

A model to address marginality of the architectural profession in the South African discourse on informal settlement upgrade

VOLUME 1

Submitted by

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Proposal submitted in fulfilment of part of the requirements
of the degree of
Philosophiae Doctor in Architecture
in the Faculty of
Engineering, Built Environment and Information Technology

May 2015

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Acknowledgements

I thank my loving husband, Gawie Combrinck, for your generous support and consistent encouragement, for enduring the mood swings and for dragging me away from the books often enough to remember how to live.

To my beautiful children Catja, Carel, Raoul, James and Carl Mattheus – you have grown up in the time that this study has evolved and have constantly put my priorities in perspective, enriching every insight with your buoyant laughter and insistence on verity.

To my dear parents, Derrick and Rinie van Schalkwyk, who have spoilt me with a lifetime of reassurance, never doubting my abilities and constantly reminding me of the balance between intellectual indulgence and emotional munificence.

I owe a debt of gratitude to my brother, Neels van Schalkwyk, who entertained my curiosity right from the beginning of this adventure and continued to feign an interest long after the topic had become too complex for decent familial conversation around the dinner table.

To my dearest friend, Cecilia Landman, for being a sounding board at all hours of the night and sharing all the concerns that threatened to besiege this endeavour throughout.

To professor Piet Vosloo, for the rigorous attention to detail, structured thought process and patient consideration for emotional tirades in your office at the most inopportune times. You have taught me excellence with compassion.

To professor Amira Osman, who was instrumental in the inception of the thesis and has been involved in the process throughout, constantly challenging and evaluating the often outrageous claims to truth.

To our dear, departed professor Pattabi Raman, whose inspiration and enthusiasm for this thesis served to overcome the initial fears and trepidation. We miss his kindness and generous critique.

To Jhono Bennett, Jacqui Casson, Claudia Filipe and Isabel van Wyk, who intrepidly undertook to venture into unfamiliar territory and helped to show me the way. Your eager embrace of the unknown and passionate belief in humanity, has inspired me to continue in this quest.

To Mohau Melani, Frank Mapara, Naledi Ntoane and other members of the Slovo Park Community Development Forum, whose warm hospitality towards our students and patient tolerance of our ineptitude, taught all of us humility and the meaning of hope.

To Leon Kriel, Gernia van Niekerk and Martina Jordaan for facilitating further collaboration within the university community and for introducing us to the challenges right in our midst.

To the honours and masters students at the Department of Architecture since 2010, who were all prepared to undertake this journey with me and have secured my belief in our future.

To Claudia, Stoffel and Christopher for helping me to make some order out of chaos.

To the talented Alexander Melck, whose philosophical insights and deliberations inspired me to view things from a deeply critical conviction of social justice. You are indeed an old and wizened soul.

This thesis is dedicated to my sister Michelle, whose extraordinary life was interrupted too soon. You will live on in our memory for the bountiful generosity that defined you in every way. May this work serve to extend that spirit of abundance.

Foreword

The discourse on informal settlement upgrade in the developing world is evolving rapidly and interest groups have proliferated over the extent of the study period, increasing an international network of researchers and activists concerned with the topic. The work presented is therefore not considered to be comprehensive or definitive. Rather, it represents a particular investigation that is relevant to the period between 2010 and 2013, circumstantially and geographically bound to the work undertaken in one academic module at the University of Pretoria, South Africa. Principles in the study may be extrapolated for further application, although contextual relevance remains a prerequisite for any interpretation of this investigation.

This thesis will be presented in two volumes for the ease of the reader. **Volume 1** will include chapters 1 to 4, with chapters 5 to 7 bound into **Volume 2**. The table of contents will be bound into both volumes for ease of navigation, with the list of figures, list of tables, bibliography and addenda situated at the end of Volume 2.

Abstract

Informal urbanism is regarded as a global concern challenging formal systems of governance, economy and social justice. The architectural profession is largely considered to be marginal to this discourse, with recognised contributions seen as intermittent, exceptional and once off. The research is interested in determining the causal factors contributing to this continued marginality and determining whether it is possible to mitigate such apparent indifference. It investigates the current discourse internationally as it pertains to the global south, as well as in the South African context to establish some of the noted contributions made by architects and how this has resonated within the debate. From this reflection, main issues underpinning the conditions surrounding informal urbanism are extrapolated, that in turn contribute to the identification of certain key factors that can be considered causal to the marginality of the profession. The research will illustrate that the process of architectural engagement requires transformation in order to be more responsive to the complexity of the circumstances surrounding informal settlement upgrade. Learning from internationally accepted methods of engagement, it is proposed that the Community Action Planning method developed by Goethert & Hamdi (1997) can serve as a basis for such transformative practices, in as much as it requires augmentation in order to be successfully applied to architectural design processes. Applying this proposed method to a studio module in a school of architecture over a period of four years, the research illustrates that key issues contributing to the existing marginality of the profession can be mitigated to a certain degree, with the understanding that such an approach is required at various levels of professional education and praxis to ensure true transformation.

Thesis overview

Chapter 1

The thesis is introduced, where the main research question is seen as reliant on three sub-questions. The main research question asks to what extent it is possible to identify and address key factors that contribute to the current marginality of the architectural profession in the discourse on informal settlements. The first sub-question seeks to determine whether the profession is indeed marginal to the discourse. In the second sub-question, the key factors contributing to this marginality are identified. The third sub-question is concerned with methods that may be considered to address the matter. It is therefore suggested that three sub-questions need to be considered in order to fully address the main research question.

Chapter 2

A literature review serves as the vehicle with which the hypothesis is tested. This review is focused on literature pertaining to the discourse on informal urbanism in selected countries of the global south, which have particular interest from a South African vantage point, as well as a more detailed overview of the debate in South Africa following on the democratic elections of 1994. A brief discussion on the influence by international bodies such as the World Bank and United Nations Habitat is included to frame international trends that play a role in the discussion. By seeking out the exceptional examples where architects have played a role in this context, it is possible to illustrate that such examples remain once off, adhoc contributions that indicate the profession's lack of meaningful engagement with or impact on informal urbanism, specifically informal settlement upgrade.

Chapter 3

Central themes derived from the literature review are considered, forming questions that are used in semi-structured interviews with selected experts in the South African discourse. The discussion ensuing from these interviews serves to corroborate the preliminary findings of the literature review, thereby confirming the main issues relevant to the overall discourse on informal settlements. In the confirmation of these issues, it is then possible to endorse the hypothesis stating the marginality of the architectural profession to the discourse. From this discussion, it is also possible to derive key factors that may contribute to the marginality of the profession, thereby serving to answer the second sub-question of the thesis.

Chapter 4

Having established the key factors that contribute to the marginality of the profession in the discourse on informal urbanism, chapter four proposes a methodology that can be applied as part of the architectural education. This methodology is based on Community Action Planning developed by Reinhardt Goethert and NabeelHamdi in 1997, for which they were awarded the United Nations Scroll of Honour. A discussion on this methodology indicates that specific augmentation is required for the process to be well suited to architectural application.

Chapter 5

In answer to the third sub-question, the methodology proposed in chapter four is applied to a specific module in an architecture school in South Africa over a number of years to ascertain its possible contribution towards mitigating the marginal position held by the profession in the current discourse on informal urbanism.

Chapter 6

Findings from the applied research are discussed in terms of the key factors determined in chapter three. Critical reflection on the problems encountered, failings and shortcomings, as well as perceptions of success are included. In this way, it can be ascertained whether it is possible to address some of the issues contributing to the profession's marginality.

Chapter 7

Conclusions drawn from the findings are summarised. Recommendations following on the research are proposed as they pertain to current policies, professional practice, as well as the educational grounding of the architectural profession. The thesis is thus concluded.

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Chapter 1

A model to address marginality of the architectural profession in the South African discourse on informal settlement upgrade.

Too many people worldwide subsist in undeserving living conditions, and their ranks are growing by the day. As representatives of the professions collectively shaping the built environment, it is our responsibility to resist this intolerable situation. We are speaking out to define an alternative position. We must produce spaces that counter exploitation, control and alienation, whether in urban or rural landscapes. With all our expertise, creativity and power, we need to contribute more dynamically and consequentially to the global quest for equality.

Laufen Manifesto for a Humane Design Culture
(Laufen manifesto 2014)

1.1. Background

In November 2013, the UN-Habitat, in partnership with Habitat Universities, represented by Christian Werthmann of Hannover University, launched the *Hub on Informal Urbanism* in Munich, Germany. This hub provides a platform of exchange for academics studying the phenomenon of informal urbanisation, seeking an interdisciplinary perspective on the issues impacting on informal urbanism, from the physical and environmental to the social, cultural, economic, policy and governance. The importance of this endeavour is uncontested in its relevance to the growing reality of informal urbanism and the need for built environment professions and their academic representatives to engage with this complex phenomenon.

According to Claudio Acioly, housing and urban management expert at UN-Habitat (Acioly 2014; UN-Habitat 2014), professionals are making plans that are not relevant and gathering dust on the shelves, while the cities of the world are growing informally, at an unprecedented rate. As cities are growing, the number of people living in slums increases in relation to the lack of affordable housing and opportunities. The penalty for this informal urban growth is increased vulnerability, environmental degradation, violence and unrest. With the launching of the hub, Acioly and Werthmann are calling for a robust evaluation of precedents towards the development of anticipatory programmes and approaches that can address the problem of informal urbanism pre-emptively. By establishing this focus on research and academic engagement, the role assumed by professionals in the built environment is emphasised and critically scrutinised.

Janice Perlman (2013), a veteran researcher in the *favelas* (slum settlements) in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, remains skeptical of the potential role of architects in the debate surrounding informal settlement upgrades. According to her research that spans four decades, social activism and the demands for social justice are of greater immediate concern than the physical improvement of the built environment. Such views are shared by Marie Huchzermeyer (2013), whose research into the informal settlements of South Africa and Kenya is recognised for its relevance and consistently principled contribution (Pithouse 2009, 2011) to the discourse on informal urbanism. Huchzermeyer (2013) is similarly concerned with the perceived position of architects *defaulting into design*, a position that is considered to be inappropriate to the complexity of issues that require prior attention. Steve Topham (2013), director of the National

Upgrade Support Programme (NUSP) of the South African government, argues that despite individual contributions, the profession of architecture maintains a marginal position with regard to informal settlement upgrade and has yet to achieve meaningful transformation or scale within the profession. Such observations by planning professionals and researchers in the field indicate the lack of a significant presence of the architectural profession in the discourse on informal urbanism, underlining a discontinuity between the concerns of the profession and the reality of the emerging built environment.

At the core of this dilemma is the ability to engage meaningfully in a context that fundamentally challenges the construct of professional architectural service. Standard modes of architectural engagement are reliant on formalised systems of professionalisation in which the client or the client body is pre-determined and often initiates the relationship by engaging the architect's services for an agreed professional fee. The client defines the brief and is normally the registered owner or authority over the property that is to be developed. Such property is then defined and recognised within the deeds register and is subject to laws, regulations and restrictions that impact on the design process and architectural parameters. In South Africa, competency levels are established within this framework in terms of the Architectural Profession Act No 44 of 2000 (SA 2011) where service levels are categorised within these same systemic rigours.

In the case of informal urbanism however, the basic tenets of the client/architect relationship differ substantially from this model:

- The *client* may be a collective entity, fluid in its composition and indeterminate in its affiliation.
- The architect may initiate the engagement as part of an interdisciplinary development team.
- The funding of the initiative may be derived from sources extraneous to the end-user community.
- The brief may need to be developed or derived from a synthesis of unstated requirements.
- Laws, rules and regulations are essentially compromised by the very fact of the informal settlement's existence in contravention of these laws.

- Ownership and tenure are contested issues that fall outside of the scope of traditional architectural engagement.
- The sequence of works may require an inversion of post-construction documentation instead of pre-planned technical rendition of design proposals.
- The architect may not be required to produce any design proposals at all, rather contributing to the requirements of the settlement by way of a synthesis of disparate information or intentions.

In essence, the process of architectural production is fundamentally tied in to the formal constructs of regulated professionalism, thereby restricting the profession from engagement in the informal realm. At the same time, literature suggests a deeply rooted distrust and resistance to professional engagement in informal settlements, where the quotidian intelligence of *auto construction* (self-made construction) is seen as more responsive and appropriate to the complex issues involved than a formalised and prescriptive involvement of professional service providers, generally accused of elitism (Goethert 2013, Mitlin 2013, Patel, Arputham, Burra & Savchuk 2009, Perlman 2013, Topham 2013).

There is a growing school of thought, however, that attaches value to the potential contribution that can be made by the profession (Awan, Schneider & Till 2011). Internationally, Boonyabantha (2005) has generated a large cohort of *community architects*: Young professionals who undertake work in informal settlements and who are making significant contributions to the field. In Cuba the government has embraced Rodolfo Livingstone's *Architect in the Community* programme to successfully address the housing conditions of that country (Valladares 2013).

Globally, there is a consciousness of the urgency for the architectural profession to engage with the reality of informal urbanism, as can be seen from the increased prevalence of literature, exhibitions and conferences addressing the issue. The recent hosting of the International Union of Architects (UIA) conference in South Africa included the sub-theme of resilience as it relates to architecture, which was explored through the ideas of emergence, poverty alleviation and the spatial economy:

This first sub-theme explores notions of resilience through developed life strategies by communities, critical interventions that contribute to poverty alleviation and the important role of government, and government investment towards the re-configuring of the spatial economy to the benefit of all (UIA 2014).

Concurrently, there is the recognition that transformation of the discipline is necessary not only to address this inherently different context, but also to widen and enrich the vocabulary of architecture itself. Locally, publications such as the *South African Informal City* (Poulsen & Silverman 2012) indicate the growing awareness of the potential role of the architectural profession in the discourse on informal urbanism. Recent contributions by colleagues working at the University of Cape Town in the Imizamo Yethu informal settlement (UCT 2014) and in the Informal Studio at the University of Johannesburg (UJ 2014) are seen as an important indication of the concern with this need for transformation within the profession.

It is within this background that the thesis is positioned and where a concern regarding the absence of a coherent method of architectural engagement in informal settlements is addressed.

1.2. Main research question

To what extent is it possible to identify and address the key factors that contribute to the current marginality of the architectural profession in the discourse on informal urbanism?

1.2.1. Sub-question one

Is the architectural profession marginal to the discourse on informal settlement upgrade?

1.2.1.1. Sub-hypothesis one

The hypothesis is put forward that the profession of architecture is marginal to the discourse on informal urbanism in the international context as well as in South Africa, and that this is reflected in related policies and programmes.

1.2.1.2. Objective

To investigate the phenomenon of informal urbanism and the role undertaken by the architectural profession: International and South Africa

1.2.1.3. Method

In the literature review, the phenomenon of informal urbanism will be investigated at international level by means of a sampled overview of policies and programmes implemented by governments situated in the global South. Economic development directives emanating from the global North by way of the bodies originating in the Bretton Woods Accord will be briefly considered for their influence on international trends.

The balance of power between state, civil society and communities residing in informal settlements, will be investigated to determine where and how the architectural profession assumes its position in this political arena. Government policies and programmes will be considered in terms of their approach to informal settlement eradication or upgrade, and how this frames the response by the other two sectors.

Community participation in informal settlement upgrade processes is considered in terms of the socio-economic transformation implied in the discourse and how this impacts on the role played by the architectural profession.

The economic polarisation between wealth and poverty resulting from the currently dominant neoliberal policies, will be considered in terms of the complex issue of tenure security that underpins informal urbanism.

In the South African context, a more detailed scrutiny of government policies relating to informal settlement upgrade will inform an understanding of the position assumed by the architectural profession.

1.2.1.4. Research delimitations

The literature survey attempts to contextualise the global phenomenon of informal urbanism in the 21st century, by tracing the main thrust of political and economic policies stemming from Europe and the United States of America after the Second World War. In order to contain the scope of the study, an overview of the two most prominent organisations emanating from the Bretton Woods Accord (the World Bank and the United Nations – specifically UN-Habitat) will be considered in terms of their impact on development in the global South.

With the focus of the research being in South Africa, literature indicating shared points of interest between South Africa and governments of the global South is then considered as a basis for investigating the policies and programmes relating to informal settlements of countries in Latin America and south-east Asia. The role undertaken by architects in this discourse will be explored.

The South African policy landscape will be limited to the post-apartheid period after 1994, with a short overview of factors contributing to the transitional period preceding the democratic election. National policies and mechanisms regarding informal settlement upgrade will be considered from the perspective

of rights-based interest groups in civil society, community-based organisations and government directives. The position assumed by the architectural profession in this discourse will be reviewed and contextualised.

1.2.2. Sub-question two

What are the key factors contributing to this marginality?

1.2.2.1. Sub-hypothesis two

The hypothesis is put forward that key factors can be identified from the literature review, by means of a critical analysis of issues pertaining to the role of the architectural profession in the discourse on informal settlements and corroborated by way of interviews with opinion leaders in the South African context.

1.2.2.2. Objective

To determine the key factors contributing to marginality.

1.2.2.3. Method

Through meta-discourse, salient issues emanating from the preceding literature review will be identified. The importance of each will be ascertained for its relevance to the role of the architectural profession in the discourse on informal urbanism. To situate the discussion in the South African context, conclusions drawn will be substantiated by way of interviews with specialists in the South African discourse.

From these findings, strains of commonality will be sought to extrapolate key factors contributing to the position assumed by the architectural profession.

1.2.2.4. Research delimitations

In the meta-discourse, recurring themes emanating from the literature review will be identified and discussed in terms of their relevance to architectural design processes. Conversely, the importance attached to involvement by architects in the issues that are identified will be considered.

Selection criteria for the interviewees rely on their evident level of experience and exposure, firstly to the matter of informal settlements in South Africa and secondly to their knowledge relating to activities of the profession in this context. The interviews are not intended to be an exhaustive representation of current thinking, as that study is reliant more on the preceding literature review. Rather, it is seen as a directed sampling method to confirm the pertinent issues as identified through the literature review.

The interviewees are singular representatives of four specific areas of relevance: A co-ordinator of the South African National Upgrade Support Programme (NUSP) representing the government sector; a leading academic researcher whose work provides a perspective on the conditions affecting communities residing in informal settlements; an experienced teaching academic who was head of the School of Architecture and Planning at the University of the Witwatersrand (South Africa), thus representing the architectural profession from the educational perspective and an internationally recognised researcher (and architect) who worked in the NGO sector. The three main sectors of influence identified in the literature review, as well as the NGO sector, are therefore represented in the interviews.

1.2.3. Sub-question three

How can the factors contributing to this marginality be addressed?

1.2.3.1. Sub-hypothesis three

The hypothesis is put forward that Community Action Planning methods developed by Reinhardt Goethert and Nabeel Hamdi (1997) offer a platform of architectural engagement in informal settlements that may serve to address the architectural profession's current marginality to the discourse.

1.2.3.2. Objective

To investigate the application of Community Action Planning methods in student work over a four year period.

1.2.3.3. Method

A case study of student work produced between 2010 and 2013 investigates Community Action Planning through a heuristic method, applying an iterative process to field work undertaken in two informal settlements in Gauteng, South Africa.

The student work is at the honours level in the Department of Architecture at the University of Pretoria and consists of a seven week module in which participatory action research and group urban frameworks precede the development of individual design proposals.

A small-scale intervention such as those proposed by Hamdi (2004, 2010) in subsequent writings is implemented following proposals developed during the aforementioned module. This takes the form of a physical upgrade of the community hall in one of the informal settlements.

Additional to this academic module, Community Action Planning methods are further investigated through workshops and surveys conducted in the settlement outside of the academic curriculum as part of the process of critical reflection.

Critical reflection on this process contributes to the development of methods employed in the module and the ensuing evaluation of Community Action Planning in terms of its ability to address the marginal role of the profession.

1.2.3.4. Research delimitations

The study is focused on the work of Goethert & Hamdi (1997), which is considered relevant to the question regarding strategies of engagement in informal settlements. Goethert has been teaching at Massachusetts Institute of Technology Architecture Department since 1970, where he is the director of the Special Interest Group in Urban Settlement (SIGUS). He is an educator, researcher and adviser to institutions such as the World Bank and United Nations, with specific interest in methodologies of settlement

design, where participatory planning methods at community level are linked to strategic city planning (MIT SIGUS 2014). Hamdi comes from an architectural background with his primary working experience having been in the social housing sector in London, England. Concerns for end-user participation as part of design development underpins the trajectory of his subsequent teaching career at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, USA, as well as his prolific publications (Oxford Brookes 2015).

In 1997, the United Nations awarded Hamdi and Goethert the UN-Habitat Scroll of Honour for their work on Community Action Planning (MIT SIGUS 2014; Oxford Brookes 2015).

Principles and strategies described in the Community Action Planning, continued to influence Hamdi's thinking in the publication of *Small Change: About the art of practice and the limits of planning in cities* (2004) and *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community* (2010).

The Masters course developed by Hamdi at Oxford Brookes University, where Goethert is a visiting tutor, further explores and applies this approach to the engagement in informal urbanism. This course has been recognised for its validity and importance by being awarded with the Queen's Anniversary Prize for Higher and Further Education in 2001 (Oxford Brookes 2015).

Continued work as educator, researcher and consultant in participatory action planning and slum upgrading has resulted in various international awards and accolades, including his acknowledgement by the University of Pretoria, South Africa, who awarded Hamdi an Honorary Doctorate in 2008.

Hamdi's concepts have had major resonance internationally over the years. In an increasingly complex socio-political and economic environment, Hamdi's concepts are greatly influencing architects in South Africa and more modestly the approach of the Housing and Urban Environments (H-UE) Research Field at the Department of Architecture, University of Pretoria (UP 2011).

I assumed responsibility for the research field of Housing and Urban Environments (H-UE) at the honours level (4th academic year) at the Department of Architecture, University of Pretoria (UP) in 2010. The focus of the research field had been influenced by the work of John Habraken (1972, 1998) as well as Nabeel Hamdi (2004) and includes a broad spectrum of housing-related investigation.

The seven week module dedicated to H-UE offered a well-suited platform of investigation for the question raised in this thesis, as Hamdi's concepts were principally embedded into the philosophy of engagement. From 2011, the research field was renamed Human Settlements and Urbanism (HSU) in response to the concern that a primary focus on housing would undermine a holistic and integrative perspective on the role of architects in the context of emerging urbanism. For this reason, the study resides in the research field of Human Settlements and Urbanism.

Introduction to the informal settlement community residing in Slovo Park, Johannesburg, occurred by way of the (then) Minister for Human Settlements, Tokyo Sexwale and late chairperson of the Federation of the Urban Poor (FEDUP), Mr Patrick Magebula. Following on a Department of Human Settlements workshop held in 2009 where the main question of this thesis was raised, I was introduced to Mr Magebula by Minister Sexwale, who suggested a meeting with Mr Max Rambau, chairperson for Gauteng of the Community Resource Centre (CORC) at the time. Mr Rambau then introduced me to Mr Mohau Melani, a community leader in Slovo Park. Discussions with Mr Melani and other members of the Slovo Park Community Development Forum confirmed the community's interest in cooperation with me for the purposes of this thesis investigation as well as with the students enrolled for the honours course at UP as part of the research.

For the purposes of comparative analysis, a second research site was established in 2011 through the institutional agreement between the UP Community Engagement Department and the Non-Profit Organisation *Viva Foundation* (2014) in the informal settlement of Alaska to the east of Mamelodi, Pretoria. The establishment of the relationship between the University and Viva Foundation follows on the national imperative to introduce service learning to institutions of higher education in South Africa as embedded in the Higher Education Act of 1997 (SA 1997).

1.3. Definition of terms

Civil society

For the purposes of this investigation, the term *civil society* will pertain to the sector of society that does not constitute the authority of government structures and is separated from informal settlement communities due to their formal recognition in the social order. This sector is seen as inclusive of professions pertaining to the built environment, in particular the architectural profession as well as tertiary institutions and NGO's.

Community

The term *community* resonates with the description of *political society* as coined by Chatterjee (2004, 2008) that provides a comprehensive understanding of the distinction between the formal sector of *civil society* and population groups making collective demands on government. In keeping with much of the literature informing this study, the term *community* will describe the residents of informal settlements who are united in their geographic location resulting from land occupation and the shared desire for recognition of their rights to justice and citizenship

Informal settlement upgrade/ informal urbanism

The term *informal urbanism* encompasses discourse that considers the phenomenon of informality as it pertains to urban areas. This is inclusive of the discussions on *informal settlement upgrade* that indicates a specific pro-active position. Although the thesis is concerned with the question of *informal settlement upgrade*, it is held within the wider considerations of informality. The interchangeability of the terms is therefore particular to the scale of the investigation at various points in the study.

Discourse

The term *discourse* is used in this thesis to collectively refer to policies, programmes and examples of practice related to informal settlement upgrade. Debates represented in literature, including books, collective essays, journal articles and conference themes have also been considered part of this understanding.

Marginal

The term *marginal* is used in this study in its active voice (*marginal to*), thereby describing the role undertaken by the architectural profession, rather than in the passive voice to describe its marginalization by others. This underscores the biased position forwarded in this thesis that the responsibility for transformation lies with the profession itself.

1.4. Motivation for the study

The motivation for this study stems from my personal experience as a practicing architect in the context of an informal settlement upgrade proposal in the Northern Cape in South Africa. During the course of this engagement, formal processes were followed in which the design mandate resided with the professional team. Regular meetings with all the relevant stakeholders including the resident community were scheduled in which design proposals were communicated in a top-down manner to the affected parties. The process spanned a period of two years, at the end of which a complete settlement layout was approved by the Surveyor- General. Despite this apparently successful conclusion, the project was terminated due to dissatisfaction by the resident community.

Subsequent workshops undertaken with the community revealed false assumptions that had been made during the course of the design development and especially highlighted the failure of the top-down decision-making model. The inability to address many of the concerns that were made evident during these workshops indicated the need for a transformation of the process of architectural engagement in this context. Although the project served as a valuable exposure to the issues raised in this thesis, a concern with ethical and academic rigour has precluded the inclusion of further details describing this encounter.

The significance of the research resides within the global concern that the profession of architecture assumes a marginal position with regard to informal urbanism. It is widely held that the profession can and ought to engage more critically within this context, both as a social responsibility to the inhumane conditions under which millions of people subsist, as well as a concern for the increased paucity of a relevant

professional discourse. This concern translates into a conceptual framing that is aligned with the writings of Lopes de Souza (2012, 2014) in which he describes the need for a libertarian aspect to the debate on urban issues. The investigation is therefore biased towards discovering a potential transformation within the architectural profession to relate to the autonomy of those sectors of society currently marginalized through skewed power relations.

Within this wider concern, the research considers the context of education as the basis from which such discourse can evolve. In the South African Education Act of 1997 (SA 1997), the principle of service learning or community engagement was introduced as an important component to redress social inequity. The significance of this relates to the relationship between professional capacity building as an integral part of the socio-political reconstruction of the South African society. Informal urbanism represents the physical manifestation of a continued disparity and poses a challenge for many professional fields, including architecture. Proposing methods of engagement in the context is therefore significant in the development of architectural curricula towards modes of praxis in South Africa.

The current lack of a shared methodology or parameters of assessment result in ad-hoc strategies for students and practitioners of architecture to engage in informal settlements. While this is not a negative approach in principle, it is argued that such ad-hoc practices remain marginal and do not achieve the mainstream application that is required to address the problem at scale. The significance of an empirical investigation of strategies proposed by Goethert & Hamdi (1997) resides in offering a critique and augmentation of the Community Action Planning platform, thereby developing a working methodology that can be duplicated and validated as an integral part of the expected outcomes of architectural education, thus creating a basis for professional praxis.

Chapter 2

Overview of approaches to informal settlement upgrade

It has been over 30 years since I was pacing the Peruvian seashore near Lima, sharing my convictions with an advisor from the then United Nations Centre for Housing, Building and Planning, New York...that housing policies based on replicable state-initiated programmes were wrong in principle and could never achieve the scale demanded, even those based on aided and mutual self-help housing, with substantial subsidies (Turner 1996:342).

2.1. Introduction

The influence of this walk along the beach has indeed been far-reaching. John Turner's views on housing and the role that informal settlement has to play in it eventually influenced the development policies of the World Bank, the United Nations, governments of several developing countries as well as most professionals and NGOs engaged in the field of housing and urbanisation.

The fact that John FC Turner is an architect has relevance to this thesis. As one reviews the literature pertaining to the main thrust of the investigation, one will see the various roles and levels of influence borne out by architects, ranging from shifts in global paradigm to simple interventions of programmatic application. The impact of these interventions, however, indicates an exceptional rather than an acknowledged attitude or mode of practice relating to informal urbanism.

Chapter two comprises of an overview of literature pertaining to current discourse on informal settlement upgrading, with the purpose of establishing the role undertaken by the architectural profession in the discourse. Current and recent publications and exhibitions with similar intent include:

- The Museum of Modern Art (New York) exhibition entitled *Small Scale, Big Change: New Architecture of Social Engagement* organized by Andres Lepik and Margot Weller in 2010
- *Design with the Other 90%: Cities* curated by Cynthia Smith of the Cooper Hewitt Museum in 2011 (with an attending publication bearing the same name)
- *Afritecture: Building Social Change* exhibition at TU Muenchen curated by Andres Lepik in 2013 (with an attending publication with the same name)
- *The South African Informal City* exhibition curated by Karen Eicker in Johannesburg 2011, publication edited by Lone Poulsen and Melinda Silverman in 2012
- *Spatial Agency: Other ways of doing Architecture* publication by Awan, Schneider & Till in 2011.

Introducing these publications and exhibitions, the editors and curators herald a new way of approaching architecture, implying therefore a requirement for transformation or *new*

professionalism (Tovivich 2011) that questions current modes of practice. Examples illustrating such novel approaches therefore serve as *exceptions proving the rule* that architects are not significantly engaged at scale in this complex arena. This overview is similarly structured to confirm the hypothesis proposed in the thesis that the profession, despite various noted exceptions, remains in a marginal position regarding informal urbanism in general and in particular, informal settlement upgrade.

Historically, informal settlements have been viewed as indicators of poverty and social malaise on the one hand, or as opportunities for economic and cultural emergence on the other. From whichever direction it may be perceived, the current situation is that a significant proportion of the developing world's urban population resides in such informal settlements, known by various names: *favela, barrio, slum, squatter camp*...to name a few.

Literature consulted in this overview indicates a strong and consistent effort by role players ranging from institutional establishments to individual volunteers and communities themselves to improve living conditions in such settlements. Despite the many challenges and setbacks, disappointments and failures, the global collective consciousness is grappling seriously with the physical manifestation of rapid urbanisation. Whether it is seen as a *problem* (Turner 1976:4) or as an *opportunity* (De Soto 2000) the realities of life in less-than-ideal conditions are being presented as relevant to contemporary concerns.

The overview includes a selection of international policies and programmes directed at informal settlement upgrade situated in countries of the global South that have certain commonalities or affiliations with South Africa, which is the primary locus of the research. The impact of institutions emanating from the Bretton Woods Accord such as the World Bank, as well as that of the United Nations, is briefly considered due to the influence of their economic objectives on development trends in the emergent economies of the countries selected for investigation.

The South African policies and programmes that have been developed since the 1994 democratic elections will then be introduced and considered to establish the role undertaken by the architectural profession in this context. The hypothesis is therefore framed in the locus of research.

The scope of the review therefore commences at a broad international level, drawing closer to achieve insight into the South African post-1994 context.

In the overview, certain themes will be considered as forming part of the main body of prevailing discourse:

- The balance of power between government, civil society and beneficiary communities
- The international shift from eradication policies to the upgrade of informal settlements
- The shift from policies of provision to those of enablement
- The role of community participation in informal settlement upgrade policies and programmes
- The influence of neoliberal economic policies on the prevalence and persistence of informal urbanism
- The function of tenure security in the considerations of informal settlement upgrade

The impact by the architectural profession on the discourse with relation to these themes will be considered to ascertain whether a significant contribution is evident, either internationally or in the local South African context. In conclusion, chapter two will serve to substantiate the hypothesis that the architectural profession occupies a marginal position with regard to the discourse on informal urbanism, at an international and local South African level.

2.2. International overview

2.2.1. The Bretton Woods system

From its beginnings in the early twentieth century, international housing policy has been shaped by a constellation of actors at the core of which have been development and housing agencies of the US and the UK, international organizations – especially the UN and the World Bank (Jones 2011:11).

Following on the Great Depression of the 1930s and World War II, a conference was held at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, USA in July 1944, where 43 member countries agreed on an international economic structure to ensure greater economic and political stability. The vision was one of international co-operation as a means to improve the workings of the world economy (Buirra 2005).

The two dominant countries at this inception meeting were the United States of America and the United Kingdom, who agreed that gold would be the anchor for international currency exchange (Eichengreen 2004; Stephey 2008). When President Richard Nixon severed the link between the dollar and gold in 1971 (Eichengreen 2004), the system collapsed and major currencies were floating freely against the dollar resulting in high oil prices, bank failures, inflation and losses on the stock market.

Institutions created within the Bretton Woods system, however, continued to function independently, namely the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (currently known as the World Bank) (Stephey 2008). Brought about in this spirit of co-operation, the World Bank was created as a vehicle to help reconstruct Europe after World War II and to assist in the development of countries that required it (Buirra 2005).

The discourse on informal urbanism cannot be considered comprehensive nor adequately understood without recognising the role of globalization as part of this phenomenon. Socio-political conditions in individual countries are significantly influenced by their economic

relationships to the international community, which underpins the motivation for including a brief overview of the Bretton Woods system into the thesis investigation. Although it is recognised that the focus of the thesis does not extend beyond the immediate condition of South Africa, it is important to note the influences from the development initiatives taken by the World Bank that emanated from the Bretton Woods Accord.

2.2.1.1. World Bank policies pertaining to slum upgrades

For the past 50 years, the World Bank has provided large loans for urban housing programmes and directed national policies, thereby rendering it the most powerful influence on global housing policies (Pugh 2000:327).

Between 1972 and 1982 the Bank favoured Turner's views and promoted *sites and services* as well as *in-situ* slum upgrading projects (Pugh 2000:327). Those projects were not very successful from the Bank's perspective, having a low cost recovery, minimal impact on citywide reforms and often resulting in greater social problems due to the remote positioning of these *sites and services*.

Between 1983 and 1993 the focus shifted to deeper institutional reform and development, with funds being channeled through housing finance systems. In low-income developing countries, however, these programmes were not always effective, if they existed at all. From the 1990s, the World Bank promoted the concept of *enablement*, seeing housing as economically productive *in its capacity to generate income and employment multipliers* (Pugh 2000:328). Institutional reform towards economic efficacy and social effectiveness in the housing sector, as well as improved governance, became the objective.

In terms of informal settlement upgrades, the three strategic sectors would be included to create the ideal conditions for enablement: a broad, inclusive representation of the residents (community); the technical know-how (represented by the appropriate professionals) and the requisite urban authorities. Together, principles and rules of engagement and responsibility would create the required conditions for enablement.

Such an approach of broad inclusion was confirmed by Stiglitz (in Pugh 2000:329), where emphasis was switched from the development of individual sectors to cross-sector, society-wide transformation – a holistic approach, giving squatter settlements importance in the development discourse.

The participative model has acquired greater significance since the turn of the millennium, as a recent World Bank research report states that:

Promoting participation through community development projects and local decentralization has become a central tenet of development policy. The World Bank alone has invested about \$85 billion over the last decade on development assistance for participation (Mansuri & Rao 2013:ix).

According to the report, there is recognition of the difference between *organic* participation and *induced* participation, the first being organised by civic groups unrelated to government, the second attempting to *promote civic action through bureaucratically managed development interventions* (Mansuri & Rao 2013:ix). The main argument forwarded is that the most effective development takes place when it is sandwiched between the support of an effective central state and bottom-up civic action.

The realisation that purely top-down approaches as well as idealised bottom-up methods were equally prone to failure, has been documented by World Bank officials and academics alike (Jones 2011; Keare 2001; Werlin 1999). Keare (2001:160) uses the analogy of *learning to clap* to explain that as much as the outside intervention strategies of the integrated rural development programme were a recipe for *megafailure*, equally the sites and services programmes that relied heavily on *auto construction* (self-build) could not go to scale without the continued support of the World Bank.

Similarly, Werlin (1999:1533) describes the initial success of the Kampung Improvement Programme (KIP) in Indonesia resulting from the benevolent view of communities and their resilience, offset against the eventual disappointment experienced in the lack of maintenance and need for re-upgrade late in the 1990s. Such examples, according to Werlin (1999) pointed to the danger of insisting on minimal state involvement and suggested that there ought to be a combination of *development from above* with *development from below*.

The understanding that top-down approaches can be prone to government and market failures has been balanced in the World Bank's experience of civil society failures. The Turner assumption that groups of people (in this case geographically and circumstantially related) would necessarily agree and work towards a common interest has proven to be naïve:

Civil society failure at a local level can be broadly thought of as a situation in which groups that live in geographic proximity are unable to act collectively to reach a feasible and preferable outcome (Mansuri & Rao 2013:4).

The World Bank therefore considers it imperative (in the case of induced participation) to take the potential of such failure into consideration and to look beyond the immediacy of a project to create sustainable links to markets and the wider society for sustainable development to take place.

The research report concludes that induced participatory interventions work best *when they are supported by a responsive state*; that local and national context is important and that effective civic engagement does not develop within a predictable trajectory (Mansuri & Rao 2013:11-12).

It is evident from literature consulted that the World Bank has been influential in international development trends. At the same time, the institution places great value in *learning-by-doing* and is not averse to adjusting its policies based on evidence gathered in the field. From enthusiastic top-down development projects to the support of community-driven bottom-up approaches the consensus appears to be an accountable combination contributing to an holistic response to development.

2.2.1.2. World Bank and UN Habitat

Although not emanating from the same Bretton Woods conference, the World Bank and United Nations Habitat cannot be seen separately from one another. The United Nations Centre for Human Settlements, now UN Habitat, was established in 1978. Its mandate was strengthened in 2002 and it was promoted to a core programme of the UN system (Jones 2009:3):

The United Nations Human Settlements Programme, UN Habitat, is the United Nations agency for human settlements. It is mandated by the UN General Assembly to promote socially and environmentally sustainable towns and cities with the goal of providing adequate shelter for all (UNHabitat 2012).

As much as the World Bank relies on research done by the UN Habitat to define the parameters and conditions for development engagement (UN Habitat 2013), so the UN Habitat relies on the World Bank for financial directives and support, such as the agreement signed in December 2004 between UN Habitat and World Bank Infrastructure Vice Presidency to utilize funds of the World Bank Trust Fund towards the Slum Upgrade Facility Pilot Programme of the UN Habitat (UNHabitat 2006:16).

The two institutions are closely linked through the Cities Alliance that was established in 1999 as a *global partnership for urban poverty reduction and the promotion of the role of cities in sustainable development* (Cities Alliance 2014).

Under the auspices of the Cities Alliance, the World Bank and UN Habitat have initiated two major programmes: the Cities Without Slums Action Plan and the Slum Upgrading Facility (Arimah 2010; UNHabitat 2012). Both bodies have sought to institutionalise the upgrading of slums and have actively promoted regularization of tenure along with the provision of services. There is a strong motivation for slum residents to invest and contribute to the management of their (emerging) neighbourhood (Arimah 2010:5).

In 2000, UN Habitat presented the world with the Millennium Development Goals (MDG), specific to this thesis there was Goal 7, Target 11, which proposed:

To make a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers by the year 2020 (UNHabitat 2006:1).

Huchzermeyer (2011) explains how this mandate, as part of the the UN/Cities Alliance slogan of *Cities without Slums*, became a perverse misinterpretation by several governments and housing ministries across the world as a mandate for the demolition of slums/informal settlements, *fuelling an anti-poor sentiment* (Huchzermeyer 2011: 2). Citing the South African example, she points to the *invented MDG obligation to achieve slum-free cities by 2014* (2011: 3), legitimising slum eradication by the government.

It is indeed ironic that such a diametrically opposed interpretation could follow from the collective analysis and intention of UN Habitat literature, especially when one considers the programme that was launched in 2004, i.e. the Slum Upgrading Facility (SUF).

The SUF is designed to provide global assistance for the design and implementation of locally produced *bankable housing projects* so that groups of very low income residents and their local authorities can attract domestic commercial capital on a community-led repayment scheme basis (UNHabitat 2006:12). In this 3-year pilot programme, supported by the World Bank Trust Fund, the intention is clearly stated that *in-situ* upgrade would be favoured, relying on the existing social networks (inclusive of their social organisations of savings and accountability) to drive the pace of development, maintaining a fine balance to avoid rapid change and investment leading to gentrification and *soft* eviction due to unaffordability (2006: 6).

As in World Bank reports discussed above, the three sectors are identified in UN Habitat literature as the basis for development: Private sector investment (civil society support); federations of savings groups (community) and municipalities (government) (2006: 7).

In the End-of-Programme Evaluation (Ljung & Gavino 2011), the UN Habitat reports that the SUF has been proven to be a *highly relevant initiative, dealing with an important area of the mobilization of domestic commercial capital for slum upgrading and housing for the urban poor, a window that traditional donor programmes have not addressed in a systematic manner* (2011: xi).

The report concludes that *in-situ* upgrading is preferable to slum redevelopment (2011: xii; xiii) and that SUF was a model through which slum dwellers could access domestic financing for development. This is seen in the light of community driven improvement programmes tending to be small, making foreign expert support relatively expensive. The focus, according to the UN Habitat report, is therefore to develop financial instruments that take cognisance of the low income sector to repay loans, thereby making it possible for such communities to improve their physical environments.

Another significant programme that exists under the auspices of the UN-Habitat is the Participatory Slum Upgrading Programme (PSUP). This programme aims to *strengthen the capacity of local, central and regional institutions and key stakeholders in settlement and slum improvement through the use of good governance and management approaches* (UNHabitat 2009: 4). The overall intention is to alleviate poverty and improve the management of urbanisation in Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean. According to UNHabitat (2012), tailor-made solutions are required in the attempt to alleviate poverty and the PSUP is designed to change the thinking about slums and urban poverty, so that pro-poor policies may be developed in a participatory manner.

With this programme, there are two main objectives: The urban profile, which is a survey and assessment of development challenges; followed by the regional policy development, capacity building and slum upgrading action planning, which would be specific to the city under investigation (Carrilho, Lage, Tique, Mazembe, Cani, Erasmo, Trindade, Serra Jr, Battino, Costa, Raimundo, Da Silva, Remane & Balate 2010; UNHabitat 2012; UNHabitat 2009:5). Finally, during project implementation, the relevant authorities are offered support to realise some of the tangible projects that have been identified. Partnering groups are identified as:

- *Low-income groups and civil society organisations*
- *Academia*
- *Additional funding partners* (UNHabitat 2012).

The PSUP programme drew to a close in 2012, but the end-of-programme report is not yet available for an assessment of its success in UN Habitat terms.

Reading the two UN-Habitat programmes together, it is clear that certain working methods seem to be evolving in which a strong focus is being placed on the participatory nature of the initial survey and research, so that experts are not making unwarranted assumptions or assertions about community needs or aspirations.

According to the SUF handbook (UNHabitat 2006:54-55), the action planning methodology relies on the community's production of the *Project Design and Development Plan*. This is the basis for all the sequential stages, which then draw in the assistance of consultants, financial institutions and authorities as may be required, toward financing implementation.

As observed in the World Bank research report (Mansuri & Rao 2013), the institutional paradigm shift has occurred heavily in favour of participatory approaches, both on the level of inducing and organising participation as much as recognising existing organic structures of social organisation within communities. The relationship between the World Bank and the United Nations, in particular the UN Habitat, is therefore evident, with development agendas closely aligned and concerned with approaches to informal settlement upgrade. The main direction of thought that can be observed is the deepening understanding that participation by beneficiary communities is vital in the successful execution of upgrade strategies. The role undertaken by external parties, whether in the form of governments or development aid organisations, needs to be balanced through the processes of participation so that strategies previously aimed at provision can shift towards enablement.

2.2.1.3. The debate regarding the neoliberal agenda

Despite the UN Habitat and World Bank's benevolent language of aid and assistance and an express desire for pro-poor policies towards the alleviation of vulnerability, literature suggests that there is a critical undertone of skepticism among academics (Girdner 2011; Harvey 2012; Huchzermeyer 2011; Jones 2009, 2011; Peck & Tickell 2002).

The reason for the debate may be drawn from the establishment of the two organisations, following on the economic and political upheaval of World War II and the Great Depression. Beyond the destruction of Europe and Japan, the hard line of political ideology saw the world severed between the perceived economic polarities of capitalism and communism. Along

with this, European countries were exiting the era of colonialism, adding yet another facet to the political and economic arena.

Desiring greater stability, especially politically and economically, would certainly have contributed to both the creation of the United Nations and the Bretton Woods institutions. At the time, the moral supremacy of the Anglo-American structure was not in doubt. Several decades later, however, this absolute set of values is no longer considered to be appropriate on a global scale.

From an (uncritical) institutional perspective, the desire to develop stable, sustainable economic markets resides at the base of all motivation towards the upgrade of urban environments. The prevalence of slums or informal settlements is seen as a result of government and market failure (Mansuri & Rao 2013:4) and to a great extent, housing policies have been designed in order to attempt a rectification of such failure. The UN Habitat/Cities Alliance desire to create *cities without slums* similarly indicates that the conditions of *squalor and despair* are inherently a confluence of faulty policies that need to be corrected.

The question that is put forward by critics of these institutions is whether the intention of such corrective strategies is appropriate in the first place: Do they serve to further exploit the urban poor, are the intentions honourable in terms of benefit to the resident communities or are they even effective in terms of true empowerment and access to decision making? Even where intentions are good, the mechanisms of upgrade and development mostly remain slanted in favour of an existing value system.

The neoliberal project is understood as a shift in global economic thinking after the Bretton Woods system came to an end, heralding an era where capitalism would no longer be mitigated by certain welfare policies as established by Keynes at the first inception of the system. This neoliberal era is therefore synonymous with the post-Keynesian era and was politically entrenched in the Reagan-Thatcher period of the 1980s. The global tendency veered toward free trade, lean governments, flexible labour and active individualism (Peck and Tickell 2002:381). Since then, this primarily economic ideology has become the foundation of politics and is equated with a *new religion... (which) combines a commitment to the*

extension of markets and logics of competitiveness with a profound antipathy to all kinds of collectivist strategies (2002:381).

Since the demise of the communist systems of the former USSR, it is evident that the ideological counter-balance to the extremes of capitalist ambition have disappeared, thereby allowing the accumulation of profit to become a singularly unchallenged (global) condition. The results of such *feral* capitalism (Harvey 2012:156) are an increasing polarisation in the distribution of wealth and power which are *indelibly etched into the spatial form of our cities* (2012:15), hence the prevalence of increasingly privatised public spaces, gated communities and, necessarily, informal settlements.

The neoliberal aspiration to security, social order and economic stability fundamentally contradicts its inability to generate sufficient employment. This continued economic and cultural imperialism that is based on an Anglo-American world-view has led to global inequality, exploitation of natural resources, pauperisation and a waste of human potential. Consumerism overrides class awareness, consciousness or radical self-assertion.

Neoliberalism is not liberal and not new. It is statist, in the service of capital. Its adherents recognize that democracy slows capital accumulation. It is class struggle from above against workers and poor around the world (Girdner 2011:1).

Increasingly, with the global economy being left to the self-regulating market, a cut-throat context of financial survival has emerged, in which dependency relationships exist between powerful and subordinate sectors of society as well as between countries of unequal economic standing. Safeguards that were originally built into the Bretton Woods system to temper the ravages of free trade have largely fallen away:

Under neoliberalism, financial capital has come to dominate the entire world with power shifting to financial markets. There is a sustained and ruthless attack on the global ecology. Neoliberalism has led to increasing barbarism (Girdner 2011:13).

Huchzermeyer (2011) builds an argument on Lefebvre's *Right to the (oeuvre of) the city*, in which she deplores the fact that informal settlement upgrades are aimed at the creation of economically competitive urban centres:

For this (political) elite, a liberal, corporate-inspired conceptualization of cities as competing commercial entities in need of brands, gateways, icons and global standards, reinforces the urgency of the perceived need to free those cities of slums (Huchzermeyer 2011:3).

Under these conditions, no room is left for the authentic appropriation of space in which the identity of its residents can flourish.

According to Jones (2009), the development institutions may have an even more sinister intention with their assistance, in the fact that a social *financialisation* agenda is promoted under the guise of community enablement. Jones (2009) argues that the dimensions of *financialisation* can be identified as:

- Home-ownership through the expansion of mortgage finance
- Ownership of a home being considered an asset or investment
- The realm of housing finance has been increasingly integrated into national and global financial circuits

This then forms part of his assessment that the conditions for neoliberal government and urbanism are hereby supported.

Citing Foucault, Jones (2011) distinguishes between classic liberalism in which natural order evolves in conditions of supply-and-demand leading to economic and political liberty, as opposed to conditions constructed to bolster dependency on powerful institutions. Jones accuses Cities Alliance, UN Habitat and others of being the *architects of neoliberal urban governmentality for African cities and slums* (Jones 2009: 7).

Jones (2011:15) recognises the range of projects, policy implementation and experiments in slum upgrading implemented by philanthropic agencies, development agencies, Shack Dwellers International, Oxfam, Bill and Melinda Gates foundation and many others. Core goal

principles underlying most of these endeavours are:

- Promoting the role of the private sector in slum improvement
- Promoting some form of home-ownership by means of self-help savings and loans
- Regularization of tenure

These conditions are considered to be an enforcement of the neoliberal agenda. Furthermore, the UN Habitat SUF programme, in its intention to facilitate private investment in slum improvement and to provide credit for residents of slums is similarly considered by Jones (2011) to be a demonstration of the neoliberal intention of the international development agenda.

Both Jones (2011) and Huchzermeyer (2011), in their discussions centred on the upgrade of informal settlements, touch on the central nerve of the neoliberal context. Ultimately, the existence of informal settlements is symptomatic of the *failure of markets and government* (Mansuri & Rao 2013) to ensure reasonable conditions of life for all the citizens of a given society. At the same time, informal settlements are symptomatic of the failure of said governments and markets to compel all members of that society into regularised subjugation. This makes residents of informal settlements/*favelas*/squatter camps both victim and rebellious victor in terms of the insidious desire of markets and governments for control and supremacy within the neoliberal agenda.

According to the Marxist geographer David Harvey (2012), the World Bank *plainly favours speculative capital over people*. The idea that a city can do well (in terms of capital accumulation) while its people, apart from a privileged class, and the environment do badly, is never examined (Harvey 2012:29). The position of the World Bank as one of the primary sources in service of neoliberalism is equally vigorously attacked by various anti-globalization campaigns. As mentioned previously, Jones (2011) points out that the partnering collaboration between World Bank, UN Habitat and Cities Alliance have some of the greatest impact on global development.

The Cities Alliance has two central objectives: improvement in actual urban conditions and the promotion of *specific communicative processes which enable the emergence of consensus among various stakeholders regarding urban development* (Jones 2009:2). One recognises in this structure, therefore, the potential vehicle for complicity that is put in place: the World Bank,

arising from the Bretton Woods intention of social and economic order, morphing over time to a very powerful global influence no longer held in check by its ideological counterparts, establishing a strong network of affiliates supported by professionals, donors and grass roots societies all intending to benefit the poor through such organisations as the Cities Alliance.

2.2.1.4. Architecture in the debate on neoliberalism

Returning to its description of the Slum Upgrade Facility (SUF) (2006), the UN Habitat (2012) points out its potential partners in the upgrade endeavour:

Where development NGOs have at their disposal enthusiastic (sometimes recent graduates, or indeed, recently retired) professionals who are keen to participate in 'the improved built environment for poor people' – these may be architects and engineers, quantity surveyors, specialist in low-cost construction technologies, and construction programme managers, they provide the fundamental basis for guiding a community in assessing its development options and potential (UN Habitat 2006:37).

Such enthusiastic participation by planning professionals in the slum upgrade process is uncritically considered to be beneficial and benign: Certainly from the perspective of the young graduates, it is often considered a duty to humanity. These intentions cannot be flawed and it is not the view of this thesis to undermine or discourage such engagement. However, critical voices do point out that the very process of collaborative planning threatens the good intentions of those involved as such processes might inadvertently serve to support the neoliberal agenda.

Purcell (2009) argues that although communicative (collaborative) planning is more inclusive than the preceding technocratic rational-expert model of planning, it nonetheless undermines the potential for the citizenry to express critique and become mobilised against the dominance of neo-liberalisation. In arriving at consensus, he argues that underlying power relations remain essentially unchallenged, at the same time (due to the reasonable process followed) conferring significant political legitimacy. By impeding the transformative impulse from below, such collaborative action (seeking consensus) effectively supports existing power relations:

...communicative action tends in the long-term to reinforce the current status quo because it seeks to resolve conflict, eliminate exclusion, and neutralize power relations, rather than embracing them as the very terrain of social mobilization(Purcell 2009:155).

Due to their normative impacts in shaping the ideas and values of society on a tangible level, disciplines such as planning and architecture cannot afford to disregard their complicity in or mobilisation against the current context of neoliberalism. Gunder (2010:302) suggests that where collaborative planning *purports to be an interactive process of community- focused participatory governance*, it is in fact providing the discipline for life in urban spaces to achieve the ends of our dominant market logics:

Planning is the ideology of contemporary neoliberal space (Gunder 2010:308).

In an interview with Der Spiegel (2011) renowned architect Rem Koolhaas similarly agrees that architecture has become limited in its range, losing its role as a *decisive and fundamental articulation of a society* under the hegemony of neoliberalism. In fact, the impact of neoliberalism on the design industry is considered to be strongest in the urban manifestation (planning, urban design, architecture and landscape architecture), which is increasingly becoming a *pure space of capital accumulation and corporate managerialism* (Spencer 2011b:3). Both Spencer (2011b) and Koolhaas (2011) infer that the generic nature of recent architecture and other disciplines inherently serve the neoliberal project of continuous reprogramming and *creative destruction*. Van Toorn (2007:1) calls upon these disciplines at the Rotterdam Biennale of 2007 to respond to the *terror of neoliberal urbanisation* which he claims results in a splintering of the cityscape, where the *mass-produced individual takes precedence over any idea of community in our market-driven society*.

The argument is forwarded that architecture has the ability to engage in politics in terms of the space-time sensorium, thereby offering resistance to the expanding neoliberal context. In its organisation and determination of spatial relations in the city, the opportunity exists for architecture to offer or comment on social direction. The call is to engage with the messy,

sometimes dangerous conditions necessary for freedom and the establishment of true democracy.

Further to this argument is the interpretation of Lefebvre's *Right to the City* (1996). According to Van Toorn (2007), this right of appropriation beyond ownership, to places of encounter and exchange, to inhabit and to enjoy use value that is free from exchange value becomes an architectural mandate to engage with the dissonance and struggle of the public sphere. Huchzermeyer (2011) does not translate this concern into an architectural matter, but supports the principle of agitating for a rights-based approach in support of resistance to the competitive agenda of neoliberalism.

Debates and discussions on the full understanding of Lefebvre's (1996) philosophy are in abundance and offer a significant platform of critique on policies such as those proposed by De Soto (2000) in which he suggests that security of tenure would, in fact, secure a right to the city by means of ownership. Harvey (2012) takes up this discussion and explains how such a seemingly progressive proposal undermines the essence of Lefebvre's intention, by *actually strengthening while simultaneously lengthening the golden chain that imprisons vulnerable and marginalised populations within orbits of capital circulation and accumulation* (Harvey 2012:20). Access to micro-credit that is forwarded by the World Bank, Shack Dwellers International, savings federations and UN Habitat as an opportunity for shack dwellers to exercise their right to the city, actually ends up imposing *systems of collective responsibility for debt repayments that can imprison rather than liberate* (Harvey 2012: 21). The most calamitous effect of this individualist reward system is often to destroy the mutual support systems evident in squatter settlements that have no motivation for profit.

The ability of architecture to support the collective assertion of the *Right to the City* in the face of neoliberalism is therefore brought into question. As indicated, where architects are engaged in slum upgrading programmes under the auspices of the World Bank or UN Habitat, it could be argued that the profession is supporting the fundamental constructs of power instead of challenging it. By over-individualising the upgrade process and relying on credit systems to achieve desired outcomes, collective resilience can be undermined. Conversely, by engaging with the collective in collaborative design processes that rely on consensus, architects could

be accused of destroying important loci of resistance to neoliberal dominance. An important parameter for significant contribution to the discourse is therefore established as the ability of the profession to position itself in terms of the status quo defined by the hegemony of neoliberalism. Without a clear indication of the role assumed by the profession as a whole, it can be asserted that it remains marginal to this debate.

2.2.1.5. Conclusion

In this brief introduction, the influence of institutions borne of the Bretton Woods Accord of 1944 has been discussed in terms of its impact on the discourse on informal settlement upgrade. Development trends affecting the international community emanate from the economic directives and policy documents ratified by the World Bank and UN Habitat. In this way, it can be surmised that the shift in policy that is evident in these institutions from *provision* to *enablement* reflect an international propensity in this direction, with a growing understanding that bottom up participation is favoured over top down development practices.

The inter-relationship between the World Bank and the UN Habitat is evident in the creation of such institutions as the Cities Alliance, tasked with the goal of improving the lives of slum dwellers across the globe.

From this overview, however, the complex relationship between slum formation and the prevalence of neoliberal market conditions has been highlighted, with the critical perspective offered that these same aid institutions could be propagating the conditions giving rise to slums in the first place. Seen in this light, programmes and policies forwarded by the UN Habitat and World Bank are viewed with skepticism.

The focus of the discussion centres mostly on economic policies and does not reveal a significant concern for the architectural profession. Some pertinent literature does however point to circumstances where architects render service to these institutions, ostensibly with the intention of making a contribution to the context of informal urbanism. The argument is then forwarded that in doing so uncritically, the profession effectively serves to support the status quo instead of challenging it. Conditions that contribute to the neoliberal agenda include the following:

- Undermining the collective by way of individualised financialisation
- Equating housing with an asset
- Regularised tenure that is translated into credit
- Co-option of the collective through manipulated consensus

Despite its stated potential for engaging in the political realm, it is argued that a critical position is required in terms of these conditions perpetuating neoliberalism in order to contribute meaningfully to the discourse.

2.2.2.Latin America

2.2.2.1.Introduction

Huchzermeyer (1999, 2011) suggests that South African discourse on informal settlement upgrade ought to take cognisance of the Brazilian situation, where the residents of slums are contributing to the growing basis of knowledge and thereby impacting on the way middle class society is responding to slum settlements. Abbott (2002) points to the fact that South Africa is a relative newcomer to the arena of informal settlement upgrade and can therefore benefit from preceding knowledge and experience. Solutions that have been implemented in Brazil and extended into Latin and Central America are considered to be significant to the South African scenario (2002:305). For this reason, inclusion of certain prominent programmes implemented in Latin America has been considered necessary to this overview.

In a special edition of the *Architectural Design Journal* (2011:8[3]), the topic under discussion was *Latin America at the Crossroads*. The shift in paradigm referred to pertains particularly to the consideration of informality and the role that architecture has to play in this arena. Articles for this edition serve to illustrate various scales of involvement by architects and open the discussion concerning the underlying position that the profession ought to assume with respect to the upgrade debate.

Historically, Latin America has experienced an accelerated rate of urbanisation over the last century that resulted in government-supported construction of modernist tower blocks that soon proved to be both inadequate and inappropriate in the face of a burgeoning housing crisis and a veritable explosion of squatter settlements (*favelas/barrios*) in urban centres, typically underserviced and located on precarious terrain (Garcia-Huidobro 2011; Leguia 2011; Winchester 2005). Whereas these informal settlements have often been either ignored or forcibly removed, there seems to be a general consensus in the region that *informality is now considered an asset to be understood and incorporated* (Leguia 2011:12; Fabricius 2011:146). Although this could be considered to be a positive step in the direction of improvement or development, Fabricius (2011) warns against a romanticisation of informality, stating that it *does not represent a solution or an end, but a new set of conditions and challenges*.

According to a UN report (Winchester 2005:16), various programmes have been initiated across Latin America (including Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Peru and Uruguay) where *in-situ* urbanisation is the point of departure. In these programmes, investments that residents have already made in their housing solutions are incorporated, with an emphasis on community participation in the implementation of projects. The urban reality of informal settlements is seen as part of the growth of cities by both the UN and the World Bank, who value the participative process in development, as reported by Imperato & Ruster (2003:37). Endicott, Polhemus & Gonzalez (2009) as well as Navarro-Sertich (2011:177) describe a position of legitimising urban informality through an acknowledgement of the thriving culture and activity within such settlements, sustaining resilient networks that are flexible in their design and construction. Whether these are the cities of tomorrow or the sites of *favela chic* interventions (as Navarro-Sertich names some of the architectural projects within these settlements), literature consistently agrees that there is a shift in the focus of development agencies, academics, as well as built-environment professionals in Latin America to acknowledge the value of *auto construction* (self-build) and to minimise displacement of residents in any development drives.

One of the influential figures in this shift towards an acceptance of informality is the writing of the economist Hernando De Soto who has *effectively advocated the creation of a legal system to help the poor access property rights* (in Jauregui 2011:64). As much as this unlocking of the informal sector has been enthusiastically supported by governments and development agents alike, the issue of tenure security remains a hotly contested one. Suffice it to say that this debate has had a significant impact on the Latin American context, where several government programmes and municipal strategies have been centred on the approach of an increased security of tenure.

The World Bank has taken many lessons from their Latin American experience, and has also had a reciprocal impact on government policies. Their focus on participation and the preference for *in-situ* upgrade has similarly been influenced by these experiences, while their belief in a continued level of professional, as opposed to strictly voluntary or unskilled, guidance through the implementation of specified projects seems to remain at the core of their strategy. In their report, Imperato and Ruster (2003:468) comment on the older points of

view espoused by Turner in which residents of slum settlements were afforded the right to build for themselves as being unsuccessful in the long term with regard to genuine transformation. They conclude that greater financial, administrative and technical support is necessary in order to achieve a successful integration into a socio-economic system. The underlying bias that becomes evident is that in-situ upgrading is considered a good vehicle by which to achieve *consensus and collaboration* (Imperato & Ruster 2003:37) in the successful completion of specific projects.

Naturally, the Marxist or anti-neoliberal camp has a field day with this perspective and it is interesting to see how clearly the in-situ upgrade debate, particularly in Latin America, becomes the ideological battleground between pro-active promoters of tangible improvements to the physical fabric of the city and the political activism of those that claim a deeper (more critical) understanding of the *Right to the City* in which these same tangible improvements are seen as *panem et circenses* attempts at civic appeasement (Harvey 2012; Lopes de Souza 2012).

Large scale municipal upgrading strategies have been widely recognised for their phenomenal success in the aforementioned category of physical improvement: Curitiba, Bogota, Medellin and currently, Rio de Janeiro have invested millions of dollars in the very real Cinderella-type transformation of these cities (Castro & Echeverri 2011; Jauregui 2011:60; Leguia 2011:15; Navarro-Sertich 2011; Penalosa 2011:91).

According to Castro & Echeverri (2011:103) it is important to note that architecture and urban interventions were not to be seen *as an end in themselves, but were tools to express the political intention of municipal programmes*. This political intention is to facilitate a sense of civic pride and stewardship. Penalosa's (2011) approach to the improvement of Bogota was specifically aimed at public spaces so that even the poorest may enjoy their city:

A library in a poor neighbourhood symbolizes society's confidence in the intelligence and capacity of the young citizens around it; just as a free food programme, despite its eventual necessity, expresses the opposite (Penalosa 2011:95).

Smaller scale interventions have enjoyed similar accolades, such as the housing development by Elemental in Iquique, Chile. This well-documented intervention saw the productive and creative synergy between government programmes, community participation (albeit partial and very strictly controlled) and architectural innovation leading to a resultant success story that has been replicated in Chile and abroad (Elemental 2013).

Navarro-Sertich (2011:175) describes various architectural interventions across Latin America as urban acupuncture or *favela chic* where singular projects have been introduced into informal areas, sometimes with limited participatory processes, but often resulting from a strong emphasis on the aesthetics of transformation. This, she argues, results in projects often being difficult for communities to control, appropriate or maintain. She attributes the lack of institutional coherence, continuity and support as contributing to the resulting disappointment of many of these projects and concludes that *one cannot de-politicise and de-historicise the question of informality* (2011:192).

The ability or otherwise of architecture to engage meaningfully in this arena of informality is an important consideration as highlighted by Fabricius (2011:144):

...perhaps more than ever, the relevance of architecture has been placed under scrutiny.

In the Latin American context, literature indicates an understanding that *in-situ* upgrade implies an integration into the formal sectors of society as well as the physical integration with the city. Upgrades such as that of Bogota focused specifically on the physical access by even the poorest pedestrians of the city and its amenities, along with large-scale public transport and a focus on educational facilities that would enable intellectual integration. The paradigm shift that is celebrated (in this review of *Latin America at the Crossroads*) is the recognition that residents of informal settlements are limited in their *reach and resources* (Fabricius 2011:148) to shape their communities or their environments (greater context) and that, beyond the trivialisation of small-scale impact, a greater level of consciousness is required to empower the political voice of this sector of society.

According to Leguia (2011) in cases where the tri-sectoral balance has not been ideal, there are examples (in Argentina, Peru, Mexico and Brazil) where this vacuum of inefficiency has been filled by architecture departments of various universities, where teaching and research models have developed in which architects fulfil the role of mediators and facilitators, in full consideration of informal communities' interaction and integration with the city.

Participation is considered to be a benchmark of current development thinking in Latin America (Imperato & Ruster 2003; World Bank 2004), although the nature of such participation remains fairly open-ended and open to debate. The World Bank research report (Mansuri & Rao 2013) acknowledges the major difference between induced participation as being different from organic participation, hereby recognising in part the nuanced meaning that this key aspect of any development entails. The approach of the architectural academics seems to revolve around an induced participation similar to that described in the World Bank report, in which local residents take part in the communicative research and planning processes, offering their understanding of place along with an expression of their aspirations, from which the architects or students are then able to represent the *imagined city, constructed from the collective imaginaries of its residents* (Leguia 2011:143).

These methods of participative planning, programming or design rely on communicative games, role playing and visual imagery, leading towards an articulation of desired outcomes. Small-scale proposals rather than large, utopian ideals are presented, which is contextually informed by the specifics of the spatial, economic and political conditions encountered. It is evident from the special edition of the *Architectural Design Journal* (2011) that this approach towards the creation of a new model for architectural practice is considered to be *ethically and socially responsive practice* (Leguia 2011:143). The desire to re-imagine the architectural profession in support of the natural diversity of the informal sector sees this position as a *personal encounter between the user and the architect*. This creates an intensely subjective engagement with dissimilar truths, from where a common ground can emerge.

How then does this progressive and benign intention become so heavily criticized in the skeptical literature of the Marxist stalwarts such as Harvey (2012) and Lopes de Souza (2012)? In consensus and collaborative planning, they see compromise and coercion. In co-operation

between the various sectors of society (tri-sectoral: government/community/civil society) they point out a subversive co-optation in service of the sinister excesses of the capitalist markets, and a weakening of the resistant spirit of rebellious civic mobilisation. Similarly, in embracing the potentially galvanising impact of a project-driven approach, the danger of pacification, public acquiescence and distraction is pointed out.

In the Latin American context, architects are involved at different levels of this political contestation and performing roles as diverse as becoming mayors of major cities implementing transformation, to engaging on the ground to improve existing building stock within the *favelas*. In the academic environment, methods of engagement are being developed that seek to redefine the eventual role of the profession within this context of informality. The extent of this debate indicates the need for transformation within the profession and the desire to create a space within the discourse of informal settlement upgrade.

To gauge the extent of involvement of the profession in this current discourse, a sampled overview of certain prominent programmes will be explored. These programmes include the Favela Bairro Programme and the Morar Carioca Programme in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, the Chile Barrio programme in Chile as well as the Architect in the Community programme in Cuba.

2.2.2.2.Favela Bairro Programme (FBP): Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

2.2.2.2.1 Introduction and background

The Favela Bairro Programme (FBP) in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, is widely considered to be the best-known urban upgrading programme in Latin America and serves as a reference for the urbanisation of informal settlements (Acioly, 2001; Brakarz & Aduan, 2004; Riley, Fiori & Ramirez 2001).

Public policy regarding the upgrade of *favelas* changed radically from eradication and blind tolerance to upgrade and integration, which was formally recognised from 1995 in the start of the Urbanization of Popular Settlements of Rio de Janeiro Program (PROAP), subsequently known as the Favela Bairro (Acioly 2001; Brakarz & Aduan 2004; Perlman 2003). PROAP had its origin in a self-help urbanisation programme in which the municipality provided street improvement and sanitation. Driving this approach was a small group of municipal officials (an

urban development group) who were in daily contact with the residents of *favelas* during the 1980s, where they were exposed to the demands for improved services (Riley et al 2001: 525). This group was under the leadership of the Secretariat of Urbanism under Luis Paulo Conde, a distinguished architect who became mayor in the late 1990s (Acioly 2001:511).

The FBP was funded in part by the municipality of Rio de Janeiro and additionally by the Inter-American Development Bank. The first loan was granted in 1996, followed by the FBP II until 2007 and the FBP III which was approved in 2010 (Inter-American Bank 2011b). The FBP was aimed at the upgrade of existing informal settlements and their physical, social and juridical integration into the city. This would be achieved by means of public investment in infrastructure, community facilities, improved public space and legalisation of land tenure (Acioly 2001:513; Handzik 2010).

In attempting to elevate the status of the *favelas* from slums to regular neighbourhoods, the principle was underscored that it would be more beneficial to harness the asset of social networks, avoiding the costs associated with acquisition of new land and relocation of large segments of the population (Brakarz & Aduan 2004). Beyond this financial advantage however, Perlman (2003) emphasises that these social networks and relationships, organisational membership and reciprocal exchange between people contribute to an eventual political stability as well as a general sense of well-being among the poor.

The need to integrate *favelas* into the formal structure of the city seems physically evident in the extreme polarity described by Lopes de Souza (2005) in his assessment of Rio as a *City of Fear*, where the difference between wealthy gated communities and drug lord-controlled *favelas* have resulted in a *dramatic socio-political fragmentation of urban space* (2005:16). To achieve this seemingly impossible integration, the FBP included the following principle elements:

- *Basic urban infrastructure*
- *Incorporation of social services*
- *Community participation strategies*
- *Integrated and co-ordinated implementation of projects* (Brakarz & Aduan, 2004:9)

Identified projects would then take place within an inter-sectoral approach, relying on decentralised management and implemented in a project-driven context (Acioly, 2001; Brakarz & Aduan 2004; Riley et al 2001). Projects ranged from the upgrade of water and sanitation networks, domestic lighting, reforestation, squares and walkways, construction of new or improved housing and rubbish collection to community centres, nursery schools, commercial establishments and advice centres.

2.2.2.2.2.Participation

A key component of the method of implementation claimed in the FBP is the process of public participation. According the World Bank, Cities Alliance and Inter-American Development Bank literature (Brakarz & Aduan 2004; Cities Alliance 2012; Inter-American Bank 2011), there is a self-congratulatory claim that the FBP is based on *ample participation*, where grassroots-level infrastructure upgrading experts could work easily with both government and community members. The project sequence is described as follows:

- *Selection of locality and contact with community organisation*
- *Design of Master Plan*
- *Discussion of proposals with community and adjustments*
- *Preparation of final drawings for investment projects, approval by state and municipality*
- *Technical analysis*
- *Project implementation (possible local labour)*
- *Operation and maintenance (city agencies)*
- *Monitoring and evaluation (Cities Alliance 2012)*

Within this process, certain strategies for participation were employed, such as the definition of project solutions, selection of social services, determining the location of facilities, the organisation of neighbourhood associations and *using them as a channel of communication with the rest of the community* (Brakarz & Aduan 2004), thus: *induced* participation (Mansuri & Rao 2013).

As seen in the above description, participation was effectively limited in terms of the full development both of the programme and its implementation. Due to the focus on physical

improvements and heavy infrastructure, the residents could only participate in the approval or disapproval of the preparation phases (Acioly 2001:519). Eventually, residents only knew what the extent of a project would be once it was underway, as most of the negotiations would have been done by the residents associations. These negotiations would also only be in response to proposed developments, rather than organically emanating from within the resident community (Riley et al 2001:529).

2.2.2.2.3. Land tenure

One of the objectives proposed at the inception of the FBP was the regularisation of land tenure. In some descriptions of the programme, the fact that full (titled) tenure has not been achieved is considered to be a failure of the programme (Acioly 2001; Magalhaes 2010). Handzik (2010) however, explains that the approach to tenure regularisation in the FBP has indeed been successful, specifically due to the fact that it is not based on ownership and titling, but on a principle entrenched in the Brazilian legal system in which the primary concession of right to use (instead of ownership) exists. Although ultimate land titling in the long run has not been ruled out, the fact that residents are secure in the knowledge that they would not be evicted, has been a good basis for the roll-out of the programme (Handzik 2010).

Originating from the Roman civil tradition, Brazilian law favours the rights of those using property over those claiming ownership without using or occupying it, effectively providing for very strong squatter's rights (Handzik 2010:12). Further to this a *state of exception* exists, in which separate regulatory controls apply to informal areas so as not to overburden them with standards that are impossible to meet either in implementation or enforcement. These legal conditions make it possible for residents to improve their dwellings incrementally and in theory protects these areas from speculation and gentrification, thereby resisting the *soft* eviction that often ensues once a neighbourhood becomes unaffordable (Handzik 2010).

In fact, the understanding that formalised land tenure has many disadvantages, has become an important discussion in the development arena and where the focus on the *favelas* during the 1960s and 1970s was the agitation for the legalisation of land tenure. Perlman (2003) reports that Rio de Janeiro's *favelados* (*favela* residents) are now mostly opposed to it.

This opposition is based on the recognition that formal regularisation of tenure (ownership) has the following drawbacks:

- Individualisation of the struggle for housing, thereby undermining collective action
- Co-optation into society and its capital (financialising) process
- Slowing down of the implementation of slum upgrading
- Payment of taxes to a formal system which is in fact inefficient – hence the existence of informality in the first place (Handzik 2010; Harvey 2012).

Literature suggests that the FBP seems to offer an important alternative to the promise of tenure regularisation following on De Soto's *Mystery of Capital* (2000) that has had a tremendous influence on especially World Bank policy. Rather than encouraging individual ownership as the World Bank would have it, the FBP's concession of right to use seems to be an inherently more beneficial context protecting the urban poor against the exploitation of massive and rapid gentrification.

2.2.2.2.4. Role of architecture

An aspect of the FBP that sets it apart from other urbanising programmes is its inclusion of the architectural profession. In conjunction with the Brazilian Institute of Architects (1994), public competitions for ideas and methodologies for favela upgrading were organised. The winners were clearly instructed to work closely with communities in the design of plans and action plans (Acioly 2001:516). These competitions stimulated an interest and involvement by architects and urban planners (Brakarz & Aduan 2004), leading to participatory processes that essentially challenged the modernist approach to the shaping of urban space:

A flexible type of planning that recaptures the principles of action plans and large integrated projects focused on strategic sites of the city seem to provide better instruments to urban restructuring and citizen involvement (Acioly 2001:518).

The resultant impact on both architecture and the residents of the *favelas* is reported to embody a shared sense of beauty that is neither the socialising of luxury nor the romanticising of poverty – rather it is seen as a celebration of the quotidian culture of the *favelados*

(Magalhaes 2010:7-9). This access to professional service also impacts on people's behavior, *generating community spirit and creating citizens* (Riley et al 2001:526).

In the FBP it can therefore be stated that the profession of architecture has occupied an instrumental position in the implementation of the programme, which has impacted positively on the participatory methods employed and on the eventual implementation of the urban interventions.

2.2.2.2.5. Impact of the FBP

In assessing the overall impact of the FBP, Brakarz & Aduan (2004) report the success of the programme in the following:

- Improved standard of living
- Improved health conditions
- Increase in property value
- Reduction in poverty-related risks
- Improvement in technical skills, competitiveness and income earning potential

The wider-reaching influence of the FBP on countries such as Argentina, Bolivia, Ecuador and Uruguay is ascribed to these successes. According to the report (Brakarz & Aduan 2004:18) a public opinion poll carried out in 2003 favoured the FBP as a priority for the incumbent mayor. Similar reports of an improved quality of life and greater integration into the city are reported by Magalhaes (2010:9) despite some incidences of *soft* eviction due to a rise in relative property values. Acioly (2001:517) attests to a high *degree of satisfaction* in the direct beneficiaries and public approval on a city scale. He further claims that these interventions have even led to the relocation of narcotics activity, resulting in less violence and drug trafficking in previously inaccessible parts of the settlement.

Despite the many accolades for the FBP, critics remain skeptical in the light of the limited scope of citizen participation, considering the overall dominant role of the municipality and its supporting formal structures to fundamentally undermine the grassroots assertion of their *Rights to the City* (Harvey 2012; Lopes de Souza 2010). Manifestations of this gap in access to real decision making can be seen in the reported inability of projects to satisfy citizen demands and in problems of maintenance and emotional ownership (Riley et al

2001:531). Lopez de Souza (2005) ascribes some of the systemic problems of true participation residing in the interstitial space between the polarities of wealth and poverty, where drug lords appropriate physical territory as well as the social space of residents' representation, effectively undermining any efforts at participation. A study undertaken by Perlman (2003) in fact suggests that, despite the FBP, there is even greater unemployment and inequality in Rio de Janeiro: *What seems to be emerging is the transformation over 35 years from the myth of marginality to the reality of marginality* (2003:18). The central problem according to Perlman is that no amount of regeneration or upgrading can compensate for the need to earn a living and that this systemic requirement still seems not to have improved, despite all the success ascribed to the FBP.

2.2.2.2.6. Conclusion

The FBP serves as an important example of a holistic approach to informal settlement upgrade with the intention of including the citizens of the *favelas* into the formal structure of the city. Inclusion of all sectors of society can be seen in the FBP, from a pro-active municipal government and private sector (civil society) to the *favela* residents. Despite the stated focus on participation however, critics are skeptical of the induced nature of the participation, a top-down process that amounted more to buy-in than shared decision making (Figure 2.1).

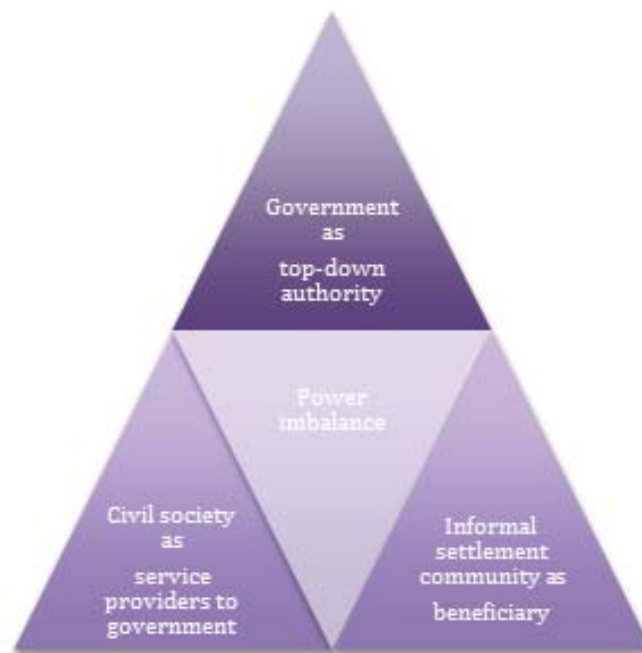


Figure 2.1: Power relations in the FBP are imbalanced, with government as top-down authority

Literature suggests that the matter of tenure security in the upgrade process results from the Brazilian law that favours right of use over right of ownership, rather than from the FBP intervention itself. The existence of this practice does however bolster its reported success. Reports of *soft* eviction due to gentrification illustrate the difficulty of the overall intention of poverty alleviation and integration into the formal economy – a goal that has not been achieved through the FBP.

In this example, the architectural profession has not remained marginal to the discourse. On the contrary, much of the success of the FBP is ascribed to the instrumental role undertaken by the Brazilian Institute of Architects, from its inception through to its implementation. However, critique against the programme can also be levied against the profession in this instance, where top-down decision-making has been part of the architectural process, albeit by way of participation (buy-in). The question raised is one of methodology, where the difference between induced and organic participation manifests either in compliance or partnership. The results of these interventions are therefore deemed to be successful in their achievement of project-related goals, but do not contribute to the systemic challenge of conditions giving rise to social inequity.

2.2.2.3. Morar Carioca Programme: Rio de Janeiro

2.2.2.3.1. Description

Building on the experience of the Favela Bairro Programme (FBP), Rio de Janeiro's Municipal Housing Secretariat launched a new municipal upgrading programme in 2010, decreed on 1 January 2013 (decree no. 36670) known as the *Morar Carioca* (Living in Rio). The \$4 billion investment is aimed at urbanising around 250 of Rio de Janeiro's *favelas*, concentrating on the expansion of the social infrastructure, along with improved public transportation, schools, child care facilities, family clinics, sport facilities and social assistance centres.

Public offices known as *Postos de Orientacao Urbanistica & Social* (POUSOS) are located in the informal settlements, where on-site architects and engineers will be able to offer residents assistance with technical advice regarding construction regulations and reform. Social workers will also be available to communities to help them in their urban consolidation.

An agreement signed between the Brazilian Architects Institute and Rio de Janeiro Municipal Housing Secretariat is intended to ensure the support of the profession in the selection of projects and to ensure that the informal settlements are assured of a high quality infrastructure (Gomez 2013).

Seen by the libertarian author Lopez de Souza as the Brazilian government's attempt at generating public appeasement in the same tradition of the Roman *Panem et Circenses* (Lopes de Souza 2012) and a manifestation of a very repressive policy of gentrification and social control, it is viewed more pragmatically by others;

It's not about ideals...All I can do is try to improve a little bit of the city for those generations that are coming. It is fundamental (Architect Luiz Carlos Toledo cited in Phillips 2010).

The president of the Brazilian Institute of Architects, Sergio Magalhaes, confirms the intention behind their support of the programme as embracing all possibilities for urbanism, in recognition of what already exists and what each community has already managed to build (Gomez 2013).

2.2.2.3.2. Conclusion

The Morar Carioca programme follows on the lessons learnt in the preceding FBP, with a continued presence of the architectural profession by way of the technical service centres (POUSOS) within the *favelas*. The shift in focus appears to be towards the encouragement of greater bottom-up participation in the establishment of these centres, where individuals have access to expert advice in the upgrade of their settlement. The city-wide provision of such service illustrates an intersection between the individual and the collective, an important consideration for shared decision making.

The Morar Carioca therefore serves as a current example where the profession of architecture is not considered marginal to the discourse on informal urbanism and informal settlement upgrade. It is also an example of a transformative approach to methodologies of design and client-architect relationships in an attempt to redress the continued inequities of Rio de Janeiro.

2.2.2.4. Chile Barrio Programme

2.2.2.4.1 Background and description

The Chilean government introduced housing subsidy systems towards the late 1970s, seeing the improvement of housing as part of the economic and financial transformation of the country. Similar to the views forwarded by De Soto (2000), the private sector was engaged in the supply of low-cost housing, while the government offered a subsidy system to the poor, from which they could then access this housing stock. Considered to be a model of best practice by the Inter American Development Bank and USAID by the 1990s, this system embraced *private market provision, explicit targeting and transparency* (Gilbert 2004:15). Until 1991, the government of Chile did not support self-help housing solutions, preferring to focus on a more complete housing product (2004:28).

One of the serious drawbacks of this system, however, was the undermining of social capital due to the fact that established social networks were interrupted in the process of relocation to new settlements on the outskirts of the metropolitan areas (Gilbert 2004:31). The lack of beneficiary participation also became an increasingly evident problem in terms of longer-term benefits.

Further to a survey of *Shanty Towns and Irregular Settlements* in 1996, the government of Chile sought to address the issue of social capital and the more holistic integration of the urban poor into the formal structures of society by means of the Chile Barrio Programme (CBP), launched in 1997/1998 (Dowling 2006; Government of Chile 2005; Libertad Desarrollo 2007). The focus shifted from quantity to quality and the subsidy was designed to keep families where they were located close to urban centres and in the vicinity of basic services (Dowling 2006).

Chile Barrio is an effort that redirects, modifies and articulates programs and existing services for their application according to the reality of different precarious settlements throughout the country (Frey 1997 cited in Frenz 2007).

The intention of the programme was therefore holistic, but flexible in terms of being sensitive to the particular challenges of different settlements (Frenz 2007). The desire to *build*

neighbourhoods, not just houses (Dowling 2006:3) underscores the desire for social and economic inclusion towards an improved quality of life for the populations of precarious settlements. Beyond improved material conditions in housing and infrastructure, the programme aimed to strengthen networks, capacity building and community management (Frenz 2007:20; Government of Chile 2005).

To achieve these aims, the government supported a multi-sectoral approach, in which different support programmes that existed in the Chilean government organisations were encouraged to collaborate amongst each other, along with civil society role-players such as universities and professionals as well as the beneficiary communities (Dowling 2006; Frenz 2007; Libertad Desarrollo 2007). At the national level, the Ministry of Planning and Co-operation oversaw the facilitation of the inter-sectoral collaboration, while at the local level, support was focused on individual and family concerns (Frenz 2007:iv,7) thereby creating both vertical and horizontal co-ordination across national, regional and local levels. It was due to this complex and holistic process that the now famous Iquique project (Quinta Monroy) by Elemental found purchase with both the government and the communities involved: A sincere and well-organised political will was established within which the role of the universities and architectural professionals could be creatively harnessed (Dowling 2006).

2.2.2.4.2. Participation

Participation by the community however, remained limited. Despite the fact that families were encouraged to be involved in the design processes of Elemental's and other action plans under the CBP, it was based on the *induced* participation model as described in the World Bank research report (Mansuri & Rao 2013). Demands expressed by inhabitants were assimilated into shared action plans pertaining to individual settlements that would direct short or medium term projects and investments (Dowling 2006; Frenz 2007).

The strategy for architectural intervention developed by Aravena's team at Elemental involved the creative use of the subsidy system and increased community participation in the life of the project after completion. Simply put, half a house would be built with the subsidy amount on the same site that had been occupied informally by the residents, allowing for enough opportunity for residents to fill in and add to the primary structure over time (Aravena

2012). This incremental addition would then be contained well enough within the parameters of the primary structure so as to facilitate an urban spatial continuity, while at the same time allowing scope for personalisation. Hence a successful balance between the individual and the collective was established in the same preferred location where social networks had been established. In this way, the construction of housing was able to satisfy the desire for overall neighbourhood improvement.

2.2.2.4.3. Impact

The CBP continued until 2007, during which time it had managed to intervene in virtually all the settlements originally identified in the 1996 survey. Although the impact analysis indicated a general increase in income, overall poverty had not been left behind. Positive impacts on residents, however, included greater satisfaction with housing and neighbourhoods and resulted in a diminished inclination to move.

Despite the evident success in terms of housing, neighbourhood and social capital, it was eventually decided to discontinue the programme (Frenz 2007; Libertad Desarrollo 2007). The two main reasons cited for this decision was the programme's inability to directly improve levels of poverty, along with the high cost of administration associated with it (Libertad Desarrollo 2007). Lessons learned in the process however, would be taken further into future policies. The difficulty of inter-sectoral co-ordination and the costs thereof along with a lack of conceptual vision of minimum conditions defining benefits and goals underscored the complexity of dealing with the symptomatic results of the systemic failure to create conditions supportive of sustained livelihood. Ultimately the CBP remains essentially top-down, albeit with a strong emphasis on an inclusionary approach. It remains a government initiative, not driven by the communities themselves, thereby limiting the transformative potential of the process.

2.2.2.4.4. Conclusion

The CBP extended over a ten year period from 1997 to 2007, providing an example of a holistic integration of various government sectors, civil society and the residents of informal settlements to achieve upgrades without relocation or destruction of the existing social networks. The intention was to offer an integrated approach to neighbourhood improvement and ultimate inclusion into the fabric of the city. The programme was discontinued in 2007 mostly due to the high cost of its complex administration and varying levels of success.

In this programme, the housing project in Iquique provides an example of architects occupying a central role in the process, mostly in the top-down execution of this government initiative. Community participation was induced and aimed at achieving buy-in for the programme. In this case, the design strategy allowed for the incremental addition to the primary structure over time, thereby stimulating a sense of ownership and community. The architects were therefore in service of government and assisted in transferring authority to the residents by way of the enabling design strategy (Figure 2.2). Despite the apparent success of the architectural involvement, the Iquique project serves as an example of the exception rather than accepted practice, therefore confirming that the profession as a whole remained marginal to the central programme.

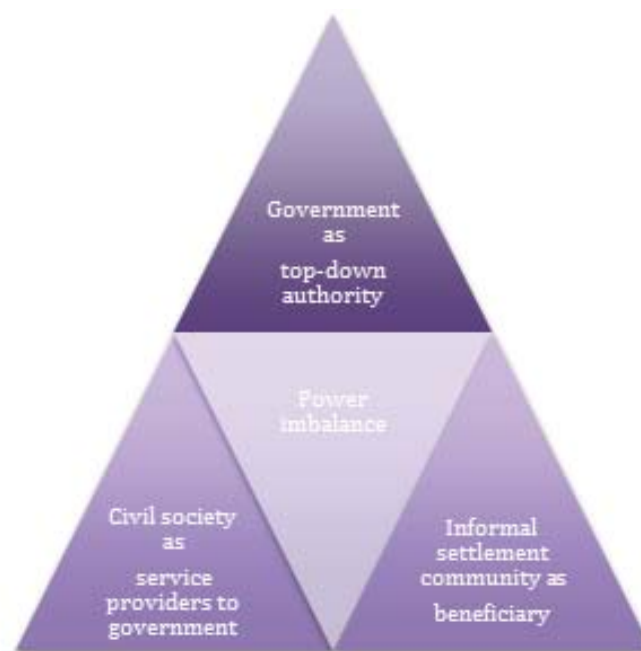


Figure 2.2: Power relations in the CBP are imbalanced, with government as top down authority

2.2.2.5 Community Architect Programme: Cuba

2.2.2.5.1 History and background

Cuba embraced socialist development models in the 1960s that were essentially top-down in their approach. Mass production of prefabricated construction typified the housing landscape. With the collapse of communism in 1990, external assistance from the former USSR and other East European countries ceased virtually overnight, with an immediate impact on the construction industry: Shortages of prime materials, fuel and markets for prefabricated panels caused an abrupt end to the industrial processes (Bolado 1999; Valladares 2013; World Habitat Awards 2013).

In this context of a sudden housing crisis, a group of professionals (architects, engineers, sociologists, lawyers, economists and geographers) under the visionary leadership of Rodolfo Livingston established Habitat-Cuba in 1993 (Valladares, 2013; Bolado, 1999). The main goals of this organisation were:

- *To develop and promote alternative models for housing*
- *To give technical, social and financial training to professionals within the housing sector*
- *To promote a lobby for sustainable housing*
- *To organise for the exchange of ideas and experiences between institutions, government and NGOs for the solution of habitat problems (Bolado 1999:3).*

One of the most significant programmes to arise from Habitat-Cuba, is the Community Architect Programme which was aimed at providing guidance and assistance to people who wanted to build their own homes (Valladares 2013:19).

Being positioned within the NGO of Habitat-Cuba, however, had its disadvantages: Local government support was minimal and limitations on policy decisions frustrated the work on the ground. The scale of the programme became complex and it was therefore assimilated into the National Housing Institute in June 1998, thereby making it a fully government-supported programme (Bolado 1999; Valladares 2013).

2.2.2.5.2 Objectives and method

Principles underscoring the Community Architect Programme are:

- *Consistent work in the same district*
- *Review of the work by colleagues*
- *Systematic learning and appreciation of the same design method*
- *Progressive payment to the architect according to the amount of work produced*
- *Implementation of standard fees*
- *Working in compliance with existing regulations and policies (Valladares 2013:21).*

With these principles, small-scale interventions would contribute to the evolution of an indigenous cultural landscape in which the synergy between individual households and their needs would be translated by professional architects.

Although the programme required seed capital at its inception, it has become entirely self-funded (World Habitat Awards 2013). Families approach the Community Architect Programme for assistance and pay for services rendered, according to the amount of work undertaken. The government supplies drawing materials, CAD systems support and printing supplies. Fees are fixed and affordable, so that families know exactly what they are committed to.

The design methods are strictly adhered to, thereby also contributing to the predictability of the service expected. There are four phases in the design method:

- Site visit and primary data gathering
- Feasibility studies
- Presentation of alternative design solutions
- Preparation of the instruction manual

In the data-gathering process, certain role-playing games are entered into, during which families have the opportunity to express a wish list that straddles the complaints or problems associated with the house on the one hand and the dreams and aspirations of the family on the other hand. This information is then collated over basic site information constraints, legal or regulatory parameters as well as budgetary allowances that the family can invest in the house improvement (Valladares 2013:21-22).

This process is not unusual in the architect-client relationship. The significance of the programme resides in the fact that low-income families now have access to services normally reserved for the upper class of society. By containing the methodology within certain performance parameters and establishing a fixed, mutually acceptable fee structure, this method of architectural production becomes a useful resource to the government-driven improvement of low-income housing.

2.2.2.5.3. Impact

The process of data gathering relies on the participation of the entire household that will be affected. The project however, is primarily initiated by the family who approach the community architect for assistance. This therefore places the programme in the realm of *organic* participation (Mansuri & Rao 2013; Valladares 2013; UNESCO 2013).

In this move away from a top-down approach to the design process, incorporating residents' knowledge and aspirations, a new dimension of architectural practice has evolved, which is less formal and more humanised (Valladares 2013; UNESCO 2013). Greater diversity in addressing particular problems has resulted in a richer urban fabric and the relationship between households and architects has become one of pride, with families referring to *their architect* in a shared sense of respect (World Habitat Awards 2013).

Local production and the use of alternative materials have seen a gradual increase in the construction of new houses and settlements, with parameters that are affordable to households. This has resulted in an overall improvement of living standards among the urban poor (Bolado 1999; UNESCO 2013).

The Community Architect Programme received the World Habitat Award in 2002 and is considered to embody international best practices. According to the World Habitat Awards (2013), an agreement between governments of Cuba and South Africa is being formulated to establish a similar approach to housing. The Society of Architects in Argentina as well as the Peruvian Ministry of Housing have also indicated an interest in the programme (World Habitat Awards 2013; Cuba 2013).

2.2.2.5.4. Conclusion

In this example, architecture occupies a central role in the programme, offering an individualised service to members of the community. Although it is supported through government structures, the architect is in service of the individual, thereby conferring authority to the end user (Figure 2.3). In terms of the overall balance of power, the Cuban example embodies the potential for a programme that has been introduced by external parties to contribute towards the empowerment of beneficiary communities despite the fact that such participation has not emanated from within their ranks.

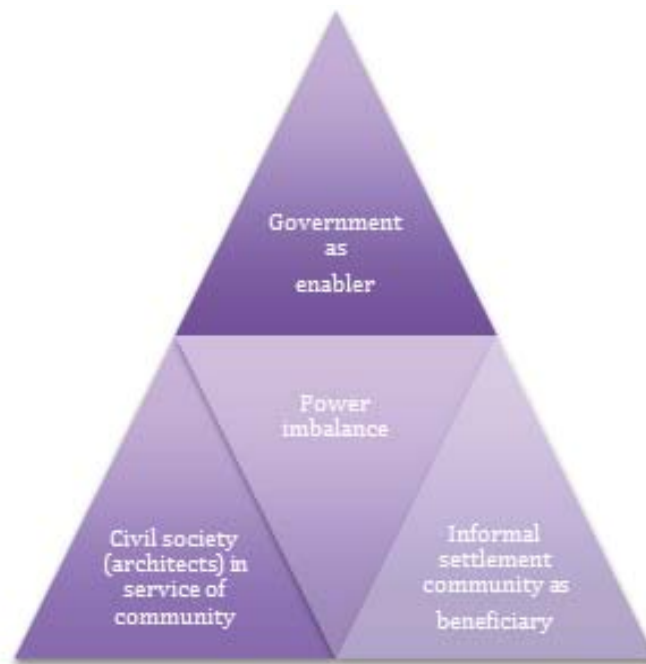


Figure 2.3: In Cuba the role of architects is in service of community

Despite the potential for individual co-optation, literature suggests that the programme contributes to a collective transformation in the *gestalt* (the sum of its parts), thereby marking this programme as an empowering strategy of *in-situ* urban upgrade.

2.2.2.6. Conclusion: Latin America

Latin America offers important examples of policies and programmes of informal settlement upgrade that span several decades of experience and iteration. A number of these programmes have been described in this overview to establish the role undertaken by the architectural profession.

According to the special edition of the Architectural Design Journal (2011:8[3]), there is a growing consciousness in the profession that an increased engagement with informal urbanism is required. Examples of successful intervention make up the editorial content, indicating the potential direction for development within the profession. There is a shift in understanding that slum settlements are no longer marginal and in fact offer important opportunities for an alternative perspective on urban regeneration. Urban scale transformation and urban intervention are viewed in this special edition as possible vehicles for socio-

economic integration into the urban fabric, thereby reinforcing the intention of the upgrade programmes.

The examples discussed above indicate instances where architects have been included and have engaged significantly in programmes aimed at informal settlement upgrade. As reported in the special edition of the *Architectural Design Journal* (2011:8[3]), such endeavours collectively represent a shift in the profession, a growing realisation that informal settlements are no longer to be considered exceptional. Despite the evidence of architectural contribution, literature suggests that these efforts remain marginal and have not yet managed to achieve a response that adequately recognises the scale of informal urbanism.

2.2.3. Indonesia: Kampung Improvement Programme

2.2.3.1. Background

In the archipelago of islands forming the Republic of Indonesia, much external influence has been brought to bear on its inhabitants due to its positioning on ancient trade routes. The most significant recent influence would be that of the Netherlands, having assumed the position of colonisers until Indonesia's independence after World War II. During the period of Dutch colonisation, urban development of centres such as Jakarta was modernised along European values and with the intention of division to rule (Sihombing 2004:4). Power was exerted through existing social structures by means of *Priyayis* (nobility who commanded respect within Javanese society). The physical manifestation of the inherent social division lay in the difference between the *kota*, the (intangible) centre of economic and political activity and the *kampungs*, designated as spaces for common people (2004:5).

Sihombing (2004) explains the difference between *kota* and *kampung* as the embodiment of a social duality, where the *kota* represents the quantitative in terms of economic and political development, business orientation, specialisation, top-down relationships and dependency. The *kampung* on the other hand, remains the locus of the qualitative, namely social and human development: All-round competence, self-sufficiency, nostalgia, humanity and community (Sihombing 2004:6). The author maintains that although these differences exist and are often exacerbated by inequity and inequality arising from government policies, the one cannot exist without the other and necessarily have a reciprocal influence on their well-being. As much as the *kota* requires the *kampung* in serving its needs in terms of labour force, the *kampung* relies on the *kota* for the provision of such labour opportunities:

...kampung problems generate kota problems; the conditions that effectively maintain the traditional kampung lifestyle indirectly influence the kota lifestyle (Sihombing 2004:9).

In conclusion, Sihombing (2004) suggests that Jakarta's urban development would rely on a meeting of the two worlds in which one would see a *kotanization of kampungs and also a kampungization of kota*.

The physical conditions of the *kampung*s in Indonesia are described as spontaneous, irregular, informal settlements where housing units occupy small plots of land, with substandard infrastructure (Funo, Yamamoto & Silas 2002; Graham 2006; Kenworthy 1997; Sihombing 2004; Winayati 2004).

These *kampung*s are seen to be a traditional form of indigenous urban development which has grown incrementally and organically without pre-considered planning, regularisation or servicing, normally inhabited by middle to low income families. Self-diversification is evident in terms of small commercial activities that range from manufacturing to service provision (Kenworthy 1997).

Due to the varying conditions of tenure, *kampung*s cannot necessarily be considered as slums (Funo et al 2002) or squatter camps. The issues of land title, traditional ownership and government support seem to have fluctuated over time, so that no clear delineation seems to exist to determine the difference between *kampung*s as (legitimate) *tight agglomerations of continuous and incrementally developed self-help housing* (Kenworthy 1997:2) or those settlements that are considered illegal and remain extraneous to the urban development system.

A city bylaw *Peraturan Daerah* (Perda) no 11/1988 defines illegal locations for human settlements along railways, along right of ways, along riverbanks, under bridges, and along green paths and parks (Winayati 2004:42). Within this definition, forced evictions have taken place, displacing thousands of people. Large evictions reported between 1990 and 2002 indicate that insecurity of tenure remains a challenge in the Indonesian context. Among government officials, squatters are termed *wild residents*, thereby implying a negative connotation to those that seek refuge in the neglected parts of the city (2004:44).

The renowned *Kampung Improvement Programme* (KIP) which was instated in 1969, must therefore be understood within this context of differentiation between that which is considered to be a *kampung* and that which would be seen as a *wild settlement*.

According to Darundono (in Ashfar 1980) who headed up the KIP, *kampung*s that did not form part of the master plan and were located in dangerous areas such as canal banks and high

voltage servitudes, or belonging to private developers, would not be upgraded. Those that were to benefit from the KIP programme were selected according to the age of the *kampung*, density, lowest income, worst environmental conditions and political pressure. Accordingly, all descriptions of *kampungs* are to be seen within this understanding of tenure or legitimate ownership as being a product of an evolving social order, emerging and reasserting itself in the aftermath of an imposed colonial order.

Life in the (recognised) *kampungs* is described almost nostalgically as the social preserve of Indonesian culture, in which crime and the destruction of social fabric seldom occurs (Funo et al 2002:193).

A mostly pedestrianized environment with sounds of birdsong and children at play prevails and the close quarters of the footpaths become thoroughfare, marketplace, meeting space and garden all at once (Kenworthy 1997:4).

The housing types that occur speak of a diversity of choice and flexibility, as each family tinkers away at their home as the need and opportunity arises. From an analysis of the housing types, Funo et al (2002) found that, although the general impression of the *kampung* may be chaotic, the individual units were fairly simple and emulated values inherited from rural dwellings, thereby retaining certain aspects of the traditional way of life (2002:200). In this way, as settlements *that have been built and developed incrementally by their inhabitants*, Silas (1992) considers the *kampungs* to be the building blocks of the Indonesian city.

2.2.3.2. Description

The Kampung Improvement Programme (KIP) is a neighbourhood improvement programme aimed at facilitating better roads and footpaths, drains, water supply, sanitary facilities, solid waste management and better social and educational conditions amongst the inhabitants (Kenworthy 1997:4).

The inclusion of the KIP into this overview of international policies and programmes is considered historically imperative due to its duration and acknowledged significance. Launched in 1969, the KIP is seen as the world's first slum upgrading programme (UN Habitat 2009). Its importance in the international discourse on informal settlements is acknowledged through the bestowment of the following awards:

- The Aga Khan Award in 1980
- The World Habitat Award in 1992
- The UN Habitat scroll of Honour in 2005 (Aga Khan 1980; Silas 1992; UN 2005).

The KIP does not make any provision for housing or the improvement thereof: This remains in the hands of the inhabitants (Funo et al 2002:193; Silas 1992:34). A supplementary programme, however, exists where walk-up flats are provided as part of the government's urban renewal and redevelopment programmes. The success of these developments seems to be contentious, as Silas is cited as considering these units to be a success (Graham 2006) whereas Winayati (2004:46) regards these projects to have been unsuccessful in targeting the poor.

Darundono (in Ashfar 180:3) describes the aims of the KIP to have been the improvement of quality of life and environment for Jakarta's urban poor, expanding their productive capacity to participate in the country's overall development. The intention was to benefit as many as possible within the shortest period of time, disrupting the existing social and economic life of a settlement as little as possible and ultimately, to enable community self-sustainability.

Silas (1992) explains that there are three strategies within the KIP:

- *Self-help projects*: local labour and funds to address identified needs, government provides guidelines and standards (approximately 10% fall in this category, mostly the more affluent *kampungs*)
- *WR Soepratman Projects*: 20% of projects – municipal government encourages communities to formulate self-help projects and construct access roads; community contributions are matched by government funds
- *Urban Kampung Improvement Programme*: Lower-income *kampungs* are funded

by local, provincial and central government; the communities provide the land and are responsible for moving dwellings and fences where necessary, with the provision of:

- o access roads and side drains
- o footpaths with side drains
- o water supply network and standpipes
- o public washing and toilet facilities
- o solid waste management
- o elementary schools
- o public health centres

(Silas 1992:35)

Following on these improvements to infrastructure, it has been found that residents felt encouraged to do restoration and remodeling of their houses, to plant trees, shrubs and plants, do general maintenance of the *kampung* and establish educational and cultural centres. The social and human impact of this programme presented the world with a *low-cost, innovative method of transforming informal settlements into green, clean neighbourhoods* (Aga Khan 1986).

According to Silas (in Graham 2006; Silas 1992:35) the history of the Kampung Improvement Programme (KIP) dates back to 1924, focusing mainly on sanitation in order to prevent the spread of disease to the more affluent surrounding suburbs. Between 1954 and 1996, housing co-operatives also contributed to the improvement of housing conditions for low and middle income groups (Santosa 2000:182).

It was in 1969, however, that the KIP was implemented officially by the government of Indonesia in Jakarta and Surabaya as the world's *first urban slum upgrading project* (UN

Habitat 2009; Silas 1992:35). The focus of this programme was initially on the improvement of physical infrastructure alone, addressing neither land tenure issues (Winayati 2004:46) nor participative processes (Santosa 2000:176).

Prior to improvement, there was no infrastructure in the *kampungs*, the implications being poor accessibility, continuous flooding, bad sanitation and pollution. From the government's perspective, people and houses were already in place, along with a strong social structure. Therefore, all that was required was to provide the missing infrastructure and amenities in order to effect development (Darundono 2011).

The implementation of these programmes proceeded in five year intervals known as *Repelitas*. The period between 1969 and 1974 saw the improvement of the lives of 1,2 million people and the work done under the Jakarta administration ensured that the reputation of the programme spread across the country as well as the developing world (UN Habitat 2009).

The World Bank entered the scene in 1974, supporting *Repelita II* with soft loans to accelerate the pace of the KIP (2009). At the time, the World Bank was implementing two significant programmes of development aid: the Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) inaugurated in 1970 (which was found in 1987 to have been a gigantic failure – an externally driven, top-down approach). The other programme that enjoyed less popularity within the Bank was known as the Early Urban Lending Programme and ran from 1972 to 1982. This approach was also top-down and outside-in but would grow in time towards more of a self-help and bottom-up approach. This change in direction could be ascribed to the experience gained through the KIP, which according to Keare (adviser to the Urban Development Department of the World Bank) proved to be the only sustained success in helping a country institute a programmatic approach based on the project experience (Keare 2001:161).

Towards the end of the second phase of the KIP in 1979, the Indonesian government endorsed this programme as National Policy (UN Habitat 2009).

The World Bank came to the end of their Early Urban Lending Programme in 1982, at which time their involvement with the KIP was also concluded (UN Habitat 2009; Keare 2001).

Following on the influence of John Turner, the World Bank was moving in a more participatory direction. This line of thinking was also to be seen in Indonesia, where the National Housing Corporation was developing pilot projects towards the late 1970s, in which sites-and-services approaches were being piloted. Such strategies, however, were never implemented as policy (Winayati 2004:46).

Repelita III (1979 - 1984) saw the KIP move towards a decentralised approach relying more on local initiatives (Santosa 2000:176). By 1988 it had become clear that participative models were required to ensure the sustainability of the programme and with the implementation of *Repelita V* (1988 - 1993), the role of the government shifted from one of initiator and decision-maker to that of *facilitator and enabler* (Santosa 2000).

Repelita V was also the concluding phase of the first 25-year cycle (1969 – 1994) at which time Indonesia was able to look back on a period of growth and development that held the promise of future integration with the economies of the developed world. The second long term Development Plan (1994 – 2019) was considered to be the second era of national awakening and would be mostly reliant on own abilities and resources (Ananta 2011).

The World Bank unit of the KIP was merged with the Housing Department in 1993 and the KIP itself was transformed into new and different programmes such as the Integrated Urban Development Programme (IUDP) in which local community efforts and initiatives have contributed to the development of partnership approaches between community and government (Santosa 2000:176).

The period between 1990 and 1999 saw an erosion of financial discipline, along with suppression and violence, ultimately leading to a change in government coinciding with the 1997 Asian economic crisis (Ananta 2011). In 1998 the Indonesian government implemented the *Social Safety Net* programme to assist the poor during the crisis. This, along with a political change towards greater democracy, further underscores the potential value of co-operation between government, civil society and NGOs in development (Santosa 2000:178).

In Surabaya, one such example of co-operation was known as the Urban Forum, which was developed in 1997 with the assistance of the German Technical Assistance Agency (GTZ). This forum brought together relevant expertise, community and government representatives as well as NGO's to deliberate issues of urban development and governance (2000:183).

By October 2008, government policies were prepared to mitigate the impact of the global financial crisis and ten steps to economic stabilisation were proposed, amongst which the expediting of infrastructure projects rated as the second most important (Ananta 2011).

From this sequence of events, it becomes clear that the strength of the KIP lay in its simplicity and in the possibility of merging essentially top-down government-driven initiatives with intensely participatory processes. The longevity of the programme, along with the influence on successive programmes and affiliated organisations, supports the value of the programme and lessons learnt from it.

2.2.3.3. Methodology

In the implementation of the KIP, the government was represented by the KIP Technical Unit and the community by the *Lurah*. The selection of the *kampung* (based on whether it fell within the master plan), had to be approved by the political structures such as deputy governors, mayors and directorate heads (Ashfar 1980:5).

Plans would then be prepared including health centres, roads and sanitation, open to modification in discussions between the KIP Unit and the *Lurah* (1980). It is into this space of planning and negotiation that the *Institut Teknologi Surabaya* Department of Architecture (ITS) offered support to the programme and the community in the way of participative surveys. Data collected included risks of flooding, existing socio-economic activities, environmental and sanitation conditions, potential for own contribution and an understanding of the community needs and problems (Silas 1992:36).

In this way, literature suggests that the platform of negotiation became extended through the technical assistance offered by the ITS, so that the community was able to contribute meaningfully to the planning process. Learning from this level of engagement, further

methods of appraisal and surveys of squatter settlements were developed in the 1990's. Pugh (2000) describes a mixed set of technical-professional evaluations to assess the potential of regenerating such settlements. Broad-spectrum surveys are used to gather basic socio-economic and demographic information, needs and problems. Perceptions held by residents and other stakeholders regarding potential solutions are then documented in a partnership approach, after which analyses can be undertaken to determine the value ascribed by community to such improvements as basic infrastructure and sanitation (Pugh 2000:300).

2.2.3.4. Public participation

The matter of community participation in the KIP seems to have various interpretations. In describing the merits of the programme, UN Habitat explains how the government policy shifted from a top-down approach to one of community involvement from 1988 (UN Habitat 2009:1). This is confirmed by Santosa (2000) who also describes the differences between the *Repelitas* (development phases) as becoming progressively more concerned with facilitation and enablement, rather than top-down provision.

An enthusiastic account of the high level of community participation is found in the citation of the World Habitat Awards (1992) in which Silas explains how the community is involved in the KIP from the very earliest stages, from the survey process through to the planning and the eventual maintenance of the projects. This enthusiasm, however, is not evident in the analysis by Winayati (2004), where it is stated that both a self-help as well as a market-based approach to rapid population growth failed to ensure sustainable development. One of the missing ingredients is then identified as the lack of public participation, which in this account of the matter, was only instituted officially in September 1994 through the State Ministry of Housing Decree no 6/KPTS/1994 (Winayati 2004:47). Within this approach, three forms of participation in housing production would be created: Individually built houses, houses built by organised groups and houses built by co-operatives and private developers. Despite this formal incorporation of public participation, participation is not favoured by government officials (2004: 48).

According to Darundono (in Ashfar 1980:11), *very little participation occurs*, ascribing this to the fact that speed and economy were favoured over participation. The fact that no housing provision was made, however, and that residents could remain on site, implies a certain level

of participation that takes real effect after the upgrading of services by means of further improvement and embellishment to the area by the residents themselves (Kenworthy 1997).

Choguill (1996) proposes that a ladder of community participation in underdeveloped countries differs from the one developed by Arnstein (1969) in the fact that the overall relationship between government and society in a developing context is necessarily that much more fluid than in a stabilised political and economic environment. Due to the additional factors of external institutional involvement towards self-help, the levels of participation would vary from conspiracy and self-management to partnership and true empowerment. The author distinguishes between the upgrade of physical and social infrastructure or housing in a neighbourhood and the power to influence decisions in the political arena. In this analysis of the levels of participation, the KIP is cited as an example of *partnership* (the second highest rung on the proposed ladder) due to the fact that the government was prepared to allow the level of participation to grow along with the physical interventions - from infrastructure to community-driven embellishment, security of tenure followed and socio-political empowerment could ensue. It is reiterated that, for sustainable development to be achieved, stable and continuing support from government and NGOs must be secured (Choguill 1996). In this way, participation becomes a necessary aspect of an evolving democracy.

Kenworthy (1997) and Santosa (2000) confirm that this incremental growth of participation did occur over the life-span of the KIP and it seems from the literature to have emerged not only from the physical success of the upgrading projects themselves, but quite pertinently from the survey and planning processes, in which the ITS played an active role. Evaluation studies and direct liaison between *kampung* democratic structures and city authorities created a platform for facilitation and negotiation, leading to *extremely high levels of ownership* (Kenworthy 1997:5) by the inhabitants. In fact, in the experience of Surabaya's improvements, Santosa states that the establishment of supportive preconditions and involvement of all parties including students and staff from the ITS proved to be crucial to the sustained success of partnership development (Santosa 2000:177) and therefore, participative governance.

One can deduce from the various accounts of the Indonesian example that the participative potential of the KIP set it above other redevelopment programmes in Indonesia, ranging

from government-driven evictions of *wild residents* to the top-down provision of housing tenements. It would appear that the single most successful aspect of the KIP lay in the improved understanding of the participation process, the ability and desire of the government to become an enabler of social development and the impact on the policies of such organisations as the World Bank.

2.2.3.5. Tenure security

In the UN Habitat (2009) description of the KIP by Juliman and Darundono, it is maintained that the programme contributed to a security of tenure for Indonesia's urban poor. In the recognition of the existing settlements, city administrations effectively added to their required housing stock.

This positive impact of the KIP is supported by Santosa (2000:182) who suggests that the programme includes the provision of adequate housing, open spaces, employment facilities and health services. It is not clear which mechanisms are in place to implement such provision, although it may be implied due to the nature of the evolved KIP that became a vehicle of enablement, thereby reaching beyond the mere provision of infrastructure and services.

Santosa (2000) further explains that Surabaya specifically has a long history of recognising *in-situ* upgrade, avoiding the eviction of people already living in a neighbourhood. Legal status is not always provided to individual households, the preference often being for the formal recognition of entire settlements. The national project for land registration offers a further vehicle towards regularisation.

Obtaining secure tenure, however, does not seem to be an absolute guarantee, as Winayati (2004:46) reports on inconsistencies in the Jakarta government's implementation strategies, where settlements that had been improved under KIP, were later demolished to accommodate new commercial and business facilities.

The KIP therefore appears to be an ideal vehicle for the gradual and incremental securing of tenure for the residents of informal settlements, albeit with the understanding that constant support from local government would be required to ensure its regularisation.

2.2.3.6. Impact

In the evaluation of the KIP in 1980, it received the Aga Khan award for the fact that it was considered to be the *most suitable approach to coping with urban housing in developing countries* (Darundono 2011). Reasons for this distinction lay in the programme's affordability (both to government and residents), replicability, social sustainability, flexibility, *in-situ* application as well as diversity. Studies of implemented projects concluded that there were several positive consequences, such as improved housing due to inhabitants' own inspired efforts; lower health expenditure stemming from improved sanitation; lower transport fees; improved family planning due to clinics and improved communication; lower mortality; improved land value and ultimately, greater self-confidence as the residents in these settlements became integrated into the city (2011:2).

In 1992, the KIP received the World Habitat Award. In the appraisal of the programme, mention is made of the cleanliness of such improved *kampungs* and the prevalence of plants and shrubs, well tended and maintained, that contribute to a *new micro-climate in the kampong, cooling the hot dry climate in these high-density settlements* (World Habitat Awards 1992).

Such attention to detail and maintenance of urban fabric is considered to be a favourable indication of confidence and sense of ownership. Pugh (2000) states that when state assistance to squatter camps is well executed, sustainability can be achieved in social, economic, financial and environmental terms. When conditions of income increase and stability is engendered, households will tend to improve their houses by replacing inferior with superior materials, adding rooms and workshops, and sometimes personalising their outside space (Pugh 2000:325).

The architectural significance of such personalisation lies in the embodiment of human interest, vision and the identification of place. Use, occupancy, means of living, belief and aspirations are, according to Pugh (2000) as much in evidence in such *hutments* (informal dwellings) as in the formal design of civic space.

The authentic representation of culture in the KIP schemes projected the positive consequences of the programme beyond the physical improvements thereof. Rather than emulating Western standards of *improved life*, the highly personalised improvement in

the *kampung* enhanced local architecture, culture and way of life, while contributing to community cohesiveness and an increased sense of self-worth among the residents. Religious affiliation and an improved status of women within these neighbourhoods also followed on the implementation of the KIP (Kenworthy 1997).

Beyond the immediate physical and cultural impact of the KIP, there was also a significant influence on other organisations, as well as further programmes based on lessons learnt in the process. As stated earlier, the World Bank revised much of its policies subsequent to the KIP (Keare 2001) and eventually participated in the establishment of the *Urban Poverty Project* in Indonesia in 1999 (Winayati 2004:48). This project seeks to improve basic infrastructure in poor neighbourhoods, strengthening the capacity of local agencies to assist poor communities while encouraging broad participation in decision making along with mobilising formal and informal sectors as well as relevant expertise.

The *Urban Poverty Project* follows on the *Social Safety Net* programme, instated after the 1997 crisis, with a strong imperative for economic development and community development (Santosa 2000:178; Winayati 2004:47).

2.2.3.7. Role of architects

Professor Johan Silas was awarded the UN Habitat Scroll of Honour in 2005 *for years of research and work dedicated to providing affordable shelter for the poor* (UN Habitat 2005).

Describing himself as an anarchist as well as an optimist, his involvement in the KIP within the Department of Architecture at the Institute of Technology Ten November (ITS), Surabaya, proved to be of vital importance to the ensuing success of the programme (Aga Khan 1986; Funo 2002; Kenworthy 1997; Silas 1992; World Habitat Awards 1992). In some instances referred to as the *Barefoot Architect*, the work undertaken by Silas in his capacity both as theorist and active enabler in the field contributed greatly to the body of experience in this field of community housing development (Funo 2002:194).

The role undertaken by Silas and the ITS fell outside the scope of conventional architectural practice. Initial data such as risks, vulnerability, needs and aspirations were collected, from

which analyses of problems and local potential in the community could be derived. Silas describes how these proposals are then discussed with communities and changed as required before finalisation for implementation by the authorities (Silas1992:36-38). Exact methods employed by these architects are not fully described, although literature suggests that methods such as Participatory Rapid Appraisal (PRA) and broad spectrum household surveys would have been used (McGranahan 1998:506). These methods are action-oriented and rely on unstructured interviews and observation, rather than sophisticated questionnaires or tests.

2.2.3.8. Conclusion

The Kampung Improvement Programme (KIP) represents one of the earliest official attempts by a government, in conjunction with civil society to facilitate the *in-situ* upgrade of informal settlements. Launched in 1969, it is internationally recognised for its humane approach to the reinforcement of an existing identity in an underserved urban environment.

The primary focus of the KIP is the improvement of infrastructure such as footpaths, drainage and water supply, without destroying the physical fabric of the structures inhabited by the residents. This deferential attitude by the authority towards people's homes contributed to a continuous restoration and general maintenance of the settlement through the efforts of the inhabitants themselves.

The KIP was structured in five-year intervals, the final phase concluding in 1994 after a 25-year cycle. The following 25-year development plan represents a gradual shift from the provision model to that of enablement. This is seen as a natural evolution emanating from within the KIP itself, where public participation in surveys preceding intervention was complemented by the residents' own efforts of continued home improvements following infrastructure upgrades. Gradual empowerment through increased participation contributed to participative governance.

In this same vein, an incremental approach to tenure security ensured minimal *soft* eviction through gentrification. On the contrary, gradual integration into the formalised fabric of the city is reported to have been a result of the KIP's success. As an example of successful *in-situ* upgrade of informal settlement, the KIP is praised for the high level of emotional ownership being retained in the settlements, resulting in the expression of authentic Indonesian identity.

Central to the conditions giving rise to the formation of these settlements is the societal imbalance of power. The KIP illustrates a situation where the initiative at rectification of this imbalance is undertaken by the *barefoot architect* (ITS) as representative of civil society, engaging simultaneously with the affected community as well as government authorities (Fig 2.4).

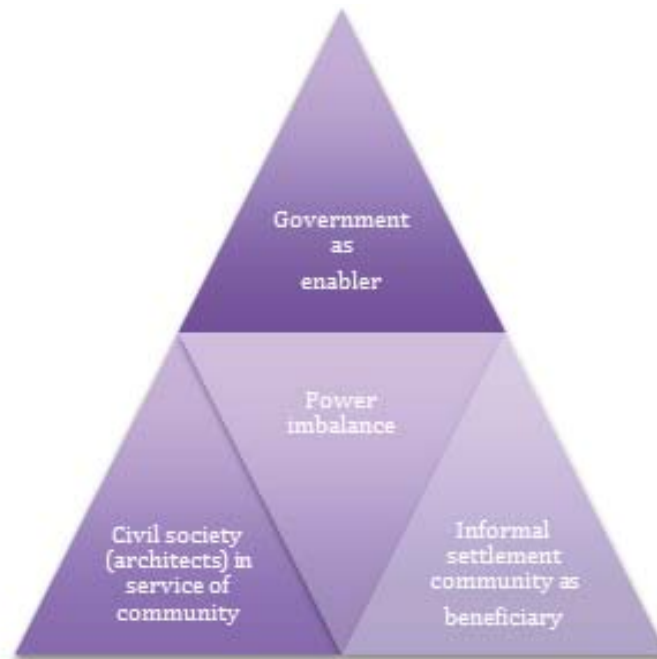


Figure 2.4: In the KIP the role of architects is in service of community

Although the service-provision projects were driven by government in the beginning stages of the programme, it was the continued support to the community that influenced the morphing of the programme into a far more participatory approach to upgrade. This programme therefore presents an example of potential societal transformation in the tri-sectoral balance of power by means of architectural intervention in *in-situ* upgrade.

The influence of the architecture department at ITS is well documented and is considered to have played an instrumental role in the success of the KIP. Silas (1992) has reported having to reinvent professional practice in the process however, thereby indicating the inherent requirement for transformation within the profession in order to make a significant contribution. The focus of the work was more on the participatory surveys, facilitation and technical advice than on design, which indicates an important pre-condition for the mitigation of marginality in this discourse.

2.2.4.India

2.2.4.1. Introduction

Abbott (2002) states that the Indian sub-continent exerts the most significant influence on the informal settlement upgrading discourse in South Africa. According to Huchzermeyer (1999) the role of community-based initiatives in the debate can be seen in local federations that have their affiliations and origins in India. For this reason, it is considered important to include an overview of conditions in that country that have given rise to these organisations. The role undertaken by the architectural profession in terms of the inter-sectoral power distribution is then viewed in order to establish its significance to the discourse.

2.2.4.2. The role of government in India

The national government of India has legislative power over issues such as foreign affairs, defense and finance. Housing and urban development, however, fall under the jurisdiction of the states (for instance, housing policies impacting on the city of Mumbai fall within the legislative ambit of the state of Maharashtra). National government policies may exist with regard to urban development or slum upgrade, but the states are not obliged to follow these policies. Influence from the national government can therefore only be exerted in terms of broad framework and through budgetary transfers to the states for the implementation of centrally sponsored schemes.

Thus, although the national government is the largest property owner in India by way of such agencies as port trusts and railways, its influence on the issue of slum upgrading is effectively only in terms of broad national policies and frameworks, leaving each state in India free to frame their own laws in this regard (Burra 2005:68).

In order to illustrate the impact of this relationship between national and state governments, two examples will be investigated: the city of Mumbai (previously Bombay) within the state of Maharashtra, as well as the state policies of Andhra Pradesh.

2.2.4.2.1. Maharashtra policies

Wartime economic boom and an influx of refugees from Pakistan saw Bombay's population grow rapidly between 1941 and 1951. The textile industry absorbed many of these workers and basic accommodation in the form of hostels and *chawls* were built by private owners.

Rooms that were meant to accommodate six people were often crowded by several families (Ramanath 2005:107-8).

Between 1943 and 1956 the state government disbursed grants for some municipal improvements in Bombay. The national government sponsored the *Slum Areas Improvement and Clearance Scheme* into which Bombay was taken up as one of six pilot projects in 1956. The intention of this scheme was to demolish existing slums, replacing them with medium-rise apartments (Ramanath 2005:113).

Ideas about how best to develop the Third World shifted from economic development theories in the 1950s to a basic needs approach in the 1960s, towards participatory development ideas in the 1970s, in which slums became viewed as housing solutions (Burra 2005:70; Ramanath 2005:95), influenced by Turner (1976) and the World Bank.

With the *National Slum Clearance and Improvement Act* of 1956 still in place, the government of Maharashtra enacted the *Slum Areas Improvement, Clearance and Redevelopment Act* in 1971. This empowered the state to declare certain areas as slums and to provide them with basic services (Ramanath 2005:116).

During 1976, two significant events contributed to this period of development: The first ever census of slums was undertaken in Bombay, with photo passes issued to those that met certain criteria (Burra 2005:70; Ramanath 2005:117-8); secondly the *Urban Land Ceiling and Regulation Act* of 1976 was passed (Ramanath 2005:117) with the intention of preventing the concentration of urban land into the hands of a few, in view of a more equitable distribution of land for the common good (India 1976).

In 1981, a massive pavement clearance operation was launched by the Chief Minister of Maharashtra: *Operation Eviction* in which 100 000 people were evicted without prior notice and deported to their places of origin (Ramanath 2005:123). The severity of these evictions led to legal action undertaken by newly-formed NGO's (to be discussed later in this section) and a judgement in 1985 leaving the pavement dwellers with a right to livelihood, to live on the pavement and the right to notice before eviction (Ramanath 2005:128).

In the World Bank-funded *Bombay Urban Development Project*, the mid-1980s saw the development of the *Slum Upgrading Programme* that consisted of 30-year renewable leases to co-operative societies of slum dwellers in support of *in-situ* upgrading of houses. The other

programme developed in this period was the low-income *Group Shelter Programme*, where subsidies were generated from profits made by selling plots to middle- or upper-income groups (Burra 2005:70).

The gradual shift to enablement was clear and the World Bank project planning and implementation moved increasingly in the direction of minimal resettlement of slum populations, active community participation and efforts to retain existing community networks. The Maharashtra state government, however, seemed to move in a direction that one can see as a deflection of this difficult mandate of *in-situ* development, by creating incentives for the private housing industry to contribute to the new *Slum Redevelopment Scheme* in 1991. In this programme, extra building space could be obtained in return for the development of a slum settlement. This land could then be developed for the open market (Ramanath 2005:71). In 1992, the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments were made in which the Indian government committed itself to democratic decentralisation and community participation which had been considered to be ignored and ineffectual (Ramanath 2005:249).

The inherent flaw in this process is that the private sector would build the slum upgrade as cheaply as possible to meet the minimum requirements for obtaining the opportunity to develop on the extremely valuable and scarce available land in Mumbai (previously Bombay). The opportunity for rampant capitalism and brazen profiteering was presented in this way.

A new government came to power in Maharashtra in 1995, one of their election promises being to provide 800 000 free houses to 4 million slum dwellers in Mumbai (Burra 2005:72). The recommendations for development were similar to those of the World Bank: in favour of *in-situ* improvements, ensuring the right to rehabilitation of pavement dwellers and resettlement to alternative locations when *in-situ* was not possible. A new aspect to private developer incentive was added, however: the *Transfer of Development Rights* (TDR). This novel concept implied that a slum reservation order could be placed on a parcel of land belonging to a private owner, in exchange for either a stipulated price or development rights on a different property altogether (Burra 2005:72-4).

In the vigorous real estate market in the mid-1990s, this arrangement contributed to the building frenzy and in 1995, Mumbai was the focus of some of the most lucrative real estate transactions in the world (Ramanath 2005:225). Lucrative and profitable to developers, the undermining of coherent urban planning ensued and NGOs became vocal (2005:253) in their criticism of the resulting neglect of the public realm. Effectively, slums were worsened by the fact that they became vertical and much more hazardous. Failing structures and services were the predictable results of profit-driven practices in which outcomes were measured quantitatively only. Public agencies, too, could give up their land for slum development and be compensated with TDR. Illegal gains by employees of these public agencies could be made in such transactions, where large-scale informal encroachment could be manipulated to create a need for redevelopment (Burra 2005:77).

One recognises in this sequence of events the ever-unfolding balancing of power in the development of the urban realm: The land-owners (both private and state) vying for control and profit, while the disempowered are manipulated from pillar to post. At this stage, in the 1990s, national and state government bodies seem to be acknowledging international best practices as forwarded by the World Bank, paying lip-service to notions such as *in-situ* upgrade and redevelopment, but falling short of the genuine drive to improve conditions for the urban poor at scale. The attempt to shift responsibility to the private sector created further exploitation of the vulnerable, either by way of subversively encouraging illegal squatting in order to claim TDR, or by claiming to redevelop slum settlements in order to profit from the neighbouring upmarket developments. The NGO landscape grappled fiercely with these discrepancies (Ramanath 2005:282), exerting further shifts of direction in terms of new policies.

In 2001, the national government of India set up a housing subsidy scheme for the urban poor known as the *Valmiki Ambedkar Awas Yojana* (VAMBAY), quite a small budgetary provision that also contains a subsidy for public sanitation. This is in addition to the *National Slum Development Programme* that offers state governments grants for basic amenities in slums and the *Swarn Jyanti Swayam Rojgar Yojana*, a bankloan-related self-employment programme with a subsidy component (Burra 2005:78).

The government of Maharashtra implemented the *Lok Awas Yojana* (People's Shelter Plan) in 2000 in the Latur district. Critique against this programme includes cumbersome access mechanisms to the subsidy, limited budgetary outlays and political manipulation of beneficiary selection (Burra 2005:78) Despite these programmes, it is reported that in the period between December 2004 and 2005, 50 000 to 70 000 hutments were demolished (2005:88).

2.2.4.2.2. Dharavi: Mumbai

The slum settlement of Dharavi, within the city of Mumbai, has become the stage where many of the aforementioned programmes have converged in the drive towards *in-situ* development. The *Dharavi Redevelopment Project* (DRP) was approved by the Slum Rehabilitation Authority of Maharashtra in 2004. This ambitious project has been dubbed the *opportunity of a lifetime* (Patel 2009:241) and appears to be an amalgamation of the Indian government's integration of commercial development and an increased involvement of community-based organisations in the process. High-end commercial space is to be created for sale on the open market (Dharavi is extremely well located in Mumbai) in exchange for free accommodation for eligible slum dwellers. Infrastructure is supposed to form part of the development, at no cost to the government (Patel 2009).

In the period 2007 – 2009, community groups conducted surveys and self-enumerations to ensure that the slum dwellers would not be disregarded in the process. An advisory group, *Concerned Citizens for Dharavi*, consisting of professionals, NGO representatives and senior civil servants have remained involved and influenced urban design guidelines and general planning principles (Patel 2008, 2009).

On 28 July 2012 it was reported that the Maharashtra Housing and Area Development Authority had finalised bids for the DRP (Gadpole 2012).

2.2.4.2.3. Andhra Pradesh

The state government of Andhra Pradesh implemented the *Andhra Pradesh Urban Services for the Poor* (APUSP) programme in 1999 as a seven year project (niua 2012:1). This comprehensive project was aimed at improving the urban poor's access to sustainable services and consists of three complimentary components: municipal reforms, environmental infrastructure and the strengthening of civil society organisations (CGG 2006; Dove 2004; niua 2012; World Bank

2009). The programme is externally aided by the UK-based Department for International Development (DFID) and implemented by the Andhra Pradesh Department of Municipal Administration and Urban Development (CGG 2006; Dove 2004; niua 2012).

Within this programme, each of the 32 municipalities identified in Andhra Pradesh, prepared a *Municipal Action Plan for Poverty reduction* to achieve the objectives of the APUSP. Transparency and extensive community participation are fundamental to the first five stages of the nine-stage process, the remaining involving the preparation of documentation, appraisal and approvals towards fund release (Banerjee 2009:32- 36; CGG 2006:11; niua 2012).

At the heart of the APUSP is a *Poor Settlement Matrix* involving the assessment of poverty in relation to infrastructure needs in order to prioritise the urgency of development in slum settlements. This ranking is done in a participatory manner in order to ensure transparency (CGG 2006:11). At the settlement level, a participatory process of micro-planning takes place (Banerjee 2009:36). This involves all members of a community and incorporates infrastructure and human development needs such as livelihoods, education, health and social housing (CGG 2006:12). Micro-plans are then consolidated at city level in order to effect city-wide reforms.

Literature suggests that the APUSP experience is *holistic, participatory, convergent and process-oriented* (CGG 2006:12), thereby effecting a significant impact on poverty reduction. A study undertaken by Dove (2004) indicates that this programme is well received by communities affected by it. There is an increased enthusiasm to participate in decision making and in the monitoring of implementation due to the improved relationship among stakeholders and municipal structures, resulting in accountability (Dove 2004:95-106).

2.2.4.2.4. Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY)

At the national level, the most recent programme aspiring to a slum-free India is the *Rajiv Awas Yojana* (RAY), which encourages states to follow a multi-pronged approach to the problem of slums with the following objectives: to bring existing slums into the formal system, ensuring the provision of basic services, redressing the failures of the formal systems that give rise to informal settlements; addressing the shortage of land and housing that contributes to the creation of slums (MHUPA 2011:1).

This programme was launched in 2011 as a continuation of the experience gained through the *Jaharwal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission* (JNNURM) submission of the *Basic Services to the Urban Poor* and the *Integrated Housing and Urban Development Programme* (Hindu 2011). The JNNURM was a national government programme with a seven year time frame with three interrelated components: governance, infrastructure development and the provision of basic services to the poor. This programme is aimed at alleviating urban poverty and has as its sub-mission the *Basic Services to the Urban Poor*. Under this programme, security of tenure, improved housing, water supply, sanitation, education, health and social security are to be provided to the urban poor and slum communities (CGG 2006:2-8).

The three aspects of JNNURM that remain integral to RAY are the earmarking within local budgets for basic services; the provision of basic services to urban poor including security of tenure and the earmarking of at least 20 - 25% of all developed land and housing projects (public and private) for cross-subsidisation of low-income groups (MHUPA 2011:1).

Due to the fundamental distinction between central government and state governments as previously mentioned, this programme again relies on the independent states implementing the central directives. This is supposed to take the form of a state slum-free plan of action in which the first step is envisaged to be the creation of legislation that would assign property rights to slum dwellers. Furthermore, the plan of action is expected to address the two fundamental issues of the slum landscape: upgrading of existing slums and preventative measures against the forming of new slums (MHUPA 2011:2).

In the planning methodology described in RAY, emphasis is placed on the survey and mapping of slums, relying on the integration of geo-spatial technology (GIS; satellite imagery; land inventories) with socio-economic data in which the role of community-based organisations and NGOs is recognised (MHUPA 2011:3).

Technical teams consisting of GIS specialists, town planners, social development specialists, project engineers and capacity-building co-ordinators are considered to be a necessary part of the implementation of this programme (MHUPA 2011:6). Even though guidelines for RAY make mention of the need to allow for community facilities such as schools and health centres as well as improved housing stock (2011:10,18), it is interesting to note that no

particular mention is made of the role that can or ought to be undertaken by the architectural profession.

One year after the unveiling of RAY, some states seem to be willing to adjust their policy frameworks around the programme (Indian Express 2012). However, it was reported that the government had taken RAY back to the drawing board due to general resistance from the various states to comply with the mandatory provisions of affording slum dwellers property rights and earmarking up to 25% of municipal budgets for spending on slums.

The government's focus for the redraft is reported to be in the direction of developing infrastructure instead of the provision of housing, opting rather for structured loans enabling slum-dwellers to improve their own homes (Gupta 2012).

2.2.4.2.5. Conclusion

The legislative power of the national government of India includes foreign affairs, defense and finance, whereas housing and urban development issues resort under the regional or state governments, that in turn determine city policies. National policies regarding slum development, although centrally sponsored, are therefore not enforced through the national government. For this reason, states within India may have completely different programmes and approaches towards slum demolition or development to those which may be promoted at national level.

Policies regarding slums have varied across states, indicating similar trends to those observed in other examples reviewed in this thesis. From violent evictions and demolitions in the 1950s in states such as Maharashtra, a more benevolent approach can be viewed in policies that encourage the installation of basic services, in situ upgrade and enablement.

Certain discrepancies are evident from the literature review, however. Despite the encouragement from international development institutions such as the World Bank and the UK-based Development agency where holistic, integrative and participatory approaches are recommended, various instances of urban neglect remain evident. In such policies as the transfer of development rights in Mumbai, for instance, rampant exploitation of the urban poor served to undermine the public realm to the benefit of profit-driven development.

The chronology of events in the state of Maharashtra (specifically Mumbai) reads as a discontinuity of intentions, from pavement clearance policies in the 1980s to the support of *in-situ* upgrades later in the decade; from rehabilitation policies in the mid-1990s to the forced removal of slum dwellers in favour of market-driven development; from policies of shelter and subsidies for public sanitation in the early 2000s to reports of mass demolition and eviction in 2004 - 2005. The recent Dharavi Redevelopment Plan is viewed with suspicion by local residents who are galvanising in an attempt to maintain their foothold in the negotiations.

In the state of Andhra Pradesh, an externally-aided programme aimed at improving the lives of slum dwellers seems promising: participatory, holistic and designed to acknowledge the hierarchy of poverty in order to guide development, with accountability by officials. This programme seems to be well received by the community and may serve to offer an example to other states in India.

At the national level, the Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY) is heralded as becoming a progressive approach to slum upgrading, including participatory processes that acknowledge the role of community based organisations and NGOs in the Indian urban development scenario. As mentioned, however, national policies cannot be enforced and require the co-operation of the state governments for successful implementation.

From this overview, it would appear that the role of government bodies in the upgrading of informal settlements in India has yet to be conclusively creative or effective. The systems and programmes seem to be cumbersome and in a mire of bureaucracy, overly fragmented and apparently open to corrupt practices by officials. Although some success has been achieved in Andhra Pradesh, it seems apparent that, despite progress in terms of policies and legislation, the Indian programmes have yet to yield positive, long-term and large-scale results.

The role of the architectural profession is not considered within these policy frameworks. In order to situate the position of architects within the Indian discourse on informal settlement upgrade, a more detailed overview of the NGO landscape will follow.

2.2.4.3. The NGO landscape in India

In an essay on the nature of *deep democracy*, Appadurai (2002) relates the experiences of some of the NGOs in India as representing a level of participation in decision making by urban poor communities that promise to reveal hopes for new opportunities of citizen inclusion in decision making and genuine empowerment.

After World War II, the international approach to development aid was heavily influenced by the Bretton Woods Accord. In these models of financial aid, top-down technical expertise and discourses of education and technology transfer were implemented. These programmes have been criticised, largely due to the fact that more than half the world continues to live in severe poverty, arguably exacerbated by some of these programmes (Appadurai 2002:22; Patel 2001:46).

In India these pro-state programmes resulted in civil society seeking entitlement from the state, which was followed by the state's cession of property to the private sector in an attempt at market liberalisation (Patel 2001:46).

The severity of the tri-sectoral imbalance between the three important stakeholders in the development arena i.e. government, civil society and community came to a head in 1981 with the mass demolitions and deportation of pavement dwellers in Mumbai (Ramanath 2005:6). Building up to these evictions was the tentative economic and political climate of the 1970s, during which tension started developing between the authoritarian Congress Party of Indira Gandhi and the increasing prevalence of NGOs who were changing from being agencies of relief to becoming mobilisers and activists (2005:62,88).

1975 saw the national government clamp down on NGO activities under the declaration of a state of emergency, prohibiting foreign funders from supporting conscientisation of grassroots movements. This was done in 1976 by means of the *Foreign Contribution Regulation Act*. Between 1975 and 1977, despite the general tolerance towards slums indicated in the *Slum Improvement Programme* of 1971, large-scale evictions were undertaken in Bombay (Mumbai) and Delhi (Ramanath 2005:62).

It is relevant to note that the formation of prominent NGOs in Mumbai in the 1980s was sparked by the 1981 evictions, not in the way of foreign aid or interference, but within Indian society itself. Thus the stage was set for the evolution of social rectification not led or influenced by outside players, but by representatives of the different layers of stakeholders at a local level.

The three NGOs under discussion are: *Youth for Unity and Voluntary Action* (YUVA); *Nivara Hakk Suraksha Samiti* (NHSS) and the *Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centres* (SPARC) who, along with the women's group Mahila Milan and the Slum Dwellers Federation, together form the *Alliance* (Ramanath 2005:6).

Although all three have experienced shifts in the way they have engaged with state and communities over the past thirty years, Ramanath (2005) has characterised their main thrusts as follows:

- YUVA is considered to be a rights-based organization, which cautiously entered the domain of service delivery in the 1990s
- NHSS took a confrontational approach towards the state, demanding solutions and maintaining a severely critical position of policies
- SPARC undertakes a partnership and negotiation position, a pragmatic balancing of securing rights for the poor within existing government structures.

During the late 1990s, as all three NGOs started moving in the direction of service delivery, their fundamental approaches continued to influence them: YUVA was grudgingly involved in delivery; NHSS was fighting the slum redevelopment schemes on all fronts and SPARC was negotiating their way through the rigours of housing delivery (2005:253).

Despite their differences in philosophy, the concerted efforts of these organisations collectively had a significant impact on the general direction of state and national policies regarding slum upgrade and poverty alleviation. Along with advice from the external voices of the World Bank and United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (UNCHS) to commit towards an enabling housing agenda, influence of NGOs as part of the political landscape became acknowledged by the state in describing their role as mediators between communities, government and private sector (Ramanath 2005:68-69,92).

2.2.4.3.1. Youth for Unity and Voluntary Action (YUVA)

Although the YUVA has its origins as a research project supported by a German funding agency in 1978, it soon became a more locally grounded movement after affiliating itself with the *National Campaign of Housing Rights* (1986), which was a network of people's organisations, development organisations, trade unions, academic institutions and civil rights groups.

YUVA's work with slums and pavement dwellers was grounded in a *rights-based framework that prioritised education and conscientisation* (Ramanath 2005:175). Their interest in social justice is shared by their coalition partners such as the Asian Coalition for Housing Rights (ACHR) which was formed in 1988.

2.2.4.3.2. Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centres (SPARC)

SPARC was founded in 1984 in Mumbai. Two of the lead founding members had social welfare training at the TATA Institute for the Social Sciences (Appadurai 2002:27) and began their professional careers in a welfare agency (Nagpada Neighbourhood House) in the early 1980s (Ramanath 2005:177).

SPARC states on its website that it supports two other people's organisations, namely Mahila Milan and the National Slum Dwellers Federation (NSDF) (sparcindia 2012). According to Appadurai (2002), the NSDF is an older organisation that established ties with SPARC in 1986. The President of the NSDF was considered to be a saviour of slum dwellers and already had an urban network across India that helped put SPARC on the map (Ramanath 2005:186). Mahila Milan (women together) (Burra 2003:11), comprised a group of prior sex trade workers from central Mumbai (mostly pavement dwellers – Ramanath 2005:184) who made up the third cadre of the alliance, having also joined up with SPARC in 1986 (Appadurai 2002:28).

This fundamentally community-oriented alliance has forged relationships and networks globally, laying foundations for Shack Dwellers International (SDI) that has been active in establishing a strong link between India, South Africa and Thailand since 1991 (Patel 2001:49-58). Within SDI, network coalitions exist with the Asian Coalition for Housing Rights (ACHR), the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (UNCHS) Global Campaign for Secure Tenure and the Cities Alliance.

From around 1999, the SDI network has been involved in dialogue with global institutions concerned with poverty, housing and urban management. The UK Government Department for International Development (DFID), Cities Alliance and Voices of the Poor (anchored by the World Bank) have all become arenas where the alliance and its affiliated networks are being heard (Appadurai 2002:41; Patel 2001:54-58).

As mentioned previously, SPARC and the other members of the alliance follow a predominantly co-operative approach to negotiations with government (Ramanath 2005), in which they distinguish between three conditions of slum living:

- those who squat on private land
- those who squat on municipal or state government land
- those who have encroached on central government property (such as railways/airport authority) and pavement dwellers

This last group is considered to be the most vulnerable, resulting in SPARC focusing their primary attention on them (Ramanath 2005:179).

Their methods of operation are unequivocally participatory, conducting surveys and enumerations within the slum settlements by the residents themselves. The fundamental point of departure is giving evidence of residence in a given area. To this end, self-enumeration, numbering of shacks, family photo passes, detailed lists of residents are created as negotiation tools in dealings with government (Appadurai 2002:35; CGG 2006:20; Patel 2002:166; Ramanath 2005:185). The significance of this self-enumeration lies at the heart of a democratic approach to governance and the desire for an emergent society to stabilise (Capra 2002). According to Appadurai (2002:36), the perpetual social visibility within the community and the invisibility in the eyes of the state contribute to these mechanisms of self-monitoring and self-regulation that sits at the heart of negotiations in slum life.

The reader may find it interesting at this point to note the intrinsic value of the informal settlement communities as role players in an emerging democracy. In the undefined zones between the formal and the informal, the strategies of self-regulation effectively create platforms of negotiation that are appropriate to the greater social fabric. The importance of SPARC and the alliance is therefore correctly pointed out by Appadurai (2002) as critical role-players in the establishment of a *deep democracy*.

The second strategy implemented by the alliance is their encouragement of communities to join savings and credit groups (CGG 2006:20). According to Appadurai (2002), these savings have a *profound, even salvational status*. The most prominent promoter of this principle is Jockin Arputham (president of SDI – Patel 2001:55), who sees the daily savings as the *bedrock of all federation activities* (Appadurai 2002:33). These savings are a principal tool in mobilisation and contribute to the philosophy of independence from external funders. The philosophy shared by many of the ACHR members is to ensure as little dependency on external funders as possible in order for low-income groups and their organisations to retain control over their situations. With less external funding, development programmes are seen less as charities, have greater chance of sustaining initiatives once government funds are depleted, maintain a stronger relationship with external agencies and significantly reduce the possibility of wealthier groups hijacking a programme (Anzorena 1998:171-2).

A third strategy employed by the alliance as part of their repertoire is the demonstration of housing and infrastructure models that serve as physical precedents for others to learn from (CGG 2006:20). This space of research and development (Appadurai 2002:34) serves as an interesting subversive tactic in terms of a demonstration of inherent skills that need not be reliant on perceived top-down professional expertise.

The inherited condition of such top-down imposition of technical knowledge stems from both governmental as well as traditional donor-driven NGOs concerned with slum upgrading that assumed the inability of slum dwellers to address their own problems. The general assumption is that the design, construction and financing of infrastructure and housing ought to be based on the expert knowledge of architects, engineers, contractors and surveyors. The alliance challenges this and, through their demonstration projects, aims to appropriate these functions for its members (Appadurai 2002:37).

One of the first such demonstration projects took place in Byculla in 1987, in the form of an exhibition of four different full-scale models of basic structures constructed of cardboard, wood and sarees. Visitors from other pavement and slum settlements voted for one of the structures as a model home, four metres high with a loft. This exhibition was a critical milestone, attended by state bureaucrats who were investigating alternatives for pavement dwellers. From this

example, further exchange programmes funded by ACHR and Homeless International (UK) saw such model-home building exercises as an important ritual of inauguration (Ramanath 2005:188). These demonstrations encouraged discussion and partnership with the state (city authorities) that served as a basis for scaling up (2005:333,342).

Such pilot projects were a direct response to the perception that the technocrats, bureaucrats and professionals were effectively in service of the authorities and continued to mystify knowledge that perpetuates anti-poor socio-economic perspectives (Patel 2001:48).

SDI believes that the monopoly over information and knowledge exercised by officials, technocrats and professionals needs to be broken and poor people themselves need to gain control over knowledge in order to deal more effectively with their situation (Patel 2001:51).

Thus, these housing exhibitions served as a significant exercise in subverting the existing class structures in India, where professions serve the upper classes, demonstrating to the poor themselves that they *had always been architects and engineers* (Appadurai 2002:37).

Undertaking projects of a larger scale, such as the construction of communal toilet blocks, has served an equally significant purpose in breaking the cycle of dependency. By implementing these projects to successful completion and maintenance themselves, the ability of urban poor populations to improve their own situation is proven not only to themselves, but also to the authorities. Isolation between communities is broken through the mutual training process, differing constraints lead to unique solutions and continued improvement results as people are able to avoid having to re-invent the wheel. By addressing the most crucial need of humane sanitation, communities are galvanised in their further negotiations regarding tenure (Burra, Patel & Kerr 2003:26-27).

Interestingly, by undergoing these processes of doing things for themselves, urban poor communities are then made aware of their own capacities and resources, increasing their level of confidence. This in turn, makes them aware of their choices and only then are they open to advice and support from professional intervention (Anzorena 1998:170).

SPARC's strategy of networking ranges from encouraging and facilitating communities to visit each other and learn from one another through peer exchanges, to grassroots mobilisation and advocating pro-poor policy changes in the international arena (CGG 2006:20). The term *federation* has been pointed out by Appadurai (2002) as having significance in its form as a verb *to federate*. The implication of this action of pooling resources among pre-existing collectives, organising lobbying, confronting opponents and providing mutual risk management is in asserting self-determination among the urban poor (Appadurai 2002:32-33). This necessarily contributes to the confidence required for empowered negotiations with external stakeholders, whether those are bodies of authority or service providers (Anzorena 1998:182).

The initial association between SPARC, NSDF and Mahila Milan became known as the alliance (sparcindia 2012). The Asian Coalition for Housing Rights (ACHR) began linking grassroots organisations with one another between 1988 and 1991, including the alliance from India (Patel 2001:47). From these exchanges of knowledge and resources, skills were shared and increased legitimacy was created. Community-based organisations were undertaking a leading role against poverty (Patel 2001:48), thereby strengthening the community sector.

The foundations for Shack Dwellers International (SDI) were therefore laid during the late 1980s and influenced by the exchange methodologies of ACHR. Community exchanges with South Africa's Homeless People's Federation in 1991 further supported this interchange, which has subsequently also expanded to Thailand. The result of these affiliations is the support of a critical mass among the urban poor in which knowledge and understanding of the obstacles shared among peers contributes to the political influence in their own contexts (Patel 2001:51).

Beyond the immediacy of their individual federations, SDI have assumed a determining role in the relationship with international agencies of development assistance, advocating changes in organisations that often have cumbersome and outdated methods of funding and implementation of projects and processes of development (Patel 2001:52).

In 2000 the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (UNCHS) launched the Global Campaign for Secure Tenure with the National Slum Dwellers Federation in Mumbai, India (Patel 2001:52). This prompted the government of Maharashtra to announce its intention to ensure land tenure for the urban poor. The Cities Alliance was launched in 1999 by the UNCHS and the World Bank (2001:54) and is engaged in discussions about partnership and support

of SDI (2001:57). SDI is often invited to present their experiences at international donor forums, such as the UK's Department for International Development (DFID) and Homeless International. They also participate in Voices of the Poor, a network of grassroots organisations supported by the World Bank (2001:54).

The influence of SPARC and the alliance within India has been significant. From the resettlement of slum dwellers along the railways of Mumbai, to the participatory processes of the Dharavi Redevelopment Plan, the development of the Community-Led Infrastructure Finance Facility (CLIFF) and eventually becoming a voice the tabling of the progressive national housing policy Rajiv Awas Yojana, the alliance has maintained a consistent presence in negotiating a space for the urban poor.

In June 1995 the state government of Maharashtra and the Indian railways contracted SPARC to conduct a survey of shack dwellers that would be affected by a resettlement programme aimed at clearing up the servitudes around the railways. The National Slum Dwellers Federation (NSDF) had a longstanding relationship with these railway slum dwellers, who were organised into the Railway Slum Dwellers federation. It was therefore a *natural and inevitable consequence* for SPARC to engage in such a survey, although it was considered quite radical for the government to actually award them the contract (Ramanath 2005:333-337).

By 2000, Patel (2002) reported that 60 000 low-income people had successfully and voluntarily been removed from the area adjacent to the railway line to secure faster and safer rail service. The significance of the project lay in three aspects: those who moved were not impoverished by the move; no police or municipal force was required; the inhabitants were involved in the planning and implementation of their new settlement.

The methods used by SPARC involved a combination of the strategies previously described, such as rough mapping, survey, enumeration, household surveys and organisation within groups. The involvement with the actual planning of the new settlement also contributed to the success of the project (Patel 2002:166-170).

2.2.4.3.2.1. SPARC and the Community-Led Infrastructure Finance Facility

Following on research funded by the DFID in 1999, entitled *Bridging the Finance Gap*, the Community-Led Infrastructure Finance Facility (CLIFF) was launched in India in 2002 to support

the alliance's efforts at managing developments themselves. Nirman was the financial and construction arm of SPARC, but negotiations with banks were erratic and funding was unreliable. With support from Homeless International, the DFID and the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, CLIFF provides venture capital and other financial support directly to organisations of the urban poor *to support community-led upgrading schemes conceived in partnership with city authorities* (Morris 2007:3).

By November 2006, CLIFF had supported 14 community-led housing projects and two sanitation projects. The programme actively supports projects envisioned and developed by the alliance (Morris, 2007:6).

The four main areas of support through CLIFF are the financing of:

- pilot and demonstration projects
- initial scaling up
- risk management and mitigation
- partnership capacity building (Burra 2005:80).

2.2.4.3.2.2. SPARC and the Dharavi Redevelopment Plan

The government of Maharashtra announced the Dharavi Redevelopment Plan (DRP) in 2004 (Gadpole 2012), which was criticised by community-led organisations, NGOs and academics. Despite the national government's 73rd and 74th constitutional amendments indicating a commitment to public participation, the people of Dharavi had *virtually no information on the DRP other than it is a sector plan* (Patel 2008:249). The alliance, academics and architectural practitioners addressed this matter in a letter to government, in which they indicated a willingness to work together in preparation of a road map for the development of Dharavi *that will be based on public scrutiny of all data; that will have the consent of the community; that will respect the links between housing and livelihoods* (2008:250).

A peaceful march of 15 000 people to the Maharashtra Housing and Area Development Authority in June 2007 served to enforce this insistence on participation and transparency, which was further enforced by a letter to India's Prime Minister in July 2007, signed by 23 academics, anchored by Professor Arjun Appadurai (Patel 2008:251). The direct result of these

efforts was an agreement in December 2007 in which a baseline survey would be done jointly by SPARC and a private consulting company. Enumeration of structures, land ownership, structure usage, household surveys would be compiled in a GIS-based database that would serve as the basis for future planning (2008:253).

Eventually, SPARC managed to carry out 11 000 surveys, the private consultants completing around 50 000. Questionnaires were refined to make them more responsive to conditions on the ground. In addition, the pace and nature of the work within the federations considered the local conditions of the inhabitants, thereby ensuring a true reflection of issues to be addressed. In some cases, quantitative results were compromised in favour of periods of *reflection and dialogue* (Patel 2009:247 – 248).

Institutionalising the participative process happened in the form of the *Concerned Citizens for Dharavi* expert advisory group to the DRP. This group consists of 11 members: NGO representatives, civil servants, architects and academic faculty. The group was formally recognised by the government of Maharashtra in January 2009. Recommendations on all aspects of the project are made by the group, including a set of urban design guidelines (Patel 2009:243-244). SPARC's almost militant aversion to professional interference seems to have softened in the deployment of the Dharavi project, as their networking ability now extended to partnerships with the Royal University College of the Fine Arts in Stockholm and the Kamla Raheja Vidyanidhi Institute for Architecture in Mumbai (2009:249).

Forever vigilant against compromise and co-optation, SPARC nevertheless manages to maintain the fine balance of supporting the poor while extending a global network of consciousness about Dharavi and its people by way of co-ordinating student visits, foreign government officials such as the mayor of London, the governor of Sao Paulo (Brazil) and a delegation of Swedish parliamentarians. All of these efforts contribute to a global conscientisation of the concerns within Dharavi, effectively providing further pressure on government action (Patel 2009:249–250).

In July 2012 it was finally announced that the successful bidder for the DRP had been announced. Of importance is the fact that all surveys and GIS mapping that had been undertaken would underpin the future development of the project (Gadpole 2012).

2.2.4.3.2.3. SPARC and Rajiv Awas Yojana

SPARC's ambitions, however, have not stopped in Dharavi, Mumbai or Maharashtra. In an article in 2012 concerned with the central government's proposal for the new housing policy, Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY), SPARC questions the proposed mapping processes (Patel 2012). According to the guidelines for RAY, the detailed surveys required for collation onto a GIS database must include social sciences graduates, civil/municipal engineers, GIS specialists, town planners, surveyors and draughtsmen. Although the guidelines do include the *identification and engagement of lead NGO/CBO to guide and anchor community mobilisation* (MHUPA 2011:3) for the purposes of slum surveys, Patel (2012) insists that this is not an adequate acknowledgement of the leadership role that ought to be taken by the community organisations.

2.2.4.3.3. Nivara Hakk Suraksha Samiti (NHSS)

The third significant group under discussion is Nivara Hakk Suraksha Samiti (NHSS) which was actually the first to rise to prominence after the government's evictions of 1981 and the subsequent Supreme Court ruling in 1985. Convening several grass roots organisations including youth, students, slum groups and trade unions, NHSS used street protests, film, slogans, street plays and mass mobilisation as *firefighting operations for the rights of slums* (Ramanath 2005:6,131).

Whereas SPARC chose the route of partnership between the poor and government (2005:203,218), NHSS has consistently remained critical of the government policies that undermined the rights of the poor and have not spared NGOs that they considered too eager to please government bodies. Such co-operation, according to Das (1995), weakens the activist role of society, *placating and diverting attention from the political issues at hand, effectively accepting government, working within government parameters, almost relying on government's ineffectuality for their raison d'être* (1995:180).

When the government introduced the concept of the *Transfer of Development Rights* (TDR), NHSS maintained a strong voice of opposition (Das 1995:178; Ramanath 2005:218,225,253,282), stating that this concession to developers was contradicting the function of a development plan, damaging the orderly growth and servicing of a city and would result in the lack of adequate services, all serving only to encourage profiteering among developers and pauperisation of the state.

NHSS considers the negotiation of rights and granting of concessions as fundamental development inadequacies that result in substandard housing conditions and continued threat of displacement. This they critically point out to be the Indian government's undermining of democracy (Das, 2008: 7).

In a presentation to the Indian Institute of Architects, Das (2008:8) named several causes for the degeneration of Indian cities and the growth of slums:

- No planning
- State of underdevelopment
- Irrelevant development plans and land use
- Housing debacle
- Unavailability of land
- Skewed slum rehabilitation authority policy
- Forced displacements
- Anarchic growth
- Destruction of the environment
- Growth of the informal sector.

Positioning themselves as activists and anarchists, however, did not seem to satisfy the need for positive change beyond activism. In the 1990s, NHSS therefore shifted away from their core competency of mobilising and struggling for rights towards active delivery of housing solutions (Ramanath 2005:294). In the move towards such project-based activism, it is significant to understand the philosophical alignment between the goals of activism and the potential of architecture to satisfy the democratic drive.

SPARC is inherently skeptical of professional motives (as discussed previously) and more in favour of process than projects. The reason for their aversion to project-driven solutions that often underlie official ideas about urban change and implications of short-term logics of investment, accounting, reporting and assessment, is that it potentially obliterates the needs of the poor themselves. In their view, the slow and risk-laden process of mobilising *knowledge of the poor into methods driven by the poor and for the poor* ultimately has the greater advantage for long-term growth and sustainability (Appadurai 2002:30).

NHSS on the other hand, comes from a knowledge base in which the specific discipline of architecture is seen as a potentially *effective democratic tool of social change and instrument for mobilising collective movements* (Das 2008:1). The value of larger public participation and engagement of people's organisations in the development process is acknowledged and in this space where the particular skills of the profession are seen as potentially serving the common good, it is argued that a project-based approach can serve the same purpose as public mobilisation (Das 2008:1,17).

Das argues here for the creative and potentially powerful dialogue inherent in the planning process:

We have to further our understanding of architecture as a part of the larger democratic democracy. This will lead us architects to develop a close relationship with the needs and aspirations of the masses and public interest will be effectively reflective through such social democratic movements. This integration is our new challenge (Das 2008:17).

2.2.4.3.4. Summary: NGO landscape in India

After World War II, the Indian government pursued a top down provision model that resulted in a culture of entitlement in civil society. During the 1970s, tensions between an increasingly authoritarian government and NGOs rose as a result of the organisations changing from being agencies of relief to social activists. The severity of this power imbalance came to a head in the early 1980s with the demolition and forced eviction of thousands of pavement dwellers. This led to the formation of three prominent NGOs:

- *Youth for Unity and Voluntary Action* (YUVA)
- *Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centres* (SPARC)
- *Nivara Hakk Suraksha Samiti* (NHSS)

YUVA operates within a rights-based framework and is interested in pursuing social justice.

SPARC includes Mahila Milan and the National Slum Dwellers Federation. Together, they are known as the alliance and are central to the formation of Shack Dwellers International (SDI) that collaborates with organisations such as the Asian Coalition for Housing Rights in Thailand

and Federation for the Urban Poor in South Africa. SPARC promotes participatory methods such as community-led surveys, enumerations and savings schemes. They actively engage in networks of peer-to-peer learning and housing demonstration models that rely on implicit and endemic knowledge. In this organisation, there is a specific resistance to perceived top-down professional expertise, seen to be in service of government authority and donor agencies. The promotion of self-awareness and capacity building within the slum settlements is actively promoted.

SPARC and the SDI are acknowledged by international institutions such as the United Nations, World Bank and Cities Alliance and have impacted on state policies of Maharashtra to recognise the value of community-led initiatives. Recently, their influence on the Dharavi Redevelopment Plan and the national policy of slum upgrade (Rajiv Awas Yojana) has been noted.

NHSS had their origins as activists in opposition to policies such as the Transfer of Development Rights. In the 1990's their focus shifted from mobilizing and rights-based struggles to the active delivery of housing solutions. Influenced by the architect PK Das, the NHSS sees architecture as project-based activism, which can serve the same purpose as public mobilisation.

In the description of the work undertaken by the NGOs in the Indian context, Payne concludes that *neither the public nor the private sectors on their own are able to address, let alone resolve, the problems of housing increased urban populations* (in Ramanath 2005:349). The third sector, which includes community based organisations and the support of non-government organisations, is the sector that has undergone radical transformation since the mid-eighties and has effectively started to transform the housing landscape in India. The tri-sectoral relationship between government, community and civil society is being transformed through co-operation or confrontation as well as a complex combination of these interactions, with a strong influence by non-government organisations (Ramanath 2005:367).

The role of the architectural profession appears to be ambivalent and poorly represented in the NGO sector. Despite the heated discourse and contestations for power, it is only in the work of the NHSS that one discerns a contribution by the profession to the plight of the urban poor. From the strong resistance to professional involvement expressed by SPARC, literature indicates a deep distrust between the profession and community-led initiatives in the face of severely skewed government policies.

2.2.4.4. Conclusion: India

In this overview of the discourse on informal urbanism in India, literature suggests a severe imbalance of power between national or state legislature and urban poor communities. NGOs have assumed an intermediary space that has shifted over time from agencies of aid to activists and, more recently, to pro-active agents of housing solutions (Fig 2.5).

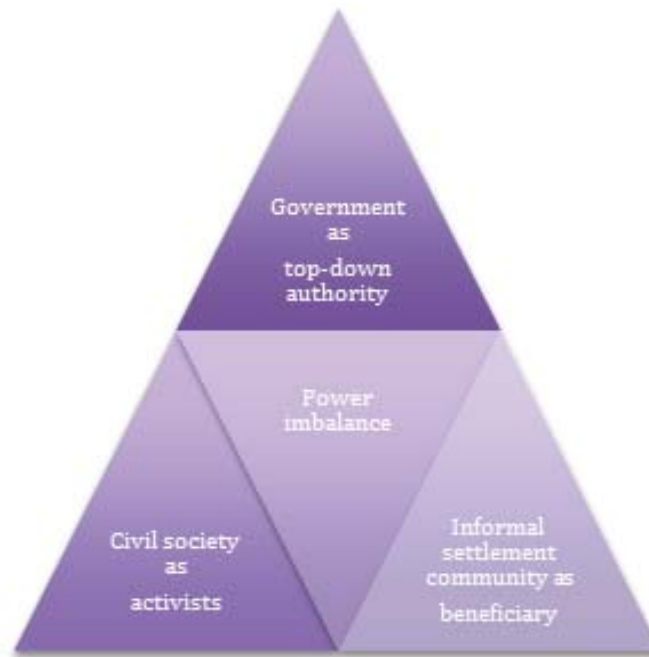


Figure 2.5: Power relations in India with activist role taken by civil society

National policies are reported to have gradually evolved from eradication and demolition to *in-situ* upgrade and enablement, although regular instances of discontinuity are reported. Market liberalisation tendencies in the 1990s contributed to the undermining of urban planning, improvement of the public realm and conditions affecting slum dwellers. The division of authority between national and state governments appears to contribute to the fragmentary nature of the various policies and programmes, with much room for maneuvering and corruption by officials.

In this context, the evolution of powerful community based organisations representing slum dweller federations has become an important aspect of the discourse. Asserting the *Right to the City* has taken the shape of activism, self-enumeration, self-built sanitation blocks and international collaboration. The impact of these organisations is reported in terms of current

national and regional programmes that are taking note of participatory processes in urban regeneration.

In terms of the relationship between community based organisations and such professions as planning and architecture, a constructive bilateral relationship of trust and mutual recognition seems to be absent. The role of architects in the discourse appears to be marginal, with specific exceptions such as the position assumed by PK Das and the NHSS. According to Das (2008:1), planning and architecture are *effective democratic tools of social change and instruments for mobilising collective movements*. This view is not shared by SPARC and the SDI, who view the profession with distrust as being solely in the service of government or donor agencies. Although Das (2008) contends that the development of a city hinges on the integration of larger public participation with planning and architecture, one cannot disregard the preceding requirement that the client-professional relationship has to be normalised, the client in this case being the communities of slum dwellers.

Neither the public nor private sectors on their own are able to address, let alone resolve, the problems of housing increasing urban populations. This recognition is the first step in paving the way for a wide range of innovative approaches by which roles and relationships of the two sectors, together with third sector groups, such as non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and community-based organizations (CBOs), are being radically transformed (Payne in Ramanath 2005:349).

2.2.5. Baan Mankong Programme, Thailand

2.2.5.1. Introduction

The South African Homeless People's Federation (SAHPF) and People's Dialogue are closely linked to the Asian Coalition for Housing Rights (ACHR) situated in Bangkok, Thailand (ACHR 2014). Joined by Asian and Latin American counterparts in 1991 at the SAHPF anniversary, the Shack Dwellers International (SDI) alliance was created. Through the SDI and other international organisations such as Cities Alliance, the informal settlement discourse in South Africa is influenced by the activities and principles of these international interest groups.

The secretary general of the ACHR is Somsook Boonyabancha (ACHR 2014), an architect whose influence is seen in the implementation of the Baan Mankong housing programme in Thailand, her country of origin (Archer 2012). An investigation into this programme is included in this thesis due to its impact on the international informal settlement discourse and its influence on the South African context by way of the SDI affiliation.

2.2.5.2. History and chronology

The Baan Mankong Programme (BMP) in Thailand is a slum upgrading approach in which parastatal platforms have been created to facilitate a people-centred process towards resolving problems of insecure housing and poor living conditions (Archer 2012; CODI 2012).

According to the Community Organisations Development Institute (CODI), the concept of co-operatives is not new in Thailand's history. Despite various political structures, ranging from absolute monarchy to military rule and eventual democracy, various co-operative networks have continually emerged as part of the socio-economic landscape. The ability to approach problems collectively is therefore not considered foreign to the Thai culture (CODI 2012).

Between the 1950s and 1970s, however, the government of the time employed top-down authoritarian methods of public housing and slum-clearance through the National Housing Agency (NHA). The failure of these projects to achieve the desired alleviation of the housing crisis saw the government move towards a market-oriented strategy of land-sharing in the 1980s (Archer 2012).

Self-sufficiency and decentralisation became a consideration after the 1997 economic crisis, this shift in policy direction paving the way for the creation of CODI in 2000, an amalgamation

of the Urban Community Development Office and the Rural Development Fund (Archer 2012; Boonyabancha 2005; Storey 2012).

CODI is a public organization with a goal to build a strong societal base using the collective power of civil groups and community organization (CODI 2012).

Although it is a public agency under the Ministry of Social Development and Human Security, CODI's legal standing as an independent public organisation provides it with greater possibilities of bridging the gap between the state and poor communities (Archer 2012; Boonyabancha 2005). The provision of loans to communities in support of upgrade or the construction of new houses makes it possible to address diverse needs and interests across the city (Mitlin 2008).

CODI's organisational structure includes representatives from government, community organisations and professionals. Along with a central board, there are sub-committees and regional boards that ensure a widespread network of engagement and representation (CODI 2012).

Four mandates resort under CODI:

- Support of the development of community organizations and their networks
- Building public acceptance and certification of community organizations
- Developing community saving, credit, welfare and community
- Social development and multilateral co-operation (CODI 2012).

It is within this structure and these mandates that CODI became instrumental in the proposal of the Baan Mankong (*secure housing*) Programme (BMP) that was announced by the Thai government in 2003 (Boonyabancha 2005; CODI 2004; UN Habitat 2009).

2.2.5.3. Description

The BMP channels government funds in the form of infrastructure subsidies and housing loans direct to poor communities who plan and carry out improvements to their housing environment and basic services (CODI 2004).

Processes of upgrading are designed and managed in a participative framework inclusive of government, NGOs, universities and professionals working closely with the affected communities and their network organisations. Once plans have been agreed upon, CODI channels the necessary funds for loans and infrastructure to the community organisations (Boonyabancha 2005; CODI 2004).

The funding mechanism consists of three parts, namely a government subsidy that is allocated to infrastructure, housing, administration and capacity building; a long-term loan financed by CODI and individual household savings (UN Habitat 2009:22).

Types of Baan Mankong upgrading programmes include:

- On-site upgrading (*in-situ*), in which improvements are made without changing the blocks or layouts
- On-site re-blocking, in which structures are moved to allow for better infrastructural layouts
- On-site reconstruction, in which existing structures are demolished and replaced by new ones, with residents moved temporarily during construction
- Land-sharing: The community buys or leases the less commercially attractive portion of the property, returning the remainder to the land-owner for development
- Relocation: People are removed from the existing location to a property with secure tenure and services, often with increased expense and pressure on livelihood such as distance from established social structure, employment and opportunities (UN Habitat 2009).

Whichever option is eventually decided upon, the participative process ensures that the community achieves an understanding of the decision-making structure and ultimately takes emotional ownership of the implication on their lives:

If we look at upgrading in its much deeper aspects, we have to see how we are implementing upgrading in such a way that it creates change. Real upgrading goes beyond the physical aspects; it changes relationships and allows urban poor communities space and freedom (Boonyabanacha 2005:35- 46).

2.2.5.4. Methodology

The methodology of the BMP is broadly described as follows:

- Identify the stakeholders and explain the programme
- Arrange network meetings
- Arrange meetings in each urban poor community, involving municipal staff if possible
- Establish a joint committee to oversee implementation
- Arrange a city meeting where the joint committee meets with representatives from all urban poor communities to inform them about the upgrading programme and the preparation process
- Survey all communities to collect information on all households, housing security, land ownership, infrastructure problems, community organisations, savings activities and existing development activities
- From the survey, develop a community upgrading plan which covers the whole city
- Support community collective savings
- Select pilot projects on the basis of need
- Extend improvement processes to all other communities
- Integrate the upgrading initiatives into a city-wide development
- Build community networks around common land ownership, shared construction, co-operative enterprises, community welfare and collective maintenance of canals
- Create economic space for the poor such as new markets, or economic opportunities wherever possible within the upgrading process
- Support constant exchange visits between projects, cities and regions for all those involved (Boonyabanacha 2005:25-27).

2.2.5.5. The role of architects

The focus of the BMP is to look beyond the physical improvements to infrastructure and housing, to empower people comprehensively, embracing a transformation within themselves

(Boonyabancha 2005). These physical improvements, however, remain an important measure or perception of success (Archer 2012:179) and can therefore not be entirely divorced from the socially empowering value of the networks and processes of information sharing.

In the process of surveying, mapping and design, CODI has recognised the need to involve young professionals in these *messy, complicated and demanding* contexts in which *proper architects* are often loath to become involved (Boonyabancha 2005). According to Boonyabancha (2005), architects required are those who are prepared to operate in circumstances that are similar to those of a battlefield, where conditions are far from perfect or predictable. The impact of good, creative design lies in the fact that communities learn from one another and as the upgrading programmes progress, so the various communities become more sophisticated and discerning in their evaluation of appropriate solutions.

This recognition of the potential value of including the architectural profession in the process has led to the formation of various networks of *community architects* across Asia. These networks are closely affiliated with the Asian Coalition for Housing Rights (ACHR) and the Asian Coalition for Community Action (ACCA). Web-based associations, field research reports and international networking amongst young professionals are indicative of a strong symbiotic relationship between activities within the BMP and an emergent response, especially among young architects, to the challenges of slum upgrading (Community Architects Network 2014).

As part of the curriculum offered at the University College of London Bartlett Development Unit for the degree MSc Building and Urban Design in Development (BUDD), overseas fieldtrips are undertaken to investigate certain relevant topics. One such three week field trip took place in May 2011 during which students were introduced to various examples of Baan Mankong implementation.

The role of community architects is given much consideration in the student blog describing their impressions and is summarised by William Hunter in a report on the findings (Hunter 2011). From their observations, the concept of *community architects* is paramount and widespread throughout Bangkok and the BMP. According to Hunter (2011), the impact appears to be significant, both in terms of the *ethical turn* in architecture towards socially equitable design

and design practices, as well as a reflexive rediscovering in development practitioners' views on the potential for critically sophisticated outcomes resulting from pragmatic realism.

Hunter (2011) acknowledges that conventional practice may not provide the skills and values necessary for truly participative design and that CODI and the BMP are, in fact, offering a valuable opportunity for the learning of these skills.

One can conclude from these observations that there is as much a need for *community architects* in achieving success in the BMP, as there is a need for inclusion into the BMP for architects to develop more successful responses to the current urban challenges of comprehensive slum upgrading.

2.2.5.6. Assessment of the Baan Mankong Programme

In a study aimed at determining whether residents perceived the BMP to have had a positive impact on their situation, Archer (2012:183) was able to demonstrate that the *upgrading project has largely resulted in improved housing conditions for the residents*. Consequences of upgrading, such as smaller plot sizes and increased financial burden due to maintenance are accepted as trade-offs to remain within the community and are understood within the participatory and egalitarian process. The study also reveals that people do not consider a piece of paper as adequate tenure security. Rather, confidence in community leadership, own financial security as well as the long-term plans of landowners and city infrastructure need to be established.

Archer (2012) further confirms that people are prepared to invest in their properties and in some cases may even spend more than they can afford due to the capacity to aspire. The improved and permanent housing assists assimilation into society and has encouraged further collective action, such as civic amenities, activities and welfare funds.

The BMP is about more than housing and Archer (2012) points to two important consequences that have evolved in support of the BMP, namely the formation of the National Union of Low Income Community Organizations (NULICO) and the City Development Funds (CDF), both aimed at further strengthening the upgrading initiatives across Thailand in support of the BMP.

In consideration of the environmental challenges faced by Asian Cities, Storey (2012) was able to conclude that the BMP has played a positive role in garnering community support and mobilisation around urban environmental management. In some of the cases under consideration, water pollution problems served as the basis for partnership and encouraged planning at a community level, using creative and innovative place-based initiatives. The participative nature of the BMP, according to Storey (2012:125), becomes an assertion of citizenship and thus, by implication, accountability:

The Urban Community Environmental Activities (UCEA) and BMP offer an alternative vision of urban sustainability within and beyond Thailand, but only if there is a complementary shift towards a deepening of democratic processes that grow from but also transcend such specific initiatives.

A paper by Yap & de Wandeler (2010) analysing past and present efforts of government agencies, civil society organisations and the private sector to improve the housing conditions of those living in informal settlements in Bangkok, Thailand, has found the BMP to be effective in improving land tenure security and in the improvement of housing conditions of the urban poor. Limitations to its inclusiveness, effectiveness and sustainability however, suggest that despite its success, the programme cannot stand alone. A comprehensive housing policy that addresses problems pro-actively and not only re-actively would be required for the greater Thai society to achieve sustainable growth and stability.

From these studies one can therefore conclude that the BMP offers a valuable example of successful upgrading of informal settlements as a primary step in the process of further democratic evolution in developing societies.

2.2.5.7. Example: Bang Bua Canal Communities

One of the first canal-wide community improvement projects in Bangkok to benefit from the BMP is found along the Bang Bua canal (Smith 2011) Conditions along the canal were marked by water pollution, squalor, flooding, fire, crime and drug dealing. People lived isolated from one another, often falling into the defeatism of alcohol, leaving the vulnerable to fend for themselves (ACHR 2008).

Having occupied this land that belongs to the Treasury Department for more than 50 years (Usavagovitwong & Posriprasert 2006), social networks became galvanised in the face of

increasing water pollution and development plans that increased the threat of eviction. According to Storey (2012:123), such mobilisation around environmental issues may serve as a catalyst for community cohesion and negotiations beyond the matter that is first addressed:

In this sense the environment is a surrogate, a tool, but this can have positive outcomes if opportunities are there.

In the case of the communities living along the Bang Bua canal, the initial drive to clean up the canal indeed seems to have achieved a goal exceeding the primary objectives. According to accounts by residents (ACHR 2008), the organising of community networks goes back to the mid-nineties, when *clean-up jamborees* saw people dredging the river of garbage including refrigerators, sofas and assorted industrial waste. The installation of rudimentary grease traps for kitchen waste and septic tanks leading to treatment plants contributed to the maintenance of the canal.

Group savings within these resident communities seem to have commenced prior to engaging with the BMP. As claimed by Prapaat, a network leader (cited in ACHR 2008:3), the community already had a lot of experience in saving for their own welfare so that by the time the BMP subsidies were applied, they were ready for it.

From 2004 (Archer 2012; Smith 2011), the process of redevelopment commenced, during which there was active participation of various stakeholders: The Community Organization Development Institute (CODI), the Treasury Department (landowner), Bangkok Metropolitan Authority's district offices as well as Sripatum University Faculty of Architecture partnered in the policy- and decision-making matters, while the Bang Bua community was represented as field working groups consisting of the following:

- Bang Bua community network committee
- Each community's committee
- Each community's savings group for housing
- The Working Group for Housing Development in Bang Bua Communities (WGHBC) (Usavagovitwang et al 2006:526).

Architects from the Faculty of Architecture at Sripatum University worked with the communities in smaller groups that were arranged among themselves on the basis of kinship and friendship

ties. These groups eventually consisted of approximately five families (15 to 30 people) per group (ACHR 2008; Usavagovitwang et al 2006).

Surveys were done in which physical attributes, patterns, characteristics, condition of building fabric, number and size of households, economic activities and tenants were documented and presented back to the community. Several rounds of discussion were held as part of the planning process, with active input from the residents and the architecture students, to the point of arriving at consensus with regard to decisions pertaining to relocation, demolition, reconstruction, housing types, the accommodation of economic activities and the creation of public and civic spaces such as parks, libraries and walkways (Usavagovitwang et al 2006). The role of the student architects in this process is seen more in terms of the facilitation and technical advice (2006:532), rather than that of primary designer or author.

Eventually, within the master plan that embraced all the above considerations, the community of Bang Bua agreed on three basic house types (albeit with variations as required): detached house, double twin house and a row house, each with at least 90m², a balcony and a space behind for access to sewer pipes (ACHR 2008).

In order to achieve this, the subsidy system was creatively applied to ensure that the following circumstances could be accommodated:

- Houses built without loans
- Using recycled building material
- Welfare for the poorest
- Long-term support for the poorest
- Housing for renters (ACHR 2008).

Although the development process was inclusive of the relevant authorities, there are accounts of residents having taken action and implemented building processes that are considered substandard, illegal and without the necessary permits. Despite the District Authority's orders to stop work, residents had continued relentlessly and even marched to the District Office offering to go to jail – 228 of them. Such demonstrations of solidarity apparently swayed the authorities more effectively than years of protest and negotiation and eventually led to support from the District Authority in the form of technical assistance and partial construction of some of the walkways (ACHR 2008).

Such methods of negotiation in complex urban development is a necessary part of the process and requires involvement of more than one community and more than one authority to achieve sustainable management. This is no longer possible through the traditional top-down structures or regulatory authorities (Storey 2012:123).

Security of tenure was ensured by means of a 30-year renewable lease with the Treasury Department, with a negotiated rental of approximately \$3/month per household. These payments are made to the co-operative which then makes a collective payment to the Treasury Department (ACHR 2008).

The results of this upgrading programme are widely considered to be successful, with residents testifying to a general satisfaction with the improvement in their quality of life (Archer 2012). The investment value of the properties that have been upgraded, along with the improved infrastructure and facilities, such as the 6m tree-lined avenue along the canal (ACHR 2008), seems to indicate that the perception amongst residents would have shifted from poverty alleviation to the beginnings of wealth creation:

Residents proudly explain that their houses would cost one million baht elsewhere (Archer 2012:182).

Beyond the housing upgrades, the community networks and structures have been strengthened to support the most vulnerable amongst them. Activities and ceremonies are organised for the elderly, along with savings schemes to ensure regular medical care. Children and youth are included in activities and supported in terms of school fees, play groups, libraries and childrens' savings funds (ACHR 2008).

The success of the Bang Bua canal upgrade seems to reside in its demonstration of the strength of the BMP which, according to Banyabancha (cited in ACHR 2008:10), is about

upgrading the capacity of poor people in poor settlements, upgrading their knowledge, upgrading their confidence, upgrading their managerial

capacities, upgrading their awareness, upgrading their relationships with the government and administrative systems, upgrading their social organisations and their status in the city, upgrading their financial systems – upgrading everything!

2.2.5.8. Conclusion

The BMP was announced in 2003 by the Thai government as a slum upgrading approach involving parastatal platforms in a people-centred approach. The programme originated through the Community Organisations Development Institute (CODI) that supports the collective power of civil groups and community organisations.

Between the 1950s and 1970s, Thailand had a history of top-down public housing and slum clearance policies, which were replaced in the 1980s by market-oriented land sharing programmes. Following on the economic crisis of 1997, however, the shift to enablement occurred by way of such organisations such as CODI.

CODI consists of representatives of government, community and professionals and was created to support community development, savings, welfare and multi-lateral co-operation. Due to this background, the BMP operates within the participative framework inclusive of government, NGOs, universities, professionals, communities and network organisations. Once a project is approved, funds are channeled through CODI to the relevant communities for loans and infrastructure. Upgrade strategies range from in situ upgrade to relocation managed through community structures, all within comprehensive participatory processes.

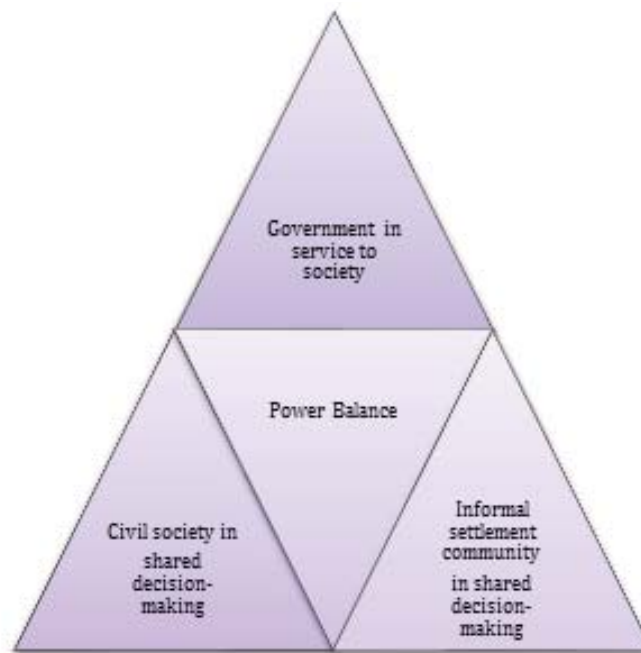


Figure 2.6: Improved power relations with shared decision-making through organisations in Thailand such as CODI.

Young architects are deployed in these processes through the Community Architects Network to assist with surveying, mapping and design. Although the processes are always participatory, great value is attached to good and creative design. International collaboration through these networks is encouraged.

Assessment of the BMP has established that the programme is positively received by the affected communities. Improved housing conditions and confidence in the participatory process has resulted in accountability for consequence and the encouragement of further collective and civic action. Literature suggests that there is a deepening of the democratic process through the implementation of the BMP. The example of the Bang Bua canal community confirms the perceived success of the programme, where conditions of squalor and crime have been replaced by improved private and civic space, strengthened civic structures and support of vulnerable groups within the community.

The architectural profession is seen as actively engaged with the processes of participatory research, support, strategic planning as well as individualised design assistance. Literature

suggests (Archer 2012) that there is a balanced concern for the implementation of government initiatives while at the same time remaining in the service of community concerns. Inter-sectoral co-operation and participation contributes to the transformative impulse of grassroots organisations in a framework of a strengthened and stabilised civic structure.

Despite the instrumental role undertaken by the architects in the BMP, it is cited as an example for transformation within the profession. Young professionals are encouraged to be involved before becoming too set in their professional ways (Boonyabancha 2005). The Community Architects Network was established in 2010 (CAN 2014), indicating a very recent entry into the discourse. The growth of this and other networks indicates the potential and desire for an increased contribution, but remains, for the time being, marginal to the mainstream of the discourse.

2.3. South African context

2.3.1. Introduction

The following section of the overview introduces the policies and programmes related to informal settlement upgrade developed in South Africa since 1994. According to Huchzermeyer (1999), the discourse on informal settlement shortly after the elections was *unpoliticised and poorly debated* (1999:vii). Subsequent literature, however, indicates a growing awareness of the complexity and relevance of the matter, which Huchzermeyer (2011) sees as the contestation for social justice:

A far deeper questioning is needed on the meaning of the right to the city in contexts characterised by the inequalities, divisions, spatial and political exclusion, hardship as well as human resolve and creativity that are displayed by the presence of informal settlements (2011:250).

The South African policy landscape boasts an impressive array of legislation that appears to embrace a progressive approach towards the *in-situ* upgrade of informal settlements. Despite these intentions, however, informal settlements are increasing rapidly and are accompanied by an increased level of service delivery protests due to the continued lack of policy implementation (Pithouse 2009; SA 2013a; von Holdt, Langa, Molapo, Mogapi, Ngubeni, Dlamini & Kirsten 2011).

Literature suggests a discrepancy between policy and implementation that reveals inherently biased perspectives on the informal settlement issue. Such positions contribute to the skewed power relations in the country that eventually perpetuate the manifestation of informal urbanism. Apparently liberal positions assumed towards the upgrade of informal settlements maintain an uncritical stance towards the existing status quo, whereas a more radical view insist on the critical restructuring of socio-political conditions that manifest in spatial inequities.

A discussion on these perspectives will frame the position undertaken by certain architects active in the South African informal settlement context. From this discussion, the significance of the profession's contribution to the discourse will be investigated. Selection of these examples is considered to be illustrative rather than exhaustive, in order to situate the hypothesis in the context of the discourse.

2.3.2. South African policy landscape

According to a detailed account of informal settlement policy evolution, Huchzermeyer (1999) points to the fact that the African National Congress (ANC) did not have a clear position on informal settlement upgrade when they came into power in 1994. Rather, there was considerable influence from the USAID-supported NGO *Urban Foundation*, a body that exerted great influence over the formulation of housing policy in the transition to democracy (Huchzermeyer 1999; Pithouse 2008), which resulted in much of the current debate:

A strong bias in the Urban Foundation's intellectual position was its view of the informal settlement phenomenon primarily from the perspective of the housing structures, thus perceiving a physical, rather than the socio-legal, -political, and -environmental situation (the informal settlement problem, as perceived by the Urban Foundation, was then to be solved by the construction industry). (Huchzermeyer 2011:143)

The fundamental attitude that developed in the formulation of policy around 1994 was that *in-situ upgrading* was interpreted as the replacement of informal settlements with orderly township layouts. This would include lower densities, wider access routes, removal of all shacks from the land and temporary relocation to allow for the typical *green fields* installation of services (Huchzermeyer 1999:146).

Since 1994, policies have been reconsidered and refined towards a more holistic approach to human settlements and a more directed consideration of the informal settlement issue:

1994: The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)

1994: New Housing Policy and Strategies for South Africa: The White Paper

1996: The Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy (GEAR)

1998: The People's Housing Process

2000: First publication of the National Housing Code, in line with Section 4 of the Housing Act

2004: The Comprehensive Plan for the Development of Sustainable Human Settlements: Breaking New Ground (BNG)

2005: The Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative – South Africa (ASGI-SA)

2008: The Enhanced People's Housing Process

2009: Revised National Housing Code, in which the in-situ upgrading of informal settlements is clearly spelled out, making provision for the Informal Upgrading Instrument as a more responsive delivery programme that would ensure the progressive in-situ upgrading of informal settlements

2009: Establishment of the National Upgrade Support Programme (NUSP)

2010: Outcomes 8 Delivery Agreement between National Department of Human Settlements and the Presidency

2011: National Planning Commission: National Development Plan Chapter 8: Human Settlements, in which informal settlements and their upgrade is acknowledged

2013: Department of Human Settlements Strategy Plan confirming their commitment to Outcomes 8 Delivery Agreement and the National Development Plan

(SA 2009b:26; Tissington 2011a)

The central theme emanating from this policy genealogy, despite its apparently progressive overtones, remains that of the state as provider. From the ANC's 1955 Freedom Charter to the 1996 Constitution, the right to adequate shelter has been seen in the light of an obligation by government to satisfy that demand. Through the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), the ANC government managed to produce more than the million houses they had promised over the first five years of power (Gilbert 2004). The South African government managed to meet this ambitious claim, although the *blunt instrument* of the subsidy could never solve all of South Africa's housing problems (2004:19). Despite the significant delivery of quantifiable numbers, Gilbert (2004) points out that the housing budget did not meet the 5% of National Budget as promised by the ANC: rather, it hovered at just over 1,5% in 1999 (2004:21). In addition to this shortfall of numbers, the quality of these developments has been severely criticised (Pithouse 2011).

By 2009, the government issued statements that indicated their concern in not adequately meeting their targets, hinting at wider contributions from the private sector towards these goals. In her address to the National Assembly in June 2009, former Deputy Minister for Human Settlements, Kota-Fredericks, stated that

The provision of homes to our people cannot be the responsibility of government alone. We need the participation of all sectors of our society (SA 2009d).

The quandary that the government finds itself in is the perpetuation of a cycle of dependency and entitlement emanating from the RDP promise, which is intrinsically linked to the capital subsidy system (Huchzermeyer 2011). One of the problems emanating from this model is the perception of a *waiting list* or *housing queue* that results in the undermining of initiative as people procrastinate their decision to improve dwellings while they *wait their turn* (Gilbert 2004:26; Tissington, Munshi, Mirungji-Mukudi & Durojaye 2013). Tissington et al (2013) dispel this perception as a myth:

Ultimately, even on the official version, there simply is no housing waiting list in the sense that it is widely understood by the public, as well as by many politicians and government officials (2013:81).

What these concerns then all seem to underscore is the basic tenet of the South African government's housing approach, which is essentially that of a top-down provider. The power such an approach transfers to public officials contributes to a prevalence and/or perception of corruption as developers and beneficiaries alike vie for a share of the benefits (Huchzermeyer 2011; Pithouse 2011; Tissington et al 2013).

In the Human Settlements Annual Report (SA 2013b) the focus is once again on the government as the main employer, with the private sector in its service, being imposed on the beneficiary communities. Although much is said about participation (SA 2013a), the essential model remains one in which the power relation between government, civil society and the beneficiary communities, remains heavily weighted towards government as the ultimate providing authority.

2.3.2.1. The Constitution

The South African Constitution (1996) enshrines the right to housing in the Bill of Rights (Chapter 2) section 26:

- α) Everyone has the right to have access to adequate housing*
- β) The state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realisation of this right.*
- γ) 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*

(SA 1996).

Framing this commitment, the White Paper on Housing (SA 1994) provided for the establishment of the National Housing Subsidy Scheme that was the vehicle through which the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) was developed (SA 1994). Breaking New Ground (BNG) was adopted in September 2004 by cabinet as a revised, comprehensive policy on the development of Human Settlements (SA 2004). These policies are legally entrenched through the Housing Act (SA 1997), which defines the functions of national, provincial and local governments in respect of housing development and lays the basis for the financing thereof (Tissington 2011).

Within these legal frameworks, the National Housing Code (revised in 2009 to be BNG compliant) sets out the policy principles, guidelines, norms and standards applicable to the national housing programmes. There are four categories of programmes:

- Financial programmes
- Incremental housing programmes
- Social and rental housing programmes
- Rural housing programmes

Pertinent to the thesis investigation are those that fall under the incremental housing programmes, namely the Upgrading Informal Settlements Programme (UISP) and the Enhanced People's Housing Programme (EPHP). Among the relevant housing institutions, the Housing Development Agency (HDA) serves these two programmes as part of its mandate.

2.3.2.2. Upgrading of Informal Settlements (UISP)

The National Housing Code Part 3, Volume 4 Upgrading Informal Settlements chapter (2009) describes the South African government's position on informal settlement upgrade. In this document, the intention is stated that the informal settlement upgrading programme is considered to be one of the most important programmes through which the government seeks to support the 1996 Constitution's protection of the right to adequate shelter. In the upgrade programme, the code states that it seeks to *upgrade the living conditions of millions of poor people by providing secure tenure and access to basic services and housing* (SA 2009a:16; SA 2009e:6). In its description of the policy context, the National Housing Code Part 2 again reinforces this intent as a government mandate emanating from the 1996 Constitution:

It is therefore the government's duty to work progressively towards ensuring that all South Africans have access to secure tenure, housing, basic services, materials, facilities and infrastructure on a progressive basis. Government will have to apply legislative, administrative, financial, educational and social measures to fulfill its housing obligations (SA 2009b:9).

According to the definitions in the Housing Code, Informal Settlements have the following characteristics:

- *Illegality and informality*
- *Inappropriate locations*
- *Restricted public and private sector investment*
- *Poverty and vulnerability*
- *Social stress*

(SA 2009c: 16)

In terms of international human rights law, aspects of the right to housing that must be taken into account are the following:

- *legal security of tenure*
- *availability of services, materials, facilities and infrastructure*
- *affordability*

- *habitability*
- *accessibility*
- *location*
- *cultural adequacy*

(Tissington 2011:25).

Seen in the light of such definition, the condition of informality therefore poses a fundamental challenge to the proposed right to adequate shelter as described in the constitution. In attempting to redress this situation, the housing code is aligned with international positions on informal settlement upgrade in its subscription to the UN Millennium Goals, in adhering to the Vancouver Declaration on Cities and other Settlements (1996) and the Habitat Agenda (1996) (SA 2009b:23; SA 2009c:9). These internationally determined goals influenced the creation of *a new tailor-made programme* in 2004 (SA 2009b: 23). This provides for the *in-situ* upgrading of informal settlements, utilising existing land and infrastructure and facilitation of community participation in the development. Importantly, the document also makes provision for resettlement of communities in the event that *in-situ* upgrading is not feasible or possible, but considers this to be a measure of *last resort* (SA 2009c: 9,13).

The policy intent is to facilitate the provision of grants to the municipalities, assisting them to carry out *in-situ* upgrading in *fast tracking the provision of security of tenure, basic municipal services, social and economic amenities and the empowering of residents of informal settlements to take control of housing development directly applicable to them* (SA 2009c:9). This is stated as the preferred option for upgrade, as opposed to relocation (SA 2009c:13). Relocation is only to be considered in exceptional circumstances, as a last resort and on a voluntary and co-operative basis (SA 2009c:9).

To further facilitate this process, the Department of Human Settlements produced a Housing Project Process Guide (SA 2009e) in which the Upgrading of Informal Settlements Programme (UISP) is grouped under the Integrated Residential Development Programme and the Rural Housing Subsidies: Communal Land Rights Programme in order to ensure a holistic and integrated approach toward development and urbanisation. According to this guide,

The programme facilitates the structured upgrading of informal settlements. It applies to in-situ upgrading of informal settlements as well as where communities are to be relocated for a variety of reasons (SA 2009e:3).

2.3.2.3. National Upgrade Support Programme (NUSP)

In the Cities Alliance and National Department of Housing partnership proposal of 2006, the need for a National Upgrading Support Programme was identified. In its subsequent investigation and report of 2008 – 2009, the Cities Alliance confirmed this need, stating that its establishment had become *even more urgent* (Cities Alliance 2009:48). Following on this report, the National Upgrade Support Programme (NUSP) was therefore established in 2009 to support the National Department of Human Settlements (NDHS) in its implementation of the Upgrading of Informal Settlements Programme (UISP) *in the objective of eventually upgrading all the informal settlements in the country* (NUSP 2014).

The NUSP is intended to provide technical and capacity building support to municipalities, focusing on a programmatic approach to city-wide upgrading in partnership with informal settlement communities to *promote and implement the policy principles and provisions of the National Housing Code Part 3 for the incremental in situ upgrading of informal settlements* (Cities Alliance 2009:48-49).

The two key issues to be addressed by the NUSP are:

- Implementation of a robust programme with well-planned projects where defined objectives can ensure delivery against targets
- Cultivation of a professional culture and attitude that embraces incremental upgrading (NUSP 2014).

This mandate has been confirmed and supported in the Outcome 8 Delivery Agreements (SA Presidency 2010), where the NUSP's role has been further described:

- Through its proposed *Resource Kit*, consistency in the promotion of the UISP will be improved to establish a basis of good practice for province, municipalities and communities.
- The NUSP is aimed at developing alignment between the different spheres of government through the national Upgrading Forum.

- Improved communication between government sectors will be facilitated through NUSP.
- By focusing on the preliminary 400 000 households, it is hoped that critical mass will be achieved – the targeted municipalities already representing 75% of all informal settlements in the country.
- Active engagement with officials, community members, NGOs, institutions such as the World Bank is encouraged through the NUSP to support an incremental upgrading approach, seeking to overcome resistance to change (SA Presidency 2010:9).

The *Resource Kit* forms an important part of the NUSP methodology and consists of ten parts to be used by everyone who is involved in designing and implementing projects in terms of the UISP:

- *Understanding your informal settlement*
- *In situ upgrading principles and policy*
- *Partnership building*
- *Survey, registration and tenure*
- *The planning process*
- *Financial upgrading*
- *Design and implementation*
- *Monitoring and evaluation*
- *Sustaining improvement*
- *Further reading*

(NUSP 2014)

An apparent commitment by the state to the NUSP is seen in the fact that it forms part not only of the Outcome 8 Delivery Agreement (SA Presidency 2010), but also the National Development Plan Chapter 8 (SA Presidency 2011), where the role of informal settlements is recognised, along with the requirement to expand the national programmes that pertain to their upgrade. Furthermore, in its presentation to parliament, the Department of Human Settlements confirmed that its Strategic Plan for 2013/14 would focus on imbedding the National Development Plan and planning around the targets as set out in the Delivery Agreement (Parliamentary Monitoring Group 2013; SA Presidency 2010; 2011).

Accountability for its performance takes place by way of the National Upgrading Forum that is to provide guidance, input and oversight for the NUSP, monitoring and evaluating the effectiveness of the programme (SA Presidency 2010:18). An extended view of this forum's function includes:

- The building of an active community of practice in informal settlement upgrading
- Information sharing and promotion of good practice
- Development of partnership opportunities between NUSP practitioners and partners
- Facilitation of NDHS support to NUSP participants
- Promotion of training for professionals to increase capacity
- Promotion of exchange
- Dialogue with other relevant learning networks (NUSP 2014).

Such implementation forums are subject to the terms of reference as described by the Department of Performance Monitoring and Evaluation in the Presidency (SA Presidency 2010). Meetings focusing on outcomes are expected to occur at least four times a year, reporting to cabinet committees. The main aim of this monitoring and report on progress is to ensure continued improvement in the implementation of delivery agreements. Permanent members of such a forum include:

- Co-ordinating ministers
- Other key ministers identified in the delivery agreement
- Directors General
- Outcome facilitator of the Presidency
- Other institutions identified in the delivery agreement
(SA Presidency 2010).

In terms of its constitution, methodology and affirmation through government mechanisms, the NUSP therefore appears to be a progressive and earnest commitment by the South African government to the *in-situ* upgrade of informal settlements.

2.3.2.4. Enhanced People's Housing Process (EHPH)

The UISP makes allowance for the servicing of stands only. In order to build the structures for habitation, several other subsidies and programmes refer, such as the Enhanced People's Housing Process (EHPH):

The Enhanced People's Housing process aims to facilitate the establishment or directly establishing a range of institutional, technical and logistical housing support mechanisms to enable communities to, on a continuous basis, improve their housing circumstances
(SA 2009b:10).

The stated purpose of the programme is to encourage families and communities to enhance their subsidies by contributing time and effort to the planning and building of their own homes. The EPHP (SA 2009f) is an iteration of the earlier People's Housing Process that allows for greater flexibility and choice than its predecessor, while maintaining the principles of people-centred development. Following input by NGOs including Planact, Development Action Group (DAG), the Built Environment Support Group, Utshani Fund and Federation of the Urban Poor (FEDUP), the programme is considered to be a fundamentally community-driven process that is process-oriented over a longer period of time, rather than product-driven with key delivery deadlines (Tissington 2011:84-85).

The EPHP depends on the registration of a legally recognised support organisation for its implementation. These can be NGOs, faith based organisations (FBO's) or, in some cases, municipalities (Himlin 2005) or a dedicated development consortium (SA 2009f). These support organisations are intended to assist the community on a technical and administrative level in the preparation of plans, budgets and the ordering and delivery of materials. On a larger scale, they assist the beneficiaries in the application for appropriate subsidies and grants relevant to the projects to be approved by the Provincial Housing Department Board (SA 2009f).

According to Ogunfeditimi (2008) the Achilles' heel of the programme resides in the dependency created on these support organisations. A lack of responsibility for the process and the resulting products has been noted, which is attributed to inadequate training of beneficiaries by the Department of Human Settlements. Difficulties in the management, administration, capacitation of community-based organisations and a need for strict quality control have similarly been noted in a report by the NGO Planact (Himlin 2005). In the reported case study in Vosloorus, Planact had been called in as a secondary service provider after the

municipality, in its role as support organisation, proved to be under-capacitated to fulfil this role.

2.3.2.5. Housing Development Agency (HDA)

One of the state institutions involved in human settlement development that has direct bearing on the informal settlement issue, is the Housing Development Agency (HDA), a public entity created by the Housing Development Agency Act 23 of 2008 in 2009. In cases where relocation of informal settlements cannot be avoided, the mechanism for acquisition of well-located land for development resides with the HDA as part of the holistic and integrated approach to human settlement (HDA 2014; Tissington 2011:23).

Although the HDA has been put in place to collaborate with municipalities and provincial government, some misalignment between these two spheres of government is considered to contribute to unsatisfactory implementation and inefficiency (HDA 2011). In its report to parliament (Parliamentary Monitoring Group 2013), concerns were raised regarding lengthy processes and inefficiencies. The process of acquisition for development is initiated by requests from specific entities to identify land in line with long-term planning, followed by processes to investigate title and deeds registry descriptions, registration, agreement and eventual acquisition. Negotiations and turnaround times prove challenging, yet the HDA has managed to exceed its mandate under Outcome 8 Delivery Agreement (SA Presidency 2010) to identify 6250 hectares of land for release.

2.3.2.6. Neighbourhood Development Partnership Programme

In 2006, the National Treasury established the Neighbourhood Development Partnership Programme with the task to pilot a new public finance approach to targeted neighbourhood development projects in South Africa. The programme is located in the Budget Office of the National Treasury and supports quality of life improvements in townships through the provision of community infrastructure and the creation of a platform for private sector development. To achieve this, the programme makes use of knowledge sharing and learning opportunities aimed at officials and practitioners alike. Along with this, the Neighbourhood Development Partnership Grant (NDPG) is used to fund nodal and precinct developments. This grant comprises a Technical Assistance fund aimed at strategic and project planning, as well as a Capital Grant for investment in catalytic development projects in townships. Funding is provided on a medium to long-term basis to allow time for collaboration between affected parties and inter-departmental co-ordination (Karuri-Sebina 2011; Pernegger 2007).

Municipalities that have been awarded a NDPG are encouraged to develop a Township Regeneration Strategy. Such a strategy is intended as a long-term vision (15 – 20 years) addressing some of the challenges experienced by municipalities since 1994, such as the need for long-term multi-sectoral support, the need for co-ordination between municipal and other governmental departments and the requirement for mechanisms of assessment towards improved decision making (Adata 2011).

Where municipalities are faced with the challenge of upgrading informal settlements, such holistic integration into the Spatial Development Frameworks and Integrated Development Plans focused on nodal growth stimulation, becomes a powerful vehicle for integration into the greater metropolitan area.

2.3.2.7. Outcome 8 Delivery Agreements: Sustainable Human Settlements and Improved Quality of Household Life

According to the Outcome 8 Delivery Agreements undertaken by the presidency and cabinet in 2010, urgent priority has been given to the upgrade of 400 000 households on well-located land by 2014 (SA Presidency 2013). Emphasis is placed on the holistic view of settlements in terms of beneficial location, efficiency, inclusion and sustainability. By acknowledging the importance of maintaining socially cohesive communities, the focus of this agreement therefore shifts firmly toward *in-situ* upgrade. Critical evaluation of preceding programmes includes inconsistency, weak communication, lack of critical mass and weak alignment with municipalities and communities. In this context, the NUSP is given significant authority to ensure the redress of these issues. The impact of the agreement is the expectation on provinces to reprioritise their budgets to meet the targets of providing the aforementioned 400 000 households with access to basic services and secure tenure (SA Presidency 2013). The NUSP is required to provide the following streams of support to provinces and municipalities:

- *Co-ordinated and focused technical assistance at programme and project level*
- *Design and implementation of combined mandatory and demand-driven training programmes for officials and community members*
- *Production and dissemination of materials and resources on upgrading*
- *Development and maintenance of an active community of practice*
- *Development and maintenance of an information technology platform for information*

dissemination and knowledge services

(SA Presidency 2010:18)

2.3.2.8. National Planning Commission: National Development Plan (Vision 2030):

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In the National Development Plan (SA Presidency 2011), support is given to the presidency's Outcome 8 Delivery Agreement, but urges further development of the following:

- *Target setting in municipalities and provinces still focuses mainly on delivering numbers rather than dealing systematically with the deficiencies in the implementation system and producing viable human settlements*
- *The capital subsidy remains a very limited instrument for achieving objectives of human settlement strategy, especially the need for better located settlements with a diverse range of housing and tenure types, and high quality public environments.*
- *Despite the new focus on informal settlement regularisation and upgrading at national level, there is still a high level of ambivalence towards informal settlements across spheres of government, and the capacity and implementation mechanisms to achieve the national objectives are poorly developed locally.*
- *Despite a BNG emphasis on affordable inner city housing as part of a broader urban renewal strategy, municipalities have continued to focus attention on housing developments on greenfields where targets are more easily met. Inner cities have continued to develop as a mix of slum-lording for the low income sector and exclusive developments for the wealthier in scattered pockets of urban regeneration.*
- *Financing and regulatory arrangements have hindered household mobility, fixing residents within specific places at a time when the spatial circumstances of households (eg places of work and schooling) change regularly*

(SA Presidency 2011:244).

Existing challenges are pointed out, such as weak co-ordination between different spheres of government, the inability for collaboration between provincial and local authorities and land-use management legislation that remains largely unreformed. Emphasis is placed on the requirement for strong professionals as well as empowered communities that initiate their own improvements. Normative principles are proposed in terms of spatial development: Spatial justice; spatial sustainability; spatial resilience; spatial quality and spatial efficiency. These are

seen to contribute towards accommodating social diversity, opportunity and sustainable built environments (SA Presidency 2011:244).

Importantly, the NDP (2011) recognises the role played by informal settlements in the built environment and support for the upgrading programme is emphasized in its recommendation:

- *Significantly expand the national programme on informal settlement upgrade and municipalities to introduce local level programmes.*
- *Develop legal instruments to regularise informal settlements (for example, the use of special zones in land-use management schemes) and to recognise rights of residence.*
- *Agree on minimum health and safety standards and then progressively upgrade these standards as regularised informal settlements are brought into the mainstream urban fabric.*
- *Focus on developing community organisation to support participator regularisation and upgrade programmes.*
- *Ensure that funding arrangements and the programme channel resources into community facilities, public infrastructure and public spaces, and not just into housing* (SA Presidency 2011).

Both the Outcome 8 Delivery Agreement (2010) as well as the NDP (2011) are given specific support in the Department of Human Settlement Strategic Plan for 2013/14. Strategy, policy and operations for sector and institutional transformation and implementation will be based on these directives. In this document the commitment is once again confirmed that the upgrade of 400 000 households in informal settlements would be considered a priority (Parliamentary Monitoring Group 2013).

2.3.2.9. Confusion and contradiction

From this brief overview of the South African policy landscape, there appears to be a progressive approach to the *in-situ* upgrading of informal settlements. However, the prevalence of violent service delivery protests (Tissington 2011a:89,90,93; Von Holdt et al 2011) suggests that there remains a significant disjuncture between that which is promised in policy and that which is implemented in practice. Defensiveness on the part of government officials results in an escalation of violence in the expression of grievances, in turn leading to reported incidence of police brutality and violent response to protests:

Instead of responding to these grievances the main focus seems to be on dealing with the instigators of the violent crime who are perceived as aggrieved ANC people who are using the collective violence to settle scores or regain their power (von Holdt et al 2011:123).

Pithouse (2011) proposes that such service delivery protests are indicative of an even deeper expression of a frustrated democracy, where the notion of equating the installation of water and electricity does not necessarily resolve the need for social justice and inclusion.

As part of government's process of resisting such an assertion of democracy, there is a strong reliance on a technical quantification of the *problem*. In the case of informal settlements, statistics are often used to support the development of policies and programmes. According to a report by the Housing Development Agency (HDA 2012:55), informal settlements are difficult to monitor, largely due to their fluidity – they tend to change more rapidly than the systems designed to monitor them. For the purposes of upgrading, determining the level of development in a settlement is important, including the following indicators:

- *Boundary and square meterage*
- *Dwelling count and densities*
- *Household count*
- *Community-based organisations active in the settlement*
- *Facilities*
- *Proximity to bulk infrastructure*
- *Disease*
- *Reported crime*
- *Reported fire*
- *Reported flooding*
- *Land ownership*
- *Geo-technical characteristics*

In order to assimilate such detailed information, the report suggests that multiple sources of data are required, including satellite photography, aerial photography, household surveys, municipal data and other agency data. Within such comprehensive documentation of informal settlements, specific project plans can be developed. A more general basis for much of the literature supporting the urgency of upgrading of informal settlements often relies on a

numbers-only approach, however, such as Statistics South Africa (Stats SA). Here it becomes possible to manipulate and simplify segmented information, drawing conclusions that could be considered ambiguous. In its 2012 report, Stats SA proclaims that:

The percentage of households that lived in informal dwelling increased by less than a percentage point nationally... With the possible exception of the Northern Cape, survey estimates compare well to the statistics derived from Census 2011 (Stats SA 2013:22).

In their terms of reference for the upgrading of informal settlements in Tshwane however, NUSP (SA 2013a) makes use of Stats SA 2007 tables to illustrate the growth of informal settlements since the advent of democracy:

There are now over 2600 informal settlements in South Africa, compared to around 300 in 1994 (SA 2013a).

Tissington (2011a) notes that an interpretation of data is heavily reliant on the understanding or definition of informal settlements and cites both Misselhorn (2008) and Huchzermeyer (2010) in debating the true representation of numbers produced by Statistics South Africa (in Tissington 2011a:37). The number of informal settlements is therefore difficult to ascertain conclusively without a very clear and comprehensive understanding of their definition. Similarly, the terminology used in the upgrade debate has caused considerable confusion and contradiction.

Huchzermeyer (2011) points to the highly contentious use of the word *eradication* in the context of the United Nations Millennium Development Goal (MDG) Seven Target 11, where the vision of *slum-free cities* became a global aspiration. In the South African context, several ministers of Housing (Human Settlements) have made statements pledging to *eradicate* informal settlements by varying target dates, such as Nomvula Mokonyane, former Gauteng Housing MEC, in June 2008 (SA 2008) and former Housing Minister Lindiwe Sizulu in 2004 (Architectafrica 2004). Former Human Settlements Minister Tokyo Sexwale (SA 2009g) managed to convey a confusing message in his budget vote speech (30 June 2009), where he stated

on the one hand that *slums shall be demolished and new suburbs built where all shall have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, crèches and social centres*, yet on the other hand he concluded that *funds would be provided for large-scale upgrades of informal settlements*. Although he reports on progress regarding the identification of informal settlements that could be upgraded *in-situ* with essential services, it is within the restrictive expectation that the government should *successfully arrest the spreading of informal settlements*.

Two years later, Sexwale was reported in the Engineering News (SAPA 2011) as stating that:

Free housing for the poor has to have a cut-off date.

The underlying anti-poor sentiment, resistance to informal settlements overall and a discomfort regarding an *in-situ* upgrading approach is evident in such statements, which according to Huchzermeyer (2011) points to the lack of adequate resolution in South African discourse. Referring to Monty Narsoo of the National Upgrade Support Programme (NUSP), ongoing challenges are experienced by the NUSP in *achieving universal understanding among South African municipalities of upgrading, in addition to relevant governance capacity* (Huchzermeyer 2011:183).

Pithouse (2009) proposes that this antagonism towards informal settlement upgrading speaks of the political hegemony of the ruling African Nation Congress (ANC) that does not tolerate the potential threat inherent in grassroots community organisation found in such settlements. Examples of municipalities that treat the urban poor unlawfully in terms of violent evictions, demolitions, forced removals and repression of community organisations speak of a fundamental disjuncture between *progressive policies and repressive politics*:

One of the reasons for the contradiction between the law and formal policy positions on the one hand, and the altogether more grim reality of state action on the other, has been that for some years key figures in the national political elite have promoted an anti-poor discourse about clearing or eradicating slums that has, in practice, had more influence on

state officials and much of civil society than the formal policy and legal commitments to which the state is bound in principle (Pithouse 2009:2).

From this discrepancy between policy and implementation, it becomes important to determine how the various stakeholders view informal settlements in the first instance, so that their perspective regarding upgrade practices may be better understood. Framing the discourse in this way will serve to determine which sectors of society are in support of the current status quo and which role players are contesting the right to the city by way of a critical view of the current balance of power.

Further to this, examples of architectural intervention will be viewed within this framework to ascertain the significance of their contribution to the discourse on informal settlement upgrade in South Africa.

2.3.3. Perspectives on informal settlements and *in-situ* upgrading

The term *informal settlement* and *slum* are considered to be interchangeable in a report by UN Habitat (2007) in which slums are defined. Huchzermeyer (2011) similarly refers to the terms interchangeably, as both the terms *slum* and *informal settlement* have a negative connotation in their perceived antithesis to an aspired norm, establishing within such perception a moral imperative to eradicate, eliminate or upgrade such settlements.

The UN Habitat (2007) definition embraces both terms simultaneously:

Today, slums have come to include the vast informal settlements that are quickly becoming the most visible manifestation of urban poverty in developing world cities.

A distinction is then made between *slums of hope* and *slums of despair*, taking the position that an absence of (external) intervention ultimately turns even those *slums of hope* into *slums of despair*. The definition then includes the following conditions:

- *Inadequate access to safe water*
- *Inadequate access to sanitation and other infrastructure*

- *Poor structural quality of housing*
- *Overcrowding*
- *Insecure residential status*

Factors contributing to the existence of these slums are considered to be rapid rural-urban migration, insecure tenure and globalisation.

Although the UN Habitat exerts considerable influence in the context of informal settlement upgrading, their definition does not offer a comprehensive understanding of this phenomenon. Literature indicates that there are various points of view in the South African discourse influencing the bias towards informal settlements, each in their turn affecting an attitude towards their desired improvement or removal. In a paper situating the discourse, scale and place of *slums*, Simon (2011) concurs that no singular definition of slums can successfully capture the inherent diversity. He describes four categories as follows:

- *Literal (lack of services)*
- *Appearance (construction materials, overcrowding)*
- *Legal (in the context of national statutes)*
- *Emotive or pejorative (socio-cultural prejudices)*

The fundamental issue he raises is the question of *substandardness*, drawing into question the validity and bias inherent in an assumption of standards. Most often, definitions and statistics of slums are used to rationalise preconceptions of informality, which (in the worst cases) *constitute an aesthetic and perhaps also a moral affront to elite values* (Simon 2011:678).

The above categorisation therefore remains subservient to an essential bias towards informal settlements. Huchzermeyer & Karam (2006:22) developed a classification of policy responses to informal settlements that offers a nuanced understanding of such bias emanating from the inherent relationship between state and society. Borrowing from this classification, four approaches have been considered for further discussion:

- A **pejorative** view in which poverty, despair and hopelessness are considered to be central to the prevalence of informal settlements, the antithesis to a desired utopia.
- A **problem-based** view in which positivist intervention is required for regularisation.
- A **pragmatic** view in which informal settlements are seen as temporary sites of transition and ultimate inclusion into mainstream society and economy.

- A **radical** view of informal settlements sees them as sites of socio-political resistance to the status quo, volatile and essential to an insurgent citizenship.

In a parallel reading of these definitions, perspectives on appropriate upgrade strategies could therefore be determined:

- Within a **pejorative** view, forced evictions, eradication and demolition would be considered.
- When a **problem-based** view prevails, a solutions-driven approach would be embraced with the ultimate aim of replacement with norms and standards that are representative of the mainstream (dominant) value system.
- From a **pragmatic** perspective, consensus-based improvement and regularisation would be considered, embracing an incremental approach towards formalisation.
- A **radical** regard of informal settlements would favour an *in-situ*, organic assertion of power parallel to development on terms established by the residents of the informal settlement themselves, thereby establishing an alternative and authentic expression of identity.

In the following section, an overview of these positions will be illustrated in order to establish the spectrum pertaining to the South African context.

2.3.3.1. Pejorative view: Eradication and removal

In the South African history of human settlements, the pre-1994 governments assumed a decidedly pejorative view with regard to informal settlements. The 1934 Slums Act allowed for forced removals (Huchzermeyer 1999); Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act of 1951; Sophiatown was demolished in 1955; Cato Manor demolished between 1958 and 1960; District Six demolished between 1968 and 1980 (Huchzermeyer 2011).

Within such a context, slums or informal settlements are defined as *housing unsuitable for improvement, and thus to signal a first step towards demolition* (Huchzermeyer 2011:5).

Although post-1994 intentions are ostensibly aimed at a far more progressive approach to human settlement processes, some of the definitions that appear in government reports and actions belie an attitude to informal settlements that has not yet moved beyond this negative

perception. In a Western Cape Government (Department of Housing) *Guide to Dealing with Informal Settlement Problems* (2005), the definition is as follows:

Informal Settlements are characterised by

- *infrastructure that is inadequate*
- *environments that are unsuitable*
- *population densities that are uncontrolled and unhealthily high*
- *dwellings that are inadequate*
- *poor access to health and education facilities and employment opportunities*
- *lack of effective government and management*

They are consequently areas of increasingly high risk with regard to health, fire and crime (SA 2005).

Fieuw (2011) suggests that the heavy-handed response to informal settlement upgrade in Hangberg, Cape Town (September 2010), is a representation of the inherent inability or unwillingness of the provincial government to successfully facilitate a democratic process towards upgrading, rather displaying an inclination towards violent control after several failed attempts at multi-sectoral negotiations.

The contradictory architecture of the governance arrangement, and the seemingly distant and paternalistic city bureaucracy, characterised by discursive threads of micro(anti)politics (as a political strategy), have misrepresented the agency of the poor, contending for the right to the city. Making place for the poor in the exclusive spaces of Hout Bay has been opposed.

The wicked complex of NIMBYism continues to obscure the realisation of the postapartheid city. The entrenchment of apartheid spatialities through the consolidation of capitalist interests in urban South Africa requires bold and innovative intervention measures (Fieuw 2011:131).

In its judicial challenge to the KwaZulu-Natal Elimination and Prevention of Re-Emergence of Slums Act 6 of 2007, the shack dweller movement Abahlali BaseMjondolo revealed a

serious ambiguity within the post-1994 government regarding its view on informal settlements (Huchzermeyer 2011; Tissington 2011a, 2011c). According to Huchzermeyer (2011) the actual definitions of the terminology are not the primary concern, rather it is the simple interpretation of slogans such as *slum-free cities* or *cities without slums* that tend to belie an implicit attitude to informal settlements, eventually influencing policy direction and decision making on the ground, as attested to by the resurgence of punitive legislation. Tshikhotsi (2009) reports that incidences of eradication and relocation in Rustenburg Local Municipality are a further indication of poor co-ordination between the different spheres of government (Tshikhotsi 2009:96) resulting in default positions that once again reveal a prejudice against informal settlements. A report by the University of Nairobi Center for Urban research and Innovation (2011) laments that the underlying attitude to informal settlements in sub-Saharan Africa has not improved:

Policy interventions addressing informal settlements were expected to have taken a gradual shift from negative policies such as forced evictions, neglect and involuntary resettlement to more positive approaches such as site and service, in situ upgrading and other rights-based interventions. Yet continued arbitrary evictions and other forms of repression of the urban poor are a daily occurrence in the mushrooming cities (University of Nairobi 2011).

Tissington & Royston (2010) similarly report that since 2004, *informal settlements in South Africa have been characterised as sites of illegality, and shack dwellers treated in a heavy-handed and undignified manner*. Such a continued manifestation of aggression towards informal settlements necessarily indicates a discomfort between authority and the apparent defiance thereof. Davy & Pellissery (2013) describe the existence of informal settlements as *an absence or weakness of the rule of law, the ineffective protection of rights by impartial courts, asymmetrical distribution of power, poverty, the absence of city planning and public infrastructure, a reduction of urban commons* (Davy et al 2013:3). This then questions both the authority and the validity of the state as representative of its citizens. It is for this reason that a largely **pejorative** view can be identified in incidents of intimidation and political arrogance from state authorities.

They (ANC government) will never dirty their hands by negotiating with poor people (Zikode in Pithouse 2013).

2.3.3.1.1. Example of role undertaken by architects

The N2 Gateway Housing Project in Cape Town serves as an illustration of such a pejorative position assumed by the post-1994 government that also illustrates a particular role assumed by the architectural profession in this context.

Three tiers of government under the leadership of the ANC: the Western Cape Provincial Government, National Department of Housing and the City of Cape Town collaborated to initiate the N2 Gateway Housing Project in March 2005 (SAIRR 2009). Seen as a pilot project, it was presented as a demonstration of the principles adopted in the new Breaking New Ground (BNG) policy, giving form to the intentions of a sustainable human settlement (Dewar 2008; Garner 2005; Mammon & Ewing 2005). The project was to be spread over a large area on various sites, the most visible to be constructed along the N2 highway between the city centre and Cape Town International Airport, replacing the existing informal settlement with formalised rental housing (Dennis Moss Partnership 2014; Dewar 2008; SAIRR 2009).

According to politicians and developers, the intention of the project was to signify improved living conditions as purported in the BNG policy:

So basically what we are doing in the N2 Gateway Project is to pilot an integrated settlement where you will not have areas designated for the so-called blacks, or so-called coloureds or whites. We are putting everyone together and merging the differences of the past. There are no toilets for whites or toilets for blacks. Toilets are for everyone. Each and everyone is free to walk wherever he wants to. This is the new South Africa (Sigcawu in Isandla 2007).

Qualitative living environments were envisioned, with sound urban design principles such as formal street edges, private internal courtyards and incremental extensions that could

be accommodated over time. Mixed income housing options, community facilities such as schools, markets and churches would be included in the proposed development (Dennis Moss Partnership 2014). The emphasis on urban space was considered innovative in the field of low-income housing, the focus on high density and modular construction promising to provide cost-effective and fast-track solutions to the housing demand, with the possibility of diversity of form and typology in the housing opportunity provided (Garner 2005; Mammon & Ewing 2005).

In another reading of the project intentions, scholars warned that the preparation for the FIFA 2010 Soccer World Cup accounted for the urgency to replace the unsightly informal settlements along the freeway with visible signs of progress (SAIRR 2009; Parliamentary Monitoring Group 2009; Newton 2009; Miraftab 2009). Newton (2009) argues that the N2 Gateway project was presented as a *flagship* project of the new BNG policy, but actually served as a beautification strategy to prepare the city for 2010:

The N2 Gateway concept was to throw a blanket over quite a number of these existing informal settlements along the N2 and that concept came from the political level (Parliamentary Monitoring Group 2009).

Extensive urban design frameworks and architectural designs were developed as part of the strategy to implement this project in a very short space of time, many of these designs being acknowledged by professional bodies such as the Cape Institute for Architecture by bestowing them with Merit Awards (AGC Architects and Development Planners 2014; CNdV 2014; Dennis Moss Partnership 2014; Garner 2005). In a presentation to the World Congress on Housing in Pretoria held in 2005, Mammon & Ewing (2005) described the Urban Design Framework prepared for the Joe Slovo Park (informal settlement along the N2 highway) by Lucien le Grange Architects and Urban Planners and NM Associates Planners and designers. In this presentation, they commend the designers for the innovative approach to design of low-income housing projects, where the focus is placed on the quality of the public space as defined in *edges, paths, landmarks, platforms, pedestrian zones, trees and landscaping, community gathering points and facilities*. The design is seen as generating well-performing, integrated urban environments that support a range of socio-economic activities. Dynamic spatial networks and sustainable community neighbourhoods were expected to follow

from the principles of a *Compact City*, that alluded to social justice, integration and diverse democracy (Mammon & Ewing 2005).

Critique leveraged at the N2 Gateway Project, however, exposed these intentions to be naïve at best, callous in its cover-up of inhumane eviction strategies at worst (Huchzermeyer 2011). Large-scale eviction orders reminiscent of the apartheid era were granted by the Cape High Court, with such evictions pursued by police, private security firms and dog units (Miraftab 2009).

A report by the Auditor General (SA 2008b) indicated that the N2 Gateway Project *was not managed economically, efficiently and effectively*. A significant failure of the project resided in the fact that the households that had been removed from the informal settlements along the N2 highway and accommodated in Temporary Residential Areas (TRA) could not afford the rental associated with the new buildings that had been erected in their place (SA 2008b:10). Added to this, the construction of the new buildings was below the standard expected of social housing, not meeting the National Building Regulations or National Home Builders' Registration Council (NHBRC) regulations (SA 2008b; SAIRR 2009). The debate ensuing from the Auditor General's report pointed to the fact that:

Administrators had acted either out of incompetence or out of misguided leadership, and officials from all three spheres of government had failed to lead or demonstrate the necessary knowledge (Parliamentary Monitoring Group 2009).

Swilling (in Isandla 2007) points to the dichotomy inherent in the N2 Gateway Project, where the *world of technocrats, which talks about space, land, planning, infrastructure, hard stuff, buildings that crack or cost certain amounts to rent* fails to meet the world of everyday struggles for survival, as expressed in the informal settlement. Efforts to bridge this divide by way of participation are considered ineffectual due to the consultation-type of participation employed (Lizarralde & Massyn 2008:11):

...the participation in design took the form of consultation of pre-established layouts (made by architects working with the NGOs) with the steering committees.

This resulted in limited integration of economic activities, low densities, urban fragmentation and limited opportunity for variety or incremental growth or expansion – all contrary to the stated intention of the urban design frameworks or the participation processes.

Dewar (2008) points to the problems encountered in the project, from units that were too expensive for the target market, to geotechnical information indicating that the land was not suitable for construction and inadequate relocation processes that led to large-scale disputes with the affected community. He argues against the eradication of the informal settlement:

By identifying the problem as the eradication of informal settlements, there is a grave danger that, in the longer term, the 'cure' is worse than the 'disease' (Dewar 2008:34).

Achievable and consistent trajectories of change are called for, rather than grand visions and sudden change. In this way, a response to local initiative could lead to successful partnerships (Dewar 2008: 36-37), something that was clearly lacking in the approach assumed in the project.

The N2 Gateway Project exemplifies all the negative aspects associated with bold eradication strategies, with substandard housing units constructed in the frenzy leading up to the 2010 Soccer World Cup, subsequently found to be both unaffordable and virtually uninhabitable (Isandla 2007; Newton 2009; SA 2008b):

The once-secure government housing complex next to the N2 is now a dump...we feel forgotten. All we want is for them to fix the defects and have the roads fixed. There are potholes everywhere (Barnes 2011).

The people who were forcibly removed from the informal settlements remain in the TRA's in Delft, where life in the settlement is compared to those of concentration camps (Newton 2009).

It serves as an important consideration in this example that the discourse has not been taken up in the architectural profession. The critique voiced by Dewar (2008) and Huchzermeyer (2011) aims the argument at planning, political and policy issues, rather than at the

architectural profession. Merit awards bestowed upon various architecture companies, landscape architecture and urban design companies have not been revisited in the light of the apparent failures of the project. The assumption that the existing informal settlements needed to be relocated to make space for the proposed urban design interventions is not questioned. Rather, very naïve and simplified reference to the spatial patterns inherent to the informal settlements are alluded to as design informants:

It is important to note that the existing informal settlement patterns provide significant spatial clues that assist the design approach to the Urban Design Framework (Mammon & Ewing 2005).

Effectively, the spatial design disciplines actively contributed to the promotion of this pejorative approach to the informal settlements, utopian visions of gentrified neighbourhoods providing the marketing tools to garner funding and political will that contributed to the fast-track approach to the construction. This example therefore provides evidence of urban professionals in denial of the informal condition and its discourse, *preferring to hide behind technocratic illusions of a city yet to come* (University of Nairobi 2011).

2.3.3.2. Problem-based view: Formalised solutions

Returning to the UN Habitat definition of slums in which focus is placed on their prevailing inadequacies, it is significant that the South African National Housing Code Part 3 (SA 2009c) has assumed the same definition:

Informal settlements typically can be identified on the basis of the following characteristics

- *Illegality and informality*
- *Inappropriate locations*
- *Restricted public and private sector investment*
- *Poverty and vulnerability*
- *Social stress*

The programme is therefore applicable to all settlements that demonstrate one or more of the above characteristics

(SA 2009c:16)

Topham (2013) confirms that the definition used in the National Housing Code can be seen more as a working description, rather than a definition. Characterised by the above deficits, the problem with such a definition arises in where the settlement is situated. In urban areas, such descriptions would be fairly accurate, whereas in peri-urban areas where tenure arrangements may determine a condition of informality, thus not individual ownership, *quite substantial houses* may be built. The problem-based definition is therefore targeted, according to Topham (2013) at

...the informal settlement emergency, which means that we are looking at places that are experiencing high levels of growth, in-migration, demographic growth with large numbers of people concentrated on marginal land.

In a report by the Centre for Development and Enterprise (Oliphant & McCarthy 2013), the problem of informal settlements originates in poor urban management and a failure on the part of cities to integrate these settlements into the broader urban economy: They often remain informal because of *policy and delivery failures*. Pieterse (2010:08) argues that the *dominant policy response to the deepening crisis associated with urban growth and expansion is inertia*. This is confirmed by Tissington & Royston (2010) who consider the implementation of the UISP to be slow, poorly conceived and plagued both by a lack of capacity and political will.

It could be argued that both the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) that focused on the roll-out of houses to address the *housing problem*, as well as the UISP to address the *informal settlement problem* have this fundamental perspective in common: in both cases an urban growth phenomenon is categorised as a problem requiring a requisite solution. Here it is interesting to interject with one of John FC Turner's observations with regard to housing programmes in general:

The moment that housing, a universal human activity, becomes defined as a problem, a housing problems industry is born (Turner 1976:4).

Indeed, herein lies a fundamental aspect of the South African policy scenario. The shift from an approach that was focused on the delivery of houses to meet quantifiable targets towards the policy of informal settlement upgrade did not include a shift in perception beyond the consideration of informality as problematic. Topham (2013) states that *in-situ* upgrading is an approach that tries to minimise negative impact on social capital, community networks and livelihood by upgrading people where they are. High levels of engagement are encouraged, where people are given the opportunity to make choices affecting their quality of life. Yet, the key proposition in this situation remains an induced participation, driven by central government authority, on the basis of an outcome desired by the exogenous party in answer to the perceived problem.

So what then, is this problem from the state's perspective in reality, that results in such elaborate machinery designed to solve it? Pieterse (2010) suggests that there is a prevailing government attitude that considers urbanisation as *something bad or undesirable that needs to be prevented*, romanticising a reversal or return to rural life and values. An ambivalence towards Western modernity is seen in contemporary African life, where a deep disdain for the moral corruption associated with urban life is held alongside a political embrace of power displays in the associated materiality of mansions and skyscrapers (Pieterse 2010:13). Informal settlements become the most salient manifestation of this anomaly, where there is

...a deep-seated belief that nothing good or valid can come from the messy, unsightly, stinking, foul neighbourhoods that make up large parts (sometimes most) of the built fabric in our cities and towns (Pieterse 2010:16).

Typically, these apparently chaotic urban agglomerations that defy zoning and occupation laws represent loci of resistance to political control, which in itself presents a conundrum for the current ANC government. Prior to the 1994 elections, much of the ANC liberation politics thrived in such conditions, where alignment between political ambition and the plight of the poor was clear. Heroes from the *struggle* strongly identify themselves as activists and liberators (Von Holdt et al 2011:123). ANC posters dating from the early 1990s proclaim the people-centred mandate to *Occupy the Cities* (Pithouse 2008:70). Yet, according to Huchzermeyer (1999) and Pithouse (2011), the notion of development being driven by ordinary citizens was rapidly abandoned in the negotiated transition to democracy:

What had been rendered as political, and therefore subject to political discussion and action during the struggle against apartheid was rendered, by mutual agreement between old and new elite, as technical, and therefore a matter for experts, at the dawn of parliamentary democracy (Pithouse 2011).

The problem from the ANC's perspective, therefore, resides in the fact that their promise of social equity and empowerment of all the citizens of South Africa has been diluted into a problematising of segmented tangible outcomes. In this oversimplification of their democratic mandate, they have created for themselves the task of Sisyphus: The more houses the government delivers, the larger the backlog becomes; the more they upgrade informal settlements, the more ubiquitous they become. Increasingly failing to meet their targets, dissatisfaction and disappointment by the citizenry continues to grow (Pithouse 2011; Tissington 2011a; Von Holdt et al 2011).

2.3.3.2.1. Role of architects in the problem-based approach

Ironically, this self-perpetuating cycle of urban housing problem to solution and back to problem again has its origins in South Africa's history predating apartheid policies. In his thesis on Urban Native Housing, Calderwood (1953:16) cites Connell (1947):

The task involved in finding a solution to these problems is enormous. Measured against the number of sub-economic houses constructed in the period 1936 – 1946, the estimated number of sub-economic houses required indicates that a colossal and sustained effort will have to be made on a scale hitherto unknown in this country.

In response to this problem, the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) sponsored Calderwood's architectural thesis to investigate and propose a solution for improved Urban Native housing (Haarhoff 2011). From this research, Calderwood (1953) suggested that inadequate housing conditions, such as those found in overcrowded slum areas, contributed to broken family life and would lead to *children running away from home, turning to prostitution, crime and becoming shebeen kings and queens* (1953:12). His proposal was that proper housing would allow a family to live a good life, with the stabilising influence of home ownership offering *one of the main bastions against Communism and other social ills* (1953:15).

Architecture was thus called upon to provide this panacea in terms of housing design and Calderwood (1953) stepped up to the mark in delivering the design of a house typology known as the NE 51/9 (Non-European house, 1951, drawing number 9) as part of a series that included the NE 51/6 and NE 51/7, small variances on the same design (Haarhoff 2011). Haarhoff (2011:191) points out that although Calderwood had intended these as demonstrations of the outcome of a rational design process, they were nevertheless taken up by government and housing authorities *to be reproduced in the thousands across South Africa for three decades from the 1950s*.

According to Low (2005), the simplification of design to a scientific and quantitative pursuit is seen in the massive roll-out of these impoverished dwelling environments that conflicted with the culture and practices of the beneficiaries. The result of these identically reproduced matchboxes littered over the landscape (Findlay and Ogbu 2011) was low-density neighbourhoods modeled to prevailing modernist townplanning theory intended for motorised transport, further marginalising the pedestrian population it was meant to serve (Haarhoff 2011; Harber 1995).

As part of its uncritical continuance of the housing delivery model, the post 1994 government inherited and successfully perpetuated the problem through the same mechanism of reductionist design. Gorgens & van Donk (2012) lament the fact that, despite having some success at achieving delivery targets,

...overwhelming evidence has amassed indicating that it (the housing delivery programme) has largely failed at achieving the key objectives that underpinned its originating rationale: demand continues to grow irrespective of delivery, the state can no longer afford the cost, it has deepened spatial inequality, forced violent show-downs between the state and its citizens over access to land, and has perpetuated the low densities of South African cities and settlements.

The housing typology associated with the post-1994 Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) is therefore seen as a direct continuation of the physical manifestation and disempowering delivery mechanism of the notorious NE 51/9 housing typology (Findlay & Ogbu 2011; Harber 1995; Low 2005).

Findlay & Ogbu (2011) point to the fact that the post-apartheid government has not been aggressive in their use of planning and architecture to achieve their political goals, rather entrenching the spatial inequalities of the past through the construction of more than a million new housing units far from employment, transportation or education opportunities. They find it disturbing that the new houses are modeled directly on the apartheid typology, often smaller and constructed to lower standards.

The architectural response to this concern has been to propose alternative design typologies for such starter homes, taking into consideration the possibility of extension over time, improved street edge definition and alternative technological resolution. The CSIR has developed numerous prototypes and models claiming improved thermal comfort, durability, ease of construction and cost-effectiveness (Van Rooyen 2010). From the private sector, offerings such as the Design Indaba 10 x 10 starter home design competition illustrates the potential creative engagement of the profession in this aspect of the discourse: Supported by the Niall Mellon Foundation, the Development Action Group and the City of Cape Town (Etherington 2008; Ramovha 2012), ten architectural firms were invited to propose designs for families residing in Freedom Park, Mitchell's Plain in Cape Town. The design proposed by MMA architects was awarded the prize and eventually constructed after a certain amount of participation with the beneficiaries (Ramovha 2012). The project has received much acclaim in architectural circles (Etherington 2008; Open Architecture Network 2010; Ramovha 2012) and has been included in two recent architectural publications: *The South African Informal City* (Poulsen & Silverman 2012) and *Afritecture: Building Social Change* (Lepik 2013).

Architectural scholars have called for and offered several alternatives for more compact and flexible housing typologies within the capital subsidy system, ranging from infill-structures to semi-detached row houses and multiple storey walk-ups:

- Weltevrede Valley Low Income Housing Scheme, Cape Flats by the Delta Group
- Pelip Housing, Nelson Mandela Bay by Noero Wolff Architects
- Sakhasonke Village, Port Elizabeth by Metroplan
- Mbekweni Stone House, Paarl by Vernon Collis
- Far East Bank cluster housing project in Alexandra, Johannesburg by ASA Architects
- Lufhereng, Mogale City by 26' 10 South and Peter Rich Architects

(Low 2005; Groos & Kats 2012; Poulsen & Silverman 2012; Robinson 2009).

Despite all these alternative proposals, however, the *shrunk mansion* (Poulsen & Silverman 2012:1) typology presented as the single house per plot suburban model persists, the lack of impact by the architectural profession being glaringly evident (Lepik 2013; Low 2005; Osman & Aigbavboa 2012; Robinson 2009).

What we have learnt from studying these examples in the context of the South African reality is the fact that they are all relatively 'once off'. They do not fit into a general paradigm of housing practice which is broadly supported and they do not seem to have contributed to the development of a generic implementing model. They are brave attempts to change the system of delivery, but they haven't been able to change the paradigm (Groos & Kats 2012).

A more recent direction in the architectural discourse acknowledges a wider and more inclusive approach to neighbourhood improvement through design, as proposed by the multi-disciplinary Tsela Tshweu Design Group (Osman & Aigbavboa 2012). Consisting of architectural practitioners and researchers, engineers and private sector representatives of the building industry, they have developed a ten-point strategy in which the problem is seen as a multi-faceted phenomenon that requires complex and diverse approaches in thinking, with multiple typologies and tenure options contributing to a rich array of urban choices:

1. *Revise zoning to encourage desegregated mixed use*
2. *Ensure sustainable densification opportunities for XS,S,M,L and XL*
3. *Just Add Housing*
4. *Refocus government subsidies on one hour (+/-3km) wide neighbourhoods*
5. *Distributed decision making for mass customisation and self-regulation*
6. *Street edge activation as a condition for development approvals*
7. *Phased and adaptable developments*
8. *Public, private and community partnerships led by committed project teams*
9. *Culturally adequate, desirable and dignified environments*
10. *Technical innovation in the services of a vision (and not vice versa)*

(Osman, Arvanitakis & Sebake 2012).

Moving beyond the focus on typological resolution within the restrictions of the capital subsidy policy, such a vision promises to create *a link between cohesive form, space, image and architectural language and inclusive and cohesive communities* (Osman et al 2012). Should this line of thinking be developed, the self-prophesying cycle of problem-solution-problem may in fact be challenged, with a significant role to be undertaken by the architectural profession.

2.3.3.3. Pragmatic approach: Incrementalism

Choosing to live in an informal settlement is a needs-based exercise of human rights, even if the choice reflects not only an individual's liberty but also deprivation, poverty, racism, religious hate or exclusion. We suggest that such choices be taken seriously, not because we romanticise slums, but because making choices about one's life, and to participate in a local community, is an intrinsic element of human rights enjoyment. Regarding informal settlement dwellers mostly as victims denies them the recognition of their choices (Davy & Pellissery 2013).

Seeing informal settlements in the light of their transitional role in the urbanisation process could be considered a pragmatic view. From such a perspective, informal dwelling is a survival strategy in which a foothold in the economy can be achieved with the intention of ultimate integration (Landman & Napier 2003; Tissington & Royston 2010; Todes, Kok, Wentzel, Van Zyl & Cross 2010). Tissington (2011c:3) underscores the reality that informal settlements are meeting *at least some of the housing needs of those that reside in them* and supports the position that legislation ought to assist informal settlers to gradually obtain, improve and consolidate access to safe, decent housing and tenure. Smit (2005) also argues for flexible tenure arrangements that can help to *bridge the gap* between formal and informal land tenure systems. Urban LandMark has long advocated the notion of incremental tenure security in its approach to informal settlements. Napier (2003), formerly active within Urban LandMark, defines informal settlements within five identifiable types:

- *Informal settlements with traditional tenure (informal housing on customary land)*
- *Freestanding informal settlements (informal housing on urban land, without legal tenure)*

- *Backyard shacks in formal areas (informal housing amongst formal housing)*
- *Informal housing on serviced land (sites and services where housing is still inadequate)*
- *Indoor informal settlements (illegal occupation of building)*

The above including the following variations:

- *Location of the settlements (urban core/ periphery/ beyond the urban boundary)*
- *Levels of servicing*
- *Level of recognition by authorities*

In general, Napier (2013) defines informal settlements as correlated with poverty, overcrowding and lack of urban services. However, rather than seeing these conditions as a *problem*, the position is taken that this can be seen as a temporary or transitional condition and part of an urbanising *process* (Kellett & Napier 1995; Landman & Napier 2010; Napier 2003).

Institutional support for such a view on informal settlements would then be the facilitation of a gradual upgrading process through the model of incremental tenure security (Hickey Tshangana, Gorgens, Van Donk & Press 2011). In its policy intent, the Housing Code acknowledges a position to improve tenure security:

Security of tenure remains a fundamental principle of the National Housing Programmes. All beneficiaries of a housing assistance programme must acquire secure tenure either in the form of ownership, leasehold, deed of grant or formal rental arrangements and related non-ownership forms of tenure (SA 2009a:53).

In the Housing Code Part 3 (Incremental interventions) policy intent, incrementality is considered in its suggestion that settlement upgrading be undertaken in phases:

Phases 1 to 3 focuses on community participation, supply of basic services and security for all residents. Phase 4 constitutes the Housing Consolidation Phase and access to the Government's housing assistance programme undertaken in terms of the provisions of the specific programme opted for (SA 2009c:27).

The City of Johannesburg instituted an enabling approach towards a regularization process in 2008, aimed at ensuring that all settlements within the city have legal status by 2014 and that levels of service are substantially upgraded (Harrison 2009). This regularisation process would include the following:

- *A feasibility investigation to determine initial suitability for regularization (location, availability of infrastructure, natural environment)*
- *Negotiations with land owner (if privately owned)*
- *Amendment to town planning scheme to give legal recognition (transitional settlement area)*
- *Preparation of basic layout plan through participatory process and business plan for upgrade*
- *Opening of register linking all the structures to the layout plan*
- *Registration of shacks and households*
- *Provision of tenurial certificates*
- *Incremental service upgrading*
- *Development office on site to facilitate micro-financing*

UN Habitat (2005, 2007) sees the value of such incremental measures undertaken ahead of full-scale housing and infrastructure delivery as an opportunity to stabilize an informal settlement, promoting an integrated and sustainable development. In a report to the World Bank (Van den Brinck, DeGroot, Marrengane, Berrisford, Kihato & Mhlanga 2008:42), the authors support incrementality in their proposal that title could be provisionally granted, to be fully transferred after a proposed timeframe of 5 to 10 years, by which time a house *must have been built to a minimum set of standards*. They propose that this would release greater government resources for allocation to land acquisition and services, rather than spending it on houses. According to a Cities Alliance report (Wakely & Riley 2010), incremental housing implies that the cost of housing could be reduced in the light of poor families building and extending their houses in response to their needs and availability of resources. Providing the appropriate legal and technical supports therefore furthers a concept of *development promotion* instead of *prescriptive development*. The benefits of such an approach would also be evident in the rationalisation of excessively generous planning standards as well as development of proscriptive rather than prescriptive norms and standards, leaving room for innovation.

Underpinning these definitions of informal settlements as sites of incremental integration into formalised systems is an uncritical view of the formal system itself. The state remains in the position of power, in this case as the benign facilitator and the over-arching socio-economic model of urbanisation is assumed to be the desired outcome of the upgrading process. Parnell & Simon (2010:54) point to the potential weakness of such a position:

In practice what African demographic transitions mean is not just many more millions of people, but a totally different social, economic and spatial or settlement structure.

By assuming a natural or pragmatic transition into the formalised system, no space is allowed for such a fundamentally different structure to evolve. On the contrary, a culture of patience is cultivated, in which people consider themselves to be in perpetual transition, rather than actively partaking in the definition of their own society. Such a manifestation is visible in the *mythical* phenomenon of the housing *waiting list*, debunked by Tissington et al (2013) as a political ploy averting the delivery mandate altogether. Pieterse (2010:17) argues for

...an imperative to recast all of the conventional aspects of urban development – decentralisation, infrastructure investment and local economic development – from the vantage point of empowering the urban poor as an integral part of the urban development agenda.

This therefore implies a definition of informal settlements (and the accompanying approach to their upgrade) to assume a more critical vantage point, rather than an acceptance of the status quo (Roy 2005:154):

Is it possible to be subversive when there is such complicity with the system?

2.3.3.3.1. The role of architects in an incremental approach

Wakely & Riley (2011) state that most segments of society rely on an incremental process to procure serviced and permanent housing, a process that occurs over decades and may,

in fact never be concluded. The exception to this state of normality is situated in the small segment of wealthy society who can afford to purchase a complete property outright or through the leveraging of long-term credit. Seen in this light, Breimer (2011:29) suggests that most *developing countries find themselves in an early demographic transition phase*, a phenomenon confirmed by the sudden emergence of informal settlements in South Africa and the relatively young condition of many informal settlements that have emerged since 1994 (thus no older than 20 years).

In its interaction with this natural evolutionary process, architecture and planning propose the provision of appropriate foundations and infrastructure to enable future development – the implication of continued investment and improvement (Arvanitakis & Albonico 2011):

Planning for incremental growth refers to phased development overlaid with prioritisation of mixed use amenities towards creating diversity, sustainability and catalytic interventions simultaneously.

Core housing

In an oversimplified understanding of this evolutionary process, the concept of core housing was adopted by the South African government between the 1980s and 1990s. In a case study of one such application in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, Napier (2002) describes core housing as being very similar to the provision of mass housing, with the core structure built by formal contractors and the completion of the houses to be undertaken by the beneficiaries themselves (Napier 2002:11). The focus was thus on a product – a *highly managed and limited form of assisted self-help* rather than on shared control in a decision-making process, with the resultant housing as its concluding by-product.

The definition of incremental growth therefore requires a clear understanding of the differentiation between a process of negotiation with a gradual assumption of control over one's circumstances, manifesting in a sense of ownership over the environment on the one hand, and the provision of a product that is aimed at facilitating such incremental development on the other. The space of architectural engagement is equally reliant on this understanding, either in serving the process through the design of the user requirements as

they unfold, or in the design of the initial product that is provided through state or private sector funding mechanisms.

Breimer (2011:36) describes core housing as structures that are *built with the intention to be subsequently extended and improved by residents*. Napier (2002:14) identifies several different types of core housing, such as:

- Houses including components such as foundations, walls and roofs: immediately habitable
- Houses in which some major components such are missing: requires input from the residents right from the start
- Service cores only (water, sanitation and electricity)

As a product aimed at facilitating incremental improvement over time, Napier (2002:257) argues that there is *inherently nothing good or bad about core housing*, as it can provide an improved quality of life within a reasonable life span, offering a versatile mechanism of delivery that suits the agendas of those producing it. At the same time it can serve the purposes of an oppressive government, as a political tool of coercion.

Napier (2002) suggests that, at best, core housing does offer a secure space for its residents (as opposed to the precarious conditions experienced in an informal settlement) and, if well designed, could contribute to the ease with which residents are able to extend their houses (Napier 2002:30; Noero 2014). Such design input, however, is often limited due to the standardisation and low cost of the product. The intention of giving people the opportunity to transgress from vulnerability to resilience is seen as the greatest motivation for the promotion of core housing (Napier 2002; Breimer 2011). Interestingly, it is pointed out that eventually it is the plot size potential (Breimer 2011:1) that has provided the greatest opportunity for households, the size and configuration allowing for various models of densification. Ironically, this is often frustrated precisely because of this provision of such housing on peripheral urban land, constructed poorly to lower standards with minimal services leading to further strain on these households. In attempting to overcome some of these conditions, informal additions, overcrowding and economic survival strategies ensue:

This added up to at least a bad start for households seeking to pursue an upward trajectory in the urban economy (Napier 2002:36).

The core housing option is argued to be more beneficial to the providing party, in its uncritical confirmation of established power structures, and perversely, in paying lip-service to the notion of participation. By providing a minimal structure to lower standards, greater numbers can be delivered and in the co-optation of informal processes, households can be drawn into the formal sector, thereby offering the state greater control. Private sector interest groups (such as design professionals, developers and financial institutions) remain similarly uncritical of such a position due to the simplicity and clarity of their role and the *clear containment of the self-help component* (Napier 2002:30). This, according to Napier (2002) exemplifies the horizontal stratification that accompanied core housing.

Open Building

Breimer (2011) draws a correlation between core housing and the principles inherent in the intentions of *Open Building* (Kendall & Teicher 2000). With a view on a resurgent interest in incremental housing as a consideration in rapidly urbanising contexts, the investigation considers the *Open Building* discourse in architecture as an important lens through which to revisit the lessons gained from core housing.

Basing the thesis on a re-investigation of the case study in Khayelitsha underpinning Napier's (2002) dissertation, Breimer (2011) is able to report on the levels of consolidation and incremental growth in Khayelitsha 25 years after construction. Significantly, his findings include a distilled view on the theoretical constructs of *Open Building*:

...the exploration in this thesis has been disenchanting when it comes to the potential effectiveness of applying contemporary Open Building practice to the superstructures that are part of the core housing projects. Figuratively transferring the perceived pragmatic advantages and ideological (eco) modernist motivations of Open Building systems within its context of origin – Europe, North America and Japan – to rapidly urbanizing contexts was a humbling exercise that revealed serious issues of legitimacy (Breimer 2011:120).

Where the notion of *Open Building* is forwarded as a progressive embrace of *organic architecture that adapts in a process of continuous and progressive change* (Gottzman & Osman 2012:71), Breimer (2011:120) argues that, in reality, what happens to the initial structure is soon outside of the control of professional designers, project implementers or municipalities, thereby rendering the actual plot dimensions to be the more significant influence on the urban development.

Both Breimer (2011) and Napier (2002) have found that the extension to the core house may be delayed for several years, even decades, and that the extensions may serve functional requirements in terms of basic shelter and accommodation not dissimilar to shack settlements, but that the households are not necessarily empowered through these alterations. On the contrary, a greater sense of shame and dissatisfaction were noted in both studies. Due to its long delay in successful extensions, Breimer (2011:121) suggests that greater care in the design of the initial structure is required:

It is here where thoughtful consideration of housing layout by architects and project leaders is essential, as they balance trade-offs with the stringent affordability criteria of the target population as well as the project budget.

The shortcoming of incremental housing or oversimplified application of *Open Building* theories reside in separating the product from the process. Whereas Napier (2002) refers to the problem of horizontal stratification, Breimer (2011) considers *zeggenschap* (right of say) as an important understanding of the intentions inscribed in incremental growth. When control remains entirely vested with the providing entity, the beneficiaries remain in a disempowered position, ill equipped to improve their economic opportunities or democratic assertiveness.

Such an understanding does not contradict the *Open Building* principles ensconced in Habraken's (1972; 1998) theories that focus on levels of control in decision-making, but warns against a literal and reductionist interpretation of these principles that could be construed as experimental architecture being foisted upon the urban poor (Breimer 2011; Osman 2000).

Assisted self-help

According to Landman & Napier (2010) the notion of assisted self-help offers a more progressive step in the direction to counter the horizontal stratification inscribed in the product-driven core housing provision. Through the People's Housing Process (PHP – more recently the Enhanced People's Process – EPHP), mechanisms exist within state policy to encourage greater participation in the decision-making platform, with mediation mostly through NGOs such as Development Action Group (DAG), Planact, Afesis-Corplan and the South African Shack Dwellers Alliance (SDI SA).

Support for this policy arises from a number of benefits seen to emanate from the PHP:

- *Houses are generally larger and better designed to suit household needs*
- *More choice, creativity and community involvement*
- *Builds the notion of citizenship and pride*
- *Supports the creation of partnerships*
- *Maximises empowerment and participation*
- *Promotes individual choice*
- *Secures tenure and adequate shelter*
- *Creates housing and skills development and opportunities for women*
- *Higher levels of beneficiary satisfaction*
- *Higher levels of project sustainability* (Himlin and Mogatle 2006 in Landman & Napier 2010)

In making their case for incremental housing, Wakely & Riley (2011) look towards informal settlements as loci that are responsive to their occupants' fluctuating needs and fortunes that could benefit from official or recognised supports to extend the effectiveness and efficiency of incremental housing processes. Landman & Napier (2010:300,305) conclude, however, that such assisted self-help programmes have not gone to scale in South Africa, with low income households preferring to wait for a state provided house rather than building their own.

Medium-density mixed housing

Within this understanding of the limitations inscribed in various self-help models, the architectural discourse in South Africa includes a position where greater emphasis is placed

on designing towards the creation of mixed use and affordable housing stock. By shifting the focus to choice and small-scale adaptability, a nuanced reading of incrementalism is revealed. In a publication by the CSIR (2010), Van Rooyen points to some of the key findings following a research project on medium-density mixed housing (MDMH):

- *MDMH may offer more opportunities with regard to de-concentrating poverty, revitalising neighbourhoods, enabling greater social mix and contributing to opportunities for improved safety.*
- *Case studies indicate that people are willing to consider alternative housing typologies for the benefit of being closer to job opportunities and/or more security*
- *MDMH has the potential to add to the viability of a project by promoting affordable housing options and the opportunity to include low(er)-cost housing in mixed developments.*

Napier (2005) underscores the importance of an appropriate design response to the development of quality settlements that enable social, economic and physical benefits, avoiding neighbourhoods that *look like the visible manifestation of a spreadsheet*.

In their report on the Sustainable Human(e) Settlements Conference held in Johannesburg (2012), Osman & Algbavboa confirm the architecture profession's concern with the development of a complete housing eco-system, where distributed decision making and innovation regarding design, funding and delivery are to be considered, rather than an isolated product-delivery mechanism. The focus on responsive design that considers choice, adaptability and participation at various levels is regarded as paramount in such an interpretation of incremental urban growth (Landman & Napier 2010; Low 2005; Napier 2005; Osman & Herthogs 2010).

Between provision and enablement and between formal and informal

By its very nature, the argument in favour of incrementalism implies an embrace of the intersection between formal and informal processes and between the notions of provision and enablement. As part of a ten-point vision for development proposed by the *Tsela Tshweu Design Team*, an integration between smaller-scale entrepreneurs and large-scale systems is envisaged, where base structures are produced at scale by experienced construction

companies, with the infill provided by smaller-scale enterprises. In this way, it is suggested that *constant transformation and innovations at the lower level of the environment* could take place, thus creating broader decision-making opportunities within the stability of subsidised systems (Osman & Aigbavboa 2012; Osman, Arvanitakis & Sebake 2012). Osman (2005, 2006) suggests that it is imperative for professionals to interact with the informal *ways of doing/living* in order to embrace the energy, legitimate power and form of expression it represents. Support of enterprises emerging from the informal sector is seen as necessary in addressing poverty eradication (Peeters & Osman 2005).

Napier (2002:13) states that core housing, in its original intent, was similarly aimed at a *marriage of the formal and informal processes*, eventually becoming a technical solution to this combination. The nuanced differentiation lies in the emphasis of the intent, however. Where an uncritical bias reflects an inherent belief in the formal system, incremental developments serve as a state-driven tool to *stabilise and formalise an uncontrolled set of activities* (Napier 2002:28). In such a scenario, informal processes are effectively co-opted to serve the interest of the formalised system.

Devolution of control

This then brings the discussion to its most salient concern, namely an understanding of incremental development as the manifestation of power and, more specifically, the devolution of control.

As pointed out by Napier (2002), core housing was grounded in the intention to devolve control to the end user. Through its technified and product-driven approach, however, it effectively managed to maintain control within the systems of provision, thereby satisfying the political mandate to deliver while at the same time claiming participation. The core housing scheme in Khayelitsha was therefore abused by government at the time (pre-1994) to appear acceptable, while successfully supporting the status quo (Napier 2002:255):

Core housing is usually sustained by the state not so much for humanitarian reasons as to achieve a variety of higher order goals (such as control and stabilization of previously informal citizens).

In this way, the use of incremental housing can therefore be seen as a successful tool of an oppressive government.

In a more enlightened approach to incremental development, Gorgens & Van Donk (2012) propose that the devolution of control requires the intermediary role of NGOs to facilitate the intersection between provision and enablement. It is proposed that a partnership-based or collaborative approach to incremental upgrade is reliant on intermediation between state officials, professionals, civil society and communities in order to *understand the opportunities and limitations created by the interaction between the functionality of the settlement within the city system and the lives of local residents.*

Notwithstanding the potential value that such partnerships and collaboration promise to bring to the process, Napier (2002:34) describes certain weaknesses experienced in NGO involvement:

- *Not enough capacity to cover all the relevant projects*
- *Sectorally specific, not able to offer support to diverse programmes*
- *Limited state or foreign funding, thereby limiting sustained involvement*
- *Clarity of NGO intentions, impact on models of development*

Napier (2005; Landman & Napier 2010) suggests that, despite such *flirtations with partnerships*, assisted development has not yet gone to scale in South Africa.

Eventually, the results of incremental housing as experienced in Khayelitsha are described by Napier (2002) and Breimer (2011) as less than satisfactory, with residents claiming to be ashamed of the inferior quality of their extensions, rather than expressing pride in identity. Passive resistance to further impositions of control by authorities in terms of building standards and rates compliance indicate an attempt at assertiveness in the face of overwhelming adversity:

Backyard shacks dominated the landscape with only a handful of (sometimes exuberant) examples of personal expression. We can therefore conclude that after the 11 to 15 years of consolidation... (it) had not yet become a true cultural landscape in which the residents had

succeeded in transforming the urban form from what it had been when designed, into a shared set of settlement and house expressions (Napier 2002: 246).

Taking note of this phenomenon and corroborating the findings more than a decade later, Breimer (2011) concludes that the principle of *distributed decision making* in building control may serve as a useful tool for more effective implementation inclusive of managerial and financial considerations. This implies a role for design professionals in the sphere of the beneficiary households, with a bias to a *people first* approach rather than to the service of the dominant formal system or authority.

As an important starting point towards an incremental approach that aims to challenge the status quo, it is therefore fundamental to exhibit the *political will to devolve authority down to the level of organised urban communities* (Wakely & Riley 2011). This indicates that development control should be driven from the bottom up, although enforcement and complicity should be ensured through the mechanisms of the state. NGOs and formal private sector groups including design professionals are well situated to provide resources, networks, planning and advisory services, but are not equipped to enforce these. The ideal power relation therefore resides in the voice of the end users determining the parameters of control, facilitated by way of an extended civil society resource base and enforced through the capacity of the state (Wakely & Riley 2011). The need to enable urban poor communities to undertake this role is, according to Wakely & Riley (2011), the most important consideration in the desire to facilitate incremental growth.

While government authorities uncritically cling to power and to the status quo, however, neither the provision of mass housing nor the quasi-participative provision of core housing will serve to assist urban poor communities to consolidate their positions in the urban economy (Napier 2002). Attempting to solve problems through the same mechanisms that create the problems in the first place is bound to become a defeatist exercise:

This is the fundamental problem with offering families a home for nothing: it does not remedy the key problem, their lack of a decent income (Gilbert 2014: 259).

Architects are not engaged

Napier (2005) suggests that the role of designers in the incremental housing process is largely undefined and unrecognised. He points to the potential value that could be brought to the thoughtful design of an initial enabling environment, but attributes the lack of involvement by architects and urban designers to the minimalist approach to the core housing concept and its funding mechanisms.

Osman (2000; 2012) confirms that professionals have not been trained to cope with the shifts in policy toward people's empowerment and remain *largely untransformed and disengaged from these issues*. Arvanitakis & Albonico (2011) similarly confirm that built environment professionals are not adept or experienced at operating in a people-first approach as their education is biased toward serving upper income clients.

Necessarily, the discourse implies an understanding of power relations and levels of control (Habraken 1998) and where the architectural service ought to be positioned in terms of incremental enablement. When in service of the providing authority or developer, control is vested with the central decision maker, divesting the end user of significant influence. When in service of the end-user community, the design professional contributes to that elusive transition between provision and enablement, between formal and informal systems. It is here that Breimer (2011) proposes to place the understanding of *zeggenschap* or self-determination that can be facilitated through responsive design. Similarly, Wakely & Riley (2011) propose that private sector enterprises (such as the design professions) can contribute to the enablement of resident communities and the devolution of control down to this sector of society through their managerial expertise, access to capital and commercial networks – or, as in the case of architects, their ability to synthesise these resources.

2.3.3.4. Radical perspective: In-situ transformation

Recognition of informal settlements as loci of potential transformation represents the more radical perspective on the debate in the South African (and global) discourse. Davy & Pellissery (2013) and Roy (2005) consider the interrelatedness of informality and its harbouring formal system, wherein the manifestation of informality is less a matter of technical deficiency, but rather a *differentiated process embodying varying degrees of power and exclusion* (Roy

2005:148). In what is described as a complex continuum of legality and illegality, it is argued that informal settlements offer their residents an expression of sovereignty, enabling the poor to enjoy aspects of their human rights precisely through their resistance to the deficient formal systems.

Informality, by escaping the state's regulatory framework, challenges the notion of the social contract that is the cornerstone for the legitimacy of sovereign States (Davy & Pellissery 2013:10).

Although there is agreement that life in an informal settlement constitutes a survival strategy in the face of much adversity, the intrinsic value and importance of these survival strategies, social contracts and transactional models are viewed as important contributions toward an urbanisation model that is currently failing to ensure the right to full citizenship. This perspective on informality therefore proposes a significant alternative to the three preceding views, in which the dominant socio-political and economic system is accepted as the desired norm. In this definition of informality, the status quo is considered critically as being the perpetrator of basic human rights violation resulting in informal settlements. Their existence then becomes the clue and the possible model for fundamental systemic transformation.

Huchzermeyer (2011) considers the writings of Lefebvre, expanding on the notions of the right to the production of the city, or the right to the *oeuvre*. The *oeuvre* represents the collective imagining, the city as a work of art that embodies the realities and the aspirations of its collective citizenry. Informal settlement through land invasion can therefore be considered as a transformative contribution to planning systems that are not transforming substantially:

Our apartheid city planning type has perpetuated itself or replicated itself and we have more and more extreme versions of suburbia... These informal settlements insert themselves where they are not wanted and where they are not meant to be according to that kind of planning. So I think there's an argument to be made – without romanticising informal settlements - that they make an important contribution to the way the city develops (Huchzermeyer 2013).

In discussing the emergent urbanism of Kinshasa, De Boeck (2012) describes the tension that exists between the quotidian reality of urban life in that city, as opposed to an official urban planning that denies this reality, resulting in violence, insecurity and a constant struggle for survival. In the informal associational life of small-scale transactions, an efficient underlying urban system is revealed that resists formal planning and transforms the city dweller from passive victims into active participants with their own social, economic, political and religious agenda (De Boeck 2012; Rao 2009). Such an active participation is seen by Simone (2004) as a positive assertion of the right to the city by urban residents in South Africa that is embedded in their survival strategies in the face of the continued fragmentation of the post-apartheid city.

The generative nature of the various types of urban experimentation allows people to discover their own vernacular, thereby contributing to the potential for real collective change (Simone 2004:8). The collective *oeuvre* then implies an understanding and reinforcement of such a negotiated and complex vernacular, in which the term upgrading does not imply eradication, removal or conformity with regularised frameworks – rather, it supports and enhances the settlement with as little disturbance as possible to the socio-political and spatial manifestation thereof (Huchzermeyer 1999, 2011, 2013). This could be considered an undiluted definition of *in-situ* upgrade, in which respect for the evolving oeuvre underscores the technical, social and legislative intervention.

Despite claims to the contrary, proponents of this view of informal settlements and its attendant insistence on *in-situ* upgrade are warned against an overly romantic or idealistic representation of informality. As much as the presence of informal settlements is a *display of human resolve and creativity in contexts of inequality, spatial and political exclusion and hardship* (Huchzermeyer 2011:250), their resilience in terms of societal and governmental policy dynamics should not be overestimated. Juxtaposed and overlapping condition of violence, community cohesion, relative wealth and abject poverty co-exist and fluctuate, giving rise to bouts of xenophobia on the one hand and apparent solidarity on the other in unpredictable intervals of expressed discontent (Simon 2011:681).

The greatest danger of romanticising the phenomenon of informality lies in its oversimplification. Much can be learned from the *underlying, intuitive grammar of design*,

the timeless quality and resilience of vernacular settlements (Prince Charles in Tuhus-Dubrow 2009), but Roy (2005) warns that such an *aestheticisation of poverty* places the emphasis on the physical environment rather than equating upgrade with improved livelihood strategies, political capacities and social justice. Even in the most positive embrace of informality, there lurks a danger of objectification, thereby enforcing the division and exception (or otherness) of the informal settlement:

...people have been surviving and developing with very little capital or government involvement, and they're becoming increasingly good at it. If we can learn what these places have to teach us, we can find better ways to live in our own local habitats (Illieva & Lian 2012).

Napier (2013) argues that an insistence on *in-situ* upgrade is not automatically a good thing. Assuming that people invade land where they want to live and build livelihoods and assuming that this process should not be disrupted, may be true in 80 or 90 percent of the case. He argues that in the South African context people invaded land historically, prior to 1994, to avoid being visible to authorities. More recently, invasion of land has positioned people in terms of benefiting from subsidies:

So, in neither case, pre-'94 or post-'94, have people had a dominant rationale for invading land that's good or near where they work (Napier 2013).

The livelihood networks that are built up after having settled, however, are very fragile and ought not to be disrupted, yet the basic premise of the location being a preferred choice is not necessarily to be assumed. Napier (2013) suggests that there ought to be a crucial determination of whether people want to be upgraded in a particular settlement, over and beyond the technical issues of quality of land, accessibility to services and underlying ownership issues.

Important to this perspective on informal settlements, Roy (2005:149) states that the *legalization of informal property systems is not simply a bureaucratic or technical problem but rather a complex political struggle*. Inevitably, seeing informality as a counter-systemic manifestation

recognises the embedded political content. Visible demands for justice, democracy, efficiency and morality become vehicles for political contestation, although Simone (2010) contends that this is seldom expressed or recognised as a coherent political entity. One particular South African example of political coherence arising from the challenge seated within informality is the Abahlali BaseMjondolo movement in KwaZulu-Natal:

Kennedy Road Settlement has the distinction of being the birthplace of one of South Africa's strongest and most vocal people's movements. Abahlali BaseMjondolo which could be translated from isiZulu to mean shack dwellers or residents of shacks was formed in 2005 in Kennedy Road as a result of rising frustration due to a series of broken promises by the local authorities (Vartak 2009).

It has been argued that this social movement that has been as much about dignity and respect as it has been about service delivery (Bryant 2008), is an expression of true democracy in the sense of an autonomous insistence on social justice (Bryant 2008; Gibson 2008; Lopes de Souza 2010b; Pithouse 2008). According to Pithouse (2008), Abahlali BaseMjondolo can be considered as one of the largest movements of the poor in post-apartheid South Africa. Significantly, the Kennedy Road Settlement (in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal) was the site of NGO-driven *in-situ* upgrade under the late apartheid government. The Urban Foundation initiated upgrade in the settlement as a pilot project – phase 1 being the construction of a community hall, 147 pit latrines and 4 communal taps - yet further upgrade was abandoned by the post-94 municipal administration after 1995 (Pithouse 2008).

S'bu Zikode, the first elected chair of the Kennedy Road Development Committee and chair of Abahlali BaseMjondolo, has been quoted in the New York Times, the Economist, Al Jazeera and South African media (Patel 2008). He states that *the poor have been excluded from substantive citizenship in post-apartheid South Africa resulting in a permanent crisis in the ordinary lives of the poor* (Zikode 2008b). He calls for solidarity in the development of a democratic counter power based on recognition of intellectual work done in poor communities.

In a morbid acknowledgement of the political validity of this shack dweller's movement and

its challenge to entrenched power relations, Pithouse (2013) reports on threats to members of Abahlali BaseMjondolo by the ruling African National Congress:

In the last days of June, Nkululeko Gwala was assassinated in Cato Crest...Five people from the area all, like Gwala, members of Abahlali BaseMjondolo, are in hiding after being subject to death threats from local party structures (Pithouse 2013).

The position taken in the view of the political and social importance of informal settlements embraces rather than resists such political consciousness, understanding it as an expression of empowerment rather than an insurgent threat to power. It requires a confident authority to accept this as an augmentation of democratic processes, rather than an intimidating social manifestation that needs to be suppressed. Pieterse (2010:15) considers it a *gargantuan challenge* to bring about this paradigm shift in African governments, where dominant powers *speak a language of arrogance and dismissal*.

Where the urban poor are empowered as an integral part of the urban development agenda, collective actions can be carried out on the basis of solidarity. In this, the social capital, which is the greatest asset of informal settlement communities, is enhanced and offers an important foundation for collective transformation (Pieterse 2010). Bottom up planning and meaningful community engagement (Tissington et al 2013) must therefore be seen as a willingness to engage on these terms.

Fieuw (2011:40-41) argues that *in-situ* informal settlement upgrading holds the key to realising the right to the city through the poor's right to appropriation and participation in central decision-making processes. Although he recognises the South African government's achievements in housing delivery, Fieuw (2011) attributes the decline of spatial planning as a transformative tool to the neoliberal agenda and its market-oriented consequences. The transition from a pro-poor, enabling approach that embraces the *in-situ* upgrade of informal settlements to a market-driven, competitive desire for investment was already evident in the influence exerted by the Urban Foundation on the nascent ANC government (Huchzermeyer 1999:118):

The neoliberal nature of the Urban Foundation proposals lies then, on the one hand, in the individualisation and commodification it foresees for the low income residential sphere; therefore the transformation of informal occupiers of land into individual consumers of a standardised, technically defined and private sector-developed product.

In contrast to such an agenda of commodification, individualisation and regularised control, proponents of an authentic transformation through *in-situ* upgrade propose assistance to community-based management systems and structures *even if this contravenes existing legislation* (Huchzermeyer 1999) precisely because it is under such circumstances of adjustment that the right to the production of the city as social organisation (*auto-gestion*) is given expression (Lopes de Souza 2010a:318). The inherently and necessary confrontational aspect of this perspective on informal settlements is confirmed by Lopes de Souza (2010a:329):

The state is not a partner...the state apparatus as such is an enemy, even if it is sometimes (dialectically) more or less genuinely open to pressures from below as a government.

2.3.3.4.1. Role of architects in in-situ transformation

Bester's Camp

Despite the critique leveraged at the Urban Foundation's role in the development of the Capital Subsidy system, their work in Kennedy Road represents a progressive approach to *in-situ* upgrade of informal settlements that is well illustrated in the preceding and highly successful Bester's Camp upgrade (Charlton 2006), also situated in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa.

The Urban Foundation published *Guidelines for self-help housing: principles, practical issues, and case studies* in 1983, a document based on examples of various housing provision models, but exclusive of informal settlements and their upgrading (van Horen 1996:166). In 1989, the Bester's Camp informal settlement upgrading project was initiated, the first endeavor of its kind in South Africa (Charlton 2006; van Horen 1996:166). The challenge of undertaking this radical approach lay in mitigating the territory between existing political structures of authority and the self-governing structures within Bester's Camp.

The significance of the Bester's Camp project resided in its value as a demonstration project in which *in-situ* upgrading was proposed with the following intentions:

- To arrest further degradation
- Installation of basic infrastructure
- Consolidation through:
 - tenure security
 - mobilising institutional support
 - access to technical advice and building materials
 - stimulation of local enterprises
 - facilitation of investment in public amenities
 - formulation of appropriate regulations
- Informal settlement governance within institutional framework (Van Horen 1996:30).

The planning process was initiated by the Urban Foundation Informal Settlements Division (UFISD) through the encouragement of the Durban City Council (Poulsen & Silverman 2012) in 1989, with infrastructure installation and tenure delivery completed in 1995 (Charlton 2006; Van Horen 1996:30). The architectural firm Harber Masson & Associates were commissioned *to unravel the situation* (Poulsen & Silverman 2012).

Intensive, ongoing negotiations with the complex array of stakeholders, especially inclusive of established residents was undertaken, developing action plans that responded to immediate and long-term concerns: Now, Soon, Quick Wins and Eventually. Communal facilities were created on the site of an old block yard, accommodating offices, a hall, library, primary school, market stalls and service depots. The settlement improvement consisted of surveying and pegging existing boundaries that signaled potential tenure security. Service upgrades preceded the allocation of individual subsidies that were creatively used to access building materials from hardware stores so as to encourage personal choice and variety (Poulsen & Silverman 2012:67-71).

Van Horen (1996) reports that there were shared control and decision making between the community and the Urban Foundation. The upgrade resulted in very little relocation and spontaneous upgrading of individual households was evident throughout the duration of the project.

Critique on the Bester's Camp upgrade is aimed at the unequal relationship that existed between the various interest groups. Despite the intensive participation, Van Horen (1996) describes the capacity deficit of the residents that was outweighed by the *experience of professionals with extensive technical, financial and political/social skills* (1996:177). Unequal support bases and organisational capacity compounded this imbalance in power relations and undermined the potential sustainability of the outcomes. Important lessons from this example include the understanding that the relationship between project decision-makers and government structures needs to be addressed from the outset (Charlton 2006), with sufficient autonomy remaining at local level, while at the same time ensuring significant connection to power structures *to change established methods* (van Horen 1996:271).

Bester's Camp serves as an example of the radical perspective on informal settlement upgrade because it proposed a method of engagement in

...environments that not only exist in defiance of statutory planning norms and regulations, but indeed are environments that were often established precisely so as NOT to conform to those planning regulations in the first instance (van Horen 1996:2).

The approach to this condition as illustrated at Bester's Camp therefore implies a planning theory that is to be grounded in the *fluid and fragile* social relations in the informal city, from where conventional planning is to be reorganised to *document the outcomes of a development process rather than an initial imposition* (Van Horen 1996:281-282).

Debate surrounding the lessons learnt at Bester's Camp has recently been re-awakened through its publication in the South African Informal City (Poulsen & Silverman 2012) and in a discussion by architectural scholar Sarah Charlton (2006), where the significance of its contribution is recalled. The apparent silence or amnesia regarding the process of this highly successful upgrade contributes to the confusion regarding the disjuncture between progressive upgrading policies and regressive politics currently marking the discourse in South Africa (Huchzermeyer 2011; Pithouse 2011; Tissington 2011a).

Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading (VPUU)

The Violence prevention through Urban Upgrading (VPUU) project in Khyalitsha, Cape Town, offers a contemporary example of an approach to *in-situ* upgrade that could arguably be positioned between the radical support of informal urbanism or a position that could be considered pragmatic in terms of systemic transformation.

In identifying the prevalence of violent crime in the area, a bilateral agreement ensued between the City of Cape Town and the German Government by way of the German Development Bank (Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau) to address the issue from a multi-sectoral perspective, resulting in the VPUU project in 2006 (Haskins 2007). With the understanding that crime and violence occur more frequently in conditions where relative poverty is coupled with weak institutional control, the intention of the VPUU is to facilitate bottom up transformation by means of tangible interventions into crime hot spots that become vehicles for shared decision making platforms. Baseline surveys in which crime and the perception thereof is mapped offer a visual documentation that serves as the starting point for negotiations (Haskins 2007).

A leading figure in the VPUU programme is Michael Krause, who is described by the KwaZulu-Natal Institute for Architecture as a *place maker who believes in negotiating solutions to shape urban environments* (KZNIA 2014). Significantly, Krause spent several years with the architectural firm of Rodney Harber and Associates in Durban, South Africa from 1995, which marks the date that Bester's Camp is considered to have been successfully upgraded (Charlton 2006).

The aim of the VPUU is to facilitate an engaged citizenship through an inclusion into the city (Krause 2013). In addressing the manifest crime that is prevalent in the area, the VPUU becomes a vehicle that focuses on tangible problems and results that extend into the more intangible and complex issues that contribute to the cause of crime and violence. The physical upgrading of neighbourhood facilities, economic development and community development are therefore synonymous with the intention of benefiting the community of Khyalitsha, strengthening business in the existing informal economy, facilitating community involvement and ultimately promoting democratic values and decision-making processes (Chebelyon-Dalizu, Garbowitz, Hause & Thomas 2010; Hardy 2011; Klitzner 2014; Ngxisa 2012; VPUU 2014).

Methods employed to achieve these objectives include participatory mapping processes that inform Baseline Surveys, from where Community Action Plans are developed. Visual and verbal representations are made through the use of Power Point presentations, drawings, sketch designs, maps, plans and photographs. Community stakeholders are involved in the development of these action plans that are then communicated to the city authorities, NGOs and private sector partners. The focus is then on the physical upgrade of spaces that are *derelict, unused, poorly lit, littered and problematic from a crime point of view* (Krause 2013). By actively occupying these spaces with buildings that have new uses, positive transformation is attained (Krause 2013).

The VPUU project partners include several architectural and landscape architecture firms that are briefed according to the parameters as developed in the community action plan, giving rise to enhanced public spaces such as Harare Square, the Harare Library and the Emthonjeni water points. Literature suggests that these spaces have thus far managed to escape vandalism and are maintained by the communities who have taken emotional ownership of the facilities (Hardy 2011; Klitzner 2014; Krause 2013).

Critique of the VPUU suggests that the participative processes are not comprehensive enough in their representation and that the programme is not well aligned with overarching national and regional upgrading strategies affecting the greater Metropolitan area of Cape Town (Ngxiza 2012; Piper 2012 in Jordhus-Lier & Tsolekile de Wet 2013).

Interest in this project is twofold. Firstly, it can be seen as a continuation of the lessons learnt at Bester's Camp, where attention is focused on the strengthening of capacity within community structures to increase participation in the decision-making process. Secondly, the involvement of the architectural profession in the programme signifies the potential value of its inclusion within the parameters of Community Action Planning methods.

It cannot be conclusively argued that the VPUU programme occupies a radically subversive position with regard to *in-situ* upgrading because it is initiated and endorsed by institutional powers of authority (City of Cape Town, the German Government, NGOs and professional practices). It does, however, accept the norms of the informal settlement, along with its norms

of informal economy and social structures as the definitive parameters for engagement (Chebelyon-Dalizu et al 2010; Jordhus-Lier & Tsolekile de Wet 2013). This places the VPUU programme between *radical* and *pragmatic*, therefore suggesting transformation of the status quo as well as the transformation of the informal settlement.

In terms of its relevance to the architectural profession, the same holds true. The focus on community engagement does not negate the profession, nor does it negate the tacit value of the endemic knowledge base. Rather, the VPUU suggests transformation in both directions, enhancing a virtuous triangle between formal authority structures, social capital inherent in the resident community and the resource base of civil society inclusive of NGOs, private sector funding and built environment professionals. The example provided by the VPUU, as with the case of Bester's Camp, offer tangible evidence of the democratic potential of such multi-sectoral engagement, yet remain isolated in their success.

2.3.4. Conclusion: SA discourse on informal settlement upgrade

From this overview, it is evident that the body of discourse in South Africa related to informal settlements and their upgrading has grown in the period following Huchzermeyer's (1999) concern that the issue was *unpoliticised and poorly debated*.

Within the policy landscape, significant shifts towards the acknowledgement of informal settlements and the need to address ways of achieving their upgrade have been noted. From having no policy with regard to informal settlement upgrade prior to 1994 (Huchzermeyer 1999), the National Housing Policy now boasts various instruments through which informal settlements can be approached, as a further elaboration on the right to housing as enshrined in the South African Constitution (1996):

- National Housing Code (2009)
 - Under the Incremental Housing Programme, the Upgrading of Informal Settlements (UISP) makes specific provision for *in-situ* upgrade, with resettlement as a last resort.
- National Upgrade Support Programme (NUSP) established in 2009
 - Supports the National Department of Human Settlements in the objective of eventually upgrading all the informal settlements in the country
 - Confirmed and supported in the Outcome 8 Delivery Agreements with the

- Presidency (2010)
 - o Part of the National Development Plan Chapter 8 (2011)
- Enhanced People's Process (EPPH)
 - o Institutional support mechanisms to enable communities to improve their housing incrementally
- Housing Development Agency
 - o Acquisition of well-located land for development
 - o Collaboration with municipal and provincial authorities
- Neighbourhood Development Partnership Programme
 - o Supported by National Treasury
 - o Supports quality of life improvements in townships through community infrastructure and private sector development
 - o Focus on nodal and precinct developments
- Outcome 8 Delivery Agreements (2010)
 - o Support of NUSP confirmed
 - o Upgrade of 400 000 households on well-located land
- National Planning Commission: National Development Plan Chapter 8 Human Settlements
 - o Support of Outcome 8 Delivery Agreement
 - o Recognition of role played by informal settlements in the built environment
 - o Emphasis on support for the upgrading programmes

An inherent condition of the collective housing programmes is that the government assumes the role of provider, which is critiqued for its perpetuation of the cycle of dependency and entitlement (Fig 2.7). This manifests in a culture of patience on the one hand, as people refer to a *housing queue* or *waiting list*, debunked by Tissington et al (2013) as a myth that contributes to social inequity. On the other hand, scholars suggest that the increasing prevalence of violent service-delivery protests indicates a simmering dissatisfaction with what is perceived to be a disjuncture between policy and practice. Interchanging the terminology of *upgrade* with *eradication* is cited as an example of leading government officials revealing an inherently anti-poor sentiment in their quest to establish world-class cities. Huchzermeyer (2011) and Pithouse (2009) argue that this indicates a lack of adequate resolution in the South African discourse, and enforces the political hegemony of the ruling African National Congress party, that displays intolerance of the potential political threat in informal settlements.

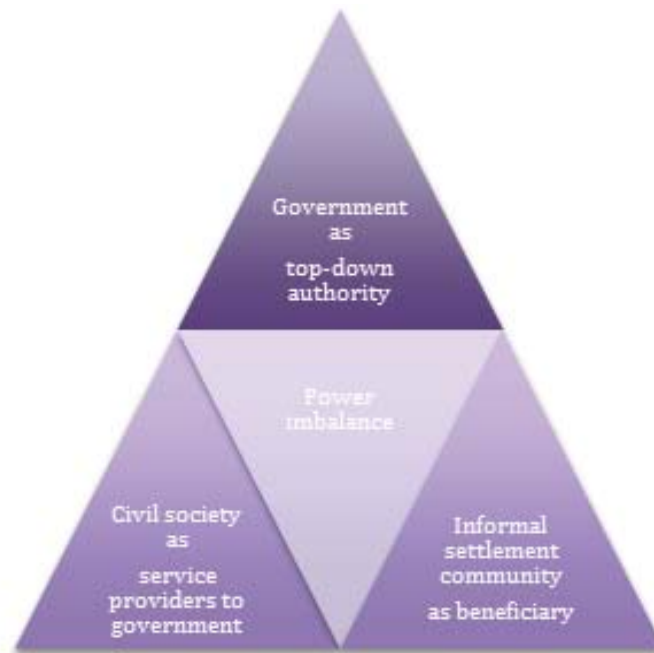


Figure 2.7: Power relations in the South African scenario

Further to this perceived ambivalence inscribed in the issue of informal settlements, it has been useful to establish categories of hierarchy in order to position contributions to the discourse:

- Assuming a *pejorative view* with regard to informal settlements, the remedial action would entail *eradication* or forced removal. This is illustrated in the challenge posed by Abahlali BaseMjondolo against the KwaZulu-Natal Elimination and Prevention of Re-emergence of Slums Act 6 of 2007.
- Where informal settlements are considered to be a *problem*, it could be argued that a *solutions-driven approach* would ensue. This is illustrated in the South African policy context, where various solutions are proposed to alleviate the problem by way of government intervention.
- In a *pragmatic* approach, informal settlements are viewed as loci of transition towards inclusion into the formal system, therefore indicating an *incremental* approach to upgrading, such as those provided for in the EPHP and incremental tenure provision.

In all three these scenarios, the current status quo is not fundamentally challenged, as it is considered to be the aspirational model from where influence is exerted. On the academic

left of centre, however, there is an argument for the positive assertion of political rights that is seen as convergent with the prevalence of informal settlements:

- A *radical* position regarding informal settlement upgrade would therefore be the acknowledgement of the social rights of residents in informal settlements and the recognition of survival strategies in these settlements as important contributions towards an urbanisation model currently failing to ensure full citizenship. From this perspective, the status quo is viewed critically as a perpetrator of basic human rights violation. The negotiated and complex vernacular in informal settlements is therefore supported and enhanced with as little disturbance as possible through *in-situ upgrade*.

The architectural profession is largely omitted from any of the policy considerations regarding informal settlement upgrades. As much as provision is made for various built environment professionals including geologists, engineers and town planners, no mention is made of the potential contribution expected from architects. An inclusion can be inferred in certain programmes, such as the Neighbourhood Partnership Programme, where the design of development nodes and precincts is considered, but there is no specific indication of the role to be undertaken by architects in these programmes.

Despite this omission, certain examples of architectural involvement in informal settlement upgrade have been reviewed and considered within the categories as described above:

- Seen as an illustration of a *pejorative* view, various projects associated with the N2 Gateway project are regarded as having very little consideration for the socio-political impact of the idealistic New Urbanist models that were proposed, rewarded and partly constructed. The forced relocations required to impose these projects and the lack of affordability of the end-product confirm the jaundiced view expressed towards the informal settlements that previously occupied the site.
- In support of a *problem-based* view of informal settlements, the architectural profession has responded with countless solutions to an improved housing typology, technical resolutions that promise various levels of economic and climatic efficiency all supposedly contributing to an improved quality of life. Of these, the most notorious is Calderwood's (1953) NE 51/9 house that was constructed en masse by the apartheid government and curiously perpetuated through the post-1994 Reconstruction and

Development programme. This housing typology remains unchallenged in government processes, despite repeated concerns voiced in architectural publications and continues to be constructed as part of the housing delivery mandate.

- Within the consideration of *incremental* upgrade, the architectural response appears to be the most active. Here, the intersection between formal and informal processes is deliberated in the potential intermediary role that can be assumed by the profession. The role of design is critically considered in its potential to empower the end user through a process of enablement. From the successes and failures of core housing, to the highly differentiated understanding of open building principles, the underlying issues of control and navigation through power relations inherent to the production of architecture is revealed. Comprehensive neighbourhood design, the variety of choice and economic opportunity is offered in the provision of mixed density housing models that contribute to the incremental growth of urban centres.
- There appear to be few examples that serve to illustrate a *radical* approach to informal settlement upgrade, where existing social structures are respected and enhanced through architectural intervention. Two particular projects illustrate a potential engagement by architects in such a context: Bester's Camp in KwaZulu-Natal (completed in 1995) and the contemporary Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading (VPUU) initiative in Khayelitsha, Cape Town. In both cases, the architectural involvement forms part of an inter-disciplinary partnership approach, with specific attention to comprehensive community participation. In the VPUU much of the primary research is reliant on Community Action Planning principles that serve to underscore the further development of specific projects. This integrated approach results in a support of significant nodal points, systemic integration with the greater metropolitan area and the support of community structures.

From these examples it is clear that the involvement of the architecture profession in the South African discourse on informal settlement upgrade remains tentative in the light of the complexity of this discourse. Apart from being omitted from the entire body of legislation pertaining to informal settlement upgrading, individual practicing architects that have engaged in this context remain isolated in their endeavours, despite intermittent successes.

In terms of institutional positioning, there is no evidence in the Architecture Professions Act No 44 of 2000 (SA 2011) of a specific role to be undertaken by architects with regard to any of the policies as described. Similarly, in codes of conduct described by the South African Council for the Architectural Profession (SACAP), there is no allowance made for performance criteria or terms of reference related to community participation or engagement with a client base existing outside of the statutory framework. On the contrary, all the above institutional guidelines are a confirmation of a systemically entrenched operation of work, which is necessarily the basis of a professional discipline. By its very nature, therefore, the profession of architecture is ensconced within the formal system and serves to uphold that system through its legal acknowledgement. It is therefore not surprising that the condition of informal urbanism poses a fundamental conundrum with which it can be argued, the profession has not yet become engaged on a meaningful level.

It is therefore possible to emulate Huchzermeyer's (1999) sentiment regarding informal settlements in its pertinence vis-à-vis the architectural profession in South Africa in that it remains *un-politicised and poorly debated*.

2.4. Conclusion

Chapter two has served as an overview of selected international examples of informal settlement upgrade programmes and policies in order to investigate the hypothesis that the architecture profession remains marginal to this discourse. The policies and programmes in South Africa have been regarded in greater detail, as the locus of research.

International precedents have been selected on the grounds of their perceived impact on international tendencies as well as their particular influence on the South African discourse, either from an academic perspective or based on international co-operation or agreements.

From this overview, it has been established that architects are not absent from the discourse on informal settlement upgrade. Various instances have been noted in which architects have undertaken activist roles or political leadership in order to influence government policies or programmes. Individual service to low-income communities has been noted in Cuba, in the *Morar Carioca Programme* in Brazil and in the *Community Architect Network* in Asia. Examples of academic institutions engaging with communities and government programmes such as those in Thailand and Indonesia have indicated the potential value that the profession can contribute to the discourse.

The examples cited, however, do not reflect the mainstream of professional endeavor. In the process of investigating the instances of architectural engagement, these exceptional examples indicate an ad-hoc approach varying in range from parastatal agency of provision to transformed practices of participatory design, enablement and social activism. Such differentiated and exploratory approaches rather serve to confirm the hypothesis that the profession remains marginal to the discourse.

In the following chapter, key factors contributing to such a continued marginality will be discussed, framed through the lens of four personal interviews with prominent opinion leaders in the South African discourse. From this meta-discourse, key factors contributing to the marginality will be proposed as the framework for the research question investigating the potential for its mitigation.

Chapter 3

Determining the key factors that contribute to the marginality of architecture in the discourse on informal settlement upgrade

Which ... then suggests a need for shift in the relationship between all three sectors. The marginal player in the relationship needs to have much more opportunity for expressing its wishes and aspirations within the development processes and towards the particular development product: there's a need for much more community voice and choice within the programme. The implications for NGOs, CBOs and the private sector is that there's got to be a greater emphasis on the socio-technical approach rather than the technical approach (Topham 2013).

3.1. Introduction

In the preceding chapter, an overview of literature pertaining to informal urbanism was discussed, situated in certain countries of the global south and specifically in South Africa. The countries were selected on the basis of certain affiliations with or impact on the South African discourse, such as India, where the Shack Dwellers International (SDI) movement had its origin, impacting on the SDI Alliance in South Africa comprising of the Federation of the Urban Poor (FEDUP), Community Organisation Resource Center (CORC) and the Utshani fund (SDI-SA 2014). From a scholarly point of view, Brazil was seen as significant in terms of the South African rights-based position that draws some of its inspiration from similar discussions and precedents in that country (Abbott 2002). Cuba, Chile, Indonesia and Thailand were included for their offering of examples where architects, in particular, were seen to have played a part in the establishment of certain programmes related to informal settlement upgrade. These examples are cited within the South African discourse and were therefore considered relevant for inclusion into the overview (NUSP 2014).

In reviewing the South African discourse on informal settlement upgrade, the policy landscape that has evolved since 1994 was outlined briefly, followed by a discussion on the concern expressed in literature regarding the disjuncture between these policies and their implementation. This discussion led to an analysis of the biased positions that are revealed in the literature in terms of informal urbanism, from a position of extreme prejudice to one of radical embrace of informal urbanism as a counter-systemic assertion of rights. This analysis resonates with a similar categorisation by Huchzermeyer (2011:199) where she suggests that the term *in situ* upgrade has a highly nuanced reading in the South African context. Examples of architectural involvement in the discourse were then posited within these categories in order to establish the nature of current engagement.

From this overview it became apparent that the architectural profession does not occupy a central role in the discourse, despite certain examples where such involvement has indicated a potential benefit. In South Africa the situation is particularly evident in the continued absence of the profession in any of the policies pertaining to informal settlement upgrade.

The central questions posed in the thesis are whether and how this marginality can possibly be addressed, which means that it is important to establish the key factors that are actually contributing to the profession's marginality to the discourse. In order to determine what these key factors could be, pertinent issues arising from the literature review will be discussed in the following chapter, considering them in the light of the profession's engagement to establish whether they can shed some light on the issue.

Pertinent issues are considered to be central themes that have been observed as recurring throughout the literature, sometimes implicit to the discourse and other times explicitly debated as topics deserving scrutiny. These include the following:

- Definition of in situ upgrade of informal settlements
- The transformative mandate implied in programmes relating to informal settlement upgrade
- The impact of the balance of power between government, civil society and communities residing in informal settlements
- The impact of tenure security on the debate
- Participation by the various stakeholders
- The role undertaken by architects

Identification of these themes is reliant on a qualitative assimilation of the literature, rather than a quantitative analysis of recurrence. It may be contested that some of these issues are not as important as claimed, therefore requiring a form of corroboration in order to confirm their significance.

The method employed to corroborate these preliminary findings emanating from the literature review takes on the form of semi-structured interviews (Addendum 3.1; 3.2) with experts in the field of informal settlement upgrade in South Africa. The main themes are stated as questions, with sub-questions designed to elaborate on their position and interpretation of the proposed considerations. Abbreviated versions of the individual responses have been documented in order to access the salient points in a comparative table. Brief summaries of the responses then serve to illustrate the collective stance, thus confirming or refuting the contention that these central themes constitute important aspects of the discourse. From these distillations, key factors are derived that currently contribute to the marginality of architecture to the discourse and therefore need to be addressed.

Selection of the interviewees follows on their contribution to the discourse as derived from the literature overview. Architects practicing in the field have not been included into this selection as the overview of work undertaken in the South African context indicated that the greatest contribution to the discourse emanated from a limited number of scholarly authors and academics. The central question in this chapter is not concerned with determining a comprehensive dataset to establish the key factors; rather it was considered important to confirm that these factors are indeed of consequence in terms of the ensuing investigation. The interviewees therefore provide a highly specialised and well-informed spectrum of views on the discourse in South Africa.

Professor Marie Huchzermeyer has authored and edited several books (Addendum 3.4; 3.5) on the topic of informal settlements following on her PhD (1999) dedicated to the same topic. Her recent single-authored book *Cities with Slums: A Right to the City in Africa* (2011) offers a comprehensive and exhaustive discussion on the topic explicating a rights-based perspective in the face of the UN Habitat Millennium Development Goals. Her books and articles are often cited by other commentators in the field and she is recognised for her *consistent and principled* (Pithouse 2009) views on the subject.

Dr Mark Napier (Addendum 3.6; 3.7) has contributed much to the discourse on incremental housing, with a PhD (2002) concerned with core housing in Durban and Cape Town. His work at the NGO Urban LandMark is referred to in much of the discourse surrounding informal settlement upgrading.

From an architectural perspective, Professor Lone Poulsen (Addendum 3.3) is included for her many years of experience in the educational context, as well as due to the work she has undertaken as a practitioner in the field of informal settlement upgrade. The book that she co-edited with Melinda Silverman, *The South African Informal City* (2012), represents a particular attempt at documenting and disseminating work that has been undertaken by the profession in South Africa, therefore presenting an important consideration in this thesis.

As a co-ordinator of the National Upgrade Support Programme (NUSP), Mr Steve Topham represents a seminal position in this government-led programme, although much of his experience comes from the NGO sector (Addendum 3.8; 3.8.1; 3.9). Having been involved with

the development of the NUSP since its inception and currently tasked with its implementation, his view of the discourse and role players within it are considered important to this discussion.

Identification of the pertinent issues evident in the discourse serves as a parameter to gauge the current contribution by the architectural profession, or to confirm its marginality. By ascertaining the profession's stance on these issues, they may be considered as constituting key factors that contribute to the apparent state of marginality.

The second sub-question of the thesis is therefore addressed, namely determining what the key factors are that contribute to the marginality of the architectural profession to the discourse on informal settlements.

3.2. Definition of In Situ Upgrade of Informal Settlements

From the literature review, it has become apparent that various nuances regarding the upgrade of informal settlements may exist, even in terms of a shared understanding of in situ upgrade. Huchzermeyer (2011:199) points to the flexible interpretation that has followed in the wake of the Millennium Development Goals of creating *Slum-Free Cities*, a term that has fuelled anti-poor sentiment and given rise to the eradication of settlements in the pursuit of *World Class* cities (Roy 2013).

In the Latin American context, a shift in perception is noted, where informality is increasingly viewed as an asset (Leguia 2011; Fabricius 2011), with value attached to the benefits of self-help construction. Navarro-Sertich (2011) warns against a romanticised view of architectural interventions that are seen as *urban acupuncture*, but in fact fall victim to an objectification she terms as *Favela Chic*.

The Kampung Improvement Programme in Indonesia is widely recognised for its contribution to in situ upgrade processes. *Kampungs* are viewed as *tight agglomerations of continuous and incrementally developed self-help housing* (Kenworthy 1997), which is distinguished from *wild settlements* (Winayati 2004) that are located under bridges, along railways and on otherwise marginalised land. In such settlement, eradication and relocation is favoured, rather than the in situ processes applied to the *kampungs*.

Literature emanating from India presents contentious definitions of slums, their recognition, redevelopment or eradication. In situ upgrade often implies minimal interventions (Huchzermeyer 2013) that do little to improve the life of residents, where relocation is reported to benefit developers more than beneficiaries largely due to poor construction standards (Ramanath 2005).

The Baan Mankong programme in Thailand represents a highly differentiated approach to informal settlement upgrade. In situ improvements where existing block layout is maintained, re-blocking for improved infrastructure, on-site reconstruction and land sharing are some of the strategies employed before considering relocation of the community (UN-Habitat 2009).

In the South African discourse, four categories of bias have been identified as underpinning an approach to informal settlement upgrade. These include a pejorative view, where eradication is favoured; a problem-based view in which requisite solutions are sought; a pragmatic view in which informal settlements are seen as transitional, therefore suited to incremental upgrade and, from a more radical perspective, a rights-based view where the existing social structures operating in the settlement are enhanced and supported through upgrade interventions.

For this reason, the first question posed seeks to establish the interviewees' definition regarding informal settlements:

- Huchzermeyer (2013)
 - *Land is occupied without planning*
 - *Land is occupied without permission from owner*
 - *Building regulations aren't adhered to*
- Napier (2013)
 - *Combination of temporary building materials; uncertain land rights; whether people own the land or not*
 - *Combination of legal and illegal conditions (land/ structure)*
 - *Not recognized in law*
 - *Correlated with poverty, overcrowding and lack of urban services*

- Poulsen (2013)
 - *Any settlement that doesn't have services, basic infrastructure, characterized by informal top structures*
- Topham (2013)
 - *Part 3 of National Housing code: illegality; informality; low levels of investment; high social stress*
 - *Urban areas: high levels of growth; in-migration; large numbers of people concentrated on marginal land*

Possible differences were pointed out between urban areas that are contested in terms of occupancy and peri-urban or customary areas where certain land rights may be in place, but the built fabric remains of a temporary nature, presenting as informal settlements despite a level of tenure security. Topham (2013) emphasised the role of the National Upgrade Support Programme in what is considered to be an *informal settlement emergency*, largely based on the high political profile currently seen in the increased levels of service delivery protests (Von Holdt, Langa, Molapo, Mogapi, Ngubeni, Dlamini & Kirsten 2011).

Secondly, the interviewees' definition regarding the term *in situ* upgrade of informal settlement upgrade was noted:

- Huchzermeyer (2013)
 - *Introduction of infrastructure*
 - *Securing tenure*
 - *Leaving people where they are without disrupting them*
- Napier (2013)
 - *Upgrading urban services*
 - *Inserting housing where people live*
 - *Rollover upgrading*
 - *Working with layout as people have designed it themselves*
- Poulsen (2013)
 - *Upgrading where people are living*
 - *May include shared services*
 - *Harnessing what has been established, improving conditions there*

- Topham (2013)
 - *Interaction between provision of shelter and strengthening livelihoods*
 - *Minimise negative impact on social structures*
 - *Upgrade people where they are*
 - *High level of engagement and choice*
 - *Process rather than product*
 - *Downside: Marginal land (radioactive; undermined; dolomite), extremely high densities, poor urban opportunities.*

Although the literature review has indicated a disparity in the understanding of in situ upgrading, the interviewees represent a shared view thereof, where the focus is on maintaining the active social network structures that contribute toward resilience in the urban poor societies. Their stated positions in terms of such *in situ* upgrade are as follows:

- Huchzermeyer (2013)
 - *Legal position in which Housing Code is an extension of the law*
 - *Rights-based*
 - *Responsibility lies with the government (constitution)*
- Napier (2013)
 - *Not automatically a good thing: Need to determine causal factors and best options*
- Poulsen (2013)
 - *Critical component of meeting the housing needs of South Africa*
- Topham (2013)
 - *Strong promoter of in situ upgrading*

The positions held by the interviewees represent a progressive view of in situ upgrade, with a general understanding that government mechanisms ought to be responsive to the situation. Where Topham (2013) proposes that such a position is in fact being supported by the National Upgrade Support Programme, Huchzermeyer (2013) suggests that this support is achieved largely by way of judicial challenges to government. Poulsen (2013) and Napier (2013) assume a collaborative position in which the responsibility for delivery remains with government, but with the understanding that alternative processes are required for the in situ facilitation.

It can therefore be concluded that the definition of informal settlements and in situ upgrade are to be viewed as pertinent issues arising from the literature review, with the following aspects corroborated through the responses from the interviewees (Table 3.1).

Table 3.1: Definition of in situ upgrade of informal settlements as key factor		
Definition of informal settlements		
	<i>Contested legal condition</i>	MH; MN; ST
	<i>Lack of services</i>	MN; LP
	<i>High social stress and poverty</i>	MN; ST
Position regarding in situ upgrade		
	<i>Pejorative: Eradication</i>	
	<i>Problem-based: Solutions-driven</i>	ST
	<i>Pragmatic: Incrementalism</i>	MN
	<i>Radical: In situ upgrade</i>	MH; LP

The literature review did not reveal a stated position regarding such a definition from within the architectural profession. This enforces the hypothesis that the profession remains marginal to the discourse. It can therefore be argued that assuming a stated theoretical position with regard to in situ informal settlement upgrade is a key factor that needs to be addressed in order to contribute to the discourse.

3.3. Transformative mandate

The literature review suggests that there is an increasing prevalence of informal settlements across the globe (TUM 2013) appearing to have its origin in circumstances related to sudden economic and political shifts leading to rapid urbanisation. At the core of the current condition, there seem to be three major factors contributing to this. Increased industrialisation (Leguia 2011; Ramanath 2005) and post-colonial patterns of inherited segregation (Huchzermeyer 2013; Sihombing 2004) providing the historical causal factors. Added to this, these patterns have been exacerbated by the neo-liberal onslaught of unfettered capitalism and exploitation (Archer 2012; Fieuw 2011; Ramanath 2005).

Arguments for transformation range from decisive government intervention to community-led rights-based activism. Government intervention strategies have shifted from large-scale eradication (Archer 2012; Huchzermeyer 2011; Ramanath 2005; Winayati 2004) to the provision of large-scale housing (Archer 2012; Gilbert 2004, 2014; Tissington 2011) and in some cases in situ upgrade facilitation (Acioly 2001; Boonyabantha 2005; Fabricius 2011; Frenz 2007; Gomez 2013; Kenworthy 1997; NUSP 2014; SA 2009c; Valladares 2013). As much as international

development institutions are spending billions of dollars on research and aid in various forms (Burra 2005; Cities Alliance 2009; Imperato & Ruster 2003; Patel 2001; UN Habitat 2013), critics accuse these very institutions of contributing to the current issues due to their market-oriented mechanisms of control (Girdner 2011; Jones 2009; Peck & Tickell 2002).

A less radical approach to transformation is presented in literature that is focused on the physical upgrade of these settlements with varying levels of partnerships and collaboration between communities, civil society and government bodies (Archer 2012; Appadurai 2002; Landman & Napier 2010; Patel 2001; Wakely & Riley 2010). Non-government organisations assume roles largely dependent on the conditions in particular countries, supporting governments in terms of loans (Krause 2013; Van Horen 1996), community based organisations in terms of resources (Appadurai 2002; Ramanath 2005) or civil society in terms of facilitation (Gorgens & Van Donk 2012).

The upgrade of informal settlements therefore implies a mandate for transformation that extends beyond the conditions in the settlement itself, reaching into the macro- economic policies of a country through to the political structures of governance at national and regional scales. For this reason, it is included as a question to the interviewees to establish whether the consideration of transformation can indeed be considered to be a pertinent issue in the discourse.

Q: To what extent does the phenomenon of informality determine a transformative mandate?

- Huchzermeyer (2013)
 - *Land invasion itself can be interpreted as transformative, making an important contribution to the way the city develops*
 - *Substantial transformation of planning systems required*
 - *Transformative intervention required*
- Napier (2013)
 - *Causative factors: historical and economic factors*
 - *Insufficient land released by municipalities*
 - *Formal system expensive*
 - *Transformation of underlying issues of justice and access required*

- Poulsen (2013)
 - *Transformation requires integration of settlements into city: full citizenship*
- Topham (2013)
 - *Mandate limited to improvement of immediate circumstances*
 - *Influence of globalisation on national economy irrefutable*
 - *In agreement with radical and political transformation to bring about redistributive agenda.*

There appears to be a shared understanding that informal settlements in South Africa are indicative of causal factors relating to political and economic conditions that are both inherited from the apartheid era as well as perpetuated in the current dispensation. International influence of neoliberalism is recognised for its impact on the national economy. Manifesting in the immediacy of social injustice, impaired citizenship and lack of access and urban opportunity, there is consensus amongst the interviewees that transformation at various levels is required.

From the rights-based perspective, Huchzermeyer (2013) contends that the settlements themselves present a transformative impulse towards the development of more equitable and responsive cities, pointing the way for the reform of planning systems per se. Poulsen (2013) and Napier (2013) point out the need for integration into the formal city, thereby addressing issues of social justice and citizenship. The mandate as interpreted in the National Upgrade Support Programme (NUSP) is, according to Topham (2013) focused on the immediate requirements presented in the settlements, rather than a systemically transformative view. Despite declaring his agreement with overall economic and political transformation, the task of problematising the upgrade process to achievable goals underpins the position presented.

Q: What are the key factors that would require transformation?

- Huchzermeyer (2013)
 - *Move away from the individualised*
 - *Require solidarity*
- Napier (2013)
 - *Rapid land release*

- *Stimulating complex housing supply*
- Poulsen (2013)
 - *Community enablement*
 - *Facilitation of live-able environments*
 - *Transformation of government officials mindsets*
- Topham (2013)
 - *Bureaucracy not ideally suited to task of informal settlement upgrade*
 - *Having to understand key areas of intervention, building those into administrative processes*

In terms of the current ANC government's policies regarding informal settlements, there is agreement among those interviewed that the disparity between the theoretically progressive, pro-poor policies and their implementation leaves much to be desired in terms of social equity for those still trapped in similar conditions. A lack of solidarity is pointed out by Huchzermeyer (2013), supported by Poulsen (2013), who suggests that government officials see informal settlements as a problem. Administration of upgrade processes requires alternative models, such as the stimulation of various housing options as suggested by Napier (2013) and the re-tooling of the bureaucratic mechanism itself (Topham 2013).

A key consideration in the discourse on informal settlement upgrading resides in the understanding of transformation, at what scale it is required and what factors in the process ought to be subjected to such transformation. This ranges from national policy considerations to methodological approaches in planning and implementation disciplines. Fundamentally, however, it requires a critical view of the systemic parameters defining social justice, citizenship and inclusion as manifested in the urban realm. It can therefore be argued that a stated position regarding transformation is a pertinent issue in the discourse on informal settlement upgrade.

In order to address the current marginality of the architectural profession to the discourse, it is thus proposed that a key factor would be to assume a theoretical position on the issue of transformation (Table 3.2).

Table 3.2: Transformative mandate as key factor		
Informality as consequence of status quo		
	<i>Causative factors historical and economic</i>	MN; ST
	<i>Justice, access and citizenship contested</i>	MH; MN; LP; ST
Level of transformation required		
	<i>Planning systems require transformation</i>	MH
	<i>Move away from individualised systems</i>	MH
	<i>Stimulation of complex housing supply</i>	MN
	<i>Administrative processes require transformation</i>	LP; ST

3.4. Tri-sectoral balance

An important cross-cutting theme observed in examples cited in the literature review, is the impact of the balance of power relations in a country at any given time between government, civil society and community.

Government implies bodies of authority at a national, regional or municipal scale. The ultimate responsibility of ensuring governance of metropolitan areas is necessarily flawed in circumstances where informal settlements have been able to flourish. Poor inter-sectoral co-ordination, fragmented or incoherent policy mechanisms and corrupt officials all contribute to a situation where adequate provision for urbanisation along with socio-economic frameworks for stable growth are in short supply (Appadurai 2002; Ramanath 2005). Most of the examples cited, however, indicate a general willingness of such government bodies to address their problems (Brakarz & Aduan 2004; Gilbert 2004; Handzik 2010; SA Presidency 2011; Santosa 2000; Valladares 2013). The case of Thailand, especially, indicates a government willing to open itself to transformation from within its constituent body, facilitating pro-active and progressive policies of enablement (Archer 2012). In many cases, one is able to trace the shift in policy thinking from one of eradication to the upgrade of informal settlements (Leguia 2011; NUSP 2014; Ramanath 2005; Sihombing 2004). The confidence of a ruling party also seems to be reflected in this type of policy shift, where authorities are prepared to engage with the often volatile social and political conditions found in informal settlements (Boonyabanha 2005).

Civil society in this instance includes private enterprise, developers, professionals and tertiary institutions. This sector of society is mostly seconded by government authorities to render a service, or to become the implementing agents of policy (Dowling 2006; Handzik 2010; SA 2009; Valladares 2013). In many of the examples studied, however, the upgrade initiative has

been taken by this sector as a counter-measure to government's ineptitude or resistance to change (Appadurai 2002; Ramanath 2005; van Horen 1996). The resources represented by this sector of society are significant in terms of the problems posed by informality. Where these resources have been unlocked either by virtue of government employment, volunteerism or, very rarely, in service of the communities themselves, the results have been mostly transformative.

The third sector under consideration is the resident *community* of an informal settlement. Such a community is understood as being defined by the temporal geographic allegiance shared by others experiencing the same conditions. Such communities are not necessarily defined by culture groups, family ties or economic potential. The possibility for such a community to become a stabilised, coherent unit is not considered a prerequisite to their participation in matters affecting them at any given point in time. Leadership, political affiliation, social organisation and hierarchy are therefore fluid and contribute to the complexity of the upgrade debate.

Historically, i.e. 20th century post WW II, the balance between these three sectors has mostly been weighted in favour of government authorities who have often been assisted by the international development agencies in terms of loans as well as intellectual assistance in the formulation of policies (Arimah 2010). The civil society sector is mostly found in service of government and follows directives of implementation, including public participation or not. The third sector (community) rarely manages to achieve their full voice within this power triangle (Fig 3.1).



Figure 3.1: Power relations with government as top-down authority

In the case of India, NGO structures have succeeded in achieving a situation where community-based organisations have become fully acknowledged partners in the upgrade discourse (Patel 2009; Ramanath 2005). In Thailand, this position is encouraged by government as well as civil society, but has yet to become a fully recognised voice (Archer 2012). In the Cuban example, government is supporting the community's participation by making use of its civil society resources in the form of architectural services, thereby bolstering this relationship (Valladares 2013).

The ideal conditions (Fig 3.2) for meaningful upgrade of informal settlements as a countermeasure to the residue of post-colonial spatial inequity as well as the hegemony of neo-liberalism lies in the equilibrium between the three sectors, i.e. where *government* is willing to facilitate *community* initiative and looks to *civil society* resources for implementation; where *civil society* is in service of both *community* and *government*, effecting influence on both; and where, ultimately, the *community* initiate transformation by making use of *civil society* resources as the exercising of their constitutional rights protected and provided for by *government* authorities (Wakely & Riley 2011).

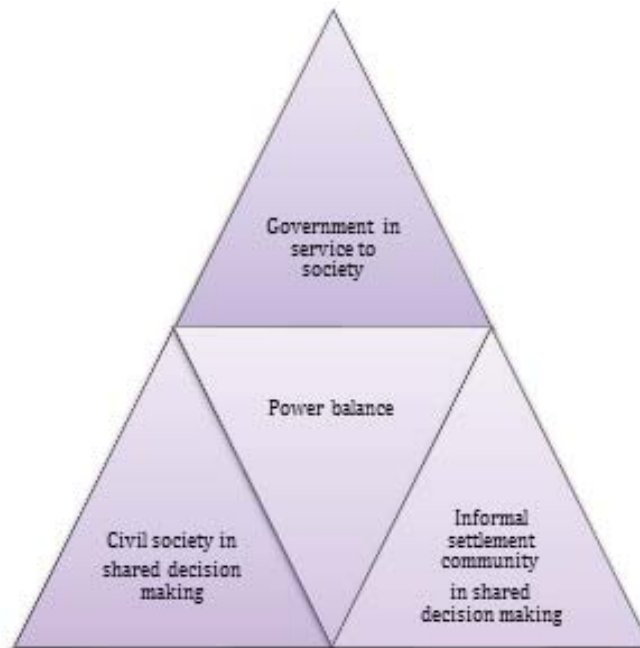


Figure 3.2: Power relations with shared decision making

Q: How would you describe the power relation in South Africa between government, civil society and resident communities in the upgrading process?

- Huchzermeyer (2013)
 - *Definite imbalance*
 - *Communities are resorting to courts to secure (or implement) basic rights*
- Napier (2013)
 - *Government provider (arrogant)*
 - *NGO supports role, engages with government*
 - *Different in every settlement, varying forms of leadership*
- Poulsen (2013)
 - *Government top-down approach: lack of mutual respect*
 - *NGOs prior to 1994 effective agents – subsequently less effective*
 - *Professionals hired by government, community not integrally involved*
- Topham (2013)
 - *Power relations skewed: power rests with state*
 - *Provision model: machine that builds houses*
 - *NGOs:*

- *Support role to communities, critique government programmes*
- *Have lost capacity and funding*
- *CBOs:*
 - *ISN partnership and collaboration with state*
 - *Abahlali Basemjondolo rights-based, confrontational, constitutional entitlement*
- *Private sector:*
 - *Mercenary*
 - *Substitute for lack of capacity in state*
 - *Specialise in parts of delivery process*

There is agreement between the interviewees that a severe imbalance between government, civil society and community exists in the South African scenario. This confirms that such imbalance typifies the conditions surrounding the prevalence of informal settlements, as illustrated in the preceding literature review. In this case the government has assumed the role of providing authority, delivering solutions in a top-down approach that continues to be implemented, despite policies indicating a desire for participation. The dwindling role of NGOs since 1994 in this scenario is pointed out by Napier (2013), Poulsen (2013) and Topham (2013), possibly offering an explanation for the increase in the power imbalance and the increased prevalence of social movements resorting to the courts (Huchzermeyer 2013) in order to assert their position in this triadic relationship. As is evident from these interviews, the role of civil society in the form of professional resources is largely viewed as being in service of the government, thus offering no critical position from which to challenge the existing status quo.

Q: What is mostly responsible for the disjuncture between policy and implementation?

- Huchzermeyer (2013)
 - *Land markets*
 - *Development objectives*
 - *Knowledge gap on the part of government officials in terms of in situ upgrading*
- Napier (2013)
 - *National: Dominant form of delivery is RDP, chapters included in policy to deal with alternative options, not equipped to deliver on these*

- *Provinces are a big problem, shouldn't be there in the first place*
- *Municipal level: not tooled up to institute the upgrades*
- *Accreditation process promises to empower municipalities toward upgrading*
- Poulsen (2013)
 - *Officials not geared toward collaboration*
 - *Lack of skills and knowledge required for upgrading*
 - *Top-down provision of RDP housing*
- Topham (2013)
 - *National:*
 - *Sets policy*
 - *Designs the main programmes*
 - *Allocates budgets*
 - *Provincial:*
 - *Resource allocation to preserve political interest*
 - *Overtaking national imperatives*
 - *Needs close examination*
 - *Municipalities:*
 - *Accreditation according to capacity*
 - *Direct allocations of budgets through Treasury's Development Partnership Grants*

Despite the acknowledgement of progressive policies that are designed to address the issue of upgrading, the interviewees recognise the current lack of capacity and skill, especially in government officials, as a significant contributing factor leading to poor implementation. Further to this, both Topham (2013) and Napier (2013) point to the impeding role played by the provincial government structures, where budgets are allocated to serve interests that are not well aligned with those of the National Department of Human Settlements. The current municipal accreditation process is considered to be a positive means in achieving better accountability and eventual implementation of the policies.

Q: Who are the main drivers of informal settlement upgrade?

- Huchzermeyer (2013)
 - *Small rights-based movements, using the courts*
- Napier (2013)
 - *Cities Alliance*
 - *People (communities in informal settlements) themselves*
 - *Donors, NGOs and commentators like Urban Landmark and Marie Huchzermeyer*
 - *Locally: Municipality of Durban*
 - *The strong push has not come from government*
- Poulsen (2013)
 - *Government: In terms of providing and delivering*
 - *NGOs and academics: principled approach to social justice*
 - *Communities: less organised than prior to 1994*
- Topham (2013)
 - *State-driven process*
 - *Well-capacitated municipal districts*
 - *NUSP: giving resident communities a seat at the table*

Divergent views have been offered regarding the main drivers or proponents of informal settlement upgrade. Whereas Huchzermeyer (2013), Napier (2013) and Poulsen (2013) suggest that the initiative is taken largely by groups outside government structures, such as NGOs and rights-based movements in support of communities as well as those communities themselves, Topham (2013) argues that the main drivers reside within the government structures. It may be argued that the various parties have similar intent, yet are not achieving mutual ground in the process due to the biased positions that were discussed in the literature review: Whereas a rights-based position suggests that meaningful change cannot occur from within the constraints of the current status quo (Roy 2010), a position in which the formal system is considered to be responsible for the provision of solutions, the assumption would follow that government ought to be the main driver for transformation.

Q: How are institutional processes currently designed to support social processes?

- Huchzermeyer (2013)
 - *Civic committees in informal settlements discarded*
 - *Political parties competing for votes override the civic committees*
 - *Municipal mandates taken from political party rather than civic committees*
- Napier (2013)
 - *Municipalities need to be re-tooled to build up institutional capability to deal with in situ upgrade*
 - *Long-term commitment required*
 - *In-house capacity around community engagement required*
 - *Require social workers, anthropologists, development economists*
- Poulsen (2013)
 - *CBOs and NGOs need to be better organised, require greater capacity*
 - *Informal settlement upgrading long-term process, need to establish relationships of trust*
 - *Tendering process fundamentally flawed, not making use of the people with interest and experience in the field, thrusting projects onto communities*
- Topham (2013)
 - *Administration and bureaucracy not designed to support community processes*
 - *Progressive state intentions, willingness to create opportunities, devolution of power*
 - *Most CBO structures weak*
 - *NUSP designed to strengthen community structures*

The social organisation found in informal settlements is, according to Huchzermeyer (2013), underestimated and undervalued. Elected civic committees are concerned with conditions in the settlement and are responsible for maintaining a certain level of order and cohesion. It is from these structures that rights-based organisations draw their mandate. Poulsen (2013), Napier (2013) and Topham (2013), however, are not convinced that these community-based organisations have the capacity or the strength to engage at a significant level. From their perspectives, certain levels of assistance would be required to support such capacity, either in the form of professionals, NGOs or, as in the case of the NUSP programme, a state-assisted

invitation to a place at the table (Topham 2013). These observations are supported in the World Bank report (Mansuri & Rao 2013) in which meaningful participation is prone to failures not only at government or market levels, but also in terms of community structures that suffer from a lack of capacity. Ramovha (2012) confirms this lack of capacity and continuance in community structures as detrimental to meaningful participation in various upgrade endeavours.

Q: What is the institutional position of the architectural profession in terms of informal settlement upgrading?

- Huchzermeyer (2013)
 - *It's a huge challenge to the formal processes in which architecture and planning is embedded and implicated as well.*
- Napier (2013)
 - *Government does not value design at all*
 - *No fees allowed for architecture*
 - *NGOs weakened over the years – less space for professional engagement*
 - *Elitism in the architectural profession*
 - *Designers unwilling to really become involved*
 - *No culture of pro bono work in architecture*
- Poulsen (2013)
 - *Academic career: exposure to informality as part of the course*
 - *Not many architects remain interested: time-consuming, resource-intensive, poor returns*
 - *Highly specialist field*
 - *Government tender processes not geared to making use of the existing resources*
- Topham (2013)
 - *Government has no experience of working with architects*
 - *Architects do not understand what the government programmes require*
 - *Profession geared toward individualism*
 - *Architects not prepared to subordinate themselves to the collective*
 - *Academic exposure of students equal to tokenism*

- o *There is no community architect movement*
- o *Architectural education does not engage with the political aspect of the problem, remains marginal.*

In their views on the institutional position of the architectural profession, it is evident that a condition of marginality exists. From Topham's (2013) perspective in his co-ordination of the National Upgrade Support Programme, practicing architects are ill-equipped to deal with circumstances in informal settlements. He ascribes this to a certain amount of professional arrogance in the decision-making process, where the architectural authorship is valued over the collective community intention. In his experience, even academic or practising architects who have a history of such engagement, arrive at a certain point where they are unable to relate to the wishes of the collective and become more concerned with the objectification of the design. Huchzermeyer (2013) is similarly concerned that the profession itself is inherently tied into the formalised system and that the default position of architecture relies on the design resolution of buildings or urban spaces rather than on the engagement with the more intangible aspect of the informal condition. Poulsen (2013) and Napier (2013) acknowledge the practical conundrum in which architects may be exposed to work in informal settlements during the course of their academic careers, but do not have a clear indication of how to apply these skills in practice. There is no funding mechanism, nor is there a culture of pro bono work that can be tied into any particular programme. This institutional gap is both indicative of the fundamental disparity between formal and informal systems, as well as the lack of meaningful debate in the architectural profession regarding transformation of praxis to engage with the discourse on informal urbanism.

From this discussion, it is clear that in South Africa, as in the international examples that have been reviewed, the phenomenon of informal urbanism is closely related to the imbalance between the three sectors impacting on the matter (Fig 3.3). In this instance, power resides with the current *government* that has assumed the role of provider by way of the mandate ensconced in the constitution (SA 1996).

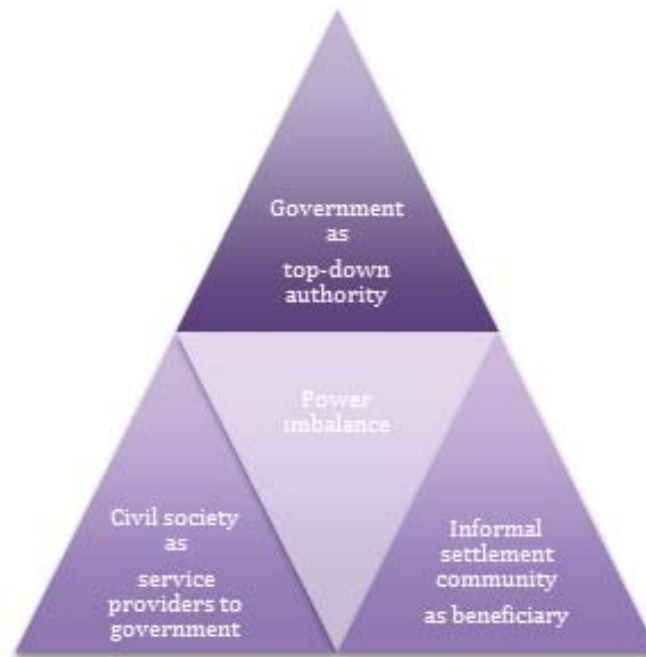


Figure 3.3: Power relations in the South African scenario

In this role, institutional mechanisms have been put in place to encourage participation in the decision-making process, although such processes are ultimately seen as cumbersome and undermined by the bureaucracy that is meant to support it. Severe discrepancies between policy and implementation are seen to follow from this imbalance, where fragile community structures are easily overridden by government officials without the capacity or skills required for collaboration with these communities. Similarly, the lack of capacity within marginalised communities results in failures of leadership and continuity when undertaking upgrading processes.

Response from the *civil society* sector is considered to be weak to marginal, with NGOs increasingly being assimilated into government structures or disbanding due to a lack of funding after 1994. According to Poulsen (2013) there was a *common enemy* that fueled the NGO presence prior to 1994 in the South African context. Originating as a liberation movement, the African National Congress government is therefore hesitantly criticised from within this sector, scholars choosing to effect change within the domain of institutional policy and programmes. Built environment professionals and developers are generally viewed as being in service of government, substituting and contributing to capacity within government.

Certainly a significant component of the imbalance of power relations, especially in the South African context, resides in the lack of capacity, skills and resources in the resident communities of the informal settlements themselves. It is here that Huchzermeyer (2011, 2013) suggests the most significant contribution is being made through the efforts of rights-based activists, who are challenging the government by means of the judiciary system.

Significantly, the architectural profession in South Africa does not offer much contribution either as service provider to government, nor as meaningful liaison between government and community structures. Instances of architects involved in NGOs and occasional involvement in developments such as the N2 Gateway project are dismissed as marginal and ineffectual in the larger scale of the debate. Whereas the profession is intricately linked to upgrading programmes in Brazil, Cuba and Thailand in various forms, it would appear as though the situation in South Africa more closely resembles that of India, where the profession is largely seen as aloof and disengaged with the urgency of the issue.

Which ... then suggests a need for shift in the relationship between all three sectors. The marginal player in the relationship needs to have much more opportunity for expressing its wishes and aspirations within the development processes and towards the particular development product: there's a need for much more community voice and choice within the programme. The implications for NGOs, CBOs and the private sector is that there's got to be a greater emphasis on the socio-technical approach rather than the technical approach (Topham 2013).

A pertinent issue in the discourse on informal settlement upgrade is therefore to be seen in the balance of power between *government*, *civil society* and *communities* residing in informal settlements and the ability of the various sectors to affect this power balance. As a potential resource, the architectural profession may be deployed in the service of government, as a facilitator between the various sectors or as activist on behalf of the communities themselves. In the absence of such a stated position, however, it can be concluded that the profession (in South Africa) remains marginal to the discourse. It would therefore constitute a key factor to

assume a particular position in terms of the tri-sectoral balance of power when addressing this marginality (Table 3.3).

Table 3.3: Tri-sectoral balance of power as a key factor		
Power balance between government, civil society and community		
	<i>Government top-down provision authority</i>	MH; MN; LP; ST
	<i>Civil society and NGOs in service of government</i>	MN; LP; ST
	<i>Communities recipient beneficiaries, collaborative</i>	MH; ST
	<i>Rights-based activists reliant on judiciary</i>	MH
Disjuncture between policy and implementation		
	<i>Politicised development objectives</i>	MH; MN
	<i>Provincial government accountability</i>	MN; ST
	<i>Skills and knowledge gap in government officials</i>	MH; MN; LP; ST
Main drivers of informal settlement upgrade		
	<i>Government policy (NUSP)</i>	LP; ST
	<i>NGOs and academics</i>	MN; LP
	<i>Rights-based activists</i>	MH; LP
Institutional support of social processes		
	<i>Administration and bureaucracy not designed to support community processes</i>	MH; MN; LP; ST
	<i>CBO structures weak, lack of capacity</i>	LP; ST
Institutional position of architectural profession in terms of informal settlement upgrade		
	<i>Architecture implicated in formal processes</i>	MH; MN; LP; ST
	<i>Government provides no allowance/fees for architectural involvement</i>	MN; LP; ST
	<i>Profession elitist</i>	MN; ST
	<i>Profession individualist</i>	ST
	<i>No culture of pro bono work</i>	MN; ST
	<i>No community architecture movement</i>	MN; ST
	<i>Architecture education does not engage with political aspect of the problem</i>	MN; LP; ST

3.5. Tenure security

The issue of tenure security is a hotly contested one and has morphed over time between the various programmes investigated. The demand for security of tenure resulted primarily as a counter-balance to the prevalence of eradication policies (Handzik 2010; Patel 2001; Santosa 2000). The large-scale evictions of pavement dwellers in India (Ramanath 2005), demolition of hutments and overnight relocation of vulnerable people across the globe gave rise to the concern that such heavy-handed approaches ought to be mitigated. Along with this, De Soto (2000) then suggested that informal settlements actually represent a potential opportunity for the release of capital, which could be facilitated by means of tenure regularisation.

From both a philanthropic and financial perspective, the collective consciousness developed that in situ upgrade of informal settlements ought to be given serious consideration and specifically ought to be managed by means of ensuring tenure security (Patel 2001).

Consequences of this legalisation process, however, have not all been of benefit to the urban poor. Rates and taxes are often not affordable and the argument is forwarded that in many cases municipal services are still not rendered, despite the incurring of taxes (Napier 2002).

Another consequence of titling is the gentrification of neighbourhoods, where residents prefer to sell their newly acquired property and move to another peripheral settlement, thereby improving their immediate financial situation. Such gentrification is therefore a *soft eviction*, eroding the collective potential for stabilisation within the community (Handzik 2010; Harvey 2012; Perlman 2003).

In Thailand, security of tenure has been addressed in examples of long-term leases, where the property remains state-owned, but collective rentals are paid by community organisations (ACHR 2008; Archer 2012). In this way, neither financialisation nor individualisation threatens the community's social structure. In Brazil, the legal system allows for a right to use over a right of ownership so that, despite the drive toward individual titling, basic security of tenure is effectively protected by common law (Handzik 2010).

The dangers of an overemphasis on tenure regularisation and home ownership is pointed out in the argument against the vagaries of neo-liberal capitalism. By promoting the concept of housing as an individual asset that can be offered as security against a loan, the principle of

mortgage or credit is inadvertently offered to the urban poor. Despite success stories of micro-loan schemes, the fundamental problem lies in the further pauperisation caused by such financialisation. It is here that the Marxist argument is heard most acutely, in the fact that the most vulnerable and marginalised sectors of society are then bound into the formal economy on an individual basis, shackling them with debt and making it very difficult to escape this poverty trap (Harvey 2012; Jones 2009).

Policies regarding tenure security therefore need to be carefully structured so that the true assets of the informal settlement, namely the resilient social structures and networks, collective support systems and the ability to operate between the lines of an apparently flawed formal system, need to be protected and maintained while ensuring that no forced removal or eradication occurs.

The following questions relate to tenure security in its relevance to the informal settlement upgrade discourse in order to corroborate whether it does in fact constitute a pertinent issue.

Q: What is your view on incremental tenure security?

- Huchzermeyer (2013)
 - *It is appropriate*
 - *Incremental ought to lead to something other than the RDP house and freehold title*
 - *Security of tenure to encourage consolidation*
- Napier (2013)
 - *It is a good thing*
 - *Allows for intermediate administrative recognition*
 - *Allows for eventual full subsidy and freehold title*
 - *Unlocks service investment*
- Poulsen (2013)
 - *Requires alternative skills within government and legislature*
 - *Involves complex legal issues*

Napier (2013) supports the incremental approach to tenure security largely due to the complex array of conditions prevalent in urban poor land markets. The intersection of formal and informal occurs not only in urban contexts, but also on customary land where tenure arrangements fall outside of the strictly formalised system. In the informal context, arrangements between neighbours may be subjected to the overarching civic committees as mentioned by Huchzermeyer (2013), requiring sequential processes of negotiation to establish boundaries before enacting formalisation through surveying and titling. Although he is uncritical of the ultimately individualised subsidy, freehold title and RDP house that is associated with the capital subsidy system (the *Rolls Royce*), the expense of the formalised system implies that an incremental approach would serve to support a greater number of beneficiaries experiencing differing circumstances. Huchzermeyer (2013) points to the potential problem of viewing the incremental process as subservient to this same model, where the eventual outcome is in support of individualisation and undermines the collective strength of the community.

Q: What is the potential of the capital subsidy system to serve as a vehicle for in situ upgrade?

- Huchzermeyer (2013)
 - *Capital subsidy is a supply-side subsidy aimed at benefiting an individual beneficiary*
 - *If used as voucher for purchasing building materials – would assist incremental improvement*
 - *In support of EPHP: contribute to consolidation*
- Napier (2013)
 - *Housing demand individualised through the subsidy*
 - *Waiting list of beneficiary households – destroys community*
 - *Stabilising agenda*
 - *Does not allow for infrastructure funding*
- Poulsen (2013)
 - *Inhibitive to informal settlement upgrade*
 - *Assumption that upgrade implies individual site and RDP house*
 - *Not holistic*
 - *No allowance made for differentiated requirements*

- *Infrastructure and social facilities communal*
- *Overemphasis on the individual*

The individualised capital subsidy system is viewed by the interviewees as contrary in its design to the requirements of in situ upgrading. By *exploding the community into individuals* (Napier 2013), the strength of the collective that exists within the informal settlements is undermined. It is therefore relevant to in situ upgrade to focus on communal facilities such as infrastructure, social spaces and amenities rather than on the individual household requirements. As pointed to by Huchzermeyer (2013), the opportunity of obtaining subsidy per se is not detrimental to the upgrade process, as long as it enhances the consolidation process rather than imposing products on the beneficiaries. By unlocking funds that may be used at the discretion of the beneficiaries, it may be argued that secondary industry and service within the community may be stimulated. In this way, the communal energy would be supported. As seen in the literature review (SA 2009b), the EPHP subsidy in South Africa is supported in policy, with the SDI SA Alliance assimilating the processes through their community-based organisations. This then offers a nuanced version of the capital subsidy system that may serve to assist in in situ upgrading processes.

Q: To what extent is the potential of architectural contribution to the process bound into such a financing model?

- Huchzermeyer (2013)
 - *Architecture makes no contribution*
 - *Fees are too exorbitant*
- Napier (2013)
 - *Capital subsidy: transfer of public money into a private asset*
 - *No allowance made for design fees*
 - *Not well suited to upgrading*
- Poulsen (2013)
 - *Urban design framework critical component of in situ upgrading*
 - *Design of individual houses not the focus*

The capital subsidy system has been translated into the financing of a product-related outcome, where the cost of the top structure is allocated to the various components involved in the procurement and construction. No allowance is made for design due to its standardisation. Individualised design services would be too costly an exercise, according to Huchzermeyer (2013) and Napier (2013), who refer to pro bono work in such a context as a possible alternative. Poulsen (2013), however, suggests that the architectural contribution is to be seen at the collective scale of the urban design framework, where attention is paid to shared social spaces and amenities. This, however, is not related to the capital subsidy system, rather being situated in the EPHP programme (SA 2009b) as well as the Neighbourhood Development Partnership Grant (Pernegger 2007).

Q: To what degree does the legislative constraint of the SANS standards impact on the potential for in situ upgrade?

- Huchzermeyer (2013)
 - *Building regulations applied to standardised RDP houses makes them excessively wasteful*
 - *Architects are bound to building regulations and other standards*
 - *Zones of special interest with by-laws developed collectively by the community would be more appropriate*
- Napier (2013)
 - *Standards are waved in RDP housing and upgrade projects*

Although only two responses were received to this question, the issue of building standards is raised here as one of concern regarding the process of in situ upgrade and the potential role undertaken by architects. Institutionally bound to building regulations (Huchzermeyer 2013), the ramifications of operating in the informal sector and hence outside of the statutory regulations appears to be poorly debated.

Q: In what way can the restructuring of the capital subsidy system respond to the transformative mandate?

- Huchzermeyer (2013)
 - *Socially transformative mandate: Empowerment, balancing social and*

economic inequality, skills development, economic opportunities

- *Need to move away from the individualised*
- *Solidarity is required*
- Napier (2013)
 - *Mechanism required that is not focused on the individual*
 - *Upgrading should happen at settlement level*
 - *Political shift required*
 - *RDP programme has entrenched political power, vote winner*

The main concern of the capital subsidy system resides in its individualisation. Napier (2013) and Huchzermeyer (2013) concur that such individualisation undermines the collective resilience of the informal settlement community. To meet the transformative mandate implied in addressing the conditions contributing to informal urbanism, it can therefore be argued that any subsidy system ought to address the communal concerns of that settlement, from a perspective of solidarity.

In conclusion, therefore, the way tenure security is viewed and translated in informal settlement upgrade constitutes a pertinent issue in the discourse. The biggest concern resides in the commodification of individual property, which serves to undermine community cohesion and collective resilience. In the South African scenario this is exacerbated by the continuing roll out of Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) housing, a vote-winning and oversimplified translation of housing rights entrenched in the constitution (SA 1996). In the consideration of incremental tenure, similarly, the concern is whether such incrementalism supports a holistic infrastructure upgrade or whether it once again serves to explode the community into individuals (Napier 2013). There is general consensus amongst those interviewed that broad settlement scale upgrading ought to be supported, with alternative mechanisms aimed at supporting individual households to effect their own consolidation. Architectural engagement is therefore viewed as having value at the settlement level (Poulsen 2013), with individual assistance seen rather as potential pro bono technical assistance.

Specifically due to the individualised nature of architectural service and its inherent reliance on secured tenure of property as a pre-requisite to employment, this aspect of the discourse

poses a particular challenge when addressing the marginality of the profession in the context of informal settlement upgrade. It is therefore proposed that tenure security should be considered a key factor that needs to be considered in addressing this issue (Table 3.4).

Table 3.4: Tenure Security as a key factor		
Incremental tenure security		
	<i>Intermediate administrative recognition</i>	MH; MN; LP
	<i>Consolidation vs freehold title model</i>	MH; MN
Capital subsidy system as a vehicle for upgrade		
	<i>Housing demand individualised through subsidy</i>	MH; MN; LP
	<i>Inhibitive to upgrade, not holistic</i>	MH; MN; LP
	<i>Potential to contribute to consolidation process</i>	MH
Architectural contribution bound into capital subsidy system		
	<i>Architectural fees exorbitant (individualised)</i>	MH
	<i>No allowance made for design fees</i>	MN
	<i>Urban design framework required, not allowed for in subsidy system</i>	LP
Legislative constraint of building standards		
	<i>Building standards excessive</i>	MH; MN
	<i>Profession bound into standards and regulations</i>	MH
Restructuring of capital subsidy to effect transformation		
	<i>Require mechanism not focused on individual – upgrade at settlement level</i>	MH; MN
	<i>RDP entrenched political power – need radical shift</i>	MN

3.6. Participation

The matter of participation, as illustrated in the overview, is reliant on interpretation by the various role-players. From Arnstein's (1969) *Ladder of Participation* to Abbott's (1996) theoretical premise of participatory methods and the World Bank's policy research report on participation (Mansuri & Rao 2013) it is apparent that this term has many understandings. According to Arnstein (1969), the highest level of participation is to be found at the level of partnership:

Partnership can work most effectively when there is an organized power-base in the community to which the citizen leaders are accountable; when the citizens group has the financial resources to pay its leaders reasonable honoraria for their time-consuming efforts; and when the group has the resources to hire (and fire) its own technicians, lawyers and community organizers. With these ingredients, citizens have some genuine bargaining influence over the outcome of the plan (as long as both parties find it useful to maintain the partnership). One community leader described it 'like coming to city hall with hat on head instead of in hand' (Arnstein 1969:221).

The right to participate or the need to participate ultimately relates to the self-determination over one's circumstances. In this regard, informal settlements actually represent a very powerful manifestation of the impulse where people find themselves outside of the formal regulatory system, inhabiting an environment determined by their own efforts. There is, therefore, a high level of self-determination and participation inherent in self-help construction. When government authorities or civil society then choose to interact with such a settlement, their imposition immediately reduces the level of participation that existed before. In the programmes investigated, participatory processes vary between information sessions (Acioly 2001; Brakarz & Aduan 2004), participatory planning (Boonyabancha 2005), approval by community groups (Elemental 2014) and self-help initiatives assisted by external parties (Patel, Burra & d'Cruz 2001). In all these cases however, the initiative is taken away from the communities themselves. The World Bank (2013) reports that participation should be understood in this context – that as much as it is induced by external parties, that which is

organic within the community should be included as part of the process. Full reliance on community initiative would not serve to accelerate development due to the inevitable failure of such communities that are challenged by the macro-contexts over which they do not have control.

The understanding, therefore, that any significant upgrading of informal settlements is reliant as much on top down or induced participation, as on bottom-up or organic participation can be seen throughout the investigation. Failure of processes and projects to become appropriated or assimilated can mostly be traced back to the lack of mutual participation. This is therefore seen as a pertinent issue arising from the literature review and forms the basis of the following questions posed to the interviewees.

Q: Define your understanding of public participation in terms of in situ upgrading

- Huchzermeyer (2013)
 - *Engaging as a team (of professionals) with the community and collectively coming up with their (community) in situ upgrading plan*
- Napier (2013)
 - *Differentiation between individual, household, community, ward, neighbourhood*
 - *Stages of participation: social protest to applied collaboration*
 - *Capabilities need to be strengthened in order to express demands successfully*
 - *Good example: Monwabisi Park (part of VPUU in Cape Town)*
- Poulsen (2013)
 - *Public participation absolutely critical: harnessing what people have already done and what is possible going forward*
 - *Requires special skills, negotiation*
 - *Not adequately allowed for in tender procedures*
 - *Good example: SDI and CORC*
- Topham (2013)
 - *Community based organisations: ISN partnership approach to government, Abahlali confrontational approach*
 - *NUSP: Encouraging participation in the development process.*

From the interviews, there appears to be a consensual understanding that public participation is an important aspect of the *in situ* upgrading debate. Acknowledgement is given to the fact that organic participation may assume a confrontational position as a starting point. From here, a collaboration or partnership with government may be entered into in order to drive the development further. Both Napier (2013) and Poulsen (2013) stress the need for participation skills to be developed in order to achieve successful outcomes.

Q: What is your position regarding participatory research?

- Huchzermeyer (2013)
 - *It is about hearing what people need and want*
- Poulsen (2013)
 - *Informs how processes happen*
 - *Supported in academic institutions*
 - *Discontinuity of student projects problematic*
- Topham (2013)
 - *Danger of academic tokenism*
 - *Playing around in the backyards of the poor*
 - *Informal communities treated as experiments*
 - *Lack of critical reflection.*

From these interviews, it is important to note the ethical concern raised with regard to participatory research strategies. Despite the potential importance of such research as pointed out by Huchzermeyer (2013) and Poulsen (2013), the critique voiced by Topham (2013) indicates the social responsibility that accompanies such research. Issues of continuity and reflection are considered intrinsic to the potential impact on vulnerable communities.

Q: What is your position regarding collaborative design?

- Huchzermeyer (2013)
 - *Collaborative design is essential: people have to be able to articulate their needs*
 - *Communication of design process important*
 - *Process should not be individualised*

- Poulsen (2013)
 - *Multi-disciplinary teams required*
 - *Input required to test assumptions*
- Topham (2013)
 - *Collaboration could be viewed as sophisticated state strategy of control*
 - *(In terms of possible co-optation) Theoretical position – not applicable to current circumstances*

The reservations that exist in planning literature following on Healy's (1997, 2003) considerations regarding collaborative planning are not in evidence among the interviewees. As stated by Topham (2013), the state intention to encourage collaboration is viewed as an invitation to a seat at the table, rather than as an instrument of control. Huchzermeyer's (2013) positive reinforcement of the importance of collaborative design is indicative of a current desire, also from the rights-based perspective, to be heard in the decision-making process. Poulsen (2013) confirms that collaboration does not imply a binary relationship between designer and client; rather, it implies a far wider inclusion of relevant stakeholders contributing towards a complex production of knowledge.

Q: What is your position regarding participatory urban management?

- Huchzermeyer (2013)
 - *It ought to be considered as best practice for informal settlements*
 - *Ownership is important*
- Poulsen (2013)
 - *Informal settlements need to be managed as efficiently and as effectively as any other part of the city*
 - *Ultimately the mandate lies with the city to ensure management and maintenance*
 - *Important to manage the relationship between informal settlement community and urban management structures in the city.*

Both Huchzermeyer (2013) and Poulsen (2013) emphasise a recognition for the organisational structures within the informal settlements as ones that ought to have a relationship with the

greater urban management structures governing the city. In this way, integration into the city can occur without destroying the ownership and accountability of social structures representing the informal settlement community.

The extent of public participation in the upgrade of informal settlements ranges from social consciousness finding expression in protests, through collaborative practices in the decision making process and eventually in the sphere of urban management. Participants are inclusive of elected community representatives, official stakeholders and professional service providers from a range of disciplines. It can therefore not be limited to a binary relationship of provision or clientele-ism in order to establish a fully participative context. Rather, it requires comprehensive commitment to a shared vision for the process to contribute towards a meaningful, significant and sustained outcome.

Approaches to participation in the informal settlement upgrading process vary substantially, impacting severely on the success of such upgrades. It is therefore considered to be a pertinent issue in the discourse. The position assumed by architects with regard to participation thus constitutes a key factor in addressing the profession's marginality to the debate (Table 3.5).

Table 3.5: Participation as a key factor		
Public participation in informal settlement upgrade		
	<i>Collective engagement between community and professionals</i>	MH; LP; ST
	<i>Stages of participation from protest to collaboration</i>	MN
	<i>Requires skills and capacity development in professional and community body</i>	MN;LP; ST
Participatory research		
	<i>Informs process, offers community voice</i>	MH; LP
	<i>Danger of tokenism, lack of critical reflection</i>	LP; ST
Collaborative design		
	<i>Platform to articulate needs</i>	MH; LP
	<i>Requires multi-disciplinary teams</i>	LP
	<i>Intersection of collective and individual</i>	MH
	<i>Danger in mechanism of control</i>	ST
Participatory urban management		
	<i>Engenders ownership</i>	MH
	<i>Important relationship between informal settlement community and city</i>	LP

3.7. The role of architects

The study suggests that, on the whole, architecture is not considered to be a significant roleplayer in the upgrade of informal settlements. Neither is this concern given much priority in the traditional education or practice of architecture. Where this overlap does occur, shifts in both spheres are evident. It is therefore significant to note that despite such potential impact, the examples cited remain the exception rather than the rule.

In the Kampung Improvement Programme, the influence of Johan Silas and the Department of Architecture at the Institute of Technology Ten September (ITS) manifested in the government's intervention strategies that respected the existing spatial patterns and social structures of the kampungs, extending the assistance to individual improvement of dwellings (Kenworthy 1997). Here, the impact on the architectural identity of the kampungs was an acknowledgement of the authentic cultural identity that could be preserved and enhanced (Pugh 2000). Similarly, in Thailand, through the Baan Mankong Programme, efforts by architects such as Somsook Boonyabanha and her cohort of young professionals are simultaneously supporting the bolstering of an indigenous architectural expression while facilitating policy environments that are transforming conditions within the canal communities (Archer 2012; Boonyabanha 2005). According to Tovivich (2010), however, these successes are yet to influence the mainstream of architectural education and practice in Thailand.

In Brazil, Cuba and Chile, architects are rendering a service to communities through their appointment to government. From the urban upgrade and acupuncture projects such as those seen in the Favela Bairro Programme to innovative use of subsidies as seen in Chile, the collaboration between authorities and the profession are contributing to a new dimension of architectural significance (Leguia 2011).

Individual support to households can be seen in Cuba's Community Architect Programme (Valladares 2013), the POUISO's of the Morar Carioca Programme in Brazil (Gomez 2013) and the Community Architects of Thailand and the Asian Coalition for Housing Rights (Archer 2012). Such assistance in the individual improvement of homes is also documented in the KIP programme (Silas 1992). By engaging on such an intimate level, the access to resources benefits the communities as much as the detail issues of concern ground the strategic thinking processes of the young professionals.

Despite these noted successes, informal settlement upgrade programme descriptions in the countries investigated in the overview do not make explicit reference to the role to be assumed by the architectural profession. In the South African National Upgrading Support Programme (2014), allusion to certain international programmes is made, but not to the role undertaken by architects. Such omission is seen as indicative of a continued perception that the profession has little to offer by way of a contribution to the discourse, thereby presenting itself as a pertinent issue emanating from the literature review. The following questions are aimed at determining the views held by the interviewees regarding the role undertaken by architects in the South African informal settlement context.

Q: What has been your experience of architectural involvement in informal settlement upgrading?

- Huchzermeyer (2013)
 - *I don't think there is much architectural involvement in South Africa*
 - *There are some examples in Latin America, but it's not the norm*
- Napier (2013)
 - *Architects are sometimes involved through NGOs*
- Poulsen (2013)
 - *There is no general involvement by the architectural profession*
 - *It is through people who choose this career path*
 - *Architects and urban designers have the potential to translate what is said and desired into the physical realm*
- Topham (2013)
 - *The government does not have much experience of working with architects*
 - *NUSP tender contracts indicate that architectural profession does not understand the requirements*
 - *Architects are not adequately prepared to work in these conditions*
 - *Architects should pay more attention to the social dimension of their work: need for a socio-technical approach*
 - *Examples such as eco-shack, 10 x 10 sandbag houses all marginal, not mainstream: playing around in the backyards of the poor*
 - *VPUU most progressive urban design component of upgrading project in the country – led by German architect.*

There is general agreement among the interviewees that the architectural profession in South Africa is not significantly involved in informal settlement upgrading. A certain amount of involvement in the NGO sector is mentioned by Napier (2013) and reinforced in discussion by Poulsen (2013) and Topham(2013), with particular mention made by all the interviewees of the role undertaken by Rodney Harber in the Bester's Camp upgrade in Durban in 1995 (Poulsen & Silverman 2012). Mention is made of the VPUU programme in Cape Town under the leadership of Michael Krause (Napier 2013; Topham 2013) who is noted to have spent a certain amount of time in the office of Rodney Harber (KZNIA 2014). It is therefore evident that especially in the South African context, there is marginality bordering on absence of the profession in this discourse.

Q: Is there a space for architectural intervention?

- Huchzermeyer (2013)
 - *There is a dangerous approach to informal settlement upgrading, which is assuming that it can be solved through design*
 - *There is a challenge to design something in a space that is minimal with few resources and doing that appropriately*
 - *It is about the relationship between the architects and the end users without individualising the process*
 - *Architects tend to have individual clients*
- Napier (2013)
 - *People's Housing Process: building centres where technical and design advice was offered, government funded*
 - *Require ongoing government funding to offer such service*
- Topham (2013)
 - *The emphasis in the profession is on individual, technocratic problem solving*
 - *Need to operate within politicised development environment*

From the interviews there was no clear indication that the architectural profession is being called upon to make a contribution. The response is cautious rather than enthusiastic. It would therefore appear that there is a great amount of skepticism regarding the possible space for inclusion of the profession into this arena.

Common denominators in intervention strategies revealed in the overview are in the participatory methods of survey, analysis and mapping, followed by certain levels of collaborative planning and design. Implementation tends to resort back to construction by contractors in the case of large-scale projects or assisted self-help in the case of residential improvements. In the case of Iquique, Chile, the architects engaged the beneficiary community in the planning process mostly to achieve buy-in and in terms of social organisation into the proposed design. After this, the post-implementation phase was reliant on intensely participatory self-help construction as infill to the provision of the *half-house* (Elemental 2014).

Intervention strategies promoted by PK Das in Mumbai are similar to those pursued in Brazil in terms of urban scale anchored by significant built projects (Ramanath 2005). The key difference lies in the confrontational environment of India, where government does not facilitate the process, as opposed to the policy environment in Rio de Janeiro in Brazil, where the Brazil Institute of Architects has been included in the creation of the upgrade programmes and has organised competitions for particular upgrade projects (Acioly 2001; Brakarz & Aduan 2004).

Architectural intervention strategies straddle the realms of academic inquiry, research into the spatial problems and opportunities within informal settlements, interdisciplinary action plans emanating from participatory workshops; collaborative planning and design processes through to implementation. The notion of incremental implementation is suggested in literature, although such examples are rarely encountered as built projects, aside from those undertaken by Elemental in Chile (Elemental 2014).

As illustrated in the South African context, examples of architectural involvement often correspond to a particular position assumed in terms of informal settlement upgrade, ranging from eradication to in situ intervention strategies.

Q: What would you consider to be appropriate strategies for architectural intervention in informal settlement upgrade?

- Huchzermeyer (2013)
 - *There is a defaulting into architecture, defaulting into design (quoting Steve*

Akoth), not seeing the whole picture

- *Everybody should have a right to good and careful design*
- Napier (2013)
 - *Spatial frameworks to be designed by architects and planners*
 - *Community buildings important focal points to structure community: social, economic activities*
 - *Individual households can benefit from technical support service*
- Poulsen (2013)
 - *Good projects ensue when architects are embedded in such work: difficult, requires commitment, partial successes, processes often flawed and interrupted*
 - *Bester's Camp successful*
 - *Urban design framework critical component of informal settlement upgrading*
- Topham (2013)
 - *Not about building houses / making statements / elegant solutions to particular design challenges*
 - *Need to work closely with communities*
 - *Need to work with NGOs*
 - *Need to be subordinate to the process, not product-driven*

In the consideration of architectural intervention strategies, there is concern raised by Topham (2013) and Huchzermeyer (2013) that architects do not engage adequately with the larger issues at stake, preferring to resolve problems by means of design. Despite the potential value of their contribution, the concern is that transformation is required in order to embrace participatory processes that are deeply politicised. Most specifically, there is repeated concern that the profession is suited to individualised service, which per definition undermines the defining condition of informal settlement communities. Napier (2013) and Poulsen (2013), both from architectural backgrounds, are less inclined to dismiss the potential value of the profession's contribution, although they also emphasise the importance of focusing on the collective urban space rather than on the individual household. Napier (2013) reiterates the potential value of individual assistance by way of government-funded service centres, similar to those currently implemented in the Morar Carioca Programme in Rio de Janeiro in Brazil (Gomez 2013).

Ultimately the intention of any upgrade initiatives is tested against its ability to positively impact on a society that is fundamentally disadvantaged in its polarisation between wealth and poverty and the resultant influence on decision-making. The increase in this tension typically gives rise to the prevalence of informality, as people improvise to compensate for the failure of the macro-context to provide conditions of security and stability.

The preceding literature review suggests that intervention strategies may be slanted in favour of an established status quo, thereby further undermining the potential of citizens to participate freely in the public realm, decision-making processes or democracy at large. Such is the critique aimed at the Favela Bairro Programme, which is accused of entrenching and exacerbating the urban polarisation through interventions that do not challenge the fundamental constructs of that society (Lopez de Souza 2010; Riley, Fiori & Ramirez 2001). In the South African discourse, the upgrading policies, incremental housing provision and relocation such as those implemented at the N2 Gateway in Cape Town similarly represent upgrade strategies that remain ensconced within the formal system without challenging the existing balance of power (Huchzermeyer 2011; Newton 2009). Such interventions are therefore not considered to be fundamentally transformative.

Intervention strategies proposed in India by such activists as PK Das (1995), however, suggest that those quite similar projects hold the key to public mobilisation and activism against the flawed policies of the Indian government. In the South African context it could be argued that Bester's Camp in Durban (van Horen 1996) and the VPUU project in Cape Town (Krause 2013) may hint at similarly challenging initiatives aimed at transformation. However, in both these cited examples, the process is effectively managed and initiated from within the formal system, thereby placing them in a slightly less radical position than those promoted in India.

Consensus-building strategies as espoused in the examples of Thailand and Indonesia represent non-confrontational approaches to deep social transformation through architectural intervention. Here it could be argued that the South African examples of Bester's Camp and VPUU similarly achieve transformation more through a process of collaboration than confrontational activism, indicating a macro-context that is possibly more conducive to transformation than the situation presented in India.

The question following on this line of discussion is what would be required of an architectural professional or academic to effect social transformation, if that is what engagement in the context of informal settlement implies.

Q: Under what circumstances could an architectural practitioner/academic be an activist for social transformation?

- Huchzermeyer (2013)
 - *The link is solidarity*
 - *Solidarity is a concept that defines a relationship between poor, excluded, oppressed, disadvantaged and marginalised people and those who have it all*
 - *Not one of philanthropy*
 - *Not one of aid, charity or development*
 - *Mutual understanding, yet conscious of the enormous inequalities*
- Napier (2013)
 - *Requires a culture of engagement*
 - *Training: stimulation of students to engage in projects; lack of continuity when going into practice*
 - *Funded programmes required to encourage two years' community work – create pro-poor engagement mentality*
- Poulsen (2013)
 - *Long-term commitment to a particular community required*
 - *Require relationship of trust*
 - *Practice has to be set up for this kind of work*
 - *Upgrading contracts not awarded to architects*
- Topham (2013)
 - *As with any other profession – to be an agent for transformation: needs personal conviction; life choices; economic choices; making unpopular statements*
 - *Architects to be wider read; broader education; wider social conscience*
 - *Education to encourage questioning; political awareness; encourage debate*
 - *Forced community work undermines the value, not volunteers.*

The potential for architects to assume a transformative role in society from within their professional capacity is seen in different strata of commitment and engagement. From Huchzermeyer's (2013) and Topham's (2013) perspective, there is a personal life choice embodied in the conscious decision to pursue an activist role, where a consistent and self-reflective, critical solidarity is required in order to straddle the conditions of privilege implied in professional status and the marginalisation implied in informal settlements. Although Napier (2013) and Poulsen (2013) also emphasise the need for long-term commitment and consciousness, their position is less radically articulated in terms of the highly politicised position associated with social activism. Napier (2013) suggests that institutionalised community work as an extension of the educational process would assist in raising the level of consciousness, whereas Topham (2013) remains skeptical of such a situation, expressing concern that this would undermine the authenticity of the required commitment.

It is therefore suggested that a stated position regarding social transformation is a prerequisite for engagement in the discourse on informal settlement upgrading (Table 3.6). Situating architectural engagement in the realm of mandatory community work, doing pro bono work as a charitable contribution or committing a career to such an endeavor as a result of conscious solidarity would therefore impact specifically on the level of such engagement.

Table 3.6: Role of Architects as a key factor	
Historical precedent of architectural involvement in informal settlement upgrade	
<i>Few examples of architectural involvement</i>	MH; MN; ST
<i>Architects not adequately prepared for this work, do not understand the requirements</i>	LP; ST
Potential space for architectural intervention	
<i>Danger: default into design</i>	MH
<i>Architecture = individualisation</i>	MH; ST
<i>Technical assistance through EPHP</i>	MN
<i>Technocratic problem-solving, un-politicised</i>	ST
Appropriate strategies for architectural intervention	
<i>Right to careful and good design</i>	MH
<i>Spatial frameworks required</i>	MN; LP
<i>Community buildings as shared focal points to structure community</i>	MN
<i>Commitment to participatory process required</i>	ST
<i>Require shift from product-driven approach</i>	MH; LP; ST
Potential for social activism through architectural engagement	
<i>Solidarity required</i>	MH
<i>Culture of engagement required – pro-poor mentality</i>	MH; MN; LP; ST
<i>Long-term commitment required</i>	MN; LP; ST
<i>Personal conviction required</i>	MH; MN; LP; ST
<i>Education to more politically conscious</i>	MH; MN; LP; ST
<i>Requires debate</i>	ST

3.8. Conclusion

In chapter three, pertinent issues indicating the main themes underscoring the discourse on informal urbanism have been derived from the preceding literature review:

- **Definition of in situ upgrade of informal settlements**
 - It is important to state a definitive position regarding in situ upgrade of informal settlements, ranging from a position of prejudice in which eradication is favoured, to one where a radically rights-based position may underpin a view to enhancing existing social structures.
- **Transformative mandate**
 - An understanding of the current status quo as causal factor contributing to the prevalence of informal settlements is required. The level of systemic transformation implied in an upgrading process impacts on the approach to such an upgrade intervention.
- **Tri-sectoral balance**
 - Inherent to the phenomenon of informal urbanism is an imbalance of power between government, civil society and community. For the architectural profession to engage in the discourse, its position within this power balance is to be investigated and clearly stated: in service of government, as facilitator between stakeholders or in solidarity with communities, thereby augmenting skills capacity in opposition to government.
- **Tenure security**
 - In terms of tenure security, a clear understanding is required regarding the statutory arrangements characterised by informal urbanism. Here it is important for the profession to grapple with its own professional legitimacy and institutional authority. An understanding is required regarding the potential and limitations of the capital subsidy system, the appropriateness of national, municipal or local building regulations and standards as well as the legal position implied by operating in extra-legal conditions. The role, responsibility and professional accountability of the profession in such a context requires unpacking and clarification.
- **Participation**
 - Participatory processes impact on issues of authorship and collaboration at

various levels, from participatory research to the development of action plans, urban design frameworks and collaborative design. This poses one of the most challenging components of the discourse, as the design process itself becomes a vehicle of empowerment or authoritarian control.

- **Role of architects**

- An understanding of current and historical contributions from the profession is required. Critical reflection on strategies or omission from the discourse is needed in order to build a consciousness and enforce a politicised debate. Especially in the educational realm, it becomes imperative to stimulate discussion in order to establish a position regarding transformation, both of the profession itself, as well as the social condition supporting informal urbanism. Debate in terms of mandatory engagement as opposed to voluntary activism is required, from where a position regarding the discourse may be proposed.

The position assumed by the architectural profession vis-à-vis these issues is indicative of the level of engagement with the subject. Due to the fact that the literature does not indicate any clear position on these issues, it can be ascertained that the profession remains marginal to the discourse. Semi-structured interviews conducted with recognised experts in the South African context have served to corroborate these observations in order to discern the key factors that contribute to this marginality.

The second sub-question in the thesis has therefore been answered, namely the identification of the key factors contributing to the marginality of the architectural profession to the discourse on informal settlement upgrade.

Following on the identification of the key factors, it is proposed that a method of engagement be investigated that may serve to address these factors as a platform from which the architectural profession may be better equipped to contribute meaningfully to the discourse. For this purpose the method of engagement developed by Reinhardt Goethert and Nabeel Hamdi (1997) that is internationally recognised for its contribution to the discourse on informal settlement upgrade has been selected: *Community Action Planning* (CAP). Having been awarded the UN Habitat Scroll of Honour (UN Habitat 1997) and developed from within the

folds of architectural education at Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) Special Interest Group in Urban Settlement (SIGUS), the CAP will be investigated for its potential to address the key factors that have been identified.

In this way, it is proposed that the third sub-question of the thesis will be deliberated, namely: How can the factors contributing to this marginality be addressed?

Chapter 4

Community Action Planning as proposed platform for architectural engagement

With the help of a town-planning architect the ancient town was more clearly mapped and interpreted, and even reconstructed in vivid perspective at various phases of its past ... Best of all, a new tide of civic feeling has arisen; pageantry and festivals are more readily undertaken, the atmosphere of citizenship can be more fully breathed, and life at various points is brightened, as community and individuals thus learn anew to interact (Geddes 1968 [1915]:333).

4.1. Introduction

The third sub-question posed in the thesis is how the key factors contributing to marginality of the architectural profession to the discourse on informal settlement upgrade can be addressed. In chapter four, *Community Action Planning* (CAP) will be introduced as such a potential platform of architectural engagement. CAP, developed by Goethert & Hamdi (1997) was awarded the UN-Habitat scroll of Honour in that same year and has been assimilated by global development agencies and Cities Alliance as an accepted mode of practice. Locally, the Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrade (VPUU) project in Cape Town bases its participatory research on CAP methodology. The chronological events preceding CAP will be described to situate it in the context of architecture, planning and development thinking.

The CAP *Wall Chart* developed by the Special Interest Group in Urban Settlement (SIGUS) at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology will serve as the basis for the investigation (Addendum 4.1; 4.2). The step-by-step method described in the Wall Chart includes the following main sections:

- *Introduction: Getting Started and Hints*
- *Statement of Problems and Opportunities*
- *Documentation of Key Information*
- *Making Community Map*
- *Set of Actions and Related Tasks*
- *Plan for Implementation*
- *Monitoring and Evaluation*

As much as CAP has been instrumental in development planning, it has not been widely used for architectural application. Where the CAP methodology is not ideally suited for assimilation into architectural processes, augmentation to some of the stages is proposed. In the *Statement of Problems and Opportunities*, the concern is raised that community needs could be reduced to a commodified *wish list*, thereby undermining potential development. For this reason, an augmentation to the needs assessment is proposed in which verbal, visual and developmental expression is facilitated by way of communal *Testimonio*, hand-drawn images of home as well as a Human Scale Development Matrix. Further to this, it is argued that an understanding of the community structure is a necessary component of the engagement, focusing on the social

capital comprising of the networks active within the settlement under discussion. In this way it is proposed that the *Statement of Problems and Opportunities* may serve to address the key factors contributing to marginality more comprehensively.

As an augmentation to Making the Community Map, it is proposed that current technology facilitated through Participatory Geographic Information System (PGIS) ought to be included as part of the methodology. In this way, the benefits of the participatory process become more inclusive of the community being affected.

In determining the *Set of Actions and Related Tasks*, the role of architects is addressed through the consideration of collaborative design. In this way, the debate that has a history in the planning discipline is brought to the architectural profession.

In augmenting the Plan for Implementation from within the perspective of community architecture, it is proposed that several of the key factors relating to the intersection of individual and collective can be addressed.

Each stage included in the Wall Chart, along with the proposed augmentation, will be discussed and evaluated in terms of their potential to address the key factors identified in chapter three. By including these augmentation measures to the basic tenets of CAP, it is therefore proposed that a platform of engagement would be established that could serve to address the key factors contributing to the marginality of the architectural profession to the discourse on informal settlement upgrade.

4.2. Background and chronological development

Community Action Planning (CAP) is an approach to planning that empowers communities in the design, implementation and management of their own settlement programmes. The key characteristics are that it is participatory, community based, problem driven and fast (Sanoff 2000:55).

The term Community Action Planning was coined by Reinhard Goethert and Nabeel Hamdi in their book *Action Planning for Cities* (1997). Their development of this guiding strategy was,

according to Sanoff (2000), due to the fact that traditional planning methods such as master plans and development plans took too long to develop, demanded substantial resources to implement, were unrelated and were of no real benefit to the poor majority of urban populations. To make this term and the process accessible, a wall chart was developed by the Special Interest Group in Urban Settlements (SIGUS) at Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), School of Architecture and Planning (1997). This chart will serve as the basis for the analysis of the approach.

The history of this planning approach dates back to the influence of notable figures such as Sir Patrick Geddes, Otto Koenigsberger and John F.C. Turner, amongst others, and became especially relevant within the context of the World Bank's development policies in the 1970s that were focused on the provision of sites and services for development (Hamdi 2010:4).

In his book *Cities in Evolution* (1915 first publication), the Scottish urban planner and biologist, Sir Patrick Geddes, forwarded some of his controversial views on cities as evolving organisms. He recognised that the city and its surrounds affect one another as much as the citizens and their involvement affect the identity of a city. The whole is thus seen as a complex outgrowth of the essential identity. He proposed that, to engage with such a city as a planner or designer, it would be necessary to *read* the complex structure of the urban environment before intervening (Meller 1990:318).

Geddes (1915) argued for an approach of *conservative surgery*, implying that interventions ought to be strategically considered in the light of an existing fabric, which had to be well documented and understood. To achieve this, he suggested a stocktaking or survey of the whole city, which would result in a collection of visual images, written sources, statistical tables, diagrams, lists of historical buildings, three-dimensional models, maps, and the like. The first four sections of the survey deal with the geographical and economic conditions of a town as well as with its population. Each aspect was to be considered from both historical and contemporary points of view. The fifth section considers what Geddes (1915) calls the historical survey, whose task is to trace the history of a town as far back as possible, then carry this forward to its present conditions in order to provide an up-to-date picture of its current physical appearance along with its strengths and weaknesses. The last section entailed a wider national and international outlook, a study of precedents – only at this stage were planning and architectural solutions proposed (Welter 2002).

In the description of Geddes' work, Welter (2002:116) cites the example of Balrampur in India, where British planners had wanted to eradicate an entire precinct to introduce a new urban quarter with street grids. Geddes was concerned that the consequences of the expulsion of former inhabitants who could not afford a dwelling in the new quarter, were being ignored. He proposed the amending and improving of an area, rather, by minimising the destruction of existing buildings.

Geddes' contextual approach was based on an understanding that the *City Beautiful must be the result of its own life and labour ... it is the expression of the soul and mood of its people* (Welter 2002:39). Such an understanding of the *genius loci* was therefore considered important so that a resulting city design could express, stimulate and develop that city's highest possibilities and thereby deal with its material and fundamental needs. Rather than being prescriptive, Geddes suggests that the design then becomes a disclosure:

My re-planning has not been designed in the sense of patterns or interventions, but rather has become disclosed, like the solution of a chess problem, by the close study of the board and the pieces on it. There is no other way (Geddes in Welter 2002:116).

To arrive at such a disclosure of the inherent identity of a city, Geddes (1915) attached great value to the historic and geographic survey, which also included involvement by the citizens of the city. He alludes to an example of active civic co-operation in conducting a photographic survey:

With the help of a town-planning architect the ancient town was more clearly mapped and interpreted, and even reconstructed in vivid perspective at various phases of its past ... Best of all, a new tide of civic feeling has arisen; pageantry and festivals are more readily undertaken, the atmosphere of citizenship can be more fully breathed, and life at various points is brightened, as community and individuals thus learn anew to interact (Geddes 1968 [1915]:333).

One of the techniques he suggested as part of the survey work, was the educative walk, which would reveal a *borough soaked with history and crammed with buildings in which even minor decorative elements are full of meaning* (Geddes in Welter 2002:112). Although this could be seen as espousing certain scientific approach, it was the qualitative aspect that Geddes considered important, preferring the narrative to the scholastic. This would lead to a selection by interpretation, followed by recombination into vision, thereby giving rise to the city in deed (Welter 2002:111).

Geddes' influence was not immediate and can be considered to have only achieved scale and importance more than half a century after his work was published. According to Meller (1990), the reason for the perceived failure or disillusionment with survey work was intimately related to the economic problems of the Great Depression. She suggests that the historical origins and built forms of cities seemed of ever less importance and post-war architects were far more excited by the Modern Movement, with its new, bold and appropriate technologies (Meller 1990). Meller (1990) concludes that Geddes' greatest failure was his inability to put across the evolutionary ideas he himself believed in so firmly:

That there was a very direct and important relationship between social development and the built environment ... a socio-biological belief that the root of one's culture, including the heritage of the built environment, were the vital means of achieving the potential for individual growth (Meller 1990:298).

The debate that Geddes had pre-empted was possibly not ready to be taken up in the mainstream due to the novelty and promise of the Modern Movement, which required almost a century to reach creative exhaustion and subsequent reflection, disillusionment and eventual objective understanding.

Otto Koenigsberger, German-born architect fleeing the Nazi regime, became another important figure in India, both as architect and urban planner. As director of Housing for the Government of India during the early post-war years, he is presented by Liscombe (2006) as someone who experienced this change of perspective at close quarters. According to

Liscombe (2006), the anchoring of Koenigsberger's aesthetic compass in the Modern tradition is evident in a draft essay of 1943, in which he espoused the language of modern architecture which articulated material and spiritual value through abstract functional aesthetic.

During Koenigsberger's tenure in India, Le Corbusier was tasked with completing the urban design of Chandigarh. According to Liscombe (2006), the failure of Chandigarh to achieve the multiracial social urbanism that Koenigsberger had hoped for, may have contributed to his changing views on the validity of the modern movement ideals in their application. This disillusionment would also have been influenced by his knowledge of and exposure to Geddes' work. He was certainly familiar with the work published by his contemporary, Jacqueline Tyrwhitt, who authored the book *Geddes in India*, published in 1944.

Whether directly or subliminally, the fundamental doubt in prescriptive master planning would have been influenced by these divergent points of view: Geddes as opposed to Le Corbusier. In 1951, as he was leaving India, Koenigsberger stated his conviction that live organisations needed to be created instead of static master plans. These organisations needed to be anchored locally so that problems could be dealt with as they arose, over time and sustainably (Liscombe 2006).

Liscombe (2006) concludes that Koenigsberger had been convinced through his intellectual and geographic journeys that indigenous public activism was more necessary in the post-colonial city than imposed expert order:

He exchanged a Euro-centric and transcendent view of architectural and planning authority and agency for a concept of design solution primarily situated in the specific located problem of urban settlement (2006:174).

It is then suggested that it was this radical shift in thinking that brought about the inauguration of the School of Tropical Architectures at the Architectural Association (1957) and the establishment of the Department of Development Planning at University College London (1972), which culminated in the prevailing concept of *Action Planning* (Liscombe 2006:157).

The next person to exert an influence, directly or indirectly, on this historical development of *Action Planning* could be considered to be John FC Turner. After graduating from the Architectural Association in 1954, he focused on a study of informal settlements in Peru from which he gained an enormous understanding of and respect for the inhabitants of informal settlements:

... far from being the threatening symptoms of malaise, [squatter settlements] were a triumph of self-help which, overcoming the culture of poverty, evolved over time into fully serviced suburbs, giving their occupants a foothold in the urban economy (Turner 1976:5).

Turner taught at MIT until 1973, then at the Architectural Association and Development Planning Unit, University College London, until 1983 (Right Livelihood Award 2014). The precedent set by Koenigsberger would most certainly have had an influence on his thinking, as is proposed by Richard Harris (2003). In his article *A double irony: the originality and influence of John FC Turner*, Harris (2003) investigates the source of Turner's almost mythical status as the self-help guru, unveiling the line of influence as inclusive of Geddes, Koenigsberger, Jacob Crane as well as Charles Adams. It was Turner, however, who became the recognised voice promoting the concept of control by the end user, with a significant influence on the thinking of the World Bank as well as the UN Habitat's conference agenda in 1976 (Harris 2003).

In his studies of informal settlements in Peru, Turner (1976) espoused the view that overcentralised decision making contributed to the perception of a housing problem:

The moment that housing, a universal human activity, becomes defined as a problem, a housing problem industry is born (Turner 1976:4).

Whereas Geddes was arriving at the conclusion that civic involvement could be beneficial to the understanding of the context of intervention – participation in research – and Koenigsberger was paving the way for participation in the planning process by way of *Action Plans*, it was Turner's role to push the argument to the other extreme of the control barometer, by insisting that the end user ought to have maximum control over the built environment.

Turner (1976) suggests that once dwellers control the major decisions affecting their immediate personal environment, individual and social wellbeing can be achieved. This then impacts directly on the overall environment and economy, engendering a sense of responsibility (1976).

Turner (1976:46) argued that the prevailing large-scale systems were creating the *most segregated cities the world has ever known* and suggested that no personal or local resources such as imagination, initiative, commitment or responsibility, could be leveraged by external powers against the will of the people affected.

It was into this atmosphere of discussion and re-thinking of the role of the architect that Nabeel Hamdi and Reinhard Goethert entered the profession. They both graduated in 1968 – Hamdi from the AA in London (Oxford Brookes 2015), Goethert from North Carolina (MIT SIGUS 2014) – which was a year renowned for student revolutions and waves of radical academic reshuffling. Goethert soon moved to Boston, where he achieved his master's degree at MIT in 1970 and has been lecturing and researching since (MIT SIGUS 2014). Hamdi also gravitated to MIT after working for almost ten years at the Greater London Council, mostly in housing. He was associate professor at MIT between 1981 and 1990, and it was during this period that the association with Reinhard Goethert would have been firmly established. Returning to London, Hamdi founded the master's course in development practice at Oxford Brookes University (Oxford Brookes 2015), where Goethert is still functioning as visiting tutor and critic (MIT SIGUS 2014).

The relationship between London, Boston and development thinking is evident in the foreword to *Making Microplans* (Goethert & Hamdi 1988), in which their work is enthusiastically endorsed by Otto Koenigsberger. There seems to be a trace of skepticism about Turner's famed self-help status, which confirms the close-knit academic cross-referencing:

Many learned and not-so-learned papers have been written on the subject of self-help settlements. Most of them tell us what an excellent solution self-help is in all its many forms, but few tell us what is the first step to translate a poor man's dream into reality (Koenigsberger in Goethert & Hamdi 1988:5).

The hands-on practical approach taken by Goethert & Hamdi (1988) was welcomed both by the academics, as well as the World Bank and UN Habitat, who were expending vast amounts of money on a variety of development approaches in the third world that were delivering mixed results (Hamdi 2010).

Another voice that has been recognised by Hamdi (2010) as having exerted an influence on the interpretation of their experiences, is that of John Habraken. Although there is no direct evidence that suggests Habraken's influence on the development of CAP, his theory of *Support and Infill* (1972), certainly impacted on Hamdi's views on the levels of control and authorship vested with the designer:

The complexities of Habraken's simple idea and the change it would demand in the design and provision of housing and in the roles and responsibilities of experts were significant (Hamdi 2010:xiv).

In 1997, Hamdi and Goethert were awarded the UN Habitat Scroll of Honour for their Community Action Plan (MIT SIGUS 2014). This award was launched by the United Nations Human Settlements Programme in 1989, when it was awarded to *inter alia* Hassan Fathy and Otto Koenigsberger (UN Habitat Scroll of Honour 2014). Currently considered to be the most prestigious human settlements award in the world, it will be interesting for the purposes of this thesis to note that the award has also been bestowed upon Jaime Lerner of Curitiba in Brazil in 1992, Joe Slovo of South Africa in 1995, The South African Homeless People's Federation (currently Federation of the Urban Poor: FEDUP) in 1997 and Rose Molekoane of FEDUP/CORC/SDI in 2005. The aim of the award is

... to acknowledge initiatives which have made outstanding contributions in various fields such as shelter provision, highlighting the plight of the homeless, leadership in post conflict reconstruction, and developing and improving the human settlements and the quality of urban life (UN Habitat Scroll of Honour 2014).

The acknowledgement thus given to an approach to the practice of architecture in development, prepared the way for further investigation in the field. Both Hamdi and Goethert have experimented, taught and written much about the application of their theories and especially the rich bibliography of works authored by Hamdi allows the reader an abundant source of material:

- *Housing without Houses* (1995)
- *Small Change: About the art of practice and the limits of planning in cities* (2004)
- *The Placemaker's Guide to Building Community* (2010).

Reinhard Goethert continues to teach at MIT and heads SIGUS, where courses have been developed to continue the testing and application of the essential CAP (MIT SIGUS 2014). Similarly, the master's course developed by Hamdi at Oxford Brookes, promotes this alternative approach to the practice of architecture (Oxford Brookes University 2014).

Most significantly for the purposes of this dissertation is the continued reference to Goethert and Hamdi's *Community Action Plan (CAP)* in the Cities Alliance Upgrading of Urban Communities Resource Guide, which is also the primary reference for the South African National Upgrade Support Programme (NUSP 2014).

The appeal of this approach is in the flexibility it allows in its interpretation. By relating various examples of its application, Hamdi (2010) fluidly narrates the possible simplicity within the complexity of such engagements:

It had all started with the usual community action planning process – intensely participatory, small in scale, problem based and driven by opportunities one finds and encounters on site and in community. The progress is quick and incremental – we didn't think too much before we started doing and we didn't do too much before we stopped to think about it (2010:35).

Although CAP is very flexible, there are limitations in its application that require critical consideration and augmentation. These limitations are discussed below in terms of the step-by-

step guide represented in the MIT SIGUS Wall Chart (MIT SIGUS 2014). The wall chart is intended as a compliment to CAP, a guide and training tool for the arrangement and evaluation of workshops in the field (MIT SIGUS 2014). For the purpose of analysis, this wall chart will be described in conjunction with the supporting *Action Planning for Cities* (1997) authored by Goethert and Hamdi, as well as Hamdi's extensive additional works, as mentioned. Some of the initial ideas developed by the authors are also to be found in their book: *Making Microplans: A community based process in programming and development* (1988), which offers an indicative insight into the preliminary formulation of their philosophy.

4.3. Community Action Planning as platform of engagement to address the key factors contributing to marginality

4.3.1. CAP wall chart: *Introduction*

Table 4.1: CAP wall chart methodology: <i>Introduction</i>	
Participants	
	<i>Community members</i>
	<i>Gvt representatives</i>
	<i>NGOs</i>
	<i>Workshop moderator</i>
Arrangements	
	<i>Objectives</i>
	<i>Commitment</i>
	<i>Goals</i>
	<i>Location</i>
Materials	
	<i>Presentation</i>
	<i>Tables and chairs</i>
	<i>Base plans</i>
	<i>Folders</i>
	<i>Cameras</i>
Event	
	<i>Refreshments</i>
	<i>Reception</i>
	<i>Invitations</i>
	<i>Certificates</i>

The key element of Community Action Planning (CAP) is an active, intense community-based workshop, carried out over a period of two to five days, depending on the specific goals of the workshop. The output of the workshops is a development plan which includes a list of prioritized problems, strategies and options for dealing with the problems, and a rudimentary work programme describing who, when and what is to be done. Integral to the method is a shared relation between the professional technical inputs and the community.

The workshops are programmed over specific intervals – once each year tends to be appropriate – with the implementation of agreements during the interval (Goethert & Hamdi 1997:83).

The first step in the CAP methodology is described in the Wall Chart as the Introduction (Table 4.1). The strength of CAP lies in the intensive workshop format (Hamdi 1995:129), during which all the interested and involved parties converge on a specific location and focus on the problems at hand (Goethert & Hamdi 1988:21). According to *Action Planning for Cities* (Goethert & Hamdi 1997:72), the initiative for such a workshop could be taken by anyone, although the SIGUS wall chart seems to indicate an initiative taken by a professional team (Goethert & Hamdi 1988:5,20; Hamdi 1995:129). The ideal situation, however, is considered to exist where the initiative resides on the level of shared control between the community and the outsiders, such as professional consultants or city authority (Goethert & Hamdi 1997:82). Hamdi (1988, 2010) refers to such teams as interdisciplinary, usually including architects, planners, social scientists as well as representatives of city authorities.

A broad assumption is made regarding community as being the parties affected by a proposed development (Hamdi 2006:67-72). The type of community is described as being one of three:

A) Those that are highly organized, cohesive and have a sense of identity, both spatially and socially. Two sub-types are noted:

Type A-1: Lower income communities. They have much to gain in an improvement programme and would be eager to participate. These form the ideal participatory partnership.

Type A-2: Higher income communities. They have little to gain in an improvement programme since they already have access to political power and often provide the professional cadre as well. They would most likely be reluctant to participate in any participatory process, other than to keep informed. However, their access to political power requires that they be brought into the process.

B) Those that have little sense of neighbourhood. These are often seen as 'stepping-stone' communities and highly transitory. The general stereotype suggests that families stay for a short time and then move to more stable situations. These neighbourhoods

require much effort to organize. However, through the participatory process a sense of community starts to form and a sense of shared interests starts to develop (Goethert & Hamdi 1997:109-110).

Care is taken to indicate that all members of the community ought to be represented, although no clear guidance is given to establish the specific social structures of the participants (Goethert & Hamdi 1988:43; Hamdi 1995:130-131; 2004:51) The use of certain mapping techniques is however suggested to assist in defining community demarcations (Goethert & Hamdi 1997:110). These would be reliant on the identification of social boundaries, physical characteristics, population sizes, political and administrative boundaries, community facilities and local commercial centres. Such inclusive mapping processes are revealing, more in the process of transmitting information than in the actual map that is produced, as people will often loosely narrate the importance of place while pointing it out.

Value is attached to speed and simplicity (Goethert & Hamdi 1988:26,34,42; Hamdi, 1995:179), but there is no clear guidance given to establish attendance. It seems to be assumed that those who would be interested and affected would be either the initiators or the invitees, but on this point the wall chart, as well as the attending literature, does not offer a defining strategy. According to Marschall (1998), this oversight could contribute to the total failure of the exercise, due to activities being severely disrupted by those who consider themselves to have been unfairly disregarded in the process (Goethert & Hamdi 1988:43).

The roles taken up by the outsiders and the community are however very clearly distinguished in *Action Planning* (1997:68) to determine what the appropriate levels of participation by the various parties would be. The levels of participation vary from *none/indirect/consultative/shared control* to *full control* and relegates the community from *interest groups/stakeholders* to *principals* and the outsider roles from *surrogates* to *advocates/stakeholders* or *resource*. This matrix of control and authority very clearly demarcates the value that can be added by the various actors and requires an understanding of the social dynamics that cannot be expected to unfold in a two or five day period without prior knowledge. The use of the *Wall Chart* without a thorough understanding of the principles expressed in the attending literature, as well as sound knowledge of the community to be engaged with, would leave an uninitiated facilitator ill prepared for the complexity of social and hierarchical issues to be addressed.

The general approach to the workshops is laid out in a conversational way, drawing from practical experience in the field and converging mostly on polite manners and common sense. The key underlying approach to the leading of such a workshop remains true to the legacy of Turner (1976) and his predecessors, namely an aversion to prescription (Goethert & Hamdi 1988: 20,17,7). Time and again the advice is given that ideas should not be forced, that an emergence of solutions ought to be enabled. This is further supported in much of Hamdi's writing (2004:xviii), where he relates to Capra's description of human organisations, in which he considers the challenge to reside in *finding the right balance between the creativity of emergence and the stability of design* (Capra 2002:121).

The central hypothesis forwarded in this approach to framing a development proposal is in the recognition that the problems in development seldom arise from a lack of skill or a local community's inability to solve problems; rather, what is lacking is

a forum for articulating problems accurately, a community of inquiry, a framework that provides the structure for drawing out problems, modifying interpretations (Goethert & Hamdi 1988:18; Hamdi 1995:147).

The general approach that is reiterated in *Placemaker's Guide to Building Community* (Hamdi 2010) is that of a shared authorship, in which a non-linear, complex and open-ended thought process is encouraged, flexible and adaptable to found conditions. Each phase of the engagement is considered to be a possible contribution towards the building of community and as much value is attached to surveying and analysis as to *tapping into the emotional experience of people having fun* (Hamdi 2010:78).

4.3.1.1. Key factors addressed through the Introduction

The following table (Table 4.1.1) indicates how the CAP methodology describing the approach to an introduction between the workshop facilitators and the community, serves to address the key factors that were identified in chapter three.

Table 4.1.1: Key factors addressed through CAP Introduction		
Key factor: Definition of in situ upgrade of informal settlements		
Factors addressed	Reason	
Definition of informal settlements		
x	<i>Identification of contested legal condition</i>	
x	<i>Documentation of lack of services</i>	
x	<i>Acknowledgement of high social stress and poverty</i>	
Position regarding in situ upgrade		
x	<i>Pejorative: Eradication</i>	
√	<i>Problem-based: Solutions-driven</i>	Inclusion of all participants = problem solving from within formalised system; Statement of objectives by moderator implies solutions from within formal system
x	<i>Pragmatic: Incrementalism</i>	
x	<i>Radical: in situ upgrade</i>	

Key factor: Transformative mandate		
Factors addressed	Reason	
Informality as consequence of status quo		
x	<i>Documentation of causative historical and economic factors</i>	
x	<i>Provide platform to contest justice, access and citizenship</i>	
Level of transformation required		
x	<i>Proposes transformation of planning systems</i>	
x	<i>Facilitates alternative to individualised systems</i>	
x	<i>Supports the stimulation of complex housing supply</i>	
x	<i>Enables transformation of administrative processes</i>	

Key factor: Tri-sectoral balance of power		
Factors addressed	Reason	
Power balance between government, civil society and community		
x	<i>Govt top-down provision authority</i>	
√	<i>Civil society and NGOs in service of government</i>	Participants include government officials and NGOs Moderator presents intention of workshop Event prepared by moderator Moderator = civil society/NGO in service of government
√	<i>Communities recipient beneficiaries, collaborative</i>	Participants include community members and moderator = collaboration Location of workshop in informal settlement = collaborative environment Event reception prepared = collaboration
x	<i>Rights-based activists reliant on judiciary</i>	
Disjuncture between policy and implementation		
√	<i>Enables political influence over development objectives</i>	Participation by government and community creates platform for political influence Statement of goals and commitment by moderator proposes countermeasure to political objectives
x	<i>Creates a platform for government accountability</i>	
x	<i>Addresses skills and knowledge gap in government officials</i>	
Main drivers of informal settlement upgrade		
x	<i>Initiated by government authority</i>	
√	<i>Initiated by NGOs and academics</i>	Implication that CAP facilitated by NGOs and academics
x	<i>Initiated by rights-based activists or community</i>	
Institutional support of social processes		
x	<i>Proposes administrative processes to support community structures</i>	
√	<i>Strengthens CBO structures and capacity</i>	Participation by community members Arrangements focused on location in settlement, commitment by moderator

Institutional position of architectural profession in terms of informal settlement upgrade	
x	<i>Engenders accountability in architecture profession</i>
x	<i>Allows for disbursement: architecture fees</i>
x	<i>Mitigates elitism of architecture</i>
x	<i>Mitigates individualism of architecture</i>
x	<i>Encourages pro bono work</i>
x	<i>Promotes community architecture movement</i>
x	<i>Politicises architecture education</i>

Key factor: Tenure Security	
Factors addressed	Reason
Incremental tenure security	
x	<i>Enables intermediate administrative recognition</i>
x	<i>Enables consolidation vs freehold title model</i>
Capital subsidy system as a vehicle for upgrade	
x	<i>Enables housing alternative to individualised subsidy</i>
x	<i>Embraces holistic approach supportive of upgrade</i>
x	<i>Contributes to consolidation process</i>
Architectural contribution bound into capital subsidy system	
x	<i>Proposes alternative fee structure, not individualised</i>
x	<i>Allows for design fees</i>
x	<i>Allows for urban design framework</i>
Legislative constraint of building standards	
x	<i>Determines appropriate building standards</i>
x	<i>Enables critical assessment of professional accountability to building standards</i>
Restructuring of capital subsidy to effect transformation	
x	<i>Proposes mechanism for upgrade at settlement level</i>
x	<i>Enables political shift from RDP model</i>

Key factor: Participation		
Factors addressed	Reason	
Public participation in informal settlement upgrade		
√	<i>Enables collective engagement between community and professionals</i>	CAP introduction embraces collective engagement
√	<i>Makes allowance for stages of participation from protest to collaboration</i>	Inclusion of all participants contributes to platform of collaboration
√	<i>Enables development of skills and capacity in professionals and community body</i>	Inclusion of all participants contributes to skills development
Participatory research		
√	<i>Informs process, offers community voice</i>	Inclusion of all participants supports community voice Arrangements toward empowerment through research
√	<i>Enables critical reflection</i>	Provision of materials, preparation by moderator encourages reflective process
Collaborative design		
√	<i>Enables platform to articulate needs</i>	Inclusion of community members Arrangements facilitate articulation of issues Materials including presentation and base plans creates platform for discussion
√	<i>Includes multidisciplinary teams</i>	Inclusion of all participants implies multidisciplinary engagement
√	<i>Enables intersection of collective and individual</i>	Inclusion of community members All arrangements aimed at facilitating collective concerns
x	<i>Mitigates mechanisms of control</i>	
Participatory urban management		
x	<i>Engenders ownership</i>	
√	<i>Facilitates relationship between informal settlement community and city</i>	Inclusion of community, government officials and moderator establishes relationship Arrangements support relationship

Key factor: Role of Architects	
Factors addressed	Reason
Historical precedent of architectural involvement in informal settlement upgrade	
x	<i>Few examples of architectural involvement</i>
x	<i>Arch not adequately prepared for this work, do not understand the requirements</i>
Potential space for architectural intervention	
x	<i>Danger: Default into design</i>
x	<i>Architecture = individualisation</i>
x	<i>Technical assistance through FPHP</i>
x	<i>Technocratic problem-solving, un-politicised</i>
Appropriate strategies for architectural intervention	
x	<i>Right to careful and good design</i>
x	<i>Spatial frameworks required</i>
x	<i>Community buildings as shared focal points to structure community</i>
x	<i>Commitment to participatory process required</i>
x	<i>Require shift from product-driven approach</i>
Potential for social activism through architectural engagement	
x	<i>Solidarity required</i>
x	<i>Culture of engagement required – pro-poor mentality</i>
x	<i>Long-term commitment required</i>
x	<i>Personal conviction required</i>
x	<i>Education to more politically conscious</i>
x	<i>Requires debate</i>

4.3.2. CAP wall chart: *Statement of Problems and Opportunities*

Table 4.2: CAP wall chart: <i>Statement of Problems and Opportunities</i>	
Context	
	<i>Professional speakers</i>
	<i>Notes of key issues</i>
Community issues	
	<i>Overview by planner</i>
	<i>Community representative</i>
Community observations	
	<i>Look and listen</i>
	<i>Talk and write</i>
	<i>Review problems</i>

In the method describing the Statement of Problems and Opportunities (Table 4.2), the urban Issues are identified, a process during which expert knowledge is presented to the group. This strategy would establish the task team as those with access to knowledge that is brought to the recipient community as a token of generosity, of authority and as the start of the discussion. In a situation where people need to get to know one another, this gesture of presenting information before requiring reciprocal information can be considered strategically geared to speeding up the subsequent inquiries. It could also be considered heavy-handed in the establishing of parameters of intellectual seniority. This is contradictory to many of the statements found in the supporting literature, in which bottom-up problem-solving (Goethert & Hamdi 1988:19) and *bottom-up self-organising collectivism* (Hamdi 2004:xxi) is considered to be a prerequisite for successful deliberation.

Following on the establishment of the urban issues, the workshop then eases into the mode of research, bridging the process once again with a push/pull approach by having a planner (note again: *expert*) present the community with an overview of the area through the eyes of the profession. Only then is a community member given an opportunity to make an introduction. By this time, one can assume that the professional team has been established as those who will eventually make the final analyses, albeit with contribution from the rest of the participating group.

The structuring of this research group is considered in the earlier work by Goethert and Hamdi (1988:29) in which it is recognised that the joint decision-making team would consist of training cadres, teaching establishments, community leaders and government officials, but that once

the establishment of the decision-making structures has been achieved, the process would revert to traditional forms of technical support. The inherent problem that the authors grapple with here is the issue of dependency, which they are careful to point out in *Action Planning for Cities* (1997:108): *Dependency is inherently contrary to participatory programmes*. They argue that the CAP does not engender dependency on the professional team and indicate the levels of control to be shared (Goethert & Hamdi 1997:67-69). The introduction of professional speakers as those who establish the first round of information, however, could be considered to be a strategic step in the subliminal establishment of authority, despite a claim to the contrary.

From here the workshop becomes a site for *participatory action research*. The task team is encouraged to look and listen, make notes, walk through the area and engage in various unplanned and unstructured interviews (Goethert & Hamdi 1988:34 -40; Hamdi 1995:113,114,115,125). These observations are undirected and intentionally un-prescriptive, with the intention that the observers should be as open as possible to any issues raised by the community members either involved in the workshop or encountered spontaneously on site:

We looked and listened and measured to learn more about place, about process, about design, about livelihoods and vulnerability, land utilization and the rest (Hamdi 2010:23).

4.3.2.1. Key factors addressed in *Statement of Problems and Opportunities*

The following table (Table 4.2.1) indicates how the CAP methodology describing the Statement of Problems and Opportunities (Table 4.2) serves to address the key factors that were identified in chapter three.

Table 4.2.1: Key factors addressed through <i>Statement of Problems and Opportunities</i>		
Key factor: Definition of in situ upgrade of informal settlements		
Factors addressed	Reason	
Definition of informal settlements		
√	<i>Identification of contested legal condition</i>	Professional speakers and community representatives afford opportunity to contextualise legal condition Community observation encourages understanding of contested issues
√	<i>Documentation of lack of services</i>	Notes of key issues, overview of planner informs acknowledges level of service Community observations supports understanding of level of services
√	<i>Acknowledgement of high social stress and poverty</i>	Community representative has opportunity to point out levels of stress and poverty Community observation allows for understanding of social conditions
Position regarding in situ upgrade		
x	<i>Pejorative: Eradication</i>	
√	<i>Problem-based: Solutions-driven</i>	Professional speaker and overview by planner assumes formal problem-based position
√	<i>Pragmatic: Incrementalism</i>	Professional speaker, overview by planner, inclusion of community member allows for incremental view
√	<i>Radical: in situ upgrade</i>	Inclusion of community member allows possibility of <i>in situ</i> upgrade option
Key factor: Transformative mandate		
Factors addressed	Reason	
Informality as consequence of status quo		
√	<i>Documentation of causative historical and economic factors</i>	Professional speaker, overview by planner offers opportunity to document causative factors Notes of key issues, review of problems ensures documentation
√	<i>Provide platform to contest justice, access and citizenship</i>	Community representative, community observation facilitates platform for contestation
Level of transformation required		
√	<i>Proposes transformation of planning systems</i>	Inclusion of community members and community observation implies bottom up focus of planning system
√	<i>Facilitates alternative to individualised systems</i>	Inclusion of community members and community observation implies platform for collective concerns
x	<i>Supports the stimulation of complex housing supply</i>	
x	<i>Enables transformation of administrative processes</i>	
Key factor: Tri-sectoral balance of power		
Factors addressed	Reason	
Power balance between government, civil society and community		
x	<i>Government top-down provision authority</i>	
√	<i>Civil society and NGOs in service of government</i>	Professional speaker, overview by planner and notes of key issues assumes civil society, NGO's role players
√	<i>Communities recipient beneficiaries, collaborative</i>	Inclusion of community representative, community observations assume collaborative conditions
x	<i>Rights-based activists reliant on judiciary</i>	
Disjuncture between policy and implementation		
√	<i>Enables political influence over development objectives</i>	Inclusion of community representative, community observations assume potential for political influence over development objectives
x	<i>Creates a platform for government accountability</i>	
x	<i>Addresses skills and knowledge gap in government officials</i>	
Main drivers of informal settlement upgrade		
x	<i>Initiated by government authority</i>	
√	<i>Initiated by NGOs and academics</i>	Professional speaker, overview by planner and community observations assumed to be initiated by NGOs or academics

√	<i>Initiated by rights-based activists or community</i>	Inclusion of community members and community observation offers opportunity for initiative by activists or community
Institutional support of social processes		
	<i>Proposes administrative processes to support community structures</i>	
√	<i>Strengthens CBO structures and capacity</i>	Inclusion of community representative, community observations create platform to strengthen CBO structures and capacity
Institutional position of architectural profession in terms of informal settlement upgrade		
x	<i>Engenders accountability in architecture profession</i>	
x	<i>Allows for disbursement: architecture fees</i>	
x	<i>Mitigates elitism of architecture</i>	
x	<i>Mitigates individualism of architecture</i>	
x	<i>Encourages pro bono work</i>	
x	<i>Promotes community architecture movement</i>	
x	<i>Politicises architecture education</i>	

Key factor: Tenure Security		
Factors addressed		Reason
Incremental tenure security		
x	<i>Enables intermediate administrative recognition</i>	
x	<i>Enables consolidation vs freehold title model</i>	
Capital subsidy system as a vehicle for upgrade		
x	<i>Enables housing alternative to individualised subsidy</i>	
√	<i>Embraces holistic approach supportive of upgrade</i>	Professional speaker, notes of key issues, overview by planner supports holistic view Community observation encourages collective understanding
x	<i>Contributes to consolidation process</i>	
Architectural contribution bound into capital subsidy system		
x	<i>Proposes alternative fee structure: not individualised</i>	
x	<i>Allows for design fees</i>	
√	<i>Allows for urban design framework</i>	Notes of key issues, community representative and community observations inform urban design framework
Legislative constraint of building standards		
x	<i>Determines appropriate building standards</i>	
x	<i>Enables critical assessment of professional accountability to building standards</i>	
Restructuring of capital subsidy to effect transformation		
√	<i>Proposes mechanism for upgrade at settlement level</i>	Professional speaker, notes of key issues, overview by planner and inclusion of community representative supportive of approach at settlement level Community observations offer holistic view of settlement
x	<i>Enables political shift from RDP model</i>	

Key factor: Participation		
Factors addressed		Reason
Public participation in informal settlement upgrade		
√	<i>Enables collective engagement between community and professionals</i>	Inclusion of professionals, community and community observations enables collective engagement
√	<i>Makes allowance for stages of participation from protest to collaboration</i>	Community observation creates platform for participation
√	<i>Enables development of skills and capacity in professionals and community body</i>	Inclusion of all participants and focus on community observation contributes to skills development
Participatory research		
√	<i>Informs process, offers community voice</i>	Inclusion of community members supports community voice Community observation informs process
√	<i>Enables critical reflection</i>	Review of problems encourages reflective process

Collaborative design		
√	<i>Enables platform to articulate needs</i>	Notes of key issues, community observation creates platform to articulate needs
√	<i>Includes multidisciplinary teams</i>	Professional speaker, planner and community representative contribute to multidisciplinary viewpoint
√	<i>Enables intersection of collective and individual</i>	Inclusion of community representative and community observation enables collective perspective
x	<i>Mitigates mechanisms of control</i>	
Participatory urban management		
x	<i>Engenders ownership</i>	
√	<i>Facilitates relationship between informal settlement community and city</i>	Professional speaker, notes of key issues, overview by planner and community representation encourages development of relationship between community and city

Key factor: Role of Architects		
Factors addressed	Reason	
Historical precedent of architectural involvement in informal settlement upgrade		
x	<i>Draws on previous examples of architectural involvement</i>	
√	<i>Prepares architects for this work engendering an understanding of the requirements</i>	Inclusion of community members and community observation supports preparation for work in this context
Potential space for architectural intervention		
x	<i>Does not default into design</i>	
x	<i>Addresses the individual nature of architectural production</i>	
x	<i>Offers technical assistance within a collective programme</i>	
√	<i>Offers a politically conscious socio-technical level of service</i>	Inclusion of community members and community observation supports political conscientisation towards socio-technical service
Appropriate strategies for architectural intervention		
x	<i>Effects the right to careful and good design</i>	
x	<i>Proposed spatial frameworks</i>	
x	<i>Facilitates the design of shared community buildings</i>	
√	<i>Engenders commitment to participatory process</i>	Inclusion of community members and community observation supports commitment to participation
x	<i>Enables shift from product-driven approach</i>	
Potential for social activism through architectural engagement		
x	<i>Engenders solidarity</i>	
x	<i>Creates culture of engagement and pro-poor mentality</i>	
x	<i>Encourages long-term commitment</i>	
x	<i>Supports personal conviction</i>	
x	<i>Enables politically conscious education</i>	
x	<i>Encourages debate</i>	

4.3.2.2. Augmentation of CAP Statement of Problems and Opportunities

In as much as the *Statement of Problems and Opportunities* provides a fairly simple opportunity for rapid appraisal, it can be argued that it does not offer enough insight into the fundamental basic needs of the community. The preference for simplicity effectively subordinates the CAP process to the re-assertion of a *wish list*. This reduction of development issues to the mantra of commodification relegates all such interactions to the lowest common denominator of service upgrades such as sewerage, electricity, roads and inadequate shelter.

Furthermore, a reading of the *Statement of Problems and Opportunities* situates the method in a non-confrontational position of positivist collaboration, but also hints at a process in which all stakeholders are encouraged to look and listen quite closely. As a necessary result of such open-ended qualitative research, it must be considered that the central tenet of investigation may experience a radical shift during the course of its unfolding. Impacts on participants, both researchers and community residents, are likely to shift perceptions of power relations and perspectives on history as well as preconceptions about future projections.

For these reasons it is proposed that the *Statement of Problems and Opportunities* requires augmentation in order to differentiate levels of needs and problems impacting on directions in development. Three mechanisms of expression are hereby considered: verbal (*Testimonio*), visual (*Image of Home*) and developmental (*Human Scale Development Matrix*).

From an ethical perspective, the *Testimonio* casts important light on the revelation of information. In this case, the speaker desires exposition of the story and is empowered by its publication (Armstrong 2010; Brabeck 2003; Perlman 2010; Smith 2010). The researcher, development facilitator or editor becomes the vehicle through which the previously oppressed collective identity assumes a more empowered position. In revealing the collective *Testimonio*, the fundamental paradigmatic perspective of the community will direct the development strategy, whether that is in the form of negotiation or confrontation.

Although this literary genre is not mentioned in the descriptions of CAP, one could argue that it would contribute to the value of any upgrade agenda or development intention to respond to a mandate thus articulated. The position taken through the *Testimonio* is one of radical change or social transformation, which can infer a strictly confrontational perspective. If the participatory research process is undertaken with the view of revealing the authentic collective voice of the settlement, it cannot be ruled out that the ensuing strategic planning can be directed into such confrontation.

Studies undertaken by Cooper-Marcus (1995) have revealed that hand-drawn *Images of Home* serve to reveal causative factors contributing to current conditions of stress or unspoken desires related to spatial manifestation. As part of the research underpinning a community's

desire for development, it is therefore suggested in this thesis that a hand-drawn visual representation of home may offer meaningful insights into the conditions of permanence, vulnerability and identity. The distortion between aspirations of the soul or the ego may reveal Jungian insights into the core issues that such development ought to be addressing, or equally importantly, not discarding, in the process of upgrade. Including these exercises into the *Statement of Problems and Opportunities* will therefore serve to counter the oversimplification of a *wish list*.

Specifically due to the marginalised and vulnerable economic conditions prevalent in informal settlements, consideration of the causative factors must underpin ensuing strategies for development. Therefore, in addition to the verbal and visual representation of needs, it is proposed that a deeper reading of the developmental requirements of a community ought to be included into the *Statement of Problems and Opportunities*. For this reason, the Human Scale Development Matrix developed by Max-Neef (1991) will be considered as an augmentation to this stage of CAP.

As part of the process of undertaking research into the needs or problems of an informal settlement community, Hamdi's later literature (2004; 2010) infers an anatomical dissection of the structure of such a community that is not described in the CAP. Arguably influenced by the writings of Capra (2002), value is attached to the self-organising capacity of social networks within settlements to determine development strategies that emanate from within and that ultimately contribute to the longevity and resilience of such initiatives.

As an augmentation to the *Statement of Problems and Opportunities*, it is proposed that an understanding of these networks comprises a fundamental part of the research process and ought to be included as a point of reference in order to proceed with the development of intervention strategies.

4.3.2.2.1. Needs Assessment: Testimonio

Bearing in mind the sensitive nature of any research undertaken in marginalised sectors of society, the fundamental value of such research lies in the opportunity for these sectors to voice their concerns. Whether for academic inquiry, development facilitation or negotiation purposes, the research process opens a window of opportunity to bring consciousness to issues that have historically been disregarded.

Although literature surrounding qualitative research methods offers ample description of ethnographic studies, a distinction is made here between the individual narrative and the particular intention of the term *Testimonio*. Descriptions of ethnographies include allowing for the documentation of the *emic* or insider view of participants (Rossman 2003), in which a description of the participants' experience can be generated through interviews, dialogues and filmed documentation. Coffey (1996) describes how such narratives can be analysed and documented to reveal organisational structures, moral values, historical chronicles of events impacting on the context, along with various aspects of the individual relation to the collective identity:

How things are said (is) often more important than what is said – pay close attention to ways in which social actors construct their self-presentations and negotiate their identities vis-à-vis their fellow actors (1996:77).

Where the nature of the narrative relates a story of domination versus opposition, hence giving voice to otherwise silenced groups, this has become known as *Testimonio*:

Testimonio emerged in the wake of social movements, liberation theology and other consciousness-raising grass-roots movements during the 1960s and 1970s when people who were once objects of anthropological and psychological study began to write and speak for themselves (Brabeck 2003:253).

Testimonio differs from narrative or oral history in its assumption of the speaker's political intent to resist political oppression (Brabeck 2003; Perlman 2010). Credibility is established, not through exceptional individuality, but specifically through being indistinguishable from the whole: ... *the self cannot be defined in individual terms but only as a collective self engaged in a common struggle (Armstrong 2010:2).*

Recognised as a critical role player in Latin American liberation struggles (Armstrong 2010), *Testimonio* is considered an important artistic vehicle of reform in which complexity of identity can be revealed. Opportunity for representations of the other, avoiding an appeal to

universal human experience and challenging traditional assumptions about what constitutes knowledge and inviting empathy while acknowledging distance, are seen as valuable contributions from Testimonial literature (Brabeck 2003). Smith (2010: 27) cites Zimmerman (1995) in describing *Testimonio* as an *intertextual dialogue of voices, reproducing but also creatively reordering historical events in a way which impresses as representative and true and which projects a vision of life and society in need of transformation*.

4.3.2.2.2. Needs Assessment: Image of Home

Whereas the *Testimonio* offers an insight into the complex issues marginalised communities are faced with by way of a verbal account, literature points to the possibility of generating insights into the needs of a community or individual by way of visual representation. The studies documented by Cooper-Marcus (1995) are recognised as such an example: Relating her argument to a Jungian view of individuation, Cooper-Marcus (1995) suggests that the places we live in reflect and have a powerful impact on the journey towards a wholeness of being. In the personalisation of space, therefore, a symbolisation of the self can be intimated. The example of Jung's own home at Bollinger, Zurich, is cited for its ability to represent an evolving and maturing psyche in built form (Cooper-Marcus 1995:50). This evocative construct underlies the central tenet of Cooper-Marcus' (1995) study, during which she documents various individuals' diagrammatic representations of their childhood homes, current homes and dream homes in order to discover the underlying histories, concerns and aspirations that are thereby represented:

I was struck by how many times people profoundly stuck in a state of alienation or depression would project this onto their dwelling (hating it, rejecting it, neglecting it); and when asked to draw a picture of where ideally they'd like to live, they would invariably depict a scene in the natural world, or at least a picture containing many natural elements ... The soul is yearning for recognition: the ego, unconsciously, struggling to frustrate that (re)connection (1995:259).

When the place people inhabit is not able to embody the central point of human existence (home), or the self that you believe yourself to be, a fundamental crisis or poverty of identity ensues.

In her studies on *favela* dwellers in Rio de Janeiro, Perlman (2003) discovered patterns of personalisation that asserted a sense of being and belonging in the private sphere that could not be projected onto the surrounding context:

I also notice in the favela homes I have been visiting that the kinds of floor and wall tiling in kitchens and bathrooms exceeds in luxury and cost that of most middle class apartments as does the quality of the living room, dining room, and bedroom furniture sets (Perlman 2003:12).

Although the article did not dwell on this issue from the same perspective as Cooper-Marcus' (1995) argument, it is worth noting the phenomenon of interior amelioration to what is commonly perceived to be an inferior structure is often noted in research done in informal settlements (Pugh 2000), thereby supporting Cooper-Marcus' (1995) notion that the personalisation of a home space can be considered to be an intimate reflection of the self, irrespective of the scale or material value of that space. Hamdi (2004:29) describes a similar ability to represent aspiration displayed in a South-East Asian community who developed a strategy for urban development through the process of building models of their dream homes.

4.3.2.2.3. Needs Assessment: Human-Scale Development Matrix

In reaction to oversimplified models for development, the Chilean economist Manfred Max-Neef developed a matrix of fundamental human needs that he proposes as the basis towards *Human Scale Development* (Ekins & Max-Neef 1992; Fisher 2011; Max-Neef 1991). Described as an activist (Alkire 2002:189), Max-Neef was the recipient of the *Right Livelihood Award* in 1983, also known as the *Alternative Nobel Prize* for this analysis model and for his views on barefoot economy (Garcia 2007; Imas, Wilson & Weston 2012).

Max-Neef (1991) takes up a critical stance against the hegemony of neo-liberal economic practices and theories that emphasise the creation of large-scale wealth, efficiency and organisational innovation that effectively ignore the people living in the fall-out from these practices (Imas, Wilson & Weston 2012). He argues that poverty is not only to be measured as a deficit of material goods, but rather as any unsatisfied or inadequately met basic human need (Cruz, Stabel & Max-Neef 2009).

An approach to development strategies that disregards the complex interrelation of needs could result in a community compiling a wish list of commodities, with development agencies simply providing these quantifiable or material goods in response (Alkire 2012). Max-Neef (1991) argues that *Human Scale Development* is not something that can be reduced to the accumulated goods or services as viewed within modern culture. While conventional economics propose a dual relationship between wants and material goods, Max-Neef (1991) proposes a triple relationship between needs, satisfiers and material goods:

As an example, in order to satisfy the need for understanding, the satisfier might be literature, and the corresponding material good could be a book (Cruz et al 2009: 2024).

In the discourse around human needs, Max-Neef (1991) specifically posits his theory contrary to that of Abraham Maslow, in his insistence that needs and their satisfaction cannot be seen as hierarchical or sequential. He suggests that the fundamental human needs are finite, few and classifiable, the same in all cultures and historical periods. The way these needs are satisfied determines and is determined by history and culture. These satisfiers are situated within three contexts: with regard to the individual, the social group and the environment (1991:18).

The primary matrix used for documentation consists of four categories of existential needs:

- *Being*
- *Doing*
- *Having*
- *Interacting*

and nine needs related to value judgements:

- *Subsistence*
- *Protection*
- *Affection*
- *Understanding*
- *Participation*
- *Leisure*
- *Creation*

- *Identity*
- *Freedom*

In the analysis of this matrix, it is then possible to determine various conditions of satisfaction:

- ***Violators or destructors:*** *Applied under the pretext of satisfying a given need, they render such satisfaction impossible and also inhibit the satisfaction of other needs.*
 - *Arms Race: Supposedly satisfies the need for protection, but doesn't achieve this; also inhibits the satisfaction of the need for Subsistence, Affection, Participation and Freedom.*
- ***Pseudo-satisfier:*** *False sense of satisfying a need*
 - *Prostitution: seemingly satisfies need for Affection*
 - *Fashion: seemingly satisfies the need for Identity*
- ***Inhibiting satisfier:*** *Impairs the possibility of satisfying other needs*
 - *Commercial television: satisfies the need for Leisure, but inhibits the needs for Understanding, Creation and Identity*
- ***Singular satisfier:*** *Only aimed at satisfying a single need, neutral with regard to others. Overly simplistic (typical of development projects).*
 - *Insurance systems: satisfying need for Protection*
- ***Synergic satisfiers:*** *In the way a given need is satisfied, other needs are simultaneously satisfied*
 - *Educational Games: satisfy need for Leisure; also satisfy needs for Understanding and Creation*
 - *Breast Feeding: satisfies need for Subsistence; also satisfies need for Protection, Affection, Identity*

(Ekins & Max-Neef 1992; Max-Neef 1991).

When communities are able to develop synergic satisfiers at the grass roots level, Max-Neef maintains that a development model can ensue that contributes to the wellbeing and true quality of life of such a community, thereby putting their economy *at the service of people and life, and not people and life at the service of the economy* (Cruz et al 2009: 2022).

The model is considered a useful approach when working in small groups, offering a community-based process that allows for deep reflection, critical awareness and possible action at the local economic level. Such intense workshops have been undertaken under various economic conditions across the world: Argentina, Sweden, Bolivia and the UK, and have been further refined toward a more quantifiable method by Cruz et al (2009) in examples tested in Brazil in 2005 and Nepal in 2004 (Alkire 2002; Fisher 2011). *Human Scale Development* has been embraced by the United Nations Development Programme and has become accepted as a practical approach to alleviate human wellbeing (Alkire 2002; Cruz et al 2009; Imas et al 2012).

Further to the intention of CAP, it is therefore proposed that the matrix developed by Max-Neef (1991) ought to be included as part of the process of establishing a deep understanding of the fundamental human needs encountered in the community, along with an investigation into the types of satisfiers that would answer to those needs.

4.3.2.2.4. Social Network Analysis

Whereas western thinking models defining mathematics, science, biology and even religion have been characterised by a strong linearity since the Enlightenment, Capra (2002) suggests that there has been a dramatic shift in paradigm towards an understanding of the complex inter-relatedness of living network systems. Such living systems are able to undergo continual changes while maintaining their inherent patterns of organisation with a spontaneous emergence of order occurring at critical points of instability or disturbance (Capra 2002).

Applying this understanding to human systems of organisation, social networks (*not social media*) are defined as follows:

- *Shared activities and affiliations of their members* (Kassinets & Watts, 2006: 88)
- *Nodes of individuals, groups, organisations and related systems that tie in one or more types of interdependencies and the structure of these relationships* (Serrat 2009)
- *Embodying the natural sociality or 'tribalism' of human beings* (Gilchrist 2000: 268)
- *A non-material pattern of relationships* (Capra 2005: 34)
- *Norms and networks that enable people to work together* (Woolcock & Narayan 2000: 225).

Such social networks that comprise family, friendship, work-based or informal community relationships influence the way incomes and resources are acquired and shared. The networks may be horizontal (connecting peers) or vertical (connecting at different levels in society). It is generally accepted that its economic and collective resilience is underpinned by the strength of such a network (Gilchrist & Kyprianou 2011). The mechanisms for galvanising members and allies for collective action are provided by networks, but are not easily created or shaped by public policy (Fukuyama 2001; Gilchrist & Kyprianou 2011). It is therefore considered to be a spontaneous association between people, in which certain norms are shared and trust has evolved.

This understanding of networks extends to a concept of *social capital* which is considered to be a measurable outcome of such network relations. Fukuyama defines social capital as:

... an instantiated informal norm (unwritten representative way of behaving) that promotes co-operation between two or more individuals. The norms that constitute social capital can range from a norm of reciprocity between two friends all the way up to complex and elaborately articulated doctrines like Christianity or Confuciansim (2001:7).

Social capital is therefore seen as the asset resulting from a social network and the view is generally held that such an asset base is greater when there is a diverse stock of networks and civic associations, which then ensures a greater potential to resist poverty and vulnerability, as well as having the potential to take advantage of new opportunities (Woolcock & Narayan 2000).

In attempting to measure such social capital, Putnam (1995) was able to conclude that there had been an overall decline of social capital in American society over several decades in the 20th century and attributed much of this to the cultural domination of television and other electronic media. According to Fukuyama (2001), any excessive emphasis on individualism undermines social capital and the attendant ability of social groups to organise themselves. In the absence of civic engagement, therefore, he argues that the state is inadvertently given more opportunity to assume control, hence a potential of manipulation. One can therefore

understand that a simple and seemingly inoffensive reading of a *wish list* where a marginalised community may be making demands for such a perceived luxury as a television set in every home, could unintentionally contribute to the destruction of that community's social capital. This relates to Max-Neef's (1991) *Human Scale Development* proposal that the satisfaction of one need could be destroying another fundamental need, in this case the participative aspect of network emergence. For the existing networks in a community to thrive, it is therefore important to retain conditions that support a willingness to engage in public affairs and to resist an overemphasis on isolation, excessive privacy and individualism.

Emergence

One of the most important aspects of systemic networks is their ability to regenerate themselves, responding to impulses creatively and fluidly. Resilience to fundamental change or destruction is related to the complexity of the network's patterns of interconnection (Capra 2002; 2005). Yet, irrespective of the scale of intervention, profound effects may result from it. This response to impulse in which a spontaneous re-ordering occurs, is known as *emergence*.

Human communities of networks are similarly complex and dynamic, overlapping in alliances and associations, responding and re-aligning in response to the context of change (Gilchrist 2009). These emergent properties and behavior of social systems is explained in complexity theory, which holds that in the absence of a central control mechanism, an entire system will eventually settle down to a state of dynamic equilibrium (Gilchrist 2000). Individuals will therefore create and neglect social ties according to particular goals, needs or crises, thereby contributing to the structural alteration of the network. Some forms of organisation may be reproduced and persist over time, others will *melt back into the more fluid realm of informal and serendipitous liaison* (Gilchrist 2000:267). In the absence of a shared focus or locus, social ties will diminish and a network could disappear altogether (Kassinets & Watts 2006). Under conditions of extreme marginality, networks may be perceived as being tenuous and vulnerable (Breed, Claassens & Bennett 2012), thereby opening the argument for professional or external intervention in order to support and strengthen such networks (Gilchrist 2000).

Negative aspect of social networks

Slum-clearance policies demonstrate a position of antipathy towards social networks or social

capital. By destroying the physical fabric of slums or informal settlements, social networks are destroyed along with them (Putnam 1995; Woolcock & Narayan 2000). Although it may not be stated in such a light by the policy-makers or governments enacting such eradication, there is a lingering idea of modernisation that comes along with a distaste for the nostalgia of traditional family values:

(It was) Marx himself who regarded the traditional social relations of a country like India to be obstacles to development. Economic modernization was seen as antithetical to traditional culture and social organizations, and would either wipe them away or else be itself blocked by forces of traditionalism (Fukuyama 2001:9).

In as much as social networks may contribute to the welfare of a particular group, there is a dark side to this as well. When communities or networks operate in isolation, from ghettos to gated suburbs, or work against society's collective interests, as in the case of drug cartels and gangs, that which is considered to be productive social capital is replaced by perverse social capital effectively hindering healthy and liberating development (Woolcock & Narayan 2000:229).

Even when a network is considered to be benign, as in the case of family or friends, there can be disadvantages. If the circle of trust is too small and the difference between kin and stranger too great, it becomes possible to have a differentiated set of values pertaining to the different networks. This then leads to corruption and crime in the public sphere, which could be considered as expressions of loyalty within the inner circle, such as mafia or tribalism (Fukuyama 2001; Woolcock & Narayan 2000). The same family or kinship networks that could contribute to an individual success by way of his association with that network, could work against him by way of continued obligation and support to the rest of the network. In the case of first generation migrants, the strength of networks could extend over time and distance and become manifested in the translocation of entire ethnic populations. The obligation to send money home often contributes to the inability of such migrants to settle into stable patterns of localised development, remaining susceptible to local exploitation and persistent economic pressure from home (Gilchrist & Kyprianou 2011).

Woolcock & Narayan (2000:232) argue that

... ideal economic development takes place through a mechanism that allows individuals to draw initially on the benefits of close community membership but that also enables them to acquire the skills and resources to participate in networks that transcend their communities, thereby progressively joining the economic mainstream.

Value in Development

Ennis & West (2013) argue that social network analysis as a research methodology can contribute to an improved understanding of the processes, impact and efficacy of community development work. Diagrams are used to reveal these relational networks, emphasising what the community has in terms of social capital as a basis for defining development strategies.

According to Gilchrist (2000; 2011) development is essentially aimed at encouraging and supporting conditions for emergence, thereby making the understanding of networks dynamics an integral part of a successful process. Harnessing networks creates the opportunity for flexible and robust mechanisms of collective action. Through the use of the term *human horticulture* as opposed to *social engineering*, the authors do, however, confer importance on the role of facilitation. Although networks arise spontaneously and conditions of emergence can be considered organic, a case is presented for the involvement of external assistance:

Informal networks provide a crucial foundation for community self-help and may need strengthening through professional intervention in some neighbourhoods or for particularly marginal sections of the population (Gilchrist 2000:268).

The physical spaces that facilitate the opportunity for networks to congregate is similarly considered to be advantageous for development:

Communal buildings such as community centres or village halls provide space for causal interaction as well as more purposeful joint working. These need to be safe, welcoming and affordable, so the décor, location and publicity may need careful consideration to avoid the space being dominated by certain groups. Experience suggests that this will require continuous monitoring and occasional interventions to deal with inevitable conflicts and misunderstandings (Gilchrist 2009:153).

On the whole, Gilchrist & Kyprianou (2011) have indicated that place-related conditions such as accessibility, friendliness of public spaces, proximity, familiarity and convenience of amenities contribute to the extension of social networks.

The application of such network analysis and the potential application on the design of architectural intervention have been described by Breed et al (2012) in two case studies in Pretoria, South Africa. Through a process of personal interaction with networks in two dissimilar urban conditions, the authors were able to discern the intangible relationships between individuals.

The circumstances and growth rate of urban settlements in the developing world calls for changes to be made in terms of architectural design responses. It is necessary to explore beyond traditional thinking and avoid responses that currently remain limited and unsatisfactory. The research attempted to identify an alternative set of parameters that define the architectural brief in the developing world and to explore in a highly 'fluid' environment a central role for architecture in relation with daily life. It has been argued that the key lies in a contextual and humanist understanding that can be attained through the incorporation of concrete and changing realities in the analysis of the urban environment (Breed et al 2012:240).

The outcomes of these research processes resulted in theoretical design proposals in which context-specific spaces for appropriation could be facilitated, thereby allowing for an alternative reading and creation of a public architectural interface. Such an approach is

considered to be more sensitive to the importance of networks in an emergent society than the provision of a generic community space.

Proposals such as those described by Breed et al (2012) indicate the tangible support of the intangible networks revealed through research and provides a strong argument for a method of engagement that can support conditions of community emergence.

4.3.2.2.5. Conclusion

In conclusion, it is proposed that the participative research component of the *CAP Statement of Problems and Opportunities* ought to be augmented by way of needs assessment strategies including verbal (*Testimonio*), visual (*Image of Home*) and developmental (*Human Scale Development Matrix*) perspectives. In addition, a stratified understanding of the community comprising social networks is proposed in order to position the CAP platform of engagement at the intersection between the individual and the collective.

Bearing in mind the ethical concerns that such research methods embody, the potential for such qualitative (ethnographic and phenomenological) research processes to serve as a vehicle for the collective expression of community identity, renders the research process valuable in terms of political conscientisation.

Delving deeper into the basic human needs of the community, it is further proposed that, through the application of the *Human Scale Development Matrix* (Max-Neef 1991), it is possible to establish the nature of a community's potential satisfiers. This makes it possible to look beyond the often commodified *wish list* to discover the framework of the community's collective identity and development potential.

Finally, a documentation of some of the active networks within a community is considered to be a key strategic aspect in order to identify appropriate loci or nodes of growth and development. Whereas the term community runs the risk of leaving any development strategies open to generic simplification, it is proposed that by identifying the champions of specific initiatives in the form of networked individuals, the sense of ownership and appropriation becomes straddled between the strength of individual motivation and the

civic awareness of the collective. In this way, the natural forces of emergence are harnessed towards the growth of the settlement from within.

By integrating these aspects into the research process, it is proposed that the intention of the CAP *Statement of Problems and Opportunities* is amplified and enriched, thereby addressing the key factors contributing to the marginality of the architectural profession to the discourse on informal settlement upgrade more comprehensively.

4.3.2.3. Key factors addressed through augmentation to *Statement of Problems and Opportunities*

The following table (Table 4.2.2) indicates how the proposed augmentations to the CAP *Statement of Problems and Opportunities* (Table 4.2) serves to address the key factors that were identified in chapter three.

Table 4.2.2: Key factors addressed through the augmentation to <i>Statement of Problems and Opportunities</i>		
Key factor: Definition of in situ upgrade of informal settlements		
Key factors addressed	Reason	
Definition of informal settlements		
√	<i>Identification of contested legal condition</i>	<i>Testimonio</i> offers platform to express contested condition <i>Human scale development matrix</i> determines levels of needs frustrated
x	<i>Documentation of lack of services</i>	
√	<i>Acknowledgement of high social stress and poverty</i>	<i>Testimonio</i> expression of social stress, oppression <i>Human scale development matrix</i> defines levels of poverty, frustration of social needs
Position regarding in situ upgrade		
x	<i>Pejorative: Eradication</i>	
x	<i>Problem-based: Solutions-driven</i>	
x	<i>Pragmatic: Incrementalism</i>	
√	<i>Radical: in situ upgrade</i>	<i>Testimonio</i> assumes community values in opposition to status quo <i>Human scale development matrix</i> focused on assessment of in situ requirements <i>Network analysis</i> acknowledges social capital in settlement

Key factor: Transformative mandate		
Key factors addressed		Reason
Informality as consequence of status quo		
√	<i>Documentation of causative historical and economic factors</i>	<i>Testimonio</i> offers opportunity to identify causative factors <i>Image of Home</i> vehicle for expression of memory <i>Human scale development matrix</i> offers platform to document economic deficits
√	<i>Provide platform to contest justice, access and citizenship</i>	<i>Testimonio</i> offers opportunity for contestation of rights <i>Human scale development matrix</i> offers platform to express need for justice, access and citizenship <i>Network analysis</i> indicates structures contesting justice
Level of transformation required		
x	<i>Proposes transformation of planning systems</i>	
√	<i>Facilitates alternative to individualised systems</i>	<i>Testimonio</i> collective voice <i>Human scale development matrix</i> offers collective platform of needs <i>Network analysis</i> offers stratified understanding of the collective
x	<i>Supports the stimulation of complex housing supply</i>	
x	<i>Enables transformation of administrative processes</i>	

Key factor: Tri-sectoral balance of power		
Key factors addressed		Reason
Power balance between government, civil society and community		
x	<i>Gvt top-down provision authority</i>	
√	<i>Civil society and NGOs in service of government</i>	<i>Human scale development matrix</i> assumes facilitation through civil society or NGO in service of authority <i>Network analysis by service provider</i>
√	<i>Communities recipient beneficiaries, collaborative</i>	<i>Human scale development matrix</i> requires collaboration with community <i>Network analysis</i> enabled through community collaboration
√	<i>Rights-based activists reliant on judiciary</i>	<i>Testimonio</i> platform to assert rights
Disjuncture between policy and implementation		
√	<i>Enables political influence over development objectives</i>	<i>Testimonio</i> offers political voice <i>Human scale development matrix</i> offers platform to determine root cause of political frustration <i>Network analysis</i> strengthens political influence of CBO structures
x	<i>Creates a platform for government accountability</i>	
√	<i>Addresses skills and knowledge gap in government officials</i>	<i>Human scale development matrix</i> offers communication platform between community and government officials <i>Network analysis</i> reveals dissemination opportunity between community and government officials, shared knowledge base
Main drivers of informal settlement upgrade		
x	<i>Initiated by government authority</i>	
√	<i>Initiated by NGOs and academics</i>	<i>Human scale development matrix</i> facilitated through NGOs or academics <i>Network analysis</i> documentation by NGOs and researchers
√	<i>Initiated by rights-based activists or community</i>	<i>Testimonio</i> reliant on community expression, supported by rights based activists <i>Network analysis</i> possible through self-enumeration

Institutional support of social processes		
✓	<i>Proposes administrative processes to support community structures</i>	<i>Human scale development matrix</i> offers platform for development of admin processes attuned to community needs
✓	<i>Strengthens CBO structures and capacity</i>	<i>Testimonio</i> expression of community solidarity <i>Human scale development matrix</i> offers platform to improve CBO capacity <i>Network analysis</i> reveals CBO structure, supports development of capacity
Institutional position of architectural profession in terms of informal settlement upgrade		
x	<i>Engenders accountability in architecture profession</i>	
x	<i>Allows for disbursement: architecture fees</i>	
x	<i>Mitigates elitism of architecture</i>	
✓	<i>Mitigates individualism of architecture</i>	<i>Network analysis</i> facilitates collective engagement with defined social structure
x	<i>Encourages pro bono work</i>	
x	<i>Promotes community architecture movement</i>	
✓	<i>Politicises architecture education</i>	<i>Network analysis</i> facilitates engagement with defined political structure

Key factor: Tenure Security		
Key factors addressed		Reason
Incremental tenure security		
x	<i>Enables intermediate administrative recognition</i>	
✓	<i>Enables consolidation vs freehold title model</i>	<i>Human scale development matrix</i> offers platform to establish <i>in situ</i> satisfiers of needs, distinguish from urgency for change <i>Network analysis</i> reveals CBO structure, supports maintenance of social capital within settlement
Capital subsidy system as a vehicle for upgrade		
✓	<i>Enables housing alternative to individualised subsidy</i>	<i>Human scale development matrix</i> offers platform to develop alternative economic models to satisfy levels of need
✓	<i>Embraces holistic approach supportive of upgrade</i>	<i>Human scale development matrix</i> offers holistic understanding of upgrade requirement <i>Network analysis</i> supports collective mechanism for upgrade
✓	<i>Contributes to consolidation process</i>	<i>Image of Home</i> reveals spatial understanding applicable to consolidation requirements <i>Human scale development matrix</i> offers stratified and hierarchical understanding of consolidation potential <i>Network analysis</i> reveals CBO structure, supports development of capacity for consolidation
Architectural contribution bound into capital subsidy system		
x	<i>Proposes alternative fee structure, not individualised</i>	
x	<i>Allows for design fees</i>	
✓	<i>Allows for urban design framework</i>	<i>Human scale development matrix</i> offers holistic understanding of urban condition and requirements <i>Network analysis</i> reveals nodal growth points supporting urban design framework
Legislative constraint of building standards		
✓	<i>Determines appropriate building standards</i>	<i>Human scale development matrix</i> indicates appropriate levels of needs and satisfiers <i>Network analysis</i> reveals social hierarchies and priorities related to built fabric
x	<i>Enables critical assessment of professional accountability to building standards</i>	
Restructuring of capital subsidy to effect transformation		
✓	<i>Proposes mechanism for upgrade at settlement level</i>	<i>Testimonio</i> offers mechanism to determine holistic concern with upgrade <i>Human scale development matrix</i> offers insight into upgrade requirements at settlement level <i>Network analysis</i> supports implementation strategies at settlement level
x	<i>Enables political shift from RDP model</i>	

Key factor: Participation		
Key factors addressed	Reason	
Public participation in informal settlement upgrade		
√	<i>Enables collective engagement between community and professionals</i>	<i>Testimonio</i> affords expression of community issues to professional stakeholders <i>Human scale development matrix</i> provides platform for engagement between community and professionals <i>Network analysis</i> reveals CBO structure, supports avenues of communication
√	<i>Makes allowance for stages of participation from protest to collaboration</i>	<i>Testimonio</i> expression of protest
√	<i>Enables development of skills and capacity in professionals and community body</i>	<i>Image of Home</i> supports skills development in community <i>Network analysis</i> reveals skills and capacity in settlement, supports engagement with professional body
Participatory research		
√	<i>Informs process, offers community voice</i>	<i>Testimonio</i> expression of community voice <i>Image of Home</i> emotive visual expression <i>Human scale development matrix</i> comprehensive documentation of needs and satisfiers <i>Network analysis</i> reveals social capital
x	<i>Enables critical reflection</i>	
Collaborative design		
√	<i>Enables platform to articulate needs</i>	<i>Testimonio</i> expression of community voice, oppression <i>Image of Home</i> emotive visual expression, yearning <i>Human scale development matrix</i> comprehensive documentation of needs and satisfiers <i>Network analysis</i> reveals social capital deficit
√	<i>Includes multidisciplinary teams</i>	<i>Human scale development matrix</i> includes multidisciplinary participants <i>Network analysis</i> enables multidisciplinary engagement
√	<i>Enables intersection of collective and individual</i>	<i>Testimonio</i> expression of individual within the collective <i>Image of Home</i> shared visual expression <i>Human scale development matrix</i> expression of individual within the collective <i>Network analysis</i> reveals nodal points of convergence between individual and collective
x	<i>Mitigates mechanisms of control</i>	
Participatory urban management		
x	<i>Engenders ownership</i>	
√	<i>Facilitates relationship between informal settlement community and city</i>	<i>Human scale development matrix</i> indicates priorities for development <i>Network analysis</i> enables recognition of <i>de facto</i> structures of authority and dissemination

Key factor: Role of Architects		
Key factors addressed	Reason	
Historical precedent of architectural involvement in informal settlement upgrade		
x	<i>Draws on previous examples of architectural involvement</i>	
√	<i>Prepares architects for this work engendering an understanding of the requirements</i>	<i>Image of Home</i> reveals visual identification and symbolic spatial value <i>Human scale development matrix</i> indicates importance of spatial needs and satisfiers <i>Network analysis</i> reveals convergence of social and spatial importance

Potential space for architectural intervention		
√	Does not default into design	Human scale development matrix indicates importance of spatial needs and satisfiers Network analysis reveals convergence of social and spatial importance
√	Addresses the individual nature of architectural production	Network analysis enables engagement with collective as convergent upon specific site of intervention
x	Offers technical assistance within a collective programme	
√	Offers a politically conscious socio-technical level of service	Human scale development matrix indicates differentiation between social and technical needs and satisfiers
Appropriate strategies for architectural intervention		
x	Effects the right to careful and good design	
√	Proposed spatial frameworks	Human scale development matrix indicates priorities of spatial needs and satisfiers Network analysis reveals convergence of social and spatial development opportunities
√	Facilitates the design of shared community buildings	Image of Home reveals visual identification and symbolic spatial value Human scale development matrix indicates importance of spatial needs and satisfiers Network analysis reveals convergence of social and spatial importance
√	Engenders commitment to participatory process	Human scale development matrix relies on mutual participation Network analysis relies on mutual participation
√	Enables shift from product-driven approach	Human scale development matrix supports process-driven approach Network analysis supports process-driven approach
Potential for social activism through architectural engagement		
√	Engenders solidarity	Testimonio engenders empathy Image of Home illustrates shared humanity Human scale development matrix demystifies generic community, encourages deeper engagement Network analysis demystifies generic community, encourages deeper engagement
√	Creates culture of engagement and pro-poor mentality	Testimonio engenders empathy Image of Home illustrates shared humanity Human scale development matrix demystifies generic community, encourages deeper engagement Network analysis demystifies generic community, encourages deeper engagement
x	Encourages long-term commitment	
x	Supports personal conviction	
√	Enables politically conscious education	Testimonio expression of political oppression Image of Home illustrates aspiration Human scale development matrix indicates political frustration and aspiration Network analysis reveals de facto political structures
x	Encourages debate	

4.3.3. CAP wall chart: Documentation of Key Information

Table 4.3: CAP wall chart: Documentation of Key Information	
Base Plan	
	Site plan
	Agree on scales of information
	Indicate public uses
	Indicate public access

	<i>Relative land values and potential</i>
	<i>Circulation, access routes, site boundaries</i>
Spatial Physical Elements	
	<i>Document existing conditions</i>
	<i>Document proposals from existing master plans</i>
	<i>Document infrastructure services</i>
Non-physical Elements	
	<i>Document existing conditions</i>
	<i>Document proposals from existing master plans</i>
	<i>Indicate political boundaries, community territories</i>

The assembly of information onto a base plan as part of the CAP *Documentation of Key Information* (Table 4.3) is treated as an intensely participatory opportunity in which visual skills and literacy are cleverly used as a bridge between the professionals and the participants. Technical, economic, organisational, social and environmental indicators are sought out and mapped. These are then overlaid with *rapid techniques of reconnaissance and analysis* that would include the following:

- *Identification of typologies: aerial photos, field observations, census, cadastral*
- *Characteristics: income, housing, growth patterns*
- *Deficiencies: housing, services, utilities, employment*
- *Sectoral investment: deficiency analysis, urban priorities*
- *Policy interventions: policy framework, institutional capacity, human resource development, legal and legislative frameworks, financing (Goethert & Hamdi, 1997:53).*

Various formats of base plans are alluded to in Hamdi's further writings: from aerial photographs to cartoon-like representations of the geographical area. The team members who are *graphically skilled* are able, at this juncture, to respond with immediacy to the verbal input of the residents of the area (Hamdi 2010).

Regarding the arrangement of the professional team, certain assumptions seem to prevail throughout the relevant literature. Reference is made to various professions, such as architects, planners and engineers (Hamdi 1995:130). In some cases, Hamdi groups the participants together as *housers, international fundraisers, dwellers* (1995:110). The particular skills required for further execution of work at this point, however, seem to be deliberately underplayed. There is a greater concern expressed for the distribution or absolution of professional expertise than in the purposeful harnessing thereof:

... approximation and serendipity are the norm – the search for scientific precision is displaced in favour of informed improvisations, practical wisdom, integrated thinking, good judgement ... and on common sense (Hamdi 2004:xxii).

In fact, there seems to be a pointed critique of certain typical professional approaches, especially those associated with formalistic architectural and planning practice:

The park, like so many of city plans, ... represents an ideal, imagined in the minds of architects or planners, where form-making takes precedence over social space, a confirmation of who belongs and who does not. It represents that single vision of what cities and city places should be. This kind of ideal, the single vision of quality and class are an expression of expulsion because you have to remove people, as if clutter, in order to do it and place them behind clear demarcations or enclaves (Hamdi 2010:58).

The authors' disdain of professionals who are *seduced by careers or money or a sense of wanting to achieve, an ambition to point to success and feature in glossies in the midst of all the mediocrity and failures* (Hamdi 2010:60), leads to a potential undermining of the professional value brought to the team by the experts.

The base plan is used as the translation of existing conditions as well as those proposed by any other actors in the area, from government agencies to public or private planners. All reports or existing master plans are related to this base plan, overlaid with the community's understanding of tangible and intangible aspects such as political or territorial boundaries, areas of safety, opportunity or vulnerability. The ability to overlay institutionalised parameters with experiential ones becomes an effective vehicle for further discussion and harvesting of information that could easily be lost in structured interviews and wish lists. The ability to *read* a precinct (as proposed by Geddes in Meller (1990)) is therefore supported directly and tangibly by means of the base plan.

Quantitative and qualitative tools are engaged with equal measures of success to be able to focus fairly quickly on the physical conditions that may require immediate attention or alternatively, reaching an understanding that the major issues at stake actually have very little to do with the physical conditions at all (Hamdi 2004:xxii).

4.3.3.1. Key factors addressed in *Documentation of Key Information*

The following table (Table 4.3.1) indicates how the CAP *Documentation of Key Information* (Table 4.3) serves to address the key factors that were identified in chapter three.

Table 4.3.1: Key factors addressed through <i>Documentation of Key Information</i>		
Key factor: Definition of in situ upgrade of informal settlements		
Key factors addressed		Reasons
Definition of informal settlements		
√	<i>Identification of contested legal condition</i>	<i>Non-physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, political boundaries, community territories supports proposal of legal contestation
√	<i>Documentation of lack of services</i>	<i>Spatial physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, infrastructure services
x	<i>Acknowledgement of high social stress and poverty</i>	
Position regarding in situ upgrade		
x	<i>Pejorative: Eradication</i>	
√	<i>Problem-based: Solutions-driven</i>	<i>Base Plan:</i> Documentation of site plan, scale, public uses, public access, land value, circulation and access supports solutions-driven approach <i>Spatial physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, infrastructure services establishes problem within formalised system
√	<i>Pragmatic: Incrementalism</i>	<i>Base Plan:</i> Documentation of site plan, scale, public uses, public access, land value, circulation and access supports incremental approach <i>Spatial physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, infrastructure services supports incremental development
√	<i>Radical: In situ upgrade</i>	<i>Base Plan:</i> Documentation of site plan, scale, public uses, public access, land value, circulation and access creates platform for in situ upgrade <i>Non-physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, political boundaries, community territories suggests value attached to condition originating outside of regulatory framework

Key factor: Transformative mandate		
Key factors addressed		Reasons
Informality as consequence of status quo		
√	<i>Documentation of causative historical and economic factors</i>	<i>Spatial physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, infrastructure services creates platform to indicate causative historical and economic factors <i>Non-physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, political boundaries, community territories indicates social and political causative factors
√	<i>Provide platform to contest justice, access and citizenship</i>	<i>Non-physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, political boundaries, community territories provides visual tool to illustrate contestation for spatial justice

Level of transformation required			
x	<i>Proposes transformation of planning systems</i>		
√	<table border="1"> <tr> <td><i>Facilitates alternative to individualised systems</i></td> <td> <p><i>Base Plan:</i> Documentation of site plan, scale, public uses, public access, land value, circulation and access offers holistic view of settlement</p> <p><i>Spatial physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, infrastructure services considers collective concerns</p> <p><i>Non-physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, political boundaries, community territories considers collective concerns</p> </td> </tr> </table>	<i>Facilitates alternative to individualised systems</i>	<p><i>Base Plan:</i> Documentation of site plan, scale, public uses, public access, land value, circulation and access offers holistic view of settlement</p> <p><i>Spatial physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, infrastructure services considers collective concerns</p> <p><i>Non-physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, political boundaries, community territories considers collective concerns</p>
<i>Facilitates alternative to individualised systems</i>	<p><i>Base Plan:</i> Documentation of site plan, scale, public uses, public access, land value, circulation and access offers holistic view of settlement</p> <p><i>Spatial physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, infrastructure services considers collective concerns</p> <p><i>Non-physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, political boundaries, community territories considers collective concerns</p>		
x	<i>Supports the stimulation of complex housing supply</i>		
x	<i>Enables transformation of administrative processes</i>		

Key factor: Tri-sectoral balance of power							
Key factors addressed	Reasons						
Power balance between government, civil society and community							
√	<table border="1"> <tr> <td><i>Government top-down provision authority</i></td> <td> <p><i>Spatial physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing master plans indicative of top-down provision authority</p> <p><i>Non-physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing master plans indicative of top-down political authority</p> </td> </tr> <tr> <td>√</td> <td> <table border="1"> <tr> <td><i>Civil society and NGOs in service of government</i></td> <td> <p><i>Spatial physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing master plans indicative of service to top-down provision authority</p> <p><i>Non-physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing master plans indicative of service to top-down political authority</p> </td> </tr> </table> </td> </tr> </table>	<i>Government top-down provision authority</i>	<p><i>Spatial physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing master plans indicative of top-down provision authority</p> <p><i>Non-physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing master plans indicative of top-down political authority</p>	√	<table border="1"> <tr> <td><i>Civil society and NGOs in service of government</i></td> <td> <p><i>Spatial physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing master plans indicative of service to top-down provision authority</p> <p><i>Non-physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing master plans indicative of service to top-down political authority</p> </td> </tr> </table>	<i>Civil society and NGOs in service of government</i>	<p><i>Spatial physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing master plans indicative of service to top-down provision authority</p> <p><i>Non-physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing master plans indicative of service to top-down political authority</p>
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<i>Civil society and NGOs in service of government</i>	<p><i>Spatial physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing master plans indicative of service to top-down provision authority</p> <p><i>Non-physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing master plans indicative of service to top-down political authority</p>						
x	<i>Communities recipient beneficiaries, collaborative</i>						
x	<i>Rights-based activists reliant on judiciary</i>						
Disjuncture between policy and implementation							
√	<table border="1"> <tr> <td><i>Enables political influence over development objectives</i></td> <td> <p><i>Non-physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, political boundaries, community territories enables political influence over development proposals</p> </td> </tr> </table>	<i>Enables political influence over development objectives</i>	<p><i>Non-physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, political boundaries, community territories enables political influence over development proposals</p>				
<i>Enables political influence over development objectives</i>	<p><i>Non-physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, political boundaries, community territories enables political influence over development proposals</p>						
x	<i>Creates a platform for government accountability</i>						
√	<table border="1"> <tr> <td><i>Addresses skills and knowledge gap in government officials</i></td> <td> <p><i>Base Plan:</i> Documentation of site plan, scale, public uses, public access, land value, circulation and access offers knowledge base for use by stakeholders</p> <p><i>Spatial physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, infrastructure services offers knowledge base for use by stakeholders</p> <p><i>Non-physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, political boundaries, community territories offers knowledge base for use by stakeholders</p> </td> </tr> </table>	<i>Addresses skills and knowledge gap in government officials</i>	<p><i>Base Plan:</i> Documentation of site plan, scale, public uses, public access, land value, circulation and access offers knowledge base for use by stakeholders</p> <p><i>Spatial physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, infrastructure services offers knowledge base for use by stakeholders</p> <p><i>Non-physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, political boundaries, community territories offers knowledge base for use by stakeholders</p>				
<i>Addresses skills and knowledge gap in government officials</i>	<p><i>Base Plan:</i> Documentation of site plan, scale, public uses, public access, land value, circulation and access offers knowledge base for use by stakeholders</p> <p><i>Spatial physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, infrastructure services offers knowledge base for use by stakeholders</p> <p><i>Non-physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, political boundaries, community territories offers knowledge base for use by stakeholders</p>						
Main drivers of informal settlement upgrade							
√	<table border="1"> <tr> <td><i>Initiated by government authority</i></td> <td> <p><i>Base Plan:</i> Documentation of site plan, scale, public uses, public access, land value, circulation and access enables platform for government intervention</p> <p><i>Spatial physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, infrastructure services enables platform for government intervention</p> <p><i>Non-physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing master plans offer platform for government intervention</p> </td> </tr> </table>	<i>Initiated by government authority</i>	<p><i>Base Plan:</i> Documentation of site plan, scale, public uses, public access, land value, circulation and access enables platform for government intervention</p> <p><i>Spatial physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, infrastructure services enables platform for government intervention</p> <p><i>Non-physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing master plans offer platform for government intervention</p>				
<i>Initiated by government authority</i>	<p><i>Base Plan:</i> Documentation of site plan, scale, public uses, public access, land value, circulation and access enables platform for government intervention</p> <p><i>Spatial physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, infrastructure services enables platform for government intervention</p> <p><i>Non-physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing master plans offer platform for government intervention</p>						

√	<i>Initiated by NGOs and academics</i>	<p><i>Base Plan:</i> Documentation of site plan, scale, public uses, public access, land value, circulation and access offers platform of engagement for use by all stakeholders</p> <p><i>Spatial physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, infrastructure services offers platform of engagement for use by all stakeholders</p> <p><i>Non-physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, political boundaries, community territories offers platform of engagement by all stakeholders</p>
√	<i>Initiated by rights-based activists or community</i>	<p><i>Base Plan:</i> Documentation of site plan, scale, public uses, public access, land value, circulation and access offers platform of engagement for use by activists and community</p> <p><i>Spatial physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition offers platform of engagement for use by activists and community</p> <p><i>Non-physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, political boundaries, community territories offers platform of engagement by activists and community</p>
Institutional support of social processes		
√	<i>Proposes administrative processes to support community structures</i>	<i>Non-physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, political boundaries, community territories offers administrative platform to support community structures
√	<i>Strengthens CBO structures and capacity</i>	<i>Non-physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, political boundaries, community territories offers platform of engagement by all stakeholders
Institutional position of architectural profession in terms of informal settlement upgrade		
√	<i>Engenders accountability in architecture profession</i>	<p><i>Base Plan:</i> Documentation of site plan, scale, public uses, public access, land value, circulation and access informs architectural engagement</p> <p><i>Spatial physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, infrastructure services informs architectural engagement</p> <p><i>Non-physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, political boundaries, community territories informs architectural engagement</p>
x	<i>Allows for disbursement: architecture fees</i>	
√	<i>Mitigates elitism of architecture</i>	<i>Non-physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, political boundaries, community territories enables informed architectural engagement
√	<i>Mitigates individualism of architecture</i>	<p><i>Base Plan:</i> Documentation of site plan, scale, public uses, public access, land value, circulation and access offers holistic view of settlement</p> <p><i>Spatial physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, infrastructure services offers holistic view of settlement</p> <p><i>Non-physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, political boundaries, community territories offers holistic view of community concerns</p>
x	<i>Encourages pro bono work</i>	
x	<i>Promotes community architecture movement</i>	
√	<i>Politicises architecture education</i>	<i>Non-physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, political boundaries, community territories engenders political conscientisation

Key factor: Tenure Security		
Key factors addressed	Reasons	
Incremental tenure security		
√	<i>Enables intermediate administrative recognition</i>	<i>Base Plan:</i> Documentation of land value allows basis for administrative recognition <i>Non-physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, political boundaries, community territories enables recognition of community concerns
√	<i>Enables consolidation vs freehold title model</i>	<i>Base Plan:</i> Documentation of land value attaches value to existing patterns of occupation
Capital subsidy system as a vehicle for upgrade		
x	<i>Enables housing alternative to individualised subsidy</i>	
√	<i>Embraces holistic approach supportive of upgrade</i>	<i>Base Plan:</i> Documentation of site plan, scale, public uses, public access, land value, circulation and access offers holistic view of settlement <i>Spatial physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, infrastructure services offers holistic view of settlement <i>Non-physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, political boundaries, community territories offers holistic view of community concerns
√	<i>Contributes to consolidation process</i>	<i>Base Plan:</i> Documentation of land value contributes to support of consolidation process
Architectural contribution bound into capital subsidy system		
x	<i>Proposes alternative fee structure, not individualised</i>	
x	<i>Allows for design fees</i>	
√	<i>Allows for urban design framework</i>	<i>Base Plan:</i> Documentation of site plan, scale, public uses, public access, land value, circulation and access offers basis for urban design framework <i>Spatial physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, infrastructure services offers basis for urban design framework <i>Non-physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, political boundaries, community territories offers basis for urban design framework
Legislative constraint of building standards		
x	<i>Determines appropriate building standards</i>	
x	<i>Enables critical assessment of professional accountability to building standards</i>	
Restructuring of capital subsidy to effect transformation		
√	<i>Proposes mechanism for upgrade at settlement level</i>	<i>Base Plan:</i> Documentation of site plan, scale, public uses, public access, land value, circulation and access offers holistic view of settlement <i>Spatial physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, infrastructure services offers holistic view of settlement <i>Non-physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, political boundaries, community territories offers holistic view of community concerns
x	<i>Enables political shift from RDP model</i>	

Key factor: Participation		
Key factors addressed		Reasons
Public participation in informal settlement upgrade		
√	<i>Enables collective engagement between community and professionals</i>	<p><i>Base Plan:</i> Documentation of site plan, scale, public uses, public access, land value, circulation and access enables collective engagement</p> <p><i>Spatial physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, infrastructure services enables collective engagement</p> <p><i>Non-physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, political boundaries, community territories relies on collective engagement</p>
x	<i>Makes allowance for stages of participation from protest to collaboration</i>	
√	<i>Enables development of skills and capacity in professionals and community body</i>	<p><i>Base Plan:</i> Documentation of site plan, scale, public uses, public access, land value, circulation and access offers opportunity for skills transfer</p> <p><i>Spatial physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, infrastructure services offers opportunity for skills transfer</p> <p><i>Non-physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, political boundaries, community territories offers opportunity for skills transfer and strengthening capacity</p>
Participatory research		
√	<i>Informs process, offers community voice</i>	<i>Non-physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, political boundaries, community territories represents community concerns
x	<i>Enables critical reflection</i>	
Collaborative design		
√	<i>Enables platform to articulate needs</i>	<i>Non-physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, political boundaries, community territories offers platform to articulate community concerns
x	<i>Includes multidisciplinary teams</i>	
√	<i>Enables intersection of collective and individual</i>	<p><i>Spatial physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition at settlement level recognises collective context</p> <p><i>Non-physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, political boundaries, community territories enables recognition of individual within collective concerns</p>
x	<i>Mitigates mechanisms of control</i>	
Participatory urban management		
x	<i>Engenders ownership</i>	
√	<i>Facilitates relationship between informal settlement community and city</i>	<p><i>Base Plan:</i> Documentation of site plan, scale, public uses, public access, land value, circulation and access provides basis for negotiation between community and city</p> <p><i>Spatial physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, infrastructure services provides shared knowledge base</p> <p><i>Non-physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, political boundaries, community territories provides shared knowledge base</p>

Key factor: Role of Architects		
Key factors addressed	Reason	
Historical precedent of architectural involvement in informal settlement upgrade		
x	<i>Draws on previous examples of architectural involvement</i>	
√	<i>Prepares architects for this work engendering an understanding of the requirements</i>	<p><i>Base Plan:</i> Documentation of site plan, scale, public uses, public access, land value, circulation and access offers holistic view of settlement</p> <p><i>Spatial physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, infrastructure services offers holistic view of settlement</p> <p><i>Non-physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, political boundaries, community territories offers holistic view of community concerns</p>
Potential space for architectural intervention		
√	<i>Does not default into design</i>	<p><i>Non-physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, political boundaries, community territories offers process-oriented approach to engagement</p>
√	<i>Addresses the individual nature of architectural production</i>	<p><i>Base Plan:</i> Documentation of site plan, scale, public uses, public access, land value, circulation and access offers holistic view of settlement</p> <p><i>Spatial physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, infrastructure services offers holistic view of settlement</p> <p><i>Non-physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, political boundaries, community territories offers holistic view of community concerns</p>
x	<i>Offers technical assistance within a collective programme</i>	
√	<i>Offers a politically conscious socio-technical level of service</i>	<p><i>Non-physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, political boundaries, community territories offers political view of community concerns</p>
Appropriate strategies for architectural intervention		
x	<i>Effects the right to careful and good design</i>	
√	<i>Proposed spatial frameworks</i>	<p><i>Base Plan:</i> Documentation of site plan, scale, public uses, public access, land value, circulation and access offers holistic view of settlement</p> <p><i>Spatial physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, infrastructure services offers holistic view of settlement</p> <p><i>Non-physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, political boundaries, community territories offers holistic view of community concerns</p>
x	<i>Facilitates the design of shared community buildings</i>	
√	<i>Engenders commitment to participatory process</i>	<p><i>Non-physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, political boundaries, community territories relies on community participation</p>
x	<i>Enables shift from product-driven approach</i>	
Potential for social activism through architectural engagement		
x	<i>Engenders solidarity</i>	
√	<i>Creates culture of engagement and pro-poor mentality</i>	<p><i>Non-physical elements:</i> Documentation of existing condition, existing master plans, political boundaries, community territories relies on mutual participation and relationship of trust</p>
x	<i>Encourages long-term commitment</i>	
x	<i>Supports personal conviction</i>	
x	<i>Enables politically conscious education</i>	
x	<i>Encourages debate</i>	

4.3.4. CAP wall chart: *Making Community Map*

Table 4.4: CAP wall chart <i>Making Community Map</i>	
Complete Base Plan	
	<i>Meet with community on location</i>
	<i>Map community concerns and opportunities</i>
	<i>Patterns of use</i>
Dwelling Typologies	
	<i>Document use; plot sizes; tenure; building types</i>
	<i>Document family story, past and future expectations</i>
	<i>Describe physical characteristics</i>
	<i>Plot plan: dwelling, uses, dimensions</i>
	<i>Photograph or sketch of dwelling</i>
	<i>Table of basic data</i>

The elaboration of the base plan into a community map entails the enrichment of the plan by further input from community members who are encouraged to add as much qualitative and quantitative information as possible in terms of the existing use or conditions of the area (Table 4.4). The *Wall Chart* suggests a few avenues of questioning, but one understands that the broader prompting by the task team, the richer the harvest of data will eventually be.

Local wisdom and innovative information -gathering processes could yield accurate, inexpensive and instant information that was as good for our purpose as the expensive high-tech one (Hamdi 2010:64).

The flow of communication can be considered an important aspect of this part of the workshop and it is here that intercultural workshops become heavily reliant on good translators. Conversations that can digress into an enlightening topic could easily be missed by the facilitator who is not conversant in the native language. The base map contributes to the possibility of bridging this communication gap due to its graphic qualities.

The community map enables all participants to make the transition between the subjective and the objective experience of the precinct, to grasp the connection between individual concerns and the larger environment and in that process to enter into a state of mind within which the communal *ideation* can take place (Geddes 1968; Hamdi 2004:xx; Sarkissian 2010). The preparation of the community map therefore offers the task team a vehicle of preparation from which solutions can be devised that are grounded in the arena of *consensus* (Abbott 1996).

The documentation of housing typologies requires the focus to be shifted to the individual architectural concern and allows for an understanding of the physical fabric of the area translated into problems and opportunities. Once again, the primary value in this exercise is in the revealing of the existing conditions in a way that offers an objective view of an inherently subjective condition. A visual literacy or vocabulary of the area is thereby created.

The narration of the family story in which the story of origin is taken through to the possible expansion into future aspirations, can be considered to be a valuable source of communal *Testimonio* (Brabeck 2003) on which issues such as claims to tenure may be substantiated. The *Wall Chart* remains unspecific about the way in which these stories ought to be documented and whether they merely serve as background information, or whether the political weight of such testimonies ought to be carefully preserved or managed as a by-product of the research. In their book *Making Microplans* (Goethert & Hamdi 1988), the authors acknowledge the potential political impact of their involvement in terms of the development of local leadership. This disturbance of local dynamics, however, is not given further consideration in terms of possible negative impact. On the contrary, further literature places increasing emphasis on the implicit importance of transformation and assumes the desirability thereof:

... search out clues – local initiatives that you can build on to be a catalyst for change to improve life, livelihoods and the condition of place ... ensure that every step in the planning is transformative, each intervention visible ... reflect on rationale – ‘what did you provide and enable, how did it adapt and transform and how will it be sustained (PEAS)’, what role and responsibilities did you assume ... what kind of learning did it inspire, what difference will it make (Hamdi 2010:130).

In the description of housing typologies, participants are encouraged to delve into the details of architectural documentation, from dwelling plots to physical structures. The intention of this exercise is not fully fleshed out in the attending *Action Planning* (Goethert & Hamdi 1997) literature, but is clarified in Hamdi's (2010:126) later texts, where he cites the example of Patama Roonrakwit's settlement plans for the *Under the Bridge Dwellers* in Bangkok, where families were guided in the designs of their homes making use of 1:50 scale models. This

community worked together, redesigning their homes to take each other into consideration, creating common areas of understanding and negotiating understandings about privacy, boundary lines, overlooking, setbacks and heights.

Hamdi emphasises the need for architectural flexibility, adaptability and change, once again portraying a strong bias against traditional formalist training. Theories proposed by John Habraken, anarchist Colin Ward and a *Theory of Loose Parts* by Simon Nicholson are embraced, in which it is proposed that places must be *fit for change in order to change to fit*. He actively encourages

... an architecture of invitation and opportunity, with some formal modeling ... a minimum of organization that would serve the benefits of planning, while leaving individuals the greatest possible control over their own lives (Hamdi 2010:150).

4.3.4.1. Key factors addressed in *Making Community Map*

The following table (Table 4.4.1) indicates how the CAP *Making Community Map* (Table 4.4) serves to address the key factors that were identified in chapter three.

Table 4.4.1: Key factors addressed through CAP <i>Making Community Map</i>		
Key factor: Definition of in situ upgrade of informal settlements		
Factors addressed		Reasons
Definition of informal settlements		
√	<i>Identification of contested legal condition</i>	<i>Complete Base Plan:</i> Mapping of community concerns and opportunities enables recognition of contested legal condition <i>Dwelling typologies:</i> Documentation of use, plot sizes, tenure, building type renders occupation visible
√	<i>Documentation of lack of services</i>	<i>Complete Base Plan:</i> Mapping of community concerns and opportunities indicative of level of services <i>Dwelling typologies:</i> Documentation of use, plot sizes, tenure, building type; physical characteristics; plot plan; photo or sketch; table of basic data provides quantification of deficit
√	<i>Acknowledgement of high social stress and poverty</i>	<i>Complete Base Plan:</i> Mapping of community concerns, opportunities and patterns of use illustrates socio-economic conditions <i>Dwelling typologies:</i> Documentation of family story and expectations illustrates socio-economic conditions
Position regarding in situ upgrade		
x	<i>Pejorative: Eradication</i>	
√	<i>Problem-based: Solutions-driven</i>	<i>Dwelling typologies:</i> Documentation of use, plot sizes, tenure, building type supports problem-based approach to engagement

√	<i>Pragmatic: Incrementalism</i>	<i>Complete Base Plan:</i> Meeting with community on location, mapping of community concerns, opportunities and patterns of use supports incremental approach to upgrade <i>Dwelling typologies:</i> Documentation of use, plot sizes, tenure, building type; physical characteristics; plot plan; photo or sketch; table of basic data supports incremental approach to upgrade
√	<i>Radical: In situ upgrade</i>	<i>Complete Base Plan:</i> Meeting with community on location, mapping of community concerns, opportunities and patterns of use supports <i>in situ</i> approach to upgrade <i>Dwelling typologies:</i> Documentation of use, plot sizes, tenure, building type; family story and expectations; physical characteristics; plot plan; photo or sketch; table of basic data supports <i>in situ</i> approach to upgrade

Key factor: Transformative mandate		
Factors addressed		Reasons
Informality as consequence of status quo		
√	<i>Documentation of causative historical and economic factors</i>	<i>Complete Base Plan:</i> Mapping of community concerns, opportunities and patterns of use contributes to recognition of causative factors <i>Dwelling typologies:</i> Documentation of use, plot sizes, tenure, building type; family story and expectations; physical characteristics contributes to understanding of causative factors
√	<i>Provide platform to contest justice, access and citizenship</i>	<i>Complete Base Plan:</i> Meeting with community on location, mapping of community concerns, opportunities and patterns of use provides platform for contestation <i>Dwelling typologies:</i> Documentation of family story and expectations provides platform for contestation
Level of transformation required		
√	<i>Proposes transformation of planning systems</i>	<i>Complete Base Plan:</i> Meeting with community on location, mapping of community concerns, opportunities and patterns of use promotes transformed approach to planning
√	<i>Facilitates alternative to individualised systems</i>	<i>Complete Base Plan:</i> Meeting with community on location, mapping of community concerns, opportunities and patterns of use provides holistic view of settlement
√	<i>Supports the stimulation of complex housing supply</i>	<i>Dwelling typologies:</i> Documentation of use, plot sizes, tenure, building type; family story and expectations; physical characteristics; plot plan; photo or sketch; table of basic data provides knowledge base towards provision of appropriate housing supply
x	<i>Enables transformation of administrative processes</i>	

Key factor: Tri-sectoral balance of power	
Factors addressed	Reasons
Power balance between government, civil society and community	
x	<i>Government top-down provision authority</i>
x	<i>Civil society and NGOs in service of government</i>
√	<p><i>Communities recipient beneficiaries, collaborative</i></p> <p><i>Complete Base Plan:</i> Meeting with community on location, mapping of community concerns, opportunities and patterns of use enables collaboration <i>Dwelling typologies:</i> Documentation of use, plot sizes, tenure, building type; family story and expectations; physical characteristics; plot plan; photo or sketch; table of basic data reliant on collaboration</p>
√	<p><i>Rights-based activists reliant on judiciary</i></p> <p><i>Complete Base Plan:</i> Meeting with community on location, mapping of community concerns, opportunities and patterns of use empowers community voice <i>Dwelling typologies:</i> Documