could only socially reproduce himself while in the urban space.This also served to curb the emergence of an urbanised black working class (Southall, 2013) by ensuring that black people do not get comfortable in urban spaces, and are always reminded that they have a home elsewhere.

To further ensure that black workers who now stayed in the urban areas were regulated and kept in line, policies such as the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 were introduced. This policy strictly segregated black workers to stay in the 'locations' which served as the bridge between their rural homes and their white areas of employment. According to Southall (2013:22) the Act was based on a philosophy which stated that any African in urban areas was only temporarily resident and:

> should only be able to enter **urban areas, which are essentially the white man's creation**, when he is willing to enter and to minister to the needs of the white man and should depart therefrom when he ceases so to minister. (own emphasis)

Thus, urban space and all its associated infrastructure was deemed as belonging solely to white people, which the black person could only enter when requested by the white person. The bolded part in the quotation above points to the explicit manner in which the "spatial expression of racial segregation" was idealised and created (Malinga, 2000).

2.5 Cities: the preserve of the "rich"

As the quote in the previous section indicates, the apartheid and segregation states only 'allowed' urbanisation of the African population as far as they were needed for labour. Coquery-Vidrovitch (2005:344) also states that before the Native Resettlement Act of 1954, "in all the world's cities, it was income level that mattered: only the settlers had the means to buy their tranquillity"; that they could afford to establish themselves on land that is mostly sought after, such as at seaside or on the edges of Table Mountain, and thus away from industrial zones, while the African population settled near the industrial zone, at the city centre and the periphery. However, as shown above, the 'settlers' did not start off by simply being able to afford to separate themselves, and strategically place themselves in good territories. This was accomplished through conquest as well as through deliberate and intense state interventions that ensured that settlers could get space on good land, close to mineral resources and fertile ground while black people were pushed to the periphery. In fact, Malinga (2000) argues that the housing policies introduced by this government were an extension of the government's abdication of its responsibility to provide housing for the Black population.

One such state intervention is the Group Areas Act (No. 41 of 1950) which enabled the government of the time to pursue separate development of the different racial groups through creating segregated neighbourhoods - these defined where people could reside as well as work; hence the term 'group areas' - for the different racial groups. Section 4(1) of the Act strictly stated that disqualified persons (persons not part of the 'group' area) were not allowed to occupy any land or premises in any group area to which a proclamation relates, except under the authority of a permit. Exceptions were for a person who was a servant or employee of the state, a statutory body or of those who lawfully occupied the land (Johnson-Castle, 2014). In this way, it enabled the government to take land owned by Black people and give it to white people, with black people being limited to less land than the white minority (Boddy-Evans, 2016). This situation enabled the apartheid governments to appropriate the city or urban space as exclusively for the 'white civilised man', and the rural space as for the black man since the city was viewed as a place of 'arts, culture and civilisation' (Pieterse, 2004).

Together with these policies, the government introduced strategies aimed at attracting a skilled, educated Black labour force as well as at significantly reducing state expenditure on the provision of housing and other services for the 'non-White' population (Malinga, 2000). This illustrates that the city has always been engineered as for whites (and rich), and thus, the pushing out of the poor and black residents of Plastic View is not inherently founded on any new ideas.

This is also why under apartheid, what was considered the biggest urbanisation issue was the urban migration of black people (Tomlinson, 1990) since the 'settlers' needed to ensure their dominance and complete command of favourable territory. This was initially ensured through the 1913 Native (or Black) Land Act which paved the way for other segregationist land legislation. It is this Act that "legally established the idea that Black South Africans did not belong in much of South Africa" (Boddy-Evans, 2017b).

2.6 The segregation city

Industrialisation brought with it the increase in demand for labour in manufacturing, meaning that the need for migrant labour was not as pertinent. The manufacturing sector required a more stable labour force, which meant that provisions for black workers to reside in urban areas were made. Although Tomlinson (1990) gives an elaborate account of history and an accurate prediction of urban life in the post-apartheid South Africa, Tomlinson (1990) argues that the policies aimed at curbing black urbanisation were about solving the problem of unemployment. Tomlinson (1990) argues that the apartheid city was a result of the inability to resolve unemployment, stating that the apartheid government's view was that "unemployment cannot be

9

solved economically but only contained politically" (Tomlinson, 1990:21). Which is funny because the 'unemployment problem' was such because of deliberate efforts by the segregation government to have black people stripped of their land and forced into wage labour, all for the benefits of white capitalists. The apartheid policies were detrimental to the whole country from the beginning, but the problem of segregation and colonisation kept acquiring different names such as 'the problem of Black urbanisation' or 'the unemployment problem'; and today this exclusivity of cities is protected under the rhetoric of guarding land value and having 'cities without slums'.

Further, the wave of industrialisation and wage labour meant that rural areas were losing field labourers and succumbing to the forces of drought and famine, thus making the city a beacon of hope for a better life. In fact, Dovey and King (2011) state that cities are the result of both formal and informal processes. They argue that "the medieval remnants of many European cities are amongst the oldest of informal settlements" (Dovey & King, 2011:12). Indeed, even the cities of Kimberley and Johannesburg initially developed as shanty towns, and only developed into formal settlements later because of some influence from mining capital and its compound system (Malinga, 2000).

So, the cities developed, but there was no specific provision for black people in these formal towns. Thus, they squatted on the urban periphery. The housing policy that came to establish 'homelands' or 'Bantustans' was an attempt to constrain Black urbanisation, with 'pass laws' controlling entry into cities to keep up with the levels of labour required (Smith, 1992). The urbanisation of black people was thus, allowed only as a supply of labour. However, even that urbanisation was limited to areas on the periphery, thus, maintaining segregation through racial segregation, buffer zones between the areas, as well as dislocation between residence and workplace - the separation between black and white; deprivation and privilege.

The measures of influx control through pass laws and curfews that were introduced were not enough to curb the then increasing rate of Black urbanisation. So, the state introduced the Black Community Development Act of 1986, which allowed home ownership into "black residential areas and instituted procedures through which the supply of land for black housing could be increased" (Tomlinson, 1990:20). What this meant in practice was that Black people were accommodated in 'homelands' which were on the periphery of the metropolitan, where land was cheap (and consequently under-serviced) and had not been allocated to White people.

The move to low-cost land on the peripheries meant a shift from migrant labour to commuter labour, which meant that workers could now travel on a day-to-day basis to and from work. This

had apparent implications on transportation, since the distance between work and home was quite long. However, the state subsidised bus fares such that workers did not have to bear the full brunt of transportation fees. However, it was still expensive as Tomlinson (1990) estimates that over R1000 monthly subsidy per person contributed to travelling from the then Kwa-Ndebele homeland, which is about 122km away from the Pretoria CBD (Tomlinson, 1990).

Further, this move to homelands meant that government had to first approve the sites and allocate them to people accordingly. As such people settled illegally as they waited for the sites to be approved. In order to prevent people from randomly erecting shacks on unapproved sites, the Slums Act and the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act were introduced, thus criminalising acts of taking up land without prior government approval (Huchzermeyer, 2011). This was, however, contradictory since the approved sites were areas of land that did not correlate with the number of people who needed to be housed. For example, in June 1988, land was allocated in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vaal (PWV) area for Black people to move in. However, that land was about 29 000 hectares and was meant to accommodate over 2 million people if all of it was developed (which was not possible since it was on geographically unsuitable land), and this was expected to be enough until the year 2000. Thus, the housing shortage was set in motion (Tomlinson, 1990).

The idea of controlling urbanisation and restricting Black populations to the peripheries has been challenged as far as back as 1930, where informal settlements on the fringes of cities started becoming the norm. Overcrowding in the 'locations' together with the limited construction of housing during the war years resulted in a number of land invasions as well as other forms of informal urbanisation (Mabin, 1992). With the increased power to 'homelands' in the 1970's, deconcentrated urban settlements developed on the fringes of 'homelands' which were adjacent to metropolitan areas due to the large numbers of workers who had to travel daily to city centres (Malinga, 2000). This increased the burden of long-distance travelling. As a result of pressure on township housing due to population growth and illegal immigration, more informal settlements mushroomed, and the government increased rental and public transportation fees to nip this in the bud (Malinga, 2000).This instead, led to the country-wide rent and bus boycotts which would then spiral into political violence throughout the country in the 1980s. That further contributed to more Black populations moving from rural to metropolitan areas starting up informal settlements due to what was considered as a lack of control over land and housing allocation (Smith, 1992), a situation which the current researcher however, thinks was just people making the best out of a bad situation.

2.7 World-class Cities

The city, in the contemporary world, continues to function as a place of employment, above and beyond everything else, particularly for black people. It is a space of aspirations and livelihood, with people believing that by coming to the city they can improve their life chances, hence the fight for the right to it. This is seen by the reasons cited for the move to informal settlements, which include the need to be closer to work opportunities and looking for work (Smit, 2006). This reflects the idea of the city as a place of economic activity and opportunity. The analyses of researchers such as Castells (1978), McCarthy (1988), and Harvey (2000) highlight the fight for the right to the city as a class struggle, focusing on city settlers or aspirant settlers as workers.

In his address on 'Africa Rising', the Premier of Gauteng, Mr David Makhura, emphasised how cities are the centres of the economy, how they are economic hubs and that they should therefore not be characterised by informality (Makhura, 2016). However, as has been argued by Dovey and King (2011) that cities are a product of as much informal processes as they are of formal ones, and if the people who are meant to work in this economic hub cannot afford to live in it, then surely informality will follow. In fact, the UN-Habitat (cited in Lombard, 2014:3) states that "urban growth will become virtually synonymous with slum formation in some regions," where informal development is normalised, seeing as informal settlements in India for example "are the way in which one in every three people in cities sustains him or herself" (Dovey & King, 2011:11). So, it is quite contradictory for the Premier of Gauteng to talk about a city only being characterised by formality when "there is no sense in which formality precedes informality any more than the state precedes the city" (Dovey & King, 2011:12).

Moreover, cities are the sites wherein economic activity is manifested spatially since capital is no longer limited by national scales, but tends to be more region-specific (Purcell, 2003). As such, industries have thus disintegrated the vertical (city, nation, region) progression and instead tend to jump scale, making cities key nodes within the regional scales wherein they agglomerate their functions (Purcell, 2003). This, therefore, drives the idea of cities being economically and globally competitive because they all desire to be a 'good city' and to attract capital investment (Knudsen, 2007). This then results in the formation of informal settlements being marginal to "instrumental functions of the formal city" seeing as they are not favoured by investors and do not fall in line with cities' branding (Dovey & King, 2011:27). The emergence of the need for housing engenders and exacerbates a crisis within cities especially in developing countries where cities need to deal with increasing property values that accompany 'global city' development as well as the housing needs of the poor (Shatkin, 2004).

It seems though, that global cities are choosing this development above the housing needs of the poor; with many policies showing preference for skilled, resourced and entrepreneurial individuals (including migrants) as this is in line with the focus on global capital flows. This is informed by the fact that capital cities are categorised by their ability to capture 'command and control functions' of multinational corporations (Kihato, 2004) thus, leading local governments to being entrepreneurial in an attempt to make the city as appealing to capital investment as possible. The way the city looks matters, and therefore cities that are marred by informality are considered unnecessary. For example, in Kuala Lumpur in 1999, when the movie 'Entrapment' showed an image of a shanty town over a shot of the then new Petronas Towers, it was lambasted for tainting the state's place branding agenda.

Therefore, in being entrepreneurial, local governments tend to rely on the market as a distributive mechanism; allowing the market to decide who can get what, when and where based on who can afford. The rich get to reside by the seaside and get treated at private hospitals which are a short distance from their houses because they have the money to choose such, while the poor get peripheral housing which is far from economic activity as well as social amenities because capital does not invest in such areas, and the poor cannot afford to reside where capital invests. This impacts on whether policies are socially just or not (Knudsen, 2007).

The reliance on the market as a distributive mechanism can be seen in the pursuit to create 'cities without slums' (Huchzermeyer, 2011), thus, marginalising the poor and locating them on the peripheries of cities as the city is meant to be a 'formal space'. In fact, informal settlements are perceived as 'forgotten places' as urban planners see them as no longer tenable in the global era (Shatkin, 2004). So, by getting rid of the 'unwanted'- the informal, global cities can attract global finance and keep certain skills within particular localities to become globally competitive (Huchzermeyer, 2011). This is a result of globalisation and economic liberalisation which is argued to inherently fester fragmentation by creating winners and losers in the world economy (to start off with), with countries of sub-Saharan Africa coming as losers as millions of their people are excluded from the benefits of globalisation (Ukwandu, 2017). For example, in South Africa, it is evidenced that an increasing number of black households have seen a decrease in income since the introduction of these neoliberal policies, as well as an increase in unemployment and poverty (StatsSA, 2017). So, although governments and cities seek global city status, it is not everyone who is a part of globalisation that benefits greatly from it.

An example is the cities of Turkey which have become a centre for the reproduction of neoliberalism, wherein they are constituted by things such as shopping malls, finance centres, tourist attractions, and so forth, which are aimed at increasing land value (Lelandais, 2014). Due

to this neoliberal structure, the cities, therefore, take on an authoritarian character which leaves the inhabitants out of the planning and reproduction of their own neighbourhoods. This then leads to community resistance. In South Africa, the effects of this 'global city' idea is seen in the commodification of basic services like housing, water and electricity, which citizens are resisting through campaigns and committees like the Concerned Citizens Forum, the Affordability Campaign, the Ten Rand (R10) campaign (Narsiah, 2007) as well as the establishment of informal settlements.

2.8 Global citizens

The drive to establish global cities continues to make these places centres of opportunity which attract not only South African migrants, but international ones as well. However, there is contestation over this view. Massey (1991) argues that although capitalism and its developments have played a significant role in how space is understood and experienced, it is not the only factor that shapes that experience. One's race, gender and even nationality plays a role. For example, a black woman standing next to a car in the middle of a street in a suburban neighbourhood in Johannesburg will experience that space differently compared to a white woman. The black woman might surprisingly find her residence in that area questioned by someone from a security company, while a white woman will not have a similar experience. This is true for some non-South African people too, and South Africa's racist history as a part to play in that.

Under the government of segregation, South African citizenship was limited to the white race, with other races treated as secondary citizens with no voting rights or ability to make claims on the state (Southall, 2013). This included African migrants, who were treated just as badly as South African 'non-white' people. As such the struggle for liberation was forged as one of 'the people' against apartheid government. So, the end of apartheid was conceived as the achievement of self-determination whereby the country defined its own statehood outside of the colony. It was the conclusion of the struggle between 'the people' and the racist government. This meant the conceptualisation of 'the people' as one, especially since under colonial rule, the different racial and ethnic groups were separated — a divide and conquer strategy (Southall, 2013). Thus, the struggle for self-determination was more about equality of people as a nation, South Africans, instead of equality of people as individuals.

Further, the apartheid government not only divided the different racial and ethnic groups but also planted seeds of hatred within the different groups (Msimang, 2017). "Black people were told that the Africans beyond South Africa's borders lived like animals; they were ruled by despots and governed by black magic. In a society that taught black people to hate themselves, the

message was easily assimilated" (Msimang, 2017:240). This has implications for different disenfranchised groups in the post-1994 South Africa, with non-South African nationals now being treated as 'outsiders' who should not get a stake of the gains of democracy because they were not part of the struggle, and being labelled as illegal immigrants, drug dealers, and thieves who came to take 'our jobs' and 'our wives' (Msimang, 2017). Like formality, Africa is constructed as the other to South Africa, "South Africanness relies heavily on the construction of Africa as a place of dysfunction, chaos and violence to define itself as functional, orderly, efficient and civilised" (Msimang, 2017:240).

This translates to how non-South African migrants are received into the country, with most, regardless of their refugee status, being treated as illegal aliens. Even refugees[2] who do eventually receive asylum status receive no support from the government as the attitude of the government shows that refugees are not wanted in the country (Ndinda, et al., 2006). With regards to housing, the country has no specific policy for housing refugees, except that the government wants to promote integration into South African communities. This is even though the United Nations Convention on the Status of Refugees (1951) and the Organization of African Unity Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa (1969) underscores the importance of such provisions. It stipulates refugee principle rights in host countries, such as labour protection, public assistance, elementary education, and the same rights as migrants in respect of seeking gainful employment, access to housing or higher education (Ndinda et al., 2006). Further, the South African Draft White Paper on Refugees (1998) alludes to granting refugees full legal protection provided for under international law which includes the rights in the bill of rights except those rights from which non-citizens have been expressly excluded. These rights include: the right to vote as well as the right to the right to engage in freedom of trade, occupation and profession (Ndinda et al., 2006).

However, the rights do not always translate into reality. For example, the right to access to housing is undermined when landlords or estate agents refuse to help foreign nationals, claiming that there is no accommodation available even though it may have been advertised as available. There are also instances when landlords will refuse to assist upon seeing the race of the potential tenant (Ndinda, et al., 2006). This is, therefore, one factor that contributes to certain groups dominating an area: racial channelling by landlords and estate agents, which also locks them out of other areas thus leaving them to populate particular areas (Ndinda et al., 2006).

---

[2] Individuals who have been forced to flee their homes and have crossed a border, to escape human rights violations in order to seek security and tenure elsewhere (Ndinda et al., 2006:79)

The housing that immigrants do receive is not located near social services such as schools, employment, health and education, and if they are close by, they are not of great quality (Ndinda et al., 2006). The unfortunate location of the houses of the poor means increased commuting times and costs, hampered access to quality schools, transportation as well as recreational spaces, all of which affect the social reproduction of labour (Aalbers & Christophers, 2014). The reason for this is that areas with good quality social amenities are still highly racialised, with mainly white people residing in them. This finds explanation in differences in income distribution which tend to be reflected and reinforced by differential access to home ownership, because property gets its exchange value through its location as well as "the creative acts of capital, residents and state actions" (Berry, 2014:397). For instance, the different ways in which housing is branded or the developments that occur in the area such as health clubs or other exclusive recreational spaces, all work to make the area more alluring, but also quite exclusive; which works to increase the exchange value of the land (including the property), and thus makes the space more exclusive because not everyone will afford it. In this way continuing the tradition of blocking the poor, and largely black, out of such areas.

Another contributing factor to this right not materialising is the negative attitude of South Africans, wherein politicians as well as citizens tend to be hostile towards African immigrants, especially with regards to them receiving basic services from the government (Ndinda et al., 2006). In fact, about 54% South Africans are cited as being opposed to African immigrants accessing housing in the country and a further 55% opposed to the government providing shelter for refugees (Ndinda et al., 2006). There is a rhetoric that they are a burden on the South African economy, which then compounds their challenges to accessing housing. For example, the then Minister of Home Affairs (1994-2004), Mangosuthu Buthelezi stated that immigrants would be "absorbing unacceptable proportions of housing subsidies and adding to the difficulties we will be experiencing in health care" (Ukwandu, 2017:55). Thus, the perception that African immigrants are in direct competition with South African citizens for basic services and employment is not just reflected in poor communities, but also amongst national leaders and contributes to African immigrants residing in informal settlements.

So, the inclusion of South Africa into the global family and the consequent pursuit for global cities serves to continue what the 'segregation government' started with its exclusion of the black majority from key territories, and not just the South African black majority but also non-South Africans; leaving the poor fighting amongst themselves for the little resources that capital will let them have. What the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act, 1991 (Act No. 108 of 1991) achieved, neoliberal policies reinstated, and thus we see many of the working classes (particularly black) still being denied access to land in favourable territories - urban space. They

still cannot own or even rent land or property in urban spaces because they simply cannot afford it, and that is a direct consequence of that migrant labour system developed during the colonial era.

2.9 Informal settlements in a time of globalisation

The result of South Africa's inclusion into the global world has meant that in post-apartheid era, informal settlements have not disappeared, instead they are increasing. The common trend is that since liberation many African countries' socio-economic development lagged, thus the increase in inequalities, unemployment and poverty (Tshishanga, 2015). It is in fact argued that informal settlements tend to increase in post-colonisation on the African continent with governments leaving low income residents to fend for themselves (Malinga, 2000). It is the economic and technological advances which are said to have increased the rate of urbanisation but left the hopefuls disappointed as their aspirations are not met.

The governments of African countries are also seen to struggle to offer affordable housing to their people (Grant, 2006). The result, for example in West Africa, has been the development of informal settlements in places which were under French rule such as Senegal, Benin and Dakar; while in countries such as Ghana which were under British rule and had less restrictive land policies, informal settlements developed on a small-scale during colonisation and multiplied intensely in the post-colonisation (Malinga, 2000). In East Africa, in Kenya, for instance, colonial policies left many black people without agricultural land which led to landlessness as well as overcrowding in the rural areas, and consequently people migrated to towns. Without much to buy land in the urban areas, they established informal settlements in places like the Mathare Valley (Malinga, 2000). In South Africa, according to the Department of Human Settlements in 2009, estimates of households living in freestanding informal settlements were 1 675 000; while in 2011 it was estimated that there were about 2 700 informal settlements with 1.2 million households (Chenwi, 2012). The figures are even thought to be higher than what is reported. In the City of Tshwane, it was estimated that there were clusters of 178 informal settlements with 155 948 informal structures in 2013, and 14 more informal settlements have since been identified (City of Tshwane, 2017).

The reasons why these settlements exist vary, with some scholars citing that it is due to the slow delivery of state-subsidised low-cost housing and others citing economic opportunities within cities as a factor contributing to urbanisation and consequently informality (Chenwi, 2012). In fact, Osman (2017) reports that more than 100 000 people move to Johannesburg a year, while the province of Gauteng has a housing back-log of a million. However, as shown above, the role of the Apartheid government should not be overlooked, as it is the Land Acts of that government

that set the ball rolling and that the current government is seemingly unable or unwilling to stop as it keeps attributing its failures to the works of the apartheid government. However, a significant contributing factor to the current democratic government's inability relates to its economic policies which are argued to be pro-market, thus favouring growth and the markets above the poor (Marutlulle, 2017). "The consensus in South Africa is that the neoliberal policies adopted by several governments since the end of apartheid have mostly helped a few […] but have done little for the black majority, who suffer poverty and unemployment" (Ukwandu, 2017:47).

With the release of Nelson Mandela who was the first black president of a free South Africa (1994-1999) and the end of apartheid in 1990, the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act was introduced to end the oppressive Land Acts. "It was promulgated to repeal or amend certain laws so as to abolish certain restrictions based on race or membership of a specific population group on the acquisition and utilisations of rights to land; to provide for the rationalisation or phasing out of certain racially based institutions and statutory and regulatory systems repealed the majority of discriminatory land laws ..." (Kloppers & Pienaar, 2014:688). Consequently, in 1991, the White Paper on Land Reform was released. It expressed government's concern for the homeless, as well as the issue of squatting and articulated, that "the government had a responsibility towards the homeless who were seeking a livelihood in urban areas and that squatting was part of the urbanisation process" while emphasising that the integrity of land rights and the interests of established communities would be protected (Malinga, 2000). The Paper proposed that the problem of squatting be resolved by directing people to land available upon which 'less formal settlements' can be established and where upgrades to services were possible - sounding very much like an extension of the 1986 government's policy on 'orderly urbanisation' (Malinga, 2000). Further, the ANC adopted the view that the goal of the housing policy should be for everyone to be given houses within 10 years starting from 1990, and that serviced land be made available immediately as a short-term intervention; thereby accepting informal housing as a solution to the housing crisis (Malinga, 2000).

The ANC, in a policy guide of 1993, proposed that the government had to play a significant role in the provision of finance for low income housing, as it did not believe that the market was able to address the housing needs of all South Africans adequately, and therefore, supported the provision of subsidies to facilitate access to basic and essential services and housing (Malinga, 2000). They rejected the privatisation of land supply for low income housing and believed that it was the government's responsibility to ensure that low income households had easy access to well-located, affordable land and made the promise of a million houses to be delivered by 1999

in its election campaign (Malinga, 2000). The White Paper of 1994 though, underscored that housing policy be a collaborative effort between communities, the government, commercial and private sector.

The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) policy document which was the overarching framework for the ANC sought growth and development through reconstruction and redistribution, and the government having a hands-on role in the economy of the country to achieve that. The programme "promised a democratic society that will unleash the economic potential of the country so as to provide jobs, more equitable distribution of income and wealth, and provision of basic needs for all South Africans" (Adelzadeh, 1996:66). With its overall aim being to establish a more equal society by redressing the gross social, economic and spatial ineqaulities inherited from apartheid (SA History, 2014). However, in 1995 the ANC realised that this would not be possible, and so it dumped the RDP for the Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) which has been identified as the macro policy which outlined the government's neoliberal logic and has aided in the failure to effect redress, especially in spatial inequality. This is because following a market-oriented mentality leads to people's right to the city being dependent on them owning property - which is in turn dependent on their socioeconomic status, thus disadvantaging the poor (Mclagan, 2016).

Nevertheless, GEAR encompassed most of the objectives of the RDP, but was adopted in order to stimulate faster economic growth which was needed in order to attain resources required for redistribution (SA History, 2014). However, despite this claim and the continuous references to RDP objectives, GEAR had departed from the RDP framework, with redistribution as the main objective being dropped altogether and the government reducing its influence on the economy (Adelzadeh, 1996). According to Adelzadeh (1996), this strategy - with its aims of reducing fiscal deficits, decreasing trade barriers, deregulating the labour market, privatisation as well as liberalising capital flows, represents an adoption of the essential tenets of the neo-liberal framework advocated by the International Monetary Fund in its structural adjustment programmes; which are argued to have exacerbated poverty, unemployment, under-employment and homelessness (Ukwandu, 2017).

Succeeding GEAR was the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative of South Africa (ASGISA) in 2005, which was aimed at reducing poverty significantly by 2010 and lowering unemployment from 28% in 2004 to 14% by 2022 (Bikam, 2006). When that no longer seemed acheivable, that policy was dropped for the socio-economic development programme, and thus, the National Development Plan (NDP) of 2013. This has been now been placed as the blueprint through which poverty will be eliminated and ineqaulity reduced by the year 2030 (Bikam, 2016). All

these policy frameworks have significantly departed from the initial goals of the RDP, and seem to be increasing inequality even further instead of reducing it. In fact, with regards to GEAR, Adelzadeh (1996) argues that the framework(s) represents a recourse to the policy goals and instruments of the apartheid regime which sought to spread inequality through its vision of separate development. Arguably, the policy may not favour the poor and mostly black, but to liken it to the apartheid regime seems a bit extreme as apartheid's goal of separate development was deliberately made to favour white people while impoverishing all other racial groups. GEAR on the other hand, was just misguided in its goal of economic growth before redistribution, as it has instead increased inequality instead of reducing it.

This is attributed to the fact that these policies are based on a neoliberal framework, one which insists that everything be determined by market forces and market forces only; and characterised by prioritising opportunities for private capital accumulation (Marutlulle, 2017). With neoliberalism asserting that the market can regulate itself and handle economic and social problems, it requires that government withdraws social spending which then has a negative effect on the poor as they have to deal with the competitive bidding promoted by capitalist markets while they have little with which to bid thus disadvantaging them and leaving them with poor options (Rawat, 2017). Therefore, this hampers the goal of the Breaking New Ground (BNG) to promote viable communities by establishing mixed human settlements closer to economic opportunities with social, cultural and economic development programmes that enable celebration of diversity and foster social inclusion (City of Tshwane, 2017).

The consultancy with business over the housing policies and the White Paper on Housing also shows how economic growth was prioritised. It ensured that business interests were taken into consideration on the matter of housing delivery so that business could invest in it. Essentially, economic growth was the foundation upon which housing delivery was based (Rawat, 2017). The provision of housing depended on increased rates of economic growth, which had effects on the housing market and the related affordability of housing to the extent that many people could not, and still cannot afford the high costs of housing or renting, thus making informal settlements an option (Marutlulle, 2017).

Moreover, as a result of neoliberalism with its trade liberalisation, deregulation of the labour market as well as privatisation, employers have resorted to temporary or casual labour which then means that workers have less protection in the workplace, lower wages and precarious jobs (Adelzadeh, 1996). This has implications for human settlements because if people do not make enough money then they cannot afford to live near their workplace; they also cannot apply for rentals without a permanent employment contract as most rental leases are for a 12-month

period. A common feature of informal settlement residents is their poor access to housing finance, with banks not extending mortgage to the poor, and thus, leaving them to resort to residing in informal settlements as the only alternative (Marutlulle, 2017).

This is further compounded by the fact that acquiring land and housing is driven by competitive bidding wherein the land goes to the highest bidder - the one who can offer a high amount. Access is limited to those who can afford, thereby excluding the marginalised. This reinforces historical inequality in spatial land use because the marginalised are then left to get poorly located land in the periphery, far from transport routes and employment opportunities. This exclusion from the formal property market then leads to the poor accessing land through informal and often illegal ways, resulting in an informal market (Halvey, et al., 2016). In South Africa, this exclusion is also based very much on race because of the racial laws which were outlined in the previous section, and which ensured that black people were dispossessed and prohibited from owning land.

Therefore, the state's withdrawal from economic development only serves to reinforce inequality despite apartheid and its policies having been repealed. There is still some sort of influx control, but under a different guise, namely; housing policy. This dynamic, such that only those who can afford it can live closer to the city - closer to economic opportunities; while those who cannot - which remain largely black people - are restricted to the periphery (Tomlinson, 1990) continues. Tomlinson (1990:32) predicted that, "due to scarcity of land, prices will rise, and a large proportion of the Black population will still be unable to gain access to land and will be forced either to squat illegally or to rent rooms". This is the case with many informal settlements, that people 'squat illegally' because they cannot afford formal housing in areas close to the city-where economic opportunities are concentrated.

2.10 Government's response to informal settlements

In 2003, UN-Habitat produced a report with standards to be considered by governments, civil society organisations and international organisations that seek to improve the lives of slum dwellers. It gives mention of successful and unsuccessful approaches to dealing with informal settlements; with self-help and in-situ upgrading amongst others, being part of the former, while evictions and involuntary resettlements are part of the latter (Chenwi, 2012). The report states that "relocation or involuntary resettlement of slum dwellers should, as far as possible, be avoided", something which the South African government seems to not be taking heed of (Chenwi, 2012:544). The current section focuses on the various responses which have been deployed by the government in an attemapt to grapple with informal settlements.

The Basic Principles and Guidelines on Development-Based Evictions and Displacement address development-based evictions, as well as the aftermath of those evictions such as the right to resettlement and alternative land of better or equal qaulity (Chenwi, 2012). Also included in the principles is that affected communities should not suffer human right violations, and that their right to the continuous improvement of living conditions should not be compromised. They also state that alternative housing should be situated as close as possible to the original place of residence and the source of livelihood of those evicted, as well as that amenities, services and economic opportunities are provided at the proposed site (Chenwi, 2012).

Further, the South African government adopted the Breaking New Ground plan: a Comprehensive Plan for the Development of Sustainable Human Settlements (BNG) in the year 2004 which aims to accelerate the rate at which housing is delivered as a key strategy for poverty alleviation. This programme is an alternative to the then existing programmes which were seen as not capable of securing the upgrading of informal settlements (Chenwi, 2012). Under the BNG, the South African government committed itself to ensuring the availability of adequate housing for all, with one of the objectives being to create housing projects which involve upgrading or redeveloping informal settlements as well as eradicating the conditions that plague these sorts of settlements (Mclagan, 2016). The plan highlights a sustainable human settlement as one which is close to economic activity, where infrastructure such as water and electricity is readily available, and social services and facilities like securtiy, health, education, sports and recreation and welfare are easily accessible (City of Tshwane, 2017). However, great as this plan is, its effects have not been seen, as spatial inequality still persists. This is due to the neoliberal approach that the government has adopted, as highlighted above, because a market oriented mentality always has winners and losers and thus cannot be used to achieve social justice.

A consequent programme which was adopted to facilitate the structure upgrading of informal settlements was the Upgrading of Informal Settlements Programme (UISP) which supports the government's housing objective as underlined in the Housing Act 107 of 1999. The Act defines housing development as:

> The establishment and maintenance of habitable, stable and sustainable public and private residential environments to ensure viable households and communities in areas allowing convenient access to economic opportunities, and to health, educational and social amenities in which all citizens and permanent residents of the Republic will, on a progressive basis, have access to
> a) Permanent residential structures with secure tenure, ensuring internal and external privacy and providing adequate protection against elements; and

b) Potable water, adeqaute sanitary facilities and domestic energy supply (Department of Human Settlements, 2009).

The UISP was set to give grants to municipalities so that they can upgrade informal settlements, following a phased developmental approach as well as in-situ upgrading in locations which are considered desirable, and where the dwellers have agreed to relocation in cases where development is not possible or desired. This is in line with the recommendations made by the UN-Habitat, especially in-situ upgrading, which is considered more favourable than relocation which tends to result in "socio-economic disruption" (Chenwi, 2012:549). The UISP also encourages relocation which is as close to the existing settlement as possible, together with engagement between local authorities and residents living in informal settlements (Chenwi, 2012). However, in a few instances such as the Joe Slovo (Cape Town) case where the community was evicted so as to facilitate the development of the N2 Gateway Housing Project, the government did not follow that recommendation and instead, relocated the community far away from their existing settlement and livelihood opportunities. This is contradictory not just because it goes against the government's own policy plans, but because it engenders socio-economic disruption where people now have to travel longer distances to get to work, or have to find a different market for their livelihoods projects. Further, such relocations tend to disrupt the social networks that people have created in their communities, as people tend to arrange themselves in such a way that those they can get help from are within close range (Harber, 2011).

In fact, Chenwi (2012) argues that since the introduction of the UISP, the government has acted in contrary ways, focusing on evictions as a way of eradicating informal settlements instead of upgrading them, and that this has landed the government in court a few times such as in the case of Plastic View. Such actions by the government are a result of the way in which settlements are framed as 'formal' versus 'informal', with the formal being prefered (Lombard, 2014). This is evident in the Premier of Gauteng's speech emphasising that the city is a formal space, and that inforality should not be tolerated (Makhura, 2016). It is therefore not a surprise that evictions are preferred since informal settlements are considered to be 'outside normal urban consideration'. Chenwi (2012) argues that the state 'attempts to regulate every day life in the city' to the extent that whatever is not in line with that is formally illegal, and thus creates the perception of a zero sum wherein it's either the state or the poor.

2.11   Conclusion

This chapter has provided the historical context under which informal settlements developed in South Africa, starting with the colonial conquests which catalysed unequal land distribution. It

highlighted that the city was made as a preserve of the white and rich, while locking black people out of residence near centres of employment. Thus, highlighting differentiated citizenship through demonstrating the treatment experienced by different race groups as well as non-South Africans. The chapter also outlined the othering that the poor and informal settlements experience as a result of local cities pursuing global city status, with informal settlements being treated as outside urban consideration. It also demonstrated that the government's neoliberal approach to housing is in fact exacerbating the housing crisis, as the poor and largely black are still locked out of the city because they cannot afford to compete with other bidders for suitable land. The following chapter outlines the research methodology followed in the collection and analysis of the research findings.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

In exploring the experiences of the inhabitants of Plastic View, the study has reviewed literature on the order of cities globally, the role of apartheid legislation, as well as globalisation and its influence on the formation of informal settlements in South Africa as a way of giving context to the development of informal settlements like Plastic View. In this chapter a brief discussion of the research method that was used is provided, together with the methods employed to collect and analyse data, followed by an outline of the conceptual framework that was employed in exploring the experiences of the inhabitants of Plastic View.

3.2 Research paradigm

A paradigm is considered as a way of describing a world view or perspective about the nature of reality (ontology), and how the ways of knowing (epistemology) (De Vos, Strydom, Fouche & Delport, 2011). Epistemology describes assumptions about what is regarded as acceptable knowledge, and whether certain things should be considered knowledge or not (Bryman, 2012). For instance, the positivistic paradigm which generally accepts knowledge as that which can be confirmed through the senses and nothing else. It purports an inductive way of arriving at knowledge, where knowledge is gained through collecting facts which are to uncover laws that can be generalised (Bryman, 2012). Further, positivism argues that there is only one external reality, and one objective truth which is fixed, and thus, can be observed directly without any influence. Its goal, unlike that of interpretivism, is to find universal truth or explanations that always hold true so long as the conditions are the same (Rubin & Rubin, 2012).

The interpretivist paradigm differs. It seeks to explain phenomena regardless of whether the findings are generalisable (Rubin & Rubin, 2012). That is the case with this study, as it sought not to generalise, but to highlight the specifics of this informal settlement and highlight what it means to the residents to live in this settlement. It differs from positivism in that it not only seeks to explain human behaviour, but to understand it too. This is facilitated by the influence of hermeneutics and phenomenology which emphasise people's interpretation of human action as well as considers human behaviour as being influenced by people's interpretation of the world (Bryman, 2012). Thus, viewing the nature of knowledge as being subjective, and the truth as context dependent.

Interpretivism "emphasizes the importance of context, of complexity, of examining situations in which many factors interact" hence the emphasis of getting people's different views and interpretations of an event or phenomenon as it gives a richer and more detailed view of the

object of study (Rubin & Rubin, 2012:19). In this view, it was relevant for this study since getting the experiences of the residents, and the other participants allowed for different views, thus, providing a more detailed understanding of Plastic View.

Moreover, because positivists believe in an objective truth, the researcher is believed to be neutral and having no impact on the research process; while in interpretivism the researcher and the participant play a role in how the data is interpreted because they both draw meanings from the social world and do not just experience it, thus, making it impossible to have value-free research (Ormston, Spencer, Barnard, & Snape, 2014). What is considered knowledge in the positivistic paradigm is that which can be observed, measured and verified. It is usually rejected because of its claim that social reality should be studied according to the principles of the natural sciences, which are that science is value free and that the nature of knowledge is objective- that there is no place for values and biases in research (de Vos, et al., 2011).

3.3 Qualitative research

To explore the experiences of the inhabitants of Plastic View, the methodology centred on the qualitative research approach, which is generally oriented towards interpretivist way of conducting research. Although some researchers no longer regard the distinction between quantitative and qualitative research (Bryman, 2012), the researcher, however, finds that the difference between the two approaches is noteworthy as they are grounded on different epistemologies, with quantitative research upholding positivist ideals while qualitative research is more oriented towards interpretivism.

According to Ormston, et al. (2014:2) qualitative research is generally described as "a naturalistic, interpretive approach, concerned with exploring phenomena from the interior and take the perspectives and accounts of research participants as a starting point". Qualitative research thus emphasises words above quantification, it aims to understand social life and the meaning that people attach to everyday life (de Vos et al, 2011). This made the qualitative approach particularly relevant to this study since it explores the experiences of the residents of Plastic View, thus requiring a research strategy which places importance on the perspectives of research participants. Although there are many definitions of qualitative research, they all share an emphasis on richness of data, words and images over numbers, as well as the fact that hypotheses are not stated at the beginning of the study but rather generated through data analysis (Ormston, et al., 2014). Some key features of qualitative research include a focus on "studying things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings that people bring to them" using methods of data collection such as

observational methods, semi-structured and in-depth interviews, as well as focus groups (Ormston, et al., 2014:3). Since the study wanted to explore the experiences of the residents of Plastic View, it was important that the interviews be conducted in Plastic View so as to get a sense of the place which is what qualitative research emphasises.

Further, the qualitative research approach is associated with the interpretivist paradigm which is traceable to Immanuel Kant whose epistemological stance was that the world can be known through means other than direct observation, which people use every day. Kant argued that how we know the world is based on our 'understanding' of what happens, and not just from having experienced whatever happened (Ormston, et al., 2014). This was important for the current study as it would allow the researcher to place the residents of Plastic View at the centre of the research process so that an understanding of what was happening would be drawn from them as actors and not just passive objects.

Another important contributor to qualitative research was Wilhem Dilthey who also highlighted the importance of understanding through studying people's lived experiences and consequently revealing "connections between the social, cultural and historical aspects of people's lives to see the context in which particular actions take place" (Ormston, et al., 2014:11). Therefore, to explore the residents' experiences of Plastic View using place as an analytical tool required seeing these connections and pointing them out as necessary for creating the place. As such, qualitative researchers emphasise interpretation of the social world, as well as the understanding of the phenomena being studied through the interpretations of both the researcher and the participants. Thus, making this research approach relevant for this study as it seeks to explore the "interactions between people and the symbolic meanings people attach to their social actions" (Ormston, et al., 2014:13) as a means of place-making.

3.4 Research design

A research design is defined as "a framework for collecting and analysing data" and is not to be confused with a research method which is a technique for collecting data (Bryman, 2012:46). Research designs reflect the priority attached to expressing causal connections between variables; generalising to larger groups of individuals ; understanding behaviour and the meaning of that behvaiour in its context; as well as having a temporal appreciation of social phenomena and their connections (Bryman, 2012:46). Leedy & Ormrod (2015) identify five research designs within qualitative research can be conducted, namely case study, ethnography, phenomenonlogical study, grounded theory study and content analysis.

The case study design describes a study wherein "a particular individual, program or event is studied in depth for a defined period of time" (Leedy & Ormrod, 2015:271). With this research design the researcher collects extensive data on the identified case so as to promote understanding or inform practice for similar situations. Its usefulness is particulalry for generating preliminary support for hypotheses regarding the case under investigation (Leedy & Ormrod, 2015); while its major limitation is the fact that the findings cannot necessarily generalised to other situations. In contrast to the case study research design, ethnography explores an entire group that shares a common culture in depth, with the focus being on the everyday behaviours of the people in the group so as to identify cultural norms, beliefs and other patterns (Leedy & Ormrod, 2015). The essence of ethnography studies is site-based fieldwork (particulalry participant observavtion) which takes place in the natural setting of the identified group for a lengthy period (Leedy & Ormrod, 2015). The phenomenological study, on the other hand, "attempts to understand people's perceptions" in relation to a particular situation (Leedy & Ormrod, 2015:273). It involves lengthy, unstructured interviews of multiple people for the purpose of making generalisations of what something is like from an insider's persepctives- the interviews tend to be more of an informal conversation with the researcher doing little speaking (Leedy & Ormrod, 2015). Content analysis is "a detailed and systematic examination of the contents of a particular body of material for the purpose of identifying patterns, themes and biases" (Leedy & Ormrod, 2015:274) and is typically done on forms of human communication. This research design is normally a part of the data analysis of other research designs, and not so much a stand-alone design.

Finally, grounded theory study, the research design used in this study, has been defined as "theory that was derived from data, systematically gathered and analyzed through the research process. In this method, data collection, analysis, and eventual theory stand in close relationship to one another" (Strauss & Corbin 1998 in Bryman, 2012:387). Bryman (2012) highlights that some researchers view grounded theory as an approach to qualitative research, while others view it as an approach to generating theory. Here, a distinction is made between substantive and formal theory, with substantive theory elucidating a description and abstraction of a social setting without necessarily making claims that the abstraction would apply in other situations. Formal theory is the development of abstractions and hypotheses about the relationship among abstractions, thus allowing an explanation for many kinds of settings (Delport, et al., 2011).

This study deploys grounded theory as an approach to generating theory, as a framework for both collecting and analysing data. It is called grounded theory because "the theory that emerges from the study is derived from and is rooted in data that will have been collected in the field rather than taken from the research literature" (Leedy & Ormrod, 2015:274). It was thus

chosen because the researcher found herself asking different questions as a result of the data that she came upon in the field. The researcher had decided to study Plastic View because of the newspaper reports about this informal settlement that was located in the suburbs, and the residents of the settlement taking the City to court for formal housing, only to find that that was not the case. This led the study in a different path, where the stories of the participants regarding how the City's actions led to the establishment of Plastic View, and thus exploring that experience from the participants.

Grounded theory was deemed appropriate for this study as researchers like Clarke (2012) advocate for its usefulness in developing countries and settings where situatedness is of importance. The method was also preferred because it can highlight both the specifics of the local situation materially as well as the perspectives of local people. The grounded theory enables a researcher to grasp the perspectives of the local people regarding their needs. Further, because grounded theory is committed to representing participants in their own terms and through their own perspectives (Clarke, 2012), it made it appropriate for this study which aimed to explore the experiences of the residents of Plastic View. It is also advantageous for exposing contradicting narratives within different positions and social groups as well as 'making silences speak' - the main objective of interviewing the residents of the camp[3] (Clarke, 2012).

Research on Plastic View was based mainly on newspaper reports, which the researcher discovered during fieldwork. These reports were not detailed enough and had some discrepancies when compared to the participants' reports. As such, the study took on the nature of grounded theory which is described as 'data-grounded theorising' wherein the data leads the direction of the research process (Clarke, 2012). Although it is often regarded as inductive, it, in fact, does not favour either inductive or deductive reasoning because a researcher can use both theory and observation together to make an inference, thereby using a theory to interpret a phenomenon (Dey, 2004). It is therefore abductive, in that in the current study, the researcher started with a theory based on newspaper reports which told the story of how the Plastic View residents randomly decided to put up shelter in the Moreleta Park and resisted all the City's efforts to evict them as they were there illegally. The articles indicated that they somehow managed to get the City to offer them permanent housing through the mixed-income housing plan. However, when the researcher got to the field and made some observations, the researcher realised that there was so much more to this case than what was reported, and that some of the events that were reported were misconstrued. In this way, the researcher could

---

[3] The researcher refers to Plastic View as a 'camp' because that is what the respondents call it instead of a "settlement" since it was developed as an area that was 'camped in' by the erected fence.

make inferences based more on the findings than the initial theory. This then motivated the use of the grounded theory which enabled the researcher to generate theory by going back and forth between the research data and the abstract ways of thinking about them (Clarke, 2012).

The case that was used to extend knowledge and understanding of the experiences of an urban informal settlement in South Africa after 1994 is the informal settlement Plastic View in Pretoria East, South Africa. It was chosen particularly because of the court battles that it has been engaged with against the City of Tshwane. These are documented in the local newspapers such as Pretoria News and the Mail & Guardian, to name a few. These reports caught the researcher's attention when an article was published with the informal settlement pictured in front of the suburb, Meadow Ridge, displaying the two contrasting sites next to each other.

The reports in the local newspaper (Venter, 2013) told a story of how these poor people had invaded private land, and then took the City to court to get formal housing. It was reported that the City tried to formalise the area by giving the identified residents identity cards, but that the process was brought to a halt because the people were duplicating them. However, when the researcher got to the field, it was found that these reports were 'alternative truths', thus not quite true. In fact, the researcher was told that the local newspapers were on a mission to discredit the settlement and all those involved in trying to fight for the residents' right to the city. So, even though the newspaper reports were the initial sources of information about Plastic View, the responses of the participants brought forth new and different information about similar events.

Thus, abductive reasoning allowed the researcher to engage in both theory (through looking at the newspaper reports) as well as interviews before reaching some form of thesis. Moreover, the grounded theory framework enabled the researcher to get a view of the residents' perception of Plastic View, how it was established and what sort of impact that has had on the relationship between the state and the poor; and by extrapolation, inform theory on how the poor relate to the city in post-apartheid South Africa.

3.5 Procedure for gaining access

Upon the initial visit, the researcher met Brighton, a community member who is from Zimbabwe. He was at a small stall which was located under a tree by the east gate of the settlement. Due to the area being unfamiliar to the researcher and reported to be quite dangerous, I had a male research assistant who accompanied me to the camp. He made some conversation with him and the owner of the stall, explaining to them why we were there. Brighton extended his help to me and offered to show me around as well as introduce me to the community leaders who were

then asked for permission to interview other community members regarding the study. After a few visits the research assistant was no longer needed as Brighton took on the role. His presence not only helped with the perception of safety for me, it also made the participants feel comfortable as many of them were men. So, speaking to another man put them at ease. In fact, there were instances where the participants would engage him instead of me, and this was welcome, since the he had a good grasp of the study and knew which questions to ask. The community leaders initially interviewed made referrals to other community members who they thought could be useful. Upon meeting the community members, the purpose of the interview was explained - that it is solely for academic purposes, together with the participants' role in the study.

Due to participants' precarious position, they were not made to sign the consent form (as such their real names have not been used) but its content was explained to them. The content of the information sheet was also explained to participants, expressing that their participation in the study is voluntary and that they can end their participation at any moment should they need to. They were also assured that all information will be treated with confidentiality.

3.6 Sampling

Sampling is the method of selecting participants (or units) from a population of interest, as such a sample is "the segment of the population that is selected for investigation. It is a subset of the population" (Bryman, 2012:187). There are different ways to go about sampling, with the main categories being probability sampling and non-probability sampling. A probability sample is one which "has been selected using random selection so that each unit in the population has a known chance of being selected" (Bryman, 2012:187); while non-probability sampling results in a sample that has not been selected using a random selection method, meaning that some units in the population are more likely to be selected than others because randomisation is not important (Bryman, 2012). This study made use of non-probability sampling methods namely purposive, and theoretical sampling because of the different groups of participants that were interviewed as a result of the themes that emerged during data collection and which thus needed following up on.

In working within grounded theory as a mode of analysis, the initial sampling method used was purposive sampling, which is defined as the intentional choice of participants due to specific qualities that they possess such as experience and knowledge on a topic, it entails non-random selection of participants (Salkind, et al., 2010). The selected participants tend to be those who are 'typical' of a group (Salkind, et al, 2010), in that they have specific characteristics that make them relevant to the study and helpful in responding to the research question. The goal is to

sample in a strategic way that ensures that participants are relevant to the research goals. This is not to be confused with convenience sampling wherein the sample is chosen because of accessibility (Bryman, 2012). In this case, those people were Brighton and the community leaders Ben, Sam, and Donny who have stayed in this area from the beginning, even before it was the Plastic View camp. What makes them 'typical' is the very fact that they have been in the camp for long and being community leaders means that they have more information that general community members might not have and thus, are knowledgeable about the history and experiences of the camp.

3.6.1 Key-informant sampling

The study also made use of key-informant sampling, wherein the researcher depends upon information received from the community regarding who might be an expert on the topic (de Vos et al, 2011). A key informant is someone who is particularly informed about the community as they have first-hand knowledge about it, they assist the researcher with getting access to not just insights but also other people who have such insights (De Vos, et al., 2011). A benefit of having key informants is that they tend to gain an appreciation of the research and can better direct the researcher to people or events that can be helpful (Bryman, 2012). As such, Brighton and Ben were the main key informants as they were the ones who provided most of the background information regarding the camp and introduced and accompanied the researcher to other participants. However, the researcher was also introduced to the leaders of the NGO Tswelopele and representatives from Lawyers for Human Rights who had all been crucial in the court battles against the municipality, as well as in aiding the residents to get by even before the establishment of the camp. Interviews with the Dredge's from Tswelopele were conducted in their home in Moreleta Park; while those with The Lawyers for Human Rights were conducted in their offices in central Pretoria. These two sources of information helped in providing a historical view of the establishment of Plastic View as well as more detail into the legal battles that went into informing theory on how the poor of Plastic View relate to the city and describing the power relations between them.

3.6.2 Theoretical sampling

Theoretical sampling is a form of purposive sampling which Glaser and Strauss (in Bryman, 2012: 419) define as "'the process of data collection for generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes, and analyses his data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them, in order to develop his theory as it emerges. The process of data collection is controlled by the emerging theory, whether substantive or formal." This form of sampling emphasises selecting participants for the purpose of generating understanding of theory,

therefore going back and forth between sampling and emerging theoretical ideas (Bryman, 2012). This is unlike the probability sampling method of statistical sampling which is unsuitable for qualitative research as its aim is to "obtain accurate evidence on distributions of people among categories to be used in descriptions and verifications" (Glaser & Strauss 1967, in Bryman, 2012:420). As the study progressed and having spoken to the community leaders, it was evident that the leaders of Tswelopele[4] as well as the journalist who reported frequently on the community of Plastic View had some information that would close some gaps and elaborate on questions that the community members could not entirely respond to. This is called theoretical sampling, wherein a researcher follows up on facts that were identified during the provisional analysis of the data (Clarke, 2012).

The researcher had initially contacted the journalist that often reported on the camp from the Pretoria News. The journalist had been introduced to the researcher by a friend who works with her. After some extensive discussion with the journalist, she felt that she could not give me sufficient information, and then referred the researcher to Louise Du Plessis from Lawyers for Human Rights who arrived with her colleague for the interview. The researcher also contacted the leaders of Tswelopele, Denise and Collin Dredge, after having heard much about them from the participants from the camp.

The informants from Plastic View were a total of 11 men and women originating from different parts of South Africa, as well as from Lesotho and Zimbabwe, between the ages of 30 and 75 as they are old enough to have some institutional memory about the struggles of the community since 2006, as well as their own struggles prior to the establishment of the camp. Many of them lived in different areas in the veld long before coming to this area where Plastic View is currently standing. Together with the four participants from Tswelopele and Lawyers for Human Rights, the informants were 15 in total. This is because without getting more non-South African participants, the data had reached theoretical saturation, that is the data has formed and confirmed the importance of a category such that no new data is emerging regarding identified categories (Bryman, 2012).

The informants from the camp were evenly distributed according to gender, with six women being interviewed and five men. Of these 11 men and women, three were community leaders and the rest were general community members who varied in terms of how long they have been

---

[4] A community-based organisation that is dedicated to finding solutions to the problems of urbanisation, rampant poverty and homelessness which has been aiding the community of Plastic View since its inception.

in the area. Some of them had been there from the very beginning, since before 2006 when it was still just a veld. Some had been there since 2009 when the camp was established; while others arrived when the camp was already established. One of the informants had only been there for two years but was able to give the researcher insight into the experiences of the camp such as fears about safety and how people do not care for the cleanliness of the camp.

3.7 Data collection

3.7.1 Document review

The use of documents as sources of data entails reviewing different kinds of sources such as statistics, photographs, texts and visual data, and these can include personal letters, official documents from the state or private sources, and mass-media outputs (Bryman, 2012). For this study, the researcher mainly made use of newspaper articles as the community of Plastic View has received much media attention as well as court judgements that relay the court proceedings and consequent judgements. The newspaper reports were mainly from the Independent Online also known as IOL by Mudzuli (2015), Tlhabye (2015), Venter (2013), Venter (2015) and Venter (2013); an article from Pretoria News by Du Preez (2012); and also an article from the Mail & Guardian by Evans (2015). Articles on court judgments where obtained from the Bloemfontein Court of Appeal and the Pretoria High Court.

These sources of information allowed the researcher to situate contemporary accounts within a historical context, which is how the study was initiated and data collection started. The sources also allowed comparisons between people's interpretations and that which is recorded in documents, thus making documents part of the knowledge-production process. Documents were significant in that they also provided information about the way events were constructed, the reasons employed, and also highlighted information that led to further investigation (May, 2011). For instance, it was found that the name 'Plastic View' came from the papers and not the residents themselves. The official name of the place is Woodlane Village. In fact, when the researcher interviewed Collin and Denise from Tswelopele, the researcher was reprimanded for calling the area Plastic View as they considered it to be a derogatory name that came from the suburban residents who did not want the residents there. So, the researcher was faced with a moral dilemma whether to use the derogatory name or the formal name. The researcher stuck to the derogatory name - not because the researcher wanted to insult the residents, but because it is the name that everyone uses, even the residents. This study is aimed at hearing their voices and portraying their frames of reference, so using their terms is part of that.

3.7.2 In-depth interviews

Interviews are defined as "methods of maintaining and generating conversations with people on a specific topic or range of topics and the interpretations which social researchers make of the resultant data" (May, 2011:11). There are generally two kinds of interviewing, structured and unstructured interviews, with the qualitative research approach favouring semi-structured interviews. With semi-structured interviews the researcher has a list of questions or topics, referred to as an interview guide, which they follow when interviewing participants. What makes it semi-structured is the fact that the participant can lead the discussion and even speak on things not asked, however every participant is asked all the questions using similar wording (Bryman, 2012).

In-depth interviews are defined by Kumar (2011:160) as "face-to-face encounters between the researcher and informants directed towards understanding informants' perspectives on their lives, experiences, or situations as expressed in their own words." As such, in-depth interviews were useful in ascertaining the reasons behind the establishment of Plastic View as well as gauging the experiences of living in Plastic View. Interviews yielded more information than that which was asked for by the researcher since the participant could use their own words and elaborate as much as possible; which is also why they were appropriate for grounded theorising. Further, the use of participants' own words allowed for more insight into their world view (May, 2011), especially since the whole exercise was about understanding the experience of the participants and the meaning they made of that experience (de Vos et al, 2011).

However, the method of interviewing as a means to access experiences has been critiqued by the positivist school of thought. This school argues that what people say about their experiences almost always vary with the facts (everyone's perceptions are subjective); as well as that retrospective accounts tend to be subject to 'conventionalisation' with people talking about their lives in line with current theories at time of interview and subsequent events (Kitzinger, 2004). On the other hand, postmodernism answers these concerns by disputing the possibility of uncovering 'facts', 'realities', or 'truths' behind the talk, and considers inappropriate any attempt to vet what people say for its 'accuracy', 'reliability', or 'validity' (Kitzinger, 2004:128). What this school of thought proposes is that what participants' say be not be taken as evidence per se, but rather as a discourse or repertoire that represents a culturally available way of packaging experience. This highlights the value of in-depth interviews in showing that experiences are embedded in a social web of interpretation and re-interpretation; that participants' experiences are not 'uncontaminated' but are structured within social discourses (Kitzinger, 2004). Also, this

method of collecting data gives some form of representation to those on the periphery, which is one of the objectives of this study.

For that aim, a total of 13 in-depth interviews with 15 participants were conducted to get a sense of the experiences of the residents if Plastic View. The interviews with the LHR and Tswelopele had two participants in each interview, and there was an interview with Thabisile and her husband. This is because of the time constraints of the project, and because it is generally accepted that about 12 in-depth interviews are ideal for reaching saturation point (de Vos et al, 2011). Eleven of the interviews took place in the community of Plastic View in the informants' homes, or like in the case of one informant, at their workplace. The other two interviews took place at the offices of the lawyers, as well as the home of the Dredge's.

Conducting the interviews at the homes of the participants was found to be suitable as the participants were comfortable. This also allowed for friends and spouses to join in the conversation, which had its positive and negative factors. There were instances wherein during an interview, the spouse would come in and start conversation, thus disrupting us; and, there was an instance where the spouse jumped into the conversation and dominated the discussion. Although the input was insightful, this cause unnecessary disruption.

The interviews started with introductions led by Brighton or Sam (community leader) wherein they told the participants who the researcher was - a student from the University of Pretoria who sought to find out about Plastic View and the life in the camp. Most participants easily accepted and allowed the researcher to ask questions; others just started telling the researcher what they thought she wanted to know, while others displayed some scepticism and wanted to know more about who the researcher was and exactly what would happen during the interview process and with the information they provided.

The interviews lasted between 30 minutes to just over an hour, and not all of them were audio recorded, but notes were taken. This is because of noise levels, as well as the comfort of the participants. Some participants did not feel comfortable with being audio recorded; while with the instance of the barber, for example, there was a lot of activity in the area and so the audio quality was poor and so the recording had to be discarded.

With the case of the lawyers, the researcher had initially intended to interview only one lawyer, Louise, but had to also interview Colin and Denise, the founders of Tswelopele Step-by-step at their home in Pretoria East, where a more in-depth account of how the camp came about; from when the people were just sleeping in the bushes, the attempted evictions by the City, and the

subsequent court cases up until the camp came to be what it is today. They stated that they are not as involved with the camp anymore because of the threats that have been made to their lives as well as because they thought that if they distanced themselves, then the community would have a better chance of moving on.

3.8 Data analysis

Qualitative data analysis "is the non-numerical assessment of observations made through participant observations, content analysis, in-depth interviews, and other qualitative research techniques" (Babbie, 2013:389). In line with grounded theory and its iterative method of collecting and anaylsing data, many qaulitative data analysis methods have data collection, analysis and theory intertwined. Babbie (2013) described three methods of data analysis, namely; conversation analysis, semiotics, and constant comapartive method. Conversation analysis is "a meticulous analysis of the details of conversation, based on a complete transcript that includes pauses, hems, and also haws" (Babbie, 2013:395). It is based on three fundamental assumptions: that conversation is a socially constructed activity; that conversations should be understood contextually; that conversational analysis "aims to understand the structure and meaning of conversation through excrutiatingly accurate transcripts of conversations" (Babbie, 2013:395). Semiotics, on the other hand has to do with symbols and meanings, and thus defined as the "science of signs" and is commonly associated with content analysis (Babbie, 2013:39).

Constant comparative method is a component of Grounded Theory wherein observations are compared with another and with the evolving inductive theory (Babbie, 2013). The analysis starts with a comparison of incidents which are applicable to identified categories, and then followed by noting relationships among concepts, this is called open-coding. After that, the researcher delimits the theory by disregarding concepts which have been identified as irrelevant for the inquiry, and then finally writes the theory (Babbie, 2013). When delimiting the theory, a researcher follows what is called axial coding, wherein some categories and themes are identified as central to the research problem while irrelevant ones are disregarded. This is then followed by selective coding and theory development, wherein "a single category is chosen as the core concept in the phenomenon, and a theory is developed based on this concept and its interrelationships with other categories" (Leedy & Ormrod, 2015:316). This theory depicts "the evolving nature of the phenomenon and describes how certain conditions lead to certain actions or interactions, how those actions or interactions lead to other actions, and so on, with the typical sequence of events being laid out. The result tends to be a general story line that describes "what happens" in the phenomenon being studied." (Leedy & Ormrod, 2015:316).

The method of constant comparative method was chosen as it is a component of grounded theory. It was useful because it allowed the researcher to constantly review the data and make connections to literature, thus making it abductive. Although some scholars consider the method as restrictive, the researcher did not experience such a challenge because she followed the view of Dey (2004) who disregards claims that grounded theory is inductive. Dey (2004) argues that grounded theory does not favour either inductive or deductive reasoning because a researcher can use both theory and observation together to make an inference- in that way, using a theory to interpret a phenomenon (Dey, 2004). The research design allows one to go back and forth between data and theory, as naturally no reseacher is ever tabula rasa.

3.9 Ethical considerations

To obtain responses to the questions posed about the experiences of the Plastic View, and consequently the relationship between the poor and the city, the researcher had to build a healthy rapport with the participants. To do that a relationship of mutual trust had to be built on some principles of ethics such as avoidance of harm, reflexivity as well as confidentiality and anonymity which are discussed in this section.

3.9.1 Reflexivity

Reflexivity is defined as "active acknowledgement by the researcher that her/his own actions and decisions will inevitably impact upon the meaning and context of the experience under investigation" (Lietz, Langer, & Furman, 2006:447). In line with the grounded theory and its recognition that data is co-created with the participant and the researcher; and that both are embedded in the social context of the research (Clarke, 2012), it was important that the influence of the researcher be disclosed. Further, the researcher made efforts to reduce the effects of reactivity and bias so as to prioritise the perspectives of the participants over that of the researcher (Lietz, et al., 2006). This was done through first dressing rather casually when going to the camp, so as not to stick out, in old t-shirts, jeans and sneakers. I also avoided walking around with my notepad in my hand, as this would have made people weary of me and my intentions, and thus want to give responses that they considered I wanted to hear. Upon meeting participants, I spoke whichever languages we were both comfortable with, such as isiZulu, Sesotho and in the case of the one Shona participant we spoke English. This aided with gaining the participants' trust and getting them to relax and speak freely. "The way people talk about their experiences depends on who they are talking to, what they have been asked, what shared knowledge they think can be assumed, and what kinds of reactions they anticipate and receive" (Kitzinger, 2004:133).

However, being a young, female, black, South African university student entering Plastic View and interviewing mostly black men with lower (if any) educational qualifications had an influence on the sort of information that the researcher received and even in the way she was spoken to. That was further highlighted in the interview with one foreign national participant who might not have legal citizenship because she was tense and struggled with being frank in responding to questions. These are factors that the researcher had to keep in mind throughout the research process and try to manage. Walking around with Brighton aided to some extent with this, as people are more familiar with him, so he sometimes broke the ice by providing explanation for why I wanted to interview them and calming their anxiety.

3.9.2   Confidentiality

Further, working with participants from an informal settlement, and considering their precarious nature, the issue of confidentiality is quite important. Confidentiality refers to an agreement between persons that expressing that information shared will be limited to only a few people and can sometimes be confused with 'anonymity' which is about participants not being identifiable to anyone after the interviews (Strydom, 2011). The participants themselves were worried about this issue which is probably the reason why some who had agreed to participate probably backed out. Some even refused to be recorded because they did not trust that the recordings would not expose them in any way. However, they were informed that their responses would be treated with the utmost confidentiality, and that their names would also not appear in the final study hence their names were changed in the study. Only the researcher, the research assistant, the supervisor and community leader has access to this information.

3.9.3   Informed consent and voluntary participation

A researcher has the responsibility to protect participants by providing them with all the necessary information regarding the study such as its purpose, what is expected from the participants, the procedures involved, the duration of involvement, as well as the potential risks that can arise from participating in the study (Strydom, 2011). However, participants in this study were not made to complete written consent forms (even though they were provided) due to the precariousness of their position; and instead, verbal consent was granted. Regarding the consent, participants were made aware of their right to withdraw their participation at any point. This was complex because the presence of the community leader accompanying the researcher might have influenced participants' decision to participate due to his position in the community.

3.10   Conceptual framework

Concepts are "the way we make sense of the social world' and are important for how the research findings are organised, giving the reader a lens through which to look at the data and make sense of it" (Bryman, 2012:77). Concepts may either arise out of the collected data (deductive reasoning), or data may be used to shed light on a specific concept (inductive reasoning). However, it has been argued that a researcher does not start as a blank canvas. Thus, there may be concepts that orient a researcher towards a topic from the start, or concepts that emerge as data is being collected and analysed (Bryman, 2012). To provide a framework on how the experiences of the inhabitants of Plastic View can be understood, the study made use of a few concepts: 'place' and 'insurgent citizenship'. This section will discuss them briefly.

3.10.1 Place-making

A concept which proves to be a useful analytical lens through which to explore the experiences of the residents of Plastic View is 'place'. The concept moves away from viewing informal settlements as something out of the ordinary within the urban space, as 'an object to be removed,' and the residents of these settlements as "an out-of-place population, as the obnoxious and repugnant other, always undeserving and tainted" (Lombard, 2014:10). It allows us to use the every day practices of residents to understand the city, not as one where informality exits inspite of it, but where informality is part and parcel of the city and urban form.

The concept is broadly understood as 'spaces that people are attached to', and constituted by location, locale, and sense of place; wherein location refers to the 'where' of a place, locale to the material form of the place e.g. the roads and buildings, and sense of place refers to "the subjective and emotional attachment people have to place" (Lombard, 2014:11). Many scholars link 'place' to coherent and homogenous communities, which they now argue are being challenged by 'time-space compression' which leads to new and different identities inhabiting such spaces (Massey, 1991). This is the basis for some of the reactionary and defensive responses of nationalism, antagonising 'outsiders' and an obsession with 'heritage'.

Massey (1991) argues that this conceptualisation of 'place' is problematic because it assumes that places have single, essential identities, and emphasises difference thus creating a 'us' and 'them'. Massey (1991) argues that it emphasises heritage by constantly looking back at what an area was like, and who was a part of it. This is clearly problematic in the South African context as black people were denied citizenship in the country, and prohibited from residing in urban areas. Additionally, South Africans' view of their African counterparts - that they do not belong, and should not partake of the spoils of 'our' democracy also reflect this problematic rhetoric. It

thus creates boundaries, marking who belongs - and those who do not are the ones who were excluded historically (Massey, 1991).

Informal settlements should instead be viewed through the analytical lense of place-making, which views power relations as an entangled process which is "…fragmentary, uneven and inconstistent…" (Lombard, 2014:13). As an analytical lens 'place' opens knowledge production to the different actors who use the space since "there is never one single sense of place which everyone shares" (Lombard, 2014:12). Different people occupy different positions within a given community, and it is the mixture of multiple identities that give the place its full identitiy. Practically, this is illustrated in that the relationship between the residents of Plastic View and the state is one of both compliance and resistance- seen in the fact that the residents initially stayed in the area without permission from the state, yet presently the state provides infrastructure and basic services to Plastic View. Further, place-making would provide an opportunity to showcase informal settlement residents as agents and partakers in the construction of the city, thus challenging ideas about knowledge production. Since cities are made from informal processes just as much as they are made from formal ones. Currently, it is the government and its planners, together with capital, that are asserting to know what is required for the urban space, regardless of the how those who dwell in it use or value it (Purcell, 2003).

Lombard (2014) gives an account of place with focus on lived experience, power and process. Place is linked to lived experience because it is the everyday activities that give a space a sense of place, in fact it is these activities that characterise a place. Further, the emphasis on the everyday allows for the residents' views to be expressed and incorporated into knowledge about the city. This includes seeing the different power plays involved, with residents displaying both resistance to and compliance with the structures of the state, for example, resistance against the attempted evictions by going back to the area; while eventually complying by only building structures with plastic as ordered by the court. Viewing place as process enables us to frame the residents of informal settlements as agents who are both influenced by the structures of place and who also influence those structures through their activities (Lombard, 2014). It infers a focus not on the planned and regulated, but on the ways the place is used daily, which includes the hopes and aspirations that residents have for the improvement of the place. Therefore, informal settlements as social process means that they can viewed more broadly, taking cognisance of the social, political, legal, technical and spatial aspects (Lombard, 2014).

This study, therefore, looks at some of the residents' experiences, the perceptions of the lawyers involved with the community as well as the NGO, Tswelopele which has been crucial in the establishment of the camp.

3.10.2 Insurgent citizenship

The notion of insurgency can be traced back to James Holston (2009) who describes it as acts or practices that make claims for inclusion, and that seek to materialise substantive rights - rights that relate to the civil, political and social. Substantive rights are set against formal citizenship which is the legal status one has to be called a citizen of a particular state. They are the privileges that come with the formal citizenship such as housing, water and electricity (Knudsen, 2007). This concept of insurgent citizenship is, therefore, relevant to this study because it speaks to a struggle for the right to a life that is conceived as worthy of a citizen such as having a proper house with running water and electricity, for instance.

The concept questions the notion of equality based on formal citizenship. It highlights that although rights are available to all, they cannot be exercised by all because of structural factors as well as unequal power relations (Purcell, 2003). The poor have the right to housing, but cannot access it because they cannot afford it. the poor have the right to stay wherever they choose, but cannot do so because of the costs of living in certain areas. In fact, these practices are influenced by the desire to fulfil the promises of democracy - of the liberation struggle (Narsiah, 2007) which include the promise of housing for all.

Under the apartheid oppression, black people were restricted to 'homelands' and were prohibited from residing in the city because of policies of racial exclusion; and now the poor (mainly Black) are still prohibited from residing in the city. However, this time it is because of their economic class. Therefore, it can be said that these insurgent practices are "the articulation of the desire for the realisation of the liberation struggle: the emancipation from oppressive spaces to spaces of liberation" (Narsiah, 2007:41). This is particularly with the view that informal settlements across South Africa are also places inhabited by many foreign nationals as arrival areas (Amin & Cirolia, 2018). So, insurgent citizenship, in post-apartheid South Africa speaks to the practice of the poor inscribing "their presence in the otherwise inaccessible city" due to "market factors" through establishing informal settlements (Fawaz, 2009:827). The concept also indicates that it is space to which those who have fled hardships from their home country can inhabit as they seek a better life for themselves and their families. As such, this concept is thus relevant to this study because it describes the dynamic that is evident in the camp in how the inhabitants are treated and seen.

3.11   Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the method of enquiry used to explore the key research question. It highlighted the chosen qualitative approach and some of the philosophical issues associated with it and also outlined the data collection process which followed in this study. In addition, the chapter highlighted some ethical considerations that were deployed during data collection. The chapter concluded by highlighting the concepts through which the findings of the study could be interpreted and understood.

The next chapter discusses the findings of the study using the 'place' as an analytical tool.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

The major aim of this study was to explore the experiences of the inhabitants of Plastic View and the way the camp was established. The study used the concept of 'place' as an analytical lens through which to explore the different activities that have gone into making Plastic View. The current chapter focuses on how the residents experience the City of Tshwane as well as some of the institutions of the state. It outlines, using the court judgements as well as reports from some of the interviewees, how Plastic View came about. This is followed by an indication of the kind of people who occupy the area as well as why they reside in the camp. The chapter also indicates the people's experiences of the place as well as the surroundings. All this is done with the aim of addressing the research objectives as outlined in the first chapter. The chapter then conclude with a broader reflection about the relationship between the poor and the city in post-apartheid. Figure 4.1 below shows the map of the study area.
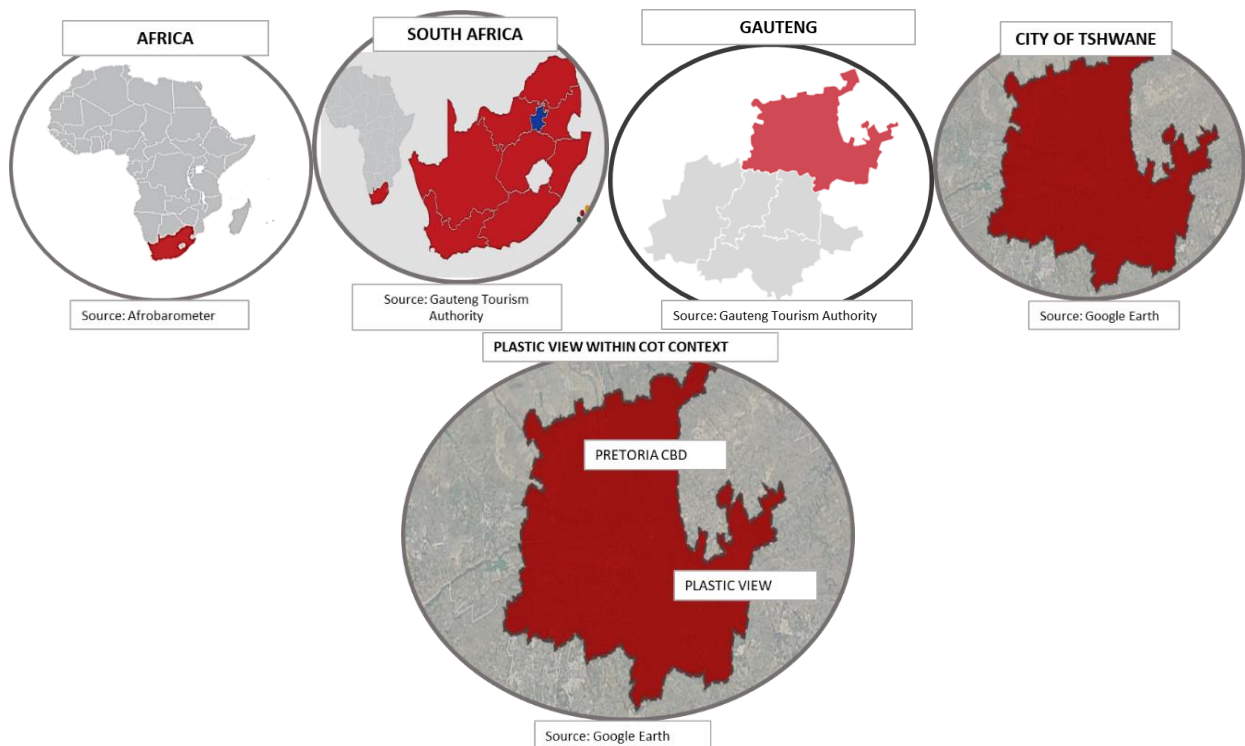
Figure 4.1: Study area context and locality map

4.2 Plastic View: the beginning

The story of Plastic View seems to have started when the newspapers learnt of the news that Tshwane Municipality was being taken to court by the informal residents. However, upon sitting with the residents as well as the leaders of Tswelopele, the researcher found that the story started long before that. Many of the residents started living in the area before they could even

put up shacks, sleeping under some make-shift shelter while others came from different parts of the city, province, country and continent (see Figure 4.2 below). Many came from 26 little encampments on the extended area between Moreleta Park and Mooikloof Ridge, where they had grouped themselves based on their nationalities. That is except for the Zimbabwean group which was quite large; they were divided according to the regions of Zimbabwe where the people came from (D Dredge, interview, 2017). These groups were also named either with the names of places or the informal leader's name. This was suggested by the Dredges because they say that it made it easier to send assistance if they knew where to go.

> What we had to do is name each camp and each leader. Because we would get calls at 2 am saying 'please come, somebody's hurt' and then I say, 'where are you?', and they say, 'we're here.' So, we went to the leadership in the group- each group had some informal leader. So, we took their names, and if they say 'I'm in Nelson's camp' then we knew where it was. There was also a camp called Maseru, which was most Lesotho people as well as South Africans, because they intermarried (Denise).

The Dredges are the Christian couple Colin Dredge and Denise Dredge who stay in Moreleta Park. They run Tswelopele Step-by-Step, the NGO that has been extensively involved in the establishment of Plastic View. They tell the story of how they started noticing people on the sides of the Garsfontein Road where the Moreleta Park Gemeente is now (it was veld at that point) and decided to reach out to them and hand out some food while also getting to know them. Naturally, the group grew over time, so they moved to the area by the Woodlands Boulevard mall where there was shade from the trees.

> While we were working with those people there, we started noticing that there were a lot more people that started coming down to us from up here. So, then we moved our operation to up there, close to Woodlands Boulevard where there was a row of trees that made some shade. We realised that we can't just feed all these people, we gotta do something. So, we started our "learn to earn model" where we would present life skills on a Sunday morning- because that's sort of the only day when they weren't working or looking for work. They can get food assistance for attending a class. Then we started the life skills, and as they worked through the programme, we asked them what else they want to do, and they said learn English. We had a retired teacher who started doing Basic English with them. It went on and we did Advanced English, Afrikaans, Basic literacy on Sepedi, food garden development, a group of women doing hand crafts… (Denise)

Some of the residents of the camp narrated that after having been homeless for a while, they decided to sleep in what used to be open veld next to the Checkers by Moreleta Park; and that

the establishment of Woodlane Village (the official name for the camp) came about because of the efforts of Denise and Colin Dredge. They used to visit the squatters in the veld and share Christian doctrine with them, food packages as well as gave them health education.

He just put things together like material- plastics so that we could have shelter. But when we started with the shacks, the Metro's came and destroyed everything. I went to work, and when I came back I found that it was destroyed- our things were on the ground. So, we would just put it together again just so that we could sleep. But after two or three days, they would come back. That is up until Collin opened a case against the Metro's. He tried everything, like getting us this camp so we can be safe (Sam).

They are people from overseas, but they are around. I have never really asked where exactly, but they are from overseas. They are the ones who gathered everyone around. At that time, they used to carry cooler bags- they are Christians, so they used to carry cooler bags with bread and stuff. They would play the guitar and sing […] so it got to a point where they saw that people are really struggling, and so they spoke to the City of Tshwane (Ben).

And the moment we started talking to them- when they gathered around us on the pavement, then the residents saw us. So, we would have people driving past and threatening to shoot us- it was really ugly stuff. Then they would phone the municipality and complain about the people living there. The police would come out there. The one day we had people from America with us. That day the police came out with caspers, on horseback, with helicopters- it was like Armageddon. And at that stage there were only 75 people living there, so to have this huge operation for 75 homeless people that were then beaten up, assaulted, had their clothing and blankets and food burnt- it was like out of the dark ages. That was way before 2006 (Collin).
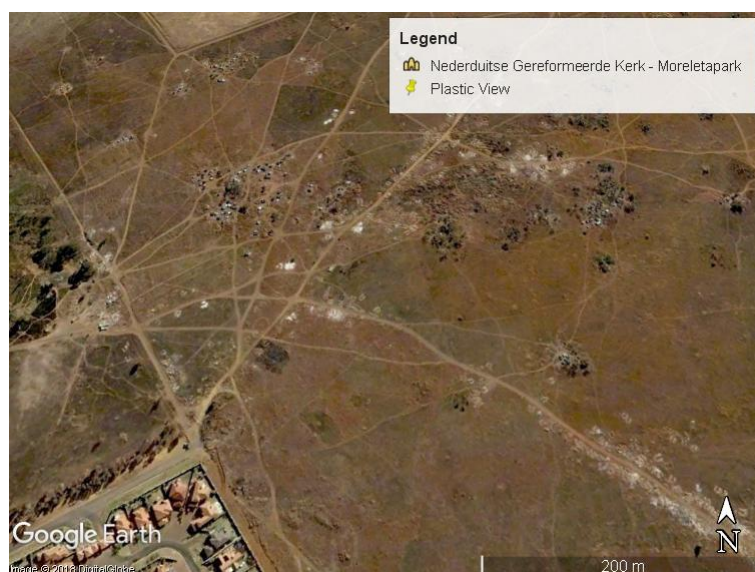

Figure 4.2: The encampment people inhabited in 2008

Source: Google Earth, 2018

4.3 Plastic View: the eviction

In the early hours of Friday morning 31 March 2006, about one hundred persons were illegally evicted from their homes, and their belongings (including building materials) torched by three government agencies. These were, the Nature Conservation division of the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality, the Immigration Control office of the Department of Home Affairs, as well as the South African South African Police (SAPS). The agencies were accompanied by members of the Garsfontein Community Policing Forum (Tswelopele Non-Profit Organisation and Others V City Of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality, 2006). This eviction was illegal because there was no court order, and Section 26(3) of the Constitution states that 'No one may be evicted from their home, or have their home demolished, without an order of court made after considering all the relevant circumstances. No legislation may permit arbitrary evictions.' Further, the Prevention of Illegal Eviction from and Unlawful Occupation of Land Act 19 of 1998 ('PIE') decrees that 'No person may evict an unlawful occupier except on the authority of an order of a competent court'. Thus, by doing this, the government agencies ignored the law and violated the rights of the residents.

Consequently, Tswelopele: Step-by-step brought an urgent application in the Pretoria High Court, with one of the founders Mr. Colin Dredge stating that he received a call from one of the residents and went to the settlement, where he saw the agencies burning down shacks and cutting down trees. He asked to see some sort of authorisation for doing such, but they did not provide him with any. The agencies responded to this by saying that they were there 'to eradicate alien vegetation' (even while admitting that its nature conservation division was not responsible for the site); Home Affairs said it participated solely 'to identify non-documented illegal immigrants'. The Garsfontein police station acting commander, senior superintendent John Tinyiko Masia – who admitted planning the action with the other governmental agencies – described it as but a 'crime fighting operation' (Tswelopele Non-Profit Organisation and Others V City Of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality, 2006).

> At three o clock in the morning, the coldest day of winter they came in and they broke down shacks- the beams were falling on little babies inside the shacks. They were just burning everything. So, the people called us, and we phoned the lawyers. We got there and caught them red-handed. It was the South African Police, it was Nature Conservation because they were saying they were cutting all the Black Wattle trees. They claimed they were there to remove alien vegetation at three o clock in the morning, and the poor people just got in the way. (Denise)

The Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality respondents maintained that the informal residents had not been evicted.

> Then it went to court, and when they were all denying that they were all trying to evict the people, then the judge said the that fact they're denying it, and it's municipal land then it means they've given them consent to be there. Because the law says that if someone is squatting on your land then within 30 days you're supposed to give them warnings and get a court order- none of that had been done but they're denying that they had been trying to remove them, so thereby they've given the consent. So, they now had squatters' rights, so the whole thing changed. (Denise)

The governmental agencies violated not merely the fundamental warrant against unauthorised eviction, but (given the implicit menace with which the eviction was carried out) the occupiers' right to personal security[5] and their right to privacy[6]. As such, Tswelopele sought an order to be issued directing the three respondents to 'restore the possession of the occupiers before all else (*ante omnia*), and in the interim to provide them with temporary shelter, which was dismissed by Judge Jordaan J at the Pretoria High Court. The judge, following *Rikhotso v Northcliff Ceramics* which concluded that the *mandament van spolie* 'is a remedy for the restoration of possession, not for the making of reparation', held that 'because the officials had destroyed the materials used in the construction of the dwellings, the occupiers could not be restored to the possession of their homes.' (Tswelopele Non-Profit Organisation and Others V City Of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality, 2006). The court could, therefore, not grant the relief they sought- restoration of possession.

All the same, two weeks after the first judgment in the High Court the residents moved back to the area and were again forcibly removed. One participant revealed that:

> They were not allowed to then move back to the same spot but moved close- 100 yards from the camp. They eventually drifted back because they could not survive there. Even after that and being challenged in the court because they didn't have a court order, they continued to do raids and harass them. The guys that were at the camp by Mooikloof Ridge were attacked at like four or five 'o clock in the morning – they were beaten with batons; and they were caught sleeping so they were bare foot. They were thus beaten

---

[5] Bill of Rights s 12(1): 'Everyone has the right to freedom and security of the person, which includes the right – … (b) to be free from all forms of violence from either public or private sources'

[6] Bill of Rights s 14: 'Everyone has the right to privacy, which includes the right not to have – (a) their person or their home searched; (b) their property searched; (c) their possessions seized; …'

under the feet and chased around so all their feet were lacerated. They set fire to the

veld, and to their belongings (Denise).

After that traumatic attempted eviction, they returned to the High Court in Tshwane on the 19th of May 2006, where this time around a small group of the residents obtained an order that they be housed temporarily in the Garsfontein Police Station that same night, until they were to be moved to the homeless shelter on Struben Street on Monday, 22 May 2006, and be registered on the City's housing subsidy program. While they were at the police station, the SAPS undertook 'not to harass and/or victimise [them] in any manner whatsoever, during the period of accommodation' (Tswelopele Non-Profit Organisation and Others V City Of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality, 2006). From this order, fifty people were housed at the police station, fifteen were enrolled to receive the housing subsidy, and only five were successful in this application.

4.4 A court victory

Following the unsuccessful application for restoration of possession, the case was then taken to the Supreme Court of Appeal in Bloemfontein. The affidavit filed based its claim under the common law *mandament van spolie*: but it also expressly invoked the occupiers' procedural protections under PIE and their rights under sections 25 and 26(3)[7] of the Bill of Rights' (Tswelopele Non-Profit Organisation and Others V City Of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality, 2006). As such, the counsel argued that the residents needed to receive relief which addressed their breach of rights by the three departments. This was decided to be *mandament van spolie* (spoliation) which is "is directed at restoring possession to a party which has been unlawfully dispossessed" (Mgedeza, 2017). Under this legal principle*,* anyone illicitly deprived of property is entitled to be restored to possession before anything else is debated or decided *(spoliatus ante omnia restituendus est)*, just as long as the applicant can show "peaceful and undisturbed possession of the thing concerned and the unlawful despoilment thereof" (Mgedeza, 2017).

Spoliation is when someone takes something from you- even if I come and I take your

car, even if it was my car, I am entitled to spoliation (Louise).

---

[7] Bill of Rights 25 (1): No one may be deprived of property except in terms of law of general application, and no law may permit arbitrary deprivation of property.

Bill of Rights 26(3): No one may be evicted from their home, or have their home demolished, without an order of court made after considering all the relevant circumstances. No legislation may permit arbitrary evictions.

The Judge, Cameron argued that "…the rule of law is a founding value of the Constitution. This would suggest that constitutional development of the common law might make it appropriate to **adapt** (own emphasis) the *mandament* to include reconstituted restoration in cases of destruction" (Tswelopele Non-Profit Organisation and Others V City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality, 2006). Meaning that instead of the principle that was followed in the High Court, arguing that the residents could not seek restoration of their possessions because they were destroyed during the raid; the residents could claim for restoration even in the case of the possessions having been destroyed. The spoliation principle states that illicit deprivation must be remedied before the courts will decide on competing claims to the object or property. 'Our object in remedying these kinds of harms should, at least, be to vindicate the Constitution and to deter its further infringement' stated Judge Cameron (Tswelopele Non-Profit Organisation and Others V City Of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality, 2006). The aim of the remedy that the court then agreed upon was to show the governmental agencies that what they did was unlawful, and that even though the residents were unlawfully occupying the area, they still bear constitutional rights and that the actions of the agencies violated those rights. This was highlighted by Collin, who mentioned that:

> In the end the judge ruled- because he could tell they were lying, that they have so many days to rebuild the shacks. That case actually made history, because up to that point in time if the police on the pretext of doing some kind of a raid broke into your house and destroyed everything, they didn't have to replace what they destroyed. You could get them into trouble for malicious damage of property, but they didn't have to give anything back. But this case changed that, because they had to replace what they had destroyed. It was more the principle that they had to replace what they destroyed- we were gonna replace it anyway. It was more the principle that they had to replace three shacks that they'd destroyed to set the principle (Collin).

As such, the governmental agencies were ordered to:

> …jointly and severally, to construct for those individual applicants who were evicted on 31 March 2006, and who still require them, temporary habitable dwellings that afford shelter, privacy and amenities at least equivalent to those that were destroyed, and which are capable of being dismantled, at the site at which their previous shelters were demolished (Tswelopele Non-Profit Organisation and Others V City Of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality, 2006).

Essentially, the success here is that this community, with the help of Tswelopele and Lawyers for Human Rights, got the courts to adapt the Constitution regarding the principle of *mandament van spolie* to their advantage so that they could get relief. Considering Meth's (2010) definition of

insurgency which speaks to challenging existing power relations, together with that of Knudsen (2007) which speaks to defending existing democratic rights, then this interpretation of the common law and the consequent adaption of the Constitution means that the community of Plastic View did in fact practice insurgency. Their very presence in the area because of this judgement is not just a judicial win for them, but it also made a marked shift in the power relations between the poor and the City's agencies. This was especially successful considering how the win was gained, with the agencies returning to acknowledge that their actions were unlawful and that they trampled on the constitutional rights of the residents, even going as far as apologising for their actions in the court.

Further, drawing on Holston's concept of insurgent citizenship, the people had basic human rights by virtue of being human, which the departments violated. They then also had squatters' rights which prohibited the City from evicting them without notice, which the City also violated. So, they were treated as lacking any rights because they occupied an area illegally, which follows the logic usually followed with the informal- that it is not deserving of any protection. As per Holston's definition, they are denied substantive rights because of their informality, which the courts showed was not right.

Moreover, after the order by the judge, Tshwane defaulted and did not build the shacks as per the order, because the then Minister of Safety and Security Mr. Charles Ncakula would not allow it. So, the lawyers for Tswelopele went back to the courts, and threatened that a warrant of arrest would be issued to the Minister for being in contempt of the court order. It was a case of the poor versus the powerful, and the poor won. This further shows the dynamic relationship between the poor and the institutions of the state. At first these institutions, the police and the other departments infringed upon the rights of the Plastic View residents, creating a negative perception of the City and the state, but then the courts stood by them and defended their rights, giving the people some hope in the state.

In 2015, the city's attempt to auction off the land upon which Plastic View was established was delayed by a court order issued in favour of the settlers' application. They argued that the land could not be sold without a formal agreement regarding the relocation of the Plastic View residents (Mudzuli, 2015). So, the City proposed in 2018 to relocate them to a mixed residential township to be called Pretorius Park Extension 40. It is to be located east of Woodlands Shopping Centre on the Farm Garsfontein 374-JR (Msimang, 2018). The residents of the camp, however, do not see this relocation happening, even though it is desired, as they have reports from the City that they cannot be relocated and given houses because of the presence of foreign nationals who do not have the correct documentation.

Based on these events, it is clear how the practice of place-making reveals power relations, where the state is the one that influenced the legal resistance of the residents (considered squatters at the time) by not following the correct procedure of eviction. However, because place is also about the locale, it meant that the place where they were supposed to move to in relation to where they had stayed before, was too far and not habitable for them. So, the residents had initially complied, but because of the material circumstances they had to act in defiance for their own survival. As such, the establishment of Plastic View cannot be viewed in terms of a zero sum, as either the state or the residents winning, but rather as entanglement with the different parties making strides at different points. It is all these opposing actions that made the place what it is, especially considering that the ruling also limited the residents from building permanent structures in the allocated space, only allowing them to build with plastic, thus influencing the structure of the place; while also highlighting the compliance of the residents as well.

Further, the contact with the SAPS, the courts, etc. shows the experiences of the inhabitants of Plastic View (see Figure 4.3 below) being not just about the physical place but the different institutions of the state as well which influence the making and everyday life of Plastic View, the place. In fact, even after the court win, the residents were weary of moving into the camp, thinking that the City was trying to trap them. It was only after the intervention of Collin and Denise that people started moving to the camp in 2006 (where Plastic View currently is), thus showing the anxiety around the relationship between the residents and the City as a result of the illegal evictions. Denise from Tswelopele explains:

> But because the relationship between the people living there was so bad because they
> had been so abused, they were now scared to move because they thought they were
> gonna get the Red Ants and what have you. So, we were asked to as friends of the court
> and convince the people to move into the fenced off area, because we had a relationship
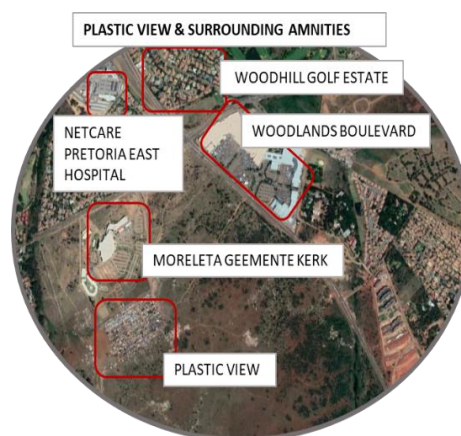> with them. (Denise)

Figure 4.3: Plastic View and surrounding amenities

Figure 4.4: Signage at the main gate

Source: Mashika, 2017.

4.5 Plastic View: the place

'Plastic View' is the informal name of the settlement that came about because of the suburban residents who did not like having to look outside to the view of plastic. The name became popular when the newspaper reports used it. However, the formal name is Woodlane Village, named after the nearby mall, Woodlands Boulevard. At first, they had named it Woodhill Village, but it was agreed that the suburban residents of the estate located on Garsfontein Road also called Woodhill would complain and that there would be confusion in cases of emergency. Further, calling it Plastic View as the residents continue to do was found to be problematic in cases of emergencies, because there is a settlement by that name in the township Soshanguve, North of Pretoria. So, if an incident is logged, you would find that the emergency services would go to the other settlement. This is was reported by one key informant who reported that:

> It's confusing because everybody does refer to it as Plastic View, although when we do residence letters for the people- you can imagine when you look for an address for an interview it would be much better to have your proof of residence letter say Woodlane Village instead of Plastic View. It counts against them (Denise).

The colloquial name of the place may have been imposed by the neighbouring home owners and the media, but the residents of Plastic View have taken it on as their own. In fact, before the fire when the structures where strictly made of plastic, the residents referred to that as the reason why they called the place Plastic View instead of the official name, Woodlane Village. Naming is an important part of place-making, and Plastic View being officially called Woodlane

Village, a respectable name adds to the sense of belonging. The formal residents called it Plastic View to 'other' it and delegitimise the place. However, Woodlane Village does the opposite, as it fits with the names of the surrounding areas: Woodlands, Woodlands Boulevard and Woodhill. So, it provides some sense of belonging. It is part of the identity of the place now - one cannot visit Moreleta without seeing Plastic View or Google 'Plastic View' without 'Plastic View, Moreleta' popping up. Therefore, Plastic View contributes to the identity of Pretoria East, and place-making provides recognition of these residents as residents of the City, thereby exposing informality and poverty in the urban space instead of making it features of the periphery.

Figure 4.5: Woodlane numbered house

Source: Mashika, 2017

The settlement is in Pretoria East, Gauteng, near the affluent suburbs of Woodhill, Meadow Glen, Meadow Ridge, Moreleta Park Extension 44 and Mooikloof, with the Moreleta Park Gemeente directly adjacent to it. It is not far from the main transport route Garsfontein Road, malls: Parkview Shopping Centre and Woodlands Boulevard Mall and the Pretoria East Hospital (a private hospital). Although the residents shop at these malls, many of them do not get serviced at the hospital or the nearby clinic because of the stigma attached to Plastic View. They also do not participate in any spiritual activities of the church as they attribute it as not being for them, but for the rich, White people of the suburbs. Tatenda describes the situation:

> When I become sick and go to Pretorius Park Clinic there is trouble. They ask for passports- you know that people who stay in places like this are foreigners, they do not have proper papers. So, when I went there, they ask, "where do you come from?", I will say 'Zim', then they ask, "where do you stay?" If I say Plastic View, then they start to shout saying "you people from Plastic View are dirty; you don't have papers; you're tsotsi's! You just come to South Africa just to have kids; why don't you go to…" all sort of

things. They just shout. So, you find that people die here in Plastic View because of that-
they are afraid. (Tatenda)

The camp may have been given a respectable name, but its residents are still clearly marked as outsiders to the area and not belonging to the space they live in. Looking at municipal maps one will see how the church, the golf estate and the mall have a clearly distinct aesthetic to the camp. That alone already marks them as 'outsiders' to this space of marked affluence. This is demonstrated in studies such as those of Knudsen (2007) where in Mumbai, she records 5-6 million 'slum dwellers' – a huge number, but a number that is not represented in the city's urban policy because this population is regarded as "encroaching" on public space since they live on pavements, by the side of the road. They cannot make claims for better housing, water or electricity because they are deemed as encroachers, living where they should not be. And as such there is a justification for their removal since "they don't fit the logic of the formal city and are easily dismissed as unworthy of citizenship rights" (Knudsen, 2007:15).

Further, the camp is fenced in, with two gates: one on the north side (see Figure 2) and one on the east - which is mostly used by pedestrians coming from the Moreleta Park shopping centre or work in that area. At first, one is surprised that there is a gate for vehicles, but as one walks around, one realises that there are quite a few households with vehicles. The streets are also wide enough for cars to drive through, but only one at a time. This is where the researcher's pre-judgements about the area began to be debunked, as she was expecting an area with no clearly outlined roads - and especially not big enough for cars. However, the camp was deliberately designed like this, for the roads to be big enough for emergency services to be able to move around freely through the camp and as a firebreak. This debunks the technical view of informal settlements as 'unplanned', 'chaotic' and characterised by poverty as one can see the heterogeneity of the people who reside in Plastic View, as well as the orderly practical arrangement of the place to ensure that vehicles can move around when needed to.

Figure 4.6: North side entrance by Moreleta Park Gemeente

Source: Sibiya, 2016

The gate on the north side has a security guard stationed there. His job is to register all non-residents of the area, and to lock the gate in the evening. At first, it was also to keep the camp from expanding by monitoring who comes in and goes out. The idea is to confine Plastic View to the space it is in, and not expand into the rest of the 'clean' area. This was made possible by the fact that residents had access cards which identified them as residents of the camp, these were blue in colour. However, the system of the access cards has since been done away with, because the municipality could not make enough for everyone and they made errors such as placing the wrong photo on the card (D Dredge, interview, 2017). Everyone is said to have received one when they first moved in 2009 as a means of access control and ensuring that no more shacks were built after the fact (C Dredge, interview, 2017).

> If you did not have that card they arrested you for trespassing. It's from the municipality-
> tells who you are, and where you stay- like an ID. It's for the stands (Koko)
> The yellow one is for job seekers, so that when they want to employ you it shows that you
> do not have a criminal record. When they were issued, those with criminal records didn't
> receive them (Brighton).

> See the municipality had made us access cards that we used to enter the camp with. So,
> people started calling each other to come here, and so when the municipality came back
> to complete the process of giving people access cards they found that there were many
> people. So, they quit that whole thing […] those cards indicated that you were a resident
> here. It's like out there in the suburbs where people enter only when they have those
> cards (Ben).

The one was yellow in colour and was issued by the Garsfontein South African Police Services (SAPS) was much like a work permit. It stated who the person is and whether they had a criminal record so that potential employers could take it into consideration before hiring them. There was also a green one which indicated that you were a legal resident of the camp.

The idea of the cards is reminiscent of the "pass" that was used back in the apartheid era, where every Black person that was in the city had to have one (Boddy-Evans, 2016). If you were in the city visiting, then you had to have a 'pass' indicating that; if you resided there for work reasons, then the 'pass' had to indicate that too. So, these green and yellow cards, especially the yellow one issued by the police station are quite apartheid-like. This is because the yellow card was only issued to people who apparently did not have a criminal record and thus were eligible to work in the area. It is said that when people went out to seek work, they had to show this card to the potential employer before being given a job - much like a work permit. These cards are no longer requested, but participants keep them just in case.

This works as a means of access control: who can come in, and who cannot; who belongs, and who does not. Quite similar to the surrounding Woodhill Golf Estate and the likes, which have strict access control measures. The difference is that the residents of the estate are not trying to be confined but more to keep out criminal elements; which can be argued to be the opposite for Plastic View as it was the residents of the suburbs who are said to have requested that the residents receive these cards. The cards, served not just for the City to know its citizens as the MEC Paul Mashatile claims "going forward, we want to know who is here" (South African Government News Agency, 2016), but to quell the fears of the home owners who wanted this population regulated and restricted.

The cards together with the provision of other services like refuse removal and the water tanks that are filled every week, police officers who used to patrol the area at night, as well as general rules about noise levels and the regulation of shebeens made the camp more formalised than others. In fact, a result of the encamping is that Plastic View seems to be 'better' than other informal settlements in the area according to the residents. There is one such settlement not so far from the Woodlands Boulevard Mall, which participants have described as being crime-ridden and very dangerous. Participants make the comparison of Plastic View being bad, but better than that area because theirs is a special kind of informal settlement; it is encamped and receiving some sort of recognition from the local municipality unlike the other settlement.

However, the municipality has failed to maintain this order. There are now several shebeens, garbage is thrown in areas not designated for such, and the police are hardly visible.

> Here in South Africa there is no security at all. Even if you call the police, they will come
> whenever they want (Tatenda).

When you call the police, they just come here and take money from the perpetrator and then drop them off at the gate. You will be left to deal with that situation on your own (Ben).

Therefore, the make-up of Plastic View the place, is one of informality as seen in the materials of the housing, but also one of formality as seen in the services offered to the community by the local municipality as well as its official name. Even the services that are denied to the residents of Plastic View characterises the place. There is an image that is attached to the people that live there, and health practitioners and police officers either completely deny their services or offer them hesitantly and ineffectively. Furthermore, the municipality making such rules and regulations in the camp speaks to the undeniable role of the state in regulating everyday life in the city, but that even then there can be resistance from residents. "Some accommodations will be made as a place acquires its specific character, shaped not only from within itself but in response to the demands and decision of…the state" (Lombard, 2014:17). Thus, the place has taken on its particular form with a back and forth between resistance and compliance to the regulatory structures and in this way indicating the role of both the City and the residents in making Plastic View what it is.

4.6 Plastic View: the people

It is said that there are several nationalities that reside in this camp, such as Zimbabweans, Basotho (from Lesotho), Malawians, Batswana (from Botswana), Mozambicans, and South Africans. However, most people seem to group themselves according to nationalities into South Africans, Basotho and Zimbabweans. The camp is also divided along those lines; with the one "Zimbabwean" group on the east side of the camp, and the rest of the groups on the west. Upon further investigation, it was found that the reason for this is that this Zimbabwean group had initially been excluded from the camp as they had not been in the same clique as the other groups, so they stayed a bit further away. When the first group of dwellers arrived to the camp, they were left out and were only included later on, such that the camp was extended to include them.

Then we got right to the end, the big Zimbabwe grouped called Chimunikwakwa- they were trying to dispute that they should be in the settlement, that there was no more space. They were saying that those guys had not been there, but they were there all along. We had photographs of the settlement and things to show that we had been dealing with them all the time. So eventually they got the judge out to the settlement, and we walked around with the judge. Then we argued and pleaded on their behalf that apart for the space for the shacks that they be given area for the Chimunikwakwa group to move in (Denise).

Also, according to Louise du Plessis (2017), the people that were living here initially were mainly gardeners and domestic workers. However, with the development of the Park View Shopping Centre, more and more people moved to the area, especially people with building experience. This is validated by Mclagan (2016) and City of Tshwane (2017) who state that the Menlyn area has the highest number of jobs, with developments in the area leading to informal growth in the surrounding areas. The participants of the study were either unemployed, worked at the church close by, were self-employed or like the two of the participants, had a number of odd jobs that they did. Only one participant had formal casual employment.

> The mall started calling people in. People are coming from somewhere, and something in that space calls them in. So it could be the part time jobs there by the mall, maybe mixing the concrete or something. So the next thing will be 'I can't be doing a job that gives me R50 a day and then I stay in Mamelodi and spend the money on transport to get to where I work.' So they come and sleep there; it gets bigger… (Louise).

> …people are economic migrants. Everybody talks about land grabs and these people are viewed as trying to do a land grab- they never came here to do a land grab, they came here just to try and get jobs. And the group down there that we met, and even here initially, people were sleeping just rolled up in grass. They rolled themselves up in plastic and slept in the long grass, and then in the mornings they would go out and look for a job. Then they get a piece job, maybe a garden there, and painting there- so it's not full-time jobs (Denise).

It is noted that most settlements tend to begin when a small number of families that establish themselves close to where they work. This then attracts friends and family, and in that way the settlement grows (Malinga, 2000). The same occurred in Plastic View. The majority of people initially staying there are said to be men. They started as individuals who then attracted others. Unlike men, some of the interviewed women indicated that they moved to Plastic View and continue to stay there with their children, while the men only brought their wives here later on. Others continue to live by themselves with their families living elsewhere. Of the female participants, three resided with their children and grandchildren, the other two resided with their partners, and the one stayed by herself in what is her uncle's shack. Only two of the male participants resided with their families, while the others had their family homes back in other places.

4.7 The hustlers

In understanding the experiences of the residents of Plastic View and also exploring how the poor relate to the City, people started narrating where they came from before Plastic View; and

also why they started staying in this specific informal settlement during the interiews. Many of the residents narrated that they came from different parts of South Africa as well as outside of it, before staying in the open space. Others like Thabisile who hails from Mdantsane (in the Eastern Cape Province) have been moving from one veld to another in search of employment and permanent residence until she eventually came to stay in the veld near Checkers with her spouse. She has given birth and raised children, as well as found new love while moving between areas. She states that, "I lived in the veld then, it was because of poverty- it's not because of my liking." On the other hand, Koko who comes from Lesotho, and who has been in South Africa for over 30 years states that:

> …around '86 I did work in the kitchens in Soweto. So, when I arrived in this country, I landed in Soweto but didn't stay there long […] I've been in the veld, struggling ke le mokwaba…

Narratives about why these residents decided to live like this all speak to one issue: proximity to work or employment opportunities. This is especially true because the Menlyn area is identified as one of the areas with the highest number of jobs (City of Tshwane, 2017). The development of this area has in fact opened up opportunities for people from a far, and thus, led to the growth of informal accommodation in the area (Mclagan, 2016). For instance, Mr Mabunda, a barber in the camp who comes from Bushbuckridge (Mpumalanga Province), tells the story of how he came to Gauteng to work as a construction worker. He states that he first stayed in Tembisa, in the East Rand, Gauteng, and used to travel to work at Park View Shopping Centre. The distance between the two is roughly 28km. He used to leave Tembisa at around 3 am to make it to Pretoria at 7 am. Althoug this sounds extreme as estimated travel time in a private car is just over 30 minutes, using public transport shows a different experience. The day he decided to come and stay in the veld at Plastic View was after he had gotten mugged on his way to work.

> I grew up in Bushbuckridge- that's where my wife and children are now. I'm here because of *umzulo*[8] […] in the case of those who have come here; it's mainly because of poverty.

Ben, a community leader who currently works in Moreleta Park, states:

> See, this place started as a place for people with nothing to come and hustle. It's close to work- like I just walk for about 20 minutes to get to my workplace. Unlike if I were coming from KwaNdebele, I would spend around R1500 for transport monthly. So, now I can take that R1500 and send it back home to cover up here and there.

---

[8] Translation: hustle- trying to make ends meet

Similialy, Sam, also a community leader from Vryburg, North West, states that he came to Pretoria for work reasons, as there wasn't enough work to go around in Klerksdorp.

> I am from Vryburg, a bit further off from Klerksdorp, in North West […] You see back in
> the villages- di tropo ga di tshwani ka chalete; so ke tlisitswe ke tiro mo Pitori[9].

This further goes to validate the assertion by Amin and Cirolia (2018) that informal settlements like Plastic View tend to be arrival areas into the city for many migrants. This includes those coming from the rest of the province, from other provinces in the country as well as the rest of the continent. As such, it seems that people have not planted themselves in this area just because they want housing from the government, which is a common assumption about informal settlement residents. All the South African participants, except Ms Qhangayo and Ms Thabisile who no longer have homes to go back to because of their divorces, have a home somewhere in the other provinces, and only moved here because of the employment opportunities or the perception of the availability of such. While the non-South African participants have moved at least once in the country before finding residence in Plastic View.

Thus, the findings indicate that people do not choose to move to settlements merely for housing. Rather, they are drawn by the perception of a good qaulity life and employment opportunities in the city. However, they live in these conditions because they cannot afford housing or rentals in the area where they work or are seeking work. The fact that informal settlements, just like Plastic View, develop in the places that they do - near these suburbs and the malls, is an indication of the suitability of these places for accessing both the city and subsequent job opportunities (Royston, et al., 2017). The participants keep citing poverty or struggle as the reason they are here, thus, indicating the push factors from the rural areas or countries they come from, but also indicating the difficulty of accessing affordable accommodation near centres of employment.

Informal settlements are much easier to access than rental accomodation mainly because of their location and the cheaper rental costs for those that do charge this. In fact, even moving to an area that is more affordable like Mamelodi is still expensive because residents would have to cover transport fares which then reduces the amount they can send back home to their families. Royston, et al. (2017) maintain that the poor who are located on the periphery are disadvantaged because they suffer transport costs to try and access job opportunities as well as spend a lot of time commuting which is what the participants articulated.

> I mean people from Mamelodi come and sleep over here during the week and go home
> on the weekend. But if you travel back home every day, and buy lunch then what will you

---

[9] Translation: what brought me to Pretoria is work, as areas differ in terms of economic opportunities.

take back home? So, from the R150 a day you get, you might be taking home only R50-that doesn't make sense (Sam).

Also, most of the people that stay here, we work around here. If they put us down there we're going to have to use money for transport. We can even lose our jobs because we might not even afford money for transport (Tatenda).

What people don't realise is that if we could move everyone in Woodlane Village to where they came from all we would have achieved is moving them away from employment opportunities […] because people don't have work, and where they live is too far from where work opportunities are. So, it puts them in a position where if they stay where they came from then they would have to have transport to go looking for work. And if you're not earning money, where do you get that? And the kind of money they earn- because they are often on the lowest level of income when they do have jobs, doesn't provide enough to live on and commute (Denise).

As such, these are people who can be considered work seekers from rural areas (Malinga, 2000), that are people who have placed themselves in this area due to the employment opportunities that are not available in the rural areas they come from. What is also important to note here is that many of these South African residents have housing in the rural areas they come from, and therefore, do not qualify for the City's housing subsidy programme. In order to qualify, one must be a South African citizen, and not have formal housing or have benefitted from a government housing programme previously (du Plessis & Teresai, interview, 2017). S. Msimang (2018) argues that 'it is clear from the shark-marking and beneficiary registration process that the majority of residents fall outside the presecripts as stipulated in the housing code', says the executive mayor of Tshwane (Msimang, 2018).

Furthermore, the perception of a quality life and availability of employment opportunities does not always become realised, leaving those who cannot find employment to find alternative means of making a living such as selling curios, alcohol or trading recycling material. One participant runs a barber business by the side of the road close to his house where he reports making multiples of what he used earn as a construction worker. Another one sells food from her house, while two reported trading recycle material to make ends meet.

When I left Lesotho, it was because **there was no work there**, so I came to look for work here in South Africa [...] I hustle and sell so I can eat. I am now old, I do not work. I pick up boxes and then a truck from town comes to take them, and I get money in return (Koko).

It's a place that is infamous for liquor. Everyone sells alcohol (Nthabiseng).

A lot of people here live off contract work- especially the Zimbabweans and Basotho. That includes women. But most women work in the kitchens, just not Basotho women because they cannot speak Afrikaans. So, they work for Black people instead, in the townships. They do sleep-ins so that they don't have to travel much. That's how they live (Ben).

I just stay here because **I don't have a job in my country**. It's not that I don't like my country, I like my country. It's just that I don't have something to do there (Tatenda).

Davis (2004) posits that "rural migrants and informal workers have been largely dispossessed of fungible labour-power or reduced to domestic service in the houses of the rich" (Mike Davis, 2004 in Roy, 2011:228). That is the exact phenomenon described above, where most of the workers in the camp are either unemployed, domestic workers or informal workers. For those who cannot find formal employment, entrepreneurship is the only option. They sell alcohol, food, curios, and recycling material. This is insurgency as well, considering that the largest employer in South Africa is the government. Thus, for people to then make means to survive and earn some money outside of state bureaucracy is an "emancipatory zone" (Roy, 2011:227). That is not to glorify people's hardships in any way, but to showcase the agency that the poor possess even in the face of such hardship. Roy (2011) reports that "The urban slum is more than a warehousing of surplus labour; it is also a space of home-based entrepreneurship" (Roy, 2011:227). This is because of what Mosoetsa (2011) describes as a crisis in life, and not just social reproduction, produced by the contradictions inherent in South Africa's simultaneous political, social and economic transformation. It is because of these contradictions as well as the state's ineffective response to the crisis that people must resort to seeking precarious livelihood strategies.

Moreover, due to apartheid's spatial engineering, the city has always been the place where industries were located, and economic development was taking place. Areas surrounding Pretoria like KwaNdebele and Mamelodi were the labour reserves, and were thus, provided with bus subsidies so that people could get to work in the city and still go back to their homeland in the evening. That or the state funded houses and hostels were specifically built for migrant workers. However, now people must rely entirely on their income to pay for that transport as well as make alternative means for accommodation. Considering the low income they receive, and the fact that it does not come in regularly, they cannot afford to cover that. So, because that geographical design is still intact, people must still come to the city to seek employment opportunities. However, city life is quite expensive, as Ben explains:

I will go home and enjoy my money and house at home- relaxed without stressing about water bills, and maintaining a town house, which will drain me financially. You see back at home I don't pay for electricity and water; I can farm and do whatever (Ben).

Further because the city has always been designed as a place of opportunities from which black people were disbarred, Wale (2013) argues that being in the city and being able to consume the things that the city offers is directly linked to racial emancipation, and that "a contemporary citizenship is imagined and enacted through consumption" (Wale, 2013:177). So, by people residing in the city, even in the deplorable conditions of informal settlements, they are resisting and challenging the apartheid mission to keep them out of the "white spaces" and the global city pursuit to keep them in the periphery. Thus, performing insurgency and fighting for their right to the city, by inscribing their presence in this otherwise inaccessible space (Royston, et al., 2017).

Although the democratic government may have made some strides in the provision of housing and poverty reduction with almost 4 million houses[10] already provided since 1994, inequality keeps growing, with urban areas continuously becoming better and rural areas falling behind; the rich getting richer, while the poor become poorer. The national housing subsidy programme only provided houses for the Black poor on the periphery, and not in city centres where the employment opportunities were and still are, which has not helped as people want to live where they can sustain a livelihood (Royston, et al., 2017). As has been noted, there is a link between residence in proximity to employment and chances of finding employment. It makes sense that the right to the city be associated with spatial justice. Spatial justice, not just as being about 'righting the wrongs of the past', but also about noting that spatial circumstances also affect other social phenomena (Royston, et al., 2017).

4.8 Whose Plastic View is it anyway

Plastic View is made up of people of different nationalities, namely; Batswana, Zimbabweans, Mozambicans and South Africans. The report is that at least 75% of the residents in the camp are undocumented foreign nationals (Kgosana, 2018), which means that a large proportion of the residents of Plastic View is made up of foreign national individuals. Different identities are bound to rub each other up the wrong way, creating a 'us' versus 'them' dynamic. People feel that certain nationalities are bringing criminal elements into the camp; while there is perceived disrespect between some groups as others feel that some nationalities are to blame for all the bad things happening in the camp. In fact, some of the South African participants even expressed that there is apathy coming from all the foreign nationals regarding the issue of the

---

[10] Although it is not quite clear what the government counts as a house in this case.

camp, claiming that it is not their problem since they are not even citizens of the country. This highlights the multiple tensions that exist not just between the city and the poor, but also between the different identities within the camp.

> And from my observation, we ID holders are few here. We are not as many as the passport holders. And if we meet it must together with them, but like last time they told the passport holders that they have no right to build RDP houses for them- but they didn't agree to that, they say that they also want RDP houses. So that is why we as a community of South Africans cannot meet with them and say let us follow this path of action because they will attack us (Nthabiseng).

> Even now we keep hearing that we are moving, but how will we move when we are the mixture that we are? We are mixed with people from outside South Africa. The outsiders won't let us move first, because they know that they do not have the right to be in the country. Even with the building of RDPs- we will never see that (Thabisile).

> And here, you cannot say to people let's stand and go and toyi-toyi for our rights. The people here will not support you. We are under oppression because of the outsiders. They say that they are here to visit, and so will not get involved in the affairs of South Africans- as long as they work. And they do get jobs because if the employer offers R60 and you reject it and ask for R150, they won't give you the job because the outsiders will take that R60. So, we cannot fight for our rights because of them. You will find that you are only 10 among this large group of people if you try and do something- what will that achieve? These people call each other to come and fill this place. What can we do as South Africans with IDs? (Donny).

The issue of housing reached an impasse in 2016 when the City made an offer to relocate some of the South African residents and offer them housing, but could not do the same for the foreign nationals that are also part of Plastic View. The Tshwane Member of Mayoral Committee (MMC) for housing and human settlements, Mr Mandla Nkomo stated that the City plans to build mixed developments, but that they cannot provide housing for non-South Africans (Kgosana, 2018). In fact, the executive mayor of Tshwane, Mr Solly Msimang stated that ''the City has limited resources at its disposal, and its primary responsibility is towards South African citizens'' (Msimang, 2018).

> Tshwane decided they don't have any obligations towards foreign nationals; non-South Africans; those people will not qualify for the housing (Teresai).

However, in 2016 the then Member of Executive Council (MEC) for Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs and Human Settlements, Paul Mashatile stated that those who did not qualify for RDP housing would be provided with "other products like rental accommodation"

(South African Government News Agency, 2016). The rental housing that the MEC was referring to is called social housing, and is defined as "housing option for low-income persons that is provided by accredited social housing institutions or in accredited social projects in designated restructuring areas" (City of Tshwane, 2017:108). In order to qualify, the targeted people need to have an income of less than R3 500 and not more than R7 000. Thus, an income is necessary. The only people exempt from this, who receive the housing for free are the elderly and the disabled (City of Tshwane, 2017).

> While the ANC was still in power, they were claiming that they were gonna build social housing development somewhere on the opposite side of Garsfontein Road […] but they were only talking about the South Africans, so the negotiations broke down (Collin).
> I do qualify. However, I first need to get an ID- I don't have one. So now can they give me a house when they have not given me an ID? I qualify for an ID, I am just waiting for them to fix it for me. People from Home Affairs came here when we first moved in, and I registered (Koko).

As such, the construction of the city as a global one that hosts multiple skills and pursues the goals of capital is played out even in the camp, because it is not just the South African poor that are marginalised, but foreign nationals as well and they end up fighting amongst themselves for whatever resources are available. These include not just housing, but jobs too as described by Celiwe in earlier quote, as well as the physical resources at the camp. So, as prescribed by the Constitution of South Africa, everyone should have basic shelter but at the same time the South African government places its own official citizens first. Therefore, although Plastic View residents are put under the blanket of the homeless, there are layers. There are those who have houses in other provinces, and those who have none, but cannot receive any housing from the government because they are not South Africans.

Furthermore, participants speak of some groups within the Zimbabwean nationals that are quite disrespectful towards everyone in the community, and are the common criminals that everyone fears. The agency that people display considering this seems to represent polar opposites, with some residents just keeping to themselves and trying to stay out of trouble, while others fight back causing what seems like tribal battles.

> It depends on how you carry yourself. If you are rough and you come to Plastic View, then it will be rough for you. But if you are a person who doesn't bother other people, and just focuses on their own business then it will also –like, this place, people won't bother you unless you bother them. Yes, there are rough people but if you don't poke them then you will be fine (Tatenda).

We are one thing. We fetch water together, we are together, and we are one thing. I cannot speak about those who fight, because I just stay in my house and avoid quarrelling. I do not like quarrelling. I really do not get scared. Yes, you hear that someone dies, that people are fighting and killing each other but what can we do? At 6pm I make sure that I lock my gates and get into the house with my child, and sleep (Koko).

Therefore, although the residents were united in demanding not to be relocated from their residence or violated in the way the City did, they do not seem to agree on the housing issue. This goes to show that different people do indeed occupy different positions within any particular community, and this extends to how they experience sense of place. Those who qualify for the housing programme cannot wait to be moved, and those who are South African, but do not qualify are anxious about being moved to where they will pay high rentals. The non-South Africans who do not qualify and cannot make any demands on the City because of its reluctance to assist non-South Africans would rather stay in Plastic View as it is. This is what makes Plastic View what it is. This is what gives it its sense of place as described by Massey (1991).

4.9 Friends of Plastic View

With the shortage of employment opportunities as well as the general hardships faced by the community, the neighbouring Moreleta Park Gemeente has played a major role in Plastic View. It provides work training for some members of the community, runs a clinic for the community, as well as provides some schooling and a feeding scheme for the children.

Here at the church there is a project; the white person there teaches people domesticate work. There is a course we did, where we learn domesticate work- cleaning, cooking, hygiene and things like that; and then there comes a time where we go for interviews (Celiwe).

The people at the church- they just have compassion for us and decided to open the clinic- it's a container, because they see that we are dying here (Nthabiseng).
The children go to school at the church. Every year they introduce a different grade, so next year there will be Grade 5 classes […] the church helps out a lot. Like now, there is going to be a garden for those who are willing to garden. That will function next year (Sam).

This shows the role of community organisations such as churches in helping the poor to survive. Even though the church is not entirely available for the community to partake in the spiritual activities (the residents say it is not appropriate for them, that it is just for white people), it is useful in helping people in getting skilled, getting employed as well as providing other social

services like health care. In fact, the feeding scheme is supported by Woolworths Food, located at the Park View Shopping Centre. They donate their edible surplus food which has passed its 'sell by' date, but not its 'best before' or 'use by' dates to Pure Hope which facilitates the feeding scheme at the church (Mclagan, 2016). In contrast, with the rich who can afford privatised services, the poor can only rely on the help of those who avail themselves, like this faith-based organisation. It also shows that in cases where the state and the economy fail to provide the necessary services, then the burden falls not just on households, but also on community organisations. Thus, making Moreleta Park Gemeente an actor in making Plastic View the community that it is. It is not just the actions of the residents, but also those of this church that aid in the sustainability of this community, with the children benefiting, as well as the adults that get the training, and even the rest of the community that benefits from the social projects run by the church. In this way, it is not just part of the physical landscape of Plastic View, just a place used as a landmark when directing people. It is also part and parcel of the everyday lives of the community.

Furthermore, Mosoetsa (2011) observed that communities also relied on political organisations for help in accessing such services. However, in Plastic View that is not quite the case. Residents talk about how they have no recourse when it comes to political organisations, as the representatives have not made themselves available to them. So, they rely on individuals as well as the community organisations.

> We actually don't know where we fall. Should we vote for the ANC or the DA? We don't know which party will help us here. I don't know if the councillor knows we are here- we have been here for a very long time. They have even built new houses in Mamelodi. Those shacks that used to be there are now RDP houses. Where do we stand? (Donny).

> We have never seen a representative of the DA here. All we know is that the municipality is now under the DA, but they have never even come to hear our complaints […] voting is useless, because you can vote for whomever, but they won't make a difference. Julius is busy fighting in parliament, but we do not see progress in our lives (Thabisile).

> ANC was supposed to have moved us from here down further to the side of the mall, along Garsfontein Road, but the DA win changed everything. Solly Msimanga wants to start investigating from the beginning before continuing with plans to relocate (Mr Banda).

> During Mandela's time it was a bit better, because he promised to build houses for people and it happened. Now he's gone, and everyone is pulling in different directions- others are working for their own pockets. Someone can come now and say this and that and you vote for them, we will believe them but they're working for their own pockets, to feed their

families. You will be left behind with nothing. Like now, most people get their government houses when they are old. What's the point of that? I get that house and die the next year (Ben).

In fact, residents also find it quite difficult to turn to anyone regarding their cases because they do not know who exactly to turn to. Even the committee feels helpless when it comes to many of the issues faced by the residents. Regarding the housing issue, they refer to the leaders of the organisation that helped them from the beginning as well as the lawyers, thus using all available resources to endorse their claim.

A lot of things are known by Collin and the lawyer- we don't have full details... (Ben).

We do want to be helped. This place used to be run by Collen, but he does not fall anywhere. So now when things are stuck, we don't know where to enquire or who to hold accountable. We do not know who to ask for help (Nthabiseng).

The City is not transparent- they communicate whenever they feel like it. So, it is difficult to keep up with what they're planning. The people who might have more information are the lawyer and Collin (Sam).

This finding is quite odd because the MEC, Paul Mashatile had explicitly articulated that he wants everyone to be involved in the process and stay informed: "I believe that if we have the entire stakeholders in one place, it is easy to plan. There will be no suspicions because everybody will be involved," (South African Government News Agency, 2016). These stakeholders included the community of Plastic View, the church, Lawyers for Human Rights, the rate payers' associations as well as officials from the Gauteng Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs and Human Settlements and from the City of Tshwane. During the data gathering stage, participants spoke of not having heard from the City in a very long time but that would have changed with the recent fire that ravaged the camp in 2018 and the upcoming 2019 national elections.

4.10   A helpless people

Over and above, the helplessness experienced because of a lack of commitment from the City officials, residents and community leaders do not know how to restore order to the camp. Upon the establishment of the camp, they had rules and regulations they all agreed to about where to dump rubbish, noise levels as well as trading hours of the shebeens. However, these rules seem to have faded as residents often dump rubbish in areas not designated for such, and noise coming from the shebeens goes on until early hours of the morning, even on school nights.

When asked how they dealt with these, participants expressed helplessness, stating that people do not respect the committee or the police, so they are also scared to intervene.

> You can try as an individual, but everyone will see you as one who is trying to seem like you are better than everyone else. So, you'll do things, but without backup (Ben).

> It's not easy, because a person will tell you that this is their house- you can't tell them anything. The police can try when they are here, but as soon as they leave then the people start again. As for the committee, they are just disrespected (Nthabiseng).

People also felt let down by the police who do not seem to offer any services to the community, or act in corrupt ways when they are called upon. They tell of stories where a crime will be reported, the perpetrator fetched, but then let off as soon as the police van gets to the robots. One instance when the researcher was there, she heard of a shooting that had taken place in the early hours of the morning. However, the police only arrived in the early afternoon. This leads to residents feeling even more helpless, and without an alternative, but to try and fend for themselves by, for instance, forming the tribal gangs or just keeping to themselves. Therefore, for Plastic View to be framed as 'lawless' is also influenced by the lack of or poor policing that the South African Police Service performs in the area.

> Even if I go and report my case at Garsfontein Police Station and they arrest that guy, after two days he will be back here. I don't know what's going on. Even if you know the guy that killed a person, you will see him on the streets. It's like this lady that was attacked by a man on her way to work, then the CID came to arrest the guy at around 2pm, but the following morning around 10am the guy was back (Tatenda).

> Late at around 6pm it is no longer safe, so we can't go anywhere. I was once mugged, and then stopped walking around late. The same day we got mugged someone was found murdered the following day in the veld; whereas we were mugged by the tar road. It seemed that the person got killed on the same day we got mugged (Nthabiseng).

> Yes, you hear that someone dies, that people are fighting and killing each other but what can we do? At 6pm I make sure that I lock my gates and get into the house with my child, and sleep (Koko).

Denise and Collin are said to have been all the services that the people needed, including the police. They state that when the camp started, the police would only come when they specifically called, and no other time.

> And if there was a fight or something that happened in that area, they wouldn't go in that area. They would say it's not safe for them. They said they would only go if we went. They still don't go in- they're very reluctant to deal with them (Collin).

> I think that's the big problem we have in this country, that the police don't want to police informal settlements the same way they do other areas. And that makes it that people with criminal intentions get a stronghold in informal settlements, because the people can't defend themselves against them. It just makes everything go bad (Denise).

The residents constantly live in fear, especially after dark and when they walk to Woodlands Shopping Centre where there is veld between the camp and Garsfontein Road which leads to the mall. However due to the relationship the camp has with the SAPS, residents must try and fend for themselves. They talk about not walking alone and locking their doors as soon as the sun sets to avoid any trouble.

> See, I stay near a tavern and yesterday there was this scenario where two guys were shot. I just heard the gun shots. I also have a business, but I can't sell until late, because I am afraid. Back in the days I used to knock off at 10 pm, but since last year I close at 6'o clock. If I don't do that I can be attacked (Tatenda).

> Everyone just minds their own business. We hold on, thinking that the sun will come up in the morning (Nthabiseng).

This highlights the othering that the camp faces. For example, if only the call of the Dredge's was taken seriously and attended to, it shows that the black and poor are not perceived as worthy of citizenship rights; that they cannot call upon the services of the state for any kind of assistance except if a 'respectable' person makes the request. It speaks to who is considered as respectable and allowed to be served, in this way clearly socially isolating the residents of the camp. The residents are already isolated economically because they do not fit the class standards of the area, and because of that they cannot access many of the services allocated for the 'privileged' of the area. This proves Holston's point that although rights may be awarded to all, it is not everyone that can exercise them. Being deprived of the stamp of being one of the home owners, being a 'settler', means you cannot access security from the police or even aid from the clinic sometimes.

In her study, Mclagan (2016) highlights the distance between Plastic View and some of the public and private amenities in the City of Tshwane. She demonstrates that the hospitals, clinics and schools that are closest to the camp are private facilities which tend to be expensive. For example, the closest hospital available to people with the income range of Plastic View residents is roughly 25km away: that is the Steve Biko Academic Hospital; and the nearest public high school is just a little short of 20km away. This goes to show that the city continues to be the preserve of the rich, not just in practice but alo in design.

4.11 The bond between the formal and informal

There are different stakeholders that are in support of the court orders to keep the people of Plastic View intact such as the Moreleta Park Gemeente and various home owners' associations. In the interviews, even the local shops were said to be on the side of the residents.

> A lot of the white people here support us, especially the church because they understand
> that most people here work around this area. Even these shops: Pick n Pay, Checkers
> and Woodlands are also complaining, saying 'where are you taking these people? They
> are the ones supporting us.' So, if we move, they will lose business. They say 'these
> people support our business, they build for us, work in our gardens, etc (Sam).

Coquery-Vidrovitch's (2005) argument that apartheid used economic logic to maintain segregation and that black people were only allowed to urbanise for the purposes of labour is relevant to this case. The fact that these formal residents support the informal residents because they support their businesses and work for them speaks to exactly that. It says that had it not been for this "utility value" then these people would not be tolerated here. So, it is the idea that the city is the preserve of the rich, and to some limited extent, those that serve them - the relationship of the informal with the formal. This also speaks to the question raised by Roy (2011:224), "what global city can function without relational dependence on seemingly distant economies of fossil fuels and cheap labour?" Clearly not the city of Tshwane, like many others. Many of the cities of South Africa have been developed by cheap, migrant labour; and it seems even the maintenance of the cities is reliant on that labour - not just for labour, but also for consumption.

Roy (2011) describes this phenomenon as a conversion of poverty into capital, whereby the informal settlement is a space where the poor can be easily rendered visible for global capital as "urban assets", because they now make up a significant part of the local economy by shopping at the shopping malls nearby as well as working for those same shopping malls. It is, furthermore, an indication of the reliance of the formal upon the informal for survival since these informal residents are consumers as well as cheap labour for local business as well as the formal residents. These informal residents work as cleaners, gardeners and painters in the homes of the formal residents and get little income because of the competition between the desperate and more desperate; that is the South African poor and foreign national poor.

> It's the Zimbabweans that get them because they charge little. So, they don't employ us
> as much because they say we charge too much. And what hurts is that these people do
> not even have the necessary documents allowing them to be here (Celiwe).

If they're here and are legalised then people can't employ them for a lower rate than a South African. If the plain field is level it means they can't take South African jobs just because they work for cheaper, because that's what's happening. People are abusing them because they're desperate. And by doing that it's eliminating South Africans from the job market (Denise).

Ultimately, although it may seem like Plastic View is undermining the continued apartheid city structure by closing the gap between the former purely white suburbs and the black townships, the reasons for this are still premised on the same logic that allowed Black urbanisation during apartheid. The Plastic View residents can reside here, but only because it benefits business. Further, they could stay here under rules prescribed to them so that they could try and assimilate to their surroundings - rules about noise levels; permission for businesses (especially shebeens); access control through the security guards and the like. However, things have not gone as planned. The access cards were being duplicated; people were starting to enter the camp even without those cards; shacks have been rented out; designated dumping areas are ignored in favour of closer areas (even though there is some contention around this); loud music is played till odd hours of the night. People are making their own cities under circumstances, not entirely of their choosing, and not without contestation.

4.12   Conclusion

Plastic View is what it is because of the different players involved in constructing it: the Dredge's, the courts, the police, the home owners associations, the lawyers, the nearby church, the municipality, the shops in the malls, and of course its residents. The informal settlement would not have developed if the police had not been sent to try to evict the people illegally, or if the Lawyers for Human Rights and Tswelopele had not gotten involved - so it can be argued that the state did it. However, perhaps if the suburbs and the shopping centres had not been there, then people would have come to work there and sought shelter in the veld. The blame can even be attributed to the law and the constitution. However, it is all these parties and their actions that have gone into the making of Plastic View, the place, and gone into shaping how the inhabitants experience the place. Had it not been for the poor policing in the area, then residents would not be living in constant fear of criminals, they would not be having to lock their gates at 6pm and 'trying to stay out of trouble'. Had it not been for the ruling that the houses be made from temporary material, perhaps the huge fire of 2016 would not have hit the community as hard as it did. Had it not been for this, and that… The point is that it happened, and Plastic View would not be Plastic View if none of these events had occurred.

This chapter has showed how different actors and actions go into making a place. The findings have demonstrated how the poor are still isolated in the city by both the state and the rich residents. Living in Plastic View is a challenge, with the constant threat of possible relocation and deportation, the constant display of violence, as well as othering by the different institutions of the state. However, because living there means that people are closer to work opportunities and at least have a roof over their heads, the residents just hold on with the hope that 'the sun will rise again tomorrow' (Nthabiseng, interview, 2017).

The next chapter highlights the major findings of the study in light of the literature and the theoretical framework.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

This study aimed to explore the experiences of the residents of Plastic View with the aim of highlighting the relationship between the poor and the city by investigating the reasons behind the establishment of Plastic View as a squatter camp. Interviews were conducted with some of the residents of Plastic View as well as informants from Lawyers for Human Rights and Tswelopele: step-by-step. This chapter highlights some of the key findings of the study in relation to the conceptual framework and the literature review.

5.2 Tshwane: the global city

The South African government with its neoliberal policies which have seen it prioritise capital accumulation has had a negative influence on the housing crisis in the City of Tshwane. The country's policies, based on a framework which insists that everything be determined by market forces, have meant that the right to the city is only available to those with ownership to property, and who are able in terms of their socio-economic possessions (Mclagan, 2016). This study has shown this to be true in that the residents of Plastic View have been marginalised because they are not owners of property in the City. This explains why the departments of the City thought they could illegally evict residents from the area they occupied because it did not recognise them as having any rights.

This is further proof of the conceptualisation of formality versus informality with states favouring the formal above the informal. The fact that the senior leadership of the province - the premier of Gauteng - would explicitly state that cities should not be characterised by informality speaks to how informality is still viewed in a negative light. Many administrators of cities hold this view, and therefore try their hardest to get rid of or hide informal settlements as they are viewed as bad for the image of the city, and also bad for capital investment.

The study highlighted how the City tried to evict the residents of Plastic View on a number of occasions, and when they could not, tried to formalise the camp. The attempt at formalising the camp and fencing it in as well as the access control at the gates indicates how the City tried to make Plastic View like the gated communities which surround it. In fact, Lombard (2014) validates this by showing how informal settlements only lose their marginal status when the state has better regulation of them.

5.3 The city: the preserve of the "rich"

The South African government's neoliberal policies which have led to privatisation, trade liberalisation and deregulation of the labour market have resulted in precarious employment and lower wages among other things. This has had a domino effect on the lives of many people most of whom are now struggling to maintain their lives let alone afford accommodation in places near work. The study found that people stay in informal settlements like Plastic View because they want to be closer to work opportunities and their sources of livelihoods. It demonstrated that indeed, people's settlement patterns are determined by economic activity. It also demonstrated that work opportunities are still largely concentrated in urban areas, far from where the black and poor majority reside. Thus, the dynamic of land going to the highest bidder has meant that those who cannot afford it find other means such as informal settlement dwelling. In some instances, people can even reside in the veld, as was the case with the residents of Plastic View prior to the establishment of their settlement.

Furthermore, although Plastic View is located in an area which is well serviced and surrounded by social amenities, due to the framing of informal settlements, the people are still marginalised and treated as not belonging. This is seen not only in the fencing in of the area which aims to contain the area and stop it from expanding into the formalised space, but also in how the police are reluctant to service the area when they are called upon. The clinic staff which call Plastic View patients names and refuse to assist them also underlines the rejection and exclusion of the informal settlement residents from services. This is supported by studies such as that of Knudsen (2007) where it is argued that informal settements are treated as forgotten spaces since, although they exist physically, they are not considered in formal city planning and servicing.

5.4 Global citizens of Plastic View

The residents of Plastic View originate from South Africa, Lesotho, Botswana, Zimbabwe and Mozambique. In the camp, those who originate from South African are further divided depending on whether they have housing elsewhere or not. Participants showed how this has implications on the nature of claims these residents can make from the state since the state claims not to have any obligations towards non-South Africans regarding housing. The City also clarified that it cannot give housing to people who already have housing in other places or who have already benefitted from government housing programmes (Msimang, 2018). Because of this, residents then have different expectations of the City and consequently different views of Plastic View. Others view it as a place that they will eventually have to move out of to seek new accommodation because they do not qualify for state housing programmes, others are waiting

the housing anxiously, and others want to stay in Plastic View because relocations might result in them being homeless.

This means that the people in Plastic View then have different sense of place because of their positioning (Massey, 1991;Lombard, 2014). Massey (1991) and Lombard (2014) explain that places are made up of different identities, with different social positions, and thus, they experience place differently and also have different ways in which they act to make a place. In Plastic View, this was seen in how some people create fear and terror amongst residents because of their criminal activities. Others retaliated with violence while others ensured their safety by locking their gates early in the evening. The study also revealed that those who do not qualify to receive state housing show reluctance to any prospects of relocation as it would leave them stranded, and yet others talk about how they will try to make the new arrangement work even though it will probabaly be expensive. This is in contrast to those who desperately want the proposed housing that the City has promised, as they qualify and would rather be living in a safe environment unlike Plastic View. So, this shows that place-making involves many actors who have different interests and identities (Massey, 1991).

5.5 Insurgency in practice

Finally, the study reveals that the establishment of Plastic View is indicative of insurgency which Holston (2009) describes as acts or practices that make claims for inclusion, and that seek to materialise substantive rights. This is because the residents of Plastic View, by placing themselves in the veld areas of Moreleta Park close to work opportunities, tried to include themselves in the inaccessible city. By further seeking legal recourse to have their possessions which were destroyed in the illegal eviction attempt restored, they sought to materialise their substantive rights. Just because they were occupying the space illegally did not warrant that their rights be violated and that they and their possessions be damaged. The notion of insurgent citizenship makes provision for such people to still make claims. The fact that people do not have legal property in Moreleta Park does not mean that they cannot make claims on the state for police protection, health care or even education. This was demonstrated by the court case victory which the residents obtained. The court case victory further made a dent into the power relations between the poor and the City, showing that the City could be held accountable for wrongdoing on the poor. This further links insurgent citizenship to place-making in that it demonstrates that the activities that go into place-making are not one-sided. This is because Plastic View would not be if the agents of the City had not acted in the manner in which they did leading to the residents to taking them to court.

5.6.   Recommendations

In view of the above conclusions, it is recommended that since the scope of this study was limited to one urban informal settlement in the City of Tshwane, it was therefore not representative of all informal settlements. Thus, a broader study of informal settlements in the City which includes more non-South African participants is recommended for a better understanding of the relations between the city and the poor. The findings of this study highlighted the different actors involved in the making of a place, and the different ways people make do with the little that they have to access both the city and its opportunities. This demonstrates the need to for the understanding of people's place-making activities as well as those of local authorities and getting a comprehensive view so that better programmes which work for communities and government are implemented. A suggestion would be for the state to look into collaborating more with non-profit and faith-based organisations in their human settlement plans. It is also important that the state and planners work with how people use their space, taking into consideration already existing conditions before coming up with different development plans. For example, the residents of Plastic View placed themselves there as it is easier to get to work from there, thus relocating them further away will probably result in people moving back to the area. Further, a reflection is required on how informal settlements and informality is discussed and perceived, as this has a direct influence on how these spaces are treated in terms of upgrades and service provision.

5.7.   Conclusion

The City of Tshwane, like many other cities in the country, has seen an increase in the number of migrants since 1994. This is attributed to the fact that under the apartheid government, black people were barred from the city and restricted to the 'bantustans' which were far from economic hubs. With the increase in developments particularly the Menlyn area, there has been a growth in the number of informal settlements in the surrounding areas. Plastic View is one such settlement with the residents all telling a story of coming in the camp for better employment and livelihood opportunities. This study, thus, showed that the city is still mainly a space of economic activity and a beacon of a better life for many people, both South Africans and non-South Africans.

Further, Plastic View is located at the centre of privilege and luxury. It is surrounded by malls, private hospitals and clinics as well as one Woodhill Golf Estate amongst the many suburbs. However, the camp remains largely excluded from all this aesthetically pleasing areas. That is what makes the establishment of Plastic View an act of insurgency. It represents both a claim to inclusion and a shift in power relations. The fact that the City and its departments were brought

to book through the efforts of these marginalised residents speaks to the fluid power relations between the city and the poor. It shows that even the marginalised still have rights- the court ruling that the departments replace their possessions showed just that. It showed that those in power cannot just violate laws without consequence.

The study showed that making a place takes a number of actors, a bit of resistance and a bit of compliance. This is seen in the court case wherein the people resisted being evicted and relocated, but also complied when rules about the dwelling structures were formulated. The study also showed how different identities, which were denied citizenship previously, can now have different interests and thus, different sense of place. This makes it tricky to meet all their demands, as seen in how the City is still trying to manage the situation since it has taken over ten years ago.

The study further made recommendations for a critical reflection on informality and how informal settlements are conceptualised by states and planners alike. The recommendations also included further consideration of how residents use their spaces and the activities of place-making as these can assist authorities in their addressing the housing issue.

REFERENCES

Aalbers, M. B. & Christophers, B., 2014. Centering housing in Political Economy. *Housing, Theory and Society,* 31(4), pp. 373-394.

Adelzadeh, A., 1996. From the RDP to GEAR: The gradual embrace of neo-liberalism in economic policy. *Transformation,* Volume 31, pp. 66-95.

Amin, A. & Cirolia, L. R., 2018. Politics/matter: Governing Cape Town's informal settlements. *Urban Studies,* 5(2), pp. 274-295.

Babbie, E., 2013. *The practice of social research.* Wadsworth: Cengage Learning.

Berry, M., 2014. Housing provision and class relations under capitalism. *Housing, Theory, and Society,* 31(4), pp. 395-403.

Bikam, P., 2016. Spatial restructuring in South Africa: How has South Africa performed since 1994?. *International Journal of Innovative Research in Engineering & Management,* 3(5), pp. 458-.

Boddy-Evans, A., 2016. *ThoughtCo.* [Online]
Available at: www.thoughtco.com/group-areas-act-43476
[Accessed 1 September 2017].

Boddy-Evans, A., 2017a. *ThoughtCo.* [Online]
Available at: https://www.thoughtco.com/british-south-africa-company-bsac-43853
[Accessed 27 August 2017].

Boddy-Evans, A., 2017b. *ThoughtCo.* [Online]
Available at: www.thoughtco.com/pre-apartheid-era-laws-43472
[Accessed 1 September 2017].

Bryman, A., 2012. *Social Research Methods.* 4th ed. New York: Oxford University Press.

Castells, M., 1978. *City, class and power.* Hong Kong: The Mcmillan Press .

Chenwi, L., 2012. Legislative and judicial responses to informal settlements in South Africa: a silver bullet?. *STELL LR,* Volume 3, p. 540.

City of Tshwane, 2017. *2017/18 Built Environment Performance Plan (BEPP),* Pretoria: City of Tshwane.

Clarke, A. E., 2012. Feminism, grounded theory, and situational analysis revisited. In: S. N. Hesse-Biber, ed. *The handbook of feminist research: Theory and praxis.* 2nd ed. California: SAGE Publications Inc, pp. 388-412.

Coquery-Vidrovitch, C., 2005. Residential segregation in African cities. In: T. Falola & S. Salm, eds. *Urbanisation and African cultures.* s.l.:s.n., pp. 243-356.

De Vos, A., Strydom, H., Fouche, C. & Delport, C., 2011. *Research at grass roots: For the Social Sciences and Human Service professions.* 4th ed. Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.

Delport, C., Fourie, C. & Schurink, W., 2011. Theory and literature in qaulitative research. In: A. d. Vos, H. Strydom, C. Fouché & C. Delport, eds. *Research at grassroots: for the Social Sciences and Human Service professions.* Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.

Department of Human Settlements, 2009. *Upgrading of Informal Settlements Programme,* s.l.: s.n.

Dey, I., 2004. Grounded Theory. In: G. G. J. F. G. D. S. Clive Seale, ed. *Qualitative Research Practice.* London: SAGE Publications Ltd, pp. 80-92.

Dovey, K. & King, R., 2011. Forms of informality: Morphology and visibility of informal settlements. *Built Environment,* 37(1), pp. 11-29.

Du Preez, Y., 2012. *iol.* [Online]
Available at: www.iol.co.za/pretoria-news/woodlane-villagers-dream-of-real-homes-at-last-1315003
[Accessed 25 April 2016].

Evans, S., 2015. *Mail & Gaurdian.* [Online]
Available at: http://mg.co.za/article/2015-03-24-shack-dwellers-halt-the-city-of-tshwane-sale-of-land-they-live-on
[Accessed 28 April 2015].

Fawaz, M., 2009. Neoliberal urbanity and the right to the city: A view from Beirut's periphery. *Development and Change,* 40(5), pp. 827-852.

Google Earth, 2018. *Image @ 2018 DigitalGlobe,* s.l.: Google Earth Pro.

Grant, R., 2006. Out of place? Global citizens in local spaces: A study of the informal settlements in the Korle Lagoon Environs in Accra, Ghana. *Urban Forum,* January-March, 17(1), pp. 1-24.

Hall, R., 2014. The legacies of the Natives Land Act of 1913. *Scriptura,* 113(1), pp. 1-13.

Halvey, S., Ryan, J., Stott, J. & Townshend, M., 2016. Land ownership in the context of inclusive urban development. *The Urban Land Paper Series: A transit-oriented development lens,* June, Volume 2, pp. 17-31.

Harber, A., 2011. *Diepsloot.* Jeppestown: Jonathan Ball Publishers.

Harvey, D., 2000. *Spaces of hope.* Carlifornia: University of Carlifornia Press.

Holston, J., 2009. Insurgent citizenship in an era of global urban peripheries. *City & Society,* 21(2), pp. 245-267.

Huchzermeyer, M., 2003. A legacy of control? The capital subsidy for housing and informal settlement intervention in South Africa. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research,* 27(3), pp. 591-612.

Huchzermeyer, M., 2011. *Cities With Slums: From informal settlement eradication to a right to the city in Africa.* Cape Town: UCT Press.

Johnson-Castle, P., 2014. *SA History.* [Online]
Available at: www.sahistory.org.za/article/group-areas-act-1950
[Accessed 25 September 2017].

Kgosana, R., 2018. *PICS: Tshwane plans to move Plastic View undocumented foreign nationals,* Pretoria: The Citizen.

Kihato, C., 2004. NEPAD, the city, and the immigrant. In: F. Khan, ed. *Development Update: the city and its future? The eternal question.* Braamfontein: Interfund Partners in Development, pp. 267-285.

Kitzinger, C., 2004. Feminist approaches. In: C. Seale, G. Gobo, J. F. Gubrium & D. Silverman, eds. *Qualitative research practice.* London: SAGE Publications Ltd, pp. 125-189.

Kloppers, H. & Pienaar, G., 2014. The historical context of land reform in South Africa and early policies. *Potchefstroom Electronic Law Journal,* 17(2), p. 32.

Knudsen, A.-M. S., 2007. *The right to the city: Spaces of insurgent citizenship among the pavement dwellers in Mumbai, India,* London: UCL Development Planning Unit.

Kumar, R., 2011. *Research methodology: A step-by-step guide for beginners.* 3rd ed. London: SAGE Publications.

Leedy, P. D. & Ormrod, J. E., 2015. *Practical research: planning and design.* 11th ed. Harlow: Pearson Education Limited.

Lelandais, G. E., 2014. Space and identity in resistance against neoliberal urban planning in Turkey. *Internation Journal of Urban amd Regional Research,* 38(5), pp. 1785-1806.

Lietz, C. A., Langer, C. L. & Furman, R., 2006. Establishing trustworthiness in qaulitative research in social work: reflections from a study regarding spirituality. *Qualitative Social Work,* 5(4), p. 441–458.

Lombard, M., 2014. Constructing ordinary places: Place-making in urban informal settlements in Mexico. *Progress in Planning,* Volume 94, pp. 1-53.

Mabin, A., 1992. Dispossession, exploitation, and struggle: an historical overview of South African urbanisation. In: D. M. Smith, ed. *The apartheid city and beyond: Urbanisation and social change in South Africa.* London: Routledge, pp. 13-24.

Makhura, D., 2016. *Africa Rising? The role of cities and city-regions in Africa's new industrial revolution* [Interview] (19 May 2016).

Malinga, S., 2000. *The development of informal settlements in South Africa, with particular reference to informal settlements around Daveyton on the East Rand, 1070-1999,* Johannesburg: Prof G. Verhoef.

Marutlulle, N. K., 2017. Causes of informal settlements in Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality: An exploration. *Africa's Public Service Delivery and Performance Review*, 15 August, 5(1), pp. 1-12.

Massey, D., 1991. A global sense of place. *Marxism Today*, June.

May, T., 2011. *Social research: Issues, methods and process.* 4th ed. Maidenhead & New York: McGraw Hill and Open University Press.

McCarthy, J., 1988. Poor urban housing conditions, class, community, and the state: Lessons from the Republic of South Africa. In: R. Obudho & C. Mhlanga, eds. *Slum and squatter settlements in Sub-Saharan Africa: Toward a planning strategy.* New York: Praeger Publishers, pp. 295-309.

Mclagan, T. L., 2016. *RE[GROW]TH: a connection of the socio-economic divide,* Pretoria: University of Pretoria.

Meth, P., 2010. Unsettling insurgency: Reflections on women's insurgent practices in South Africa. *Planning Theory & Practice,* 2(11), pp. 241-263.

Mgedeza, N., 2017. *De Rebus.* [Online]
Available at: http://www.derebus.org.za/impossible-no-demise-common-law-defence-impossibility-spoliation/
[Accessed 25 June 2018].

Mosoetsa, S., 2011. *Eating from one pot: The dynamics of survival in poor South African households.* Johannesburg: Witswatersrand University Press.

Msimang, S., 2017. *Always another country: a memoir of exile and home.* Cape Town: Jonathan Ball Publishers.

Msimang, S., 2018. *Pretoria News.* [Online]
Available at: https://www.iol.co.za/pretoria-news/light-at-the-end-of-the-tunnel-for-plastic-view-folk-17435263
[Accessed 20 January 2019].

Mudzuli, K., 2015. *iol.* [Online]
Available at: http://www.iol.co.za/news/crime-courts/victory-for-plastic-view-residents-1836159
[Accessed 4 April 2016].

Narsiah, S., 2007. Alternatives to neoliberal governmentality in South Africa. *South African Geographical Journal,* 89(1), pp. 34-43.

Ndinda, C., Adebayo, P. & Adebayo, A., 2006. Housing experiences of refugees: Policy implications for South Africa. *Africa Insight,* June, 36(2), pp. 75-90.

Ormston, R., Spencer, L., Barnard, M. & Snape, D., 2014. The foundations of qualitative research. In: J. L. C. M. N. R. O. Jane Ritchie, ed. *Qualitative research practice: a guide for social science students and researchers.* London: SAGE Publications Ltd, pp. 1-26.

Pieterse, E., 2004. Recasting urban integration and fragmentation in post-apartheid South Africa. In: F. Khan, ed. *Development update: The city and its future? The eternal question.* Braamfontein: Interfund Partners in Development, pp. 81-104.

Purcell, M., 2002. Excavating Lefebvre: The right to the city and its urban politics of the inhabitant. *GeoJournal,* 58(2-3), pp. 99-108.

Rawat, F., 2017. The previously disadvantaged are the currently disadvantaged. *Inkundla Journal*, 27 July.

Rosenberg, T., 2017. *ThoughtCo.* [Online]
Available at: https://www.thoughtco.com/the-boer-war-1779180
[Accessed 27 August 2017].

Roy, A., 2011. Slumdog cities: Rethinking subaltern urbanism. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Reserach,* 35(2), pp. 223-238.

Royston, L., Nkhatau, N. & Potter, A., 2017. Towards a measure of spatial justice in South African cities: Spatial mistmatch and SPLUMA. *The Urban Land Land Paper Series- Vol 2: a transit-oriented development lens*, Volume 2, pp. 32-40.

Rubin, H. J. & Rubin, I. S., 2012. Research philosophy & qaulitative interviews. In: H. J. Rubin & I. S. Rubin, eds. *Qualitative interviewing: The art of hearing data.* Northern Illinois University: SAGE Publication, pp. 13-24.

SA History, 2014. *Article > South Africa's Key economic policies changes (1994 - 2013).* [Online]
Available at: http://www.sahistory.org.za/article/south-africa%E2%80%99s-key-economic-policies-changes-1994-2013
[Accessed 20 December 2017].

Salkind, N., Neuman, L., Ormrod, J. & Leedy, D., 2010. *Methods of critical thinking & enquiry.* Gosport: Pearson Education Limited.

Shatkin, G., 2004. Planning to forget: informal settlements as 'forgotten places' in globalising Metro Manila. *Urban Studies,* 41(21), pp. 2469-2484.

Sibiya, R., 2016. *Pretoria East Rekord.* [Online]
Available at: https://rekordeast.co.za/88710/housing-units-for-plastic-view/
[Accessed 8 October 2017].

Smith, D., 1992. *The apartheid city & beyond: Urbanisation and social change in South Africa.* London: Routledge.

Smit, W., 2006. Understanding the complexities of informal settlements: insights from Cape Town. In: M. Huchzermeyer & A. Karam, eds. *Informal settlements: A perpetual challenge?.* Cape Town: UCT Press, pp. 103-126.

South African Government News Agency, 2016. *Plastic View residents promised development,* Johannesburg: South African Government News Agency.

Southall, R., 2013. *Liberation movements in power: Party & state in Southern Africa.* Scottsville: University of KwaZulu Natal Press.

StatsSA, 2017. *General Household Survey,* Pretoria: Statistics South Africa.

Strydom, H., 2011. Ethical aspects of research in the Social Sciences and Human Service professions. In: A. d. Vos, H. Strydom, C. Fouché & C. Delport, eds. *Research at grass roots: for the Social Sciences and Human Service professions.* Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.

Tlhabye, G., 2015. *iol.* [Online]
Available at: http://www.iol.co.za/south-africa/gauteng/city-to-relocate-plastic-view-residents-1887264
[Accessed 2 April 2016].

Tomlinson, R., 1990. *Urbanisation in post-apartheid South Africa.* London: Unwin Hyman Ltd.

Tshishanga, N., 2015. The impact of xenophobia-Afrophobia on the informal economy in Durban CBD, South Africa. *The Journal for Transdisciplinary Research in Southern Africa,* December, 11(4), pp. 163-179.

Tswelopele Non-Profit Organisation and Others V City Of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality (2006) E. Cameron.

Ukwandu, D., 2017. Reflections on xenophobic violence in South Africa: What happens to a dream deferred?. *African Journal of Public Affairs,* December, 9(9), pp. 43-61.

Venter, A., Marais, L., Hoekstra, J. & Cloete, J., 2015. Reinterpreting South African Housing Policy through Welfare State Theory. *Housing, Theory, and Society,* 32(3), pp. 346-366.

Venter, Z., 2013. *iol.* [Online]
Available at: http://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/gauteng/city-squatter-camp-court-fight-rages-on-1533300
[Accessed 2 April 2016].

Wale, K., 2013. Perceptions of class mobility. In: P. Alexander, et al. eds. *Class in Soweto.* Scotsville: UKZN Press, pp. 164-184.

APPENDICES

A) Lawyers and Tswelopele information sheet

UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

Dear participant

Re: request for your participation in this research project

I, Lynette Mashika, an MSocSci student at the University of Pretoria kindly request your participation in a research project on 'Plastic View: an exploration of the experiences of the poor in an urban informal settlement in Pretoria'. The study aims to look at some of the practices that the South African citizens engage in as part of their claim-making process of inclusion in the urban space as well as the realisation of their civil, political and social rights- such as that of housing, in that space.

I would appreciate an opportunity to interview you regarding the study, to hear about your experiences in Plastic View- and find out if the fight between Plastic View residents and the City of Tshwane is a way of changing how poor people interact with state apparatus.

Please note that your participation in this study is voluntary, and there is no reward for participating or penalty for not participating. Involvement in this study requires your participation in an interview of approximately 45 minutes to an hour, which will be scheduled at a time and place that is suitable for you. You will not be obliged to answer any questions with which you are not comfortable, and therefore have the option to decline to respond to any questions asked. You will also have the option of terminating your participation any stage that you choose. I also request that you allow me to audio-record the interview for the purpose of maintaining accuracy of the information I will gain from you.

All data collected through the interview will be treated with the strictest confidentiality. You will also have the option of remaining anonymous in which case all transcripts and reports will be appropriately coded to ensure that your request is fully respected. You will also be provided with the research report if requested.

The results of the research will be submitted as part of the requirement for my MSocSci dissertation.

If you feel that you have concerns regarding the study of if you require any additional information, please contact me (078 609 0861) or my supervisors Dr Tshoaedi (012 420 4366) or Dr Molapo (012 420 2960) to discuss these further.

Kind regards

Lynette

UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

Dear participant

Re: request for your participation in this research project

I, Lynette Mashika, an MSocSci student at the University of Pretoria kindly request your participation in a research project on 'Plastic View: an exploration of the experiences of the poor in an urban informal settlement in Pretoria'. The study aims to look at some of the practices that the South African citizens engage in as part of their claim-making process of inclusion in the urban space as well as the realisation of their civil, political and social rights- such as that of housing, in that space.

I would appreciate an opportunity to interview you regarding the study, to hear about your experiences in Plastic View- and find out if the fight between Plastic View residents and the City of Tshwane is a way of changing how poor people interact with state apparatus.

Please note that your participation in this study is voluntary, and there is no reward for participating or penalty for not participating. Involvement in this study requires your participation in an interview of approximately 45 minutes to an hour, which will be scheduled at a time and place that is suitable for you. You will not be obliged to answer any questions with which you are not comfortable, and therefore have the option to decline to respond to any questions asked. You will also have the option of terminating your participation any stage that you choose. I also request that you allow me to audio-record the interview for the purpose of maintaining accuracy of the information I will gain from you.

All data collected through the interview will be treated with the strictest confidentiality. You will also have the option of remaining anonymous in which case all transcripts and reports will be appropriately coded to ensure that your request is fully respected. You will also be provided with the research report if requested.

The results of the research will be submitted as part of the requirement for my MSocSci dissertation.

If you feel that you have concerns regarding the study of if you require any additional information, please contact me (078 609 0861) or my supervisors Dr Tshoaedi (012 420 4366) or Dr Molapo (012 42o 2960) to discuss these further.

Kind regards

Lynette

C) Consent form

I hereby confirm that:

- I have been briefed on the research that Lynette Mashika is conducting on 'Plastic View: an exploration of the experiences of the poor in an urban informal settlement in Pretoria'
- I understand what participation in this research study means,
- I understand that my participation is voluntary,
- I understand that I have the right not to answer any questions that I do not feel comfortable with,
- I understand that I have the right to withdraw my participation in the research at any time I choose to, and,
- I understand that any information I share will be held in the strictest confidence by the researcher

Signed by _____ on _____ at _____

Signature: _____

D) Interview guide

(community members)

1. How did you get here to Plastic View?
2. What are your reasons for moving here?
3. Where did you reside before moving here?
4. What are your reasons for leaving?
5. Why did you agree to be moved here?
6. Was engaging the municipality on your living conditions ever part of the plan?
7. How did the idea to follow the legal route against the municipality come about?
8. What gains has it brought you?
9. Was this the only way through which to engage the municipality? Did you try other strategies first? If so, how did that go?
10. Are you satisfied with how the court has handled your case so far?

(Lawyers)

1. What made you decide to get involved in the Plastic View case?
2. What were you hoping to achieve for the residents?
3. Did you achieve it?
4. From your perspective, what are the elements that made the claim legitimate?
5. Do you think that going through the courts is the best way for the residents to engage the municipality? Why?
6. Is the case changing how the City relates to and with the poor? If so, how? If not, then why?

(Tswelopele)

What is Tswelopele? And what has been your role in the establishment of Plastic View?

What was your aim with assisting the residents of Plastic View?

What can you say about the gains you have made so far?

E) List of participants

[11]Name	Gender	When they got to the camp	Where they came from	What they do
Brighton	Male	2006	Zimbabwe	Does odd jobs
Ben	Male	2006	Mpumalanga	Works at the dentist
Sam	Male	2006	Vryburg (NW province)	Gardener at the church
Donny	Male	2006	Mpumalanga	Works at the church
Mr Mabunda	Male	2008	Bushbuckridge (MP Province)	Local barber
Koko	Female	2006	Lesotho	Collects recycling material
Celiwe	Female	2015	Bloemfontein	Cleaner/domestic worker
Thabisile	Female	2009	Mdantsane (EC)	Former domestic worker who now lives off of collecting recycling material
Thabisile's husband	Male	2009	Limpopo	Does odd jobs
Tatenda	Female	2011	Zimbabwe	Sells food from her house
Nthabiseng	Female	2009	Lephalale, Limpopo	Unemployed domestic worker
Ms Qhangayo	Female	2009	Free State	Domestic worker

---

[11] Names of Plastic View residents were changed for anonymity

[11]Name	Gender	When they got to the camp	Where they came from	What they do
Colin Dredge	Male	N/A	N/A	Tswelopele
Denise Dredge	Female	N/A	N/A	Tswelopele
Louise du Plessis	Female	N/A	N/A	Lawyers for Human Rights
Teresai	Female	N/A	N/A	Lawyers for Human Rights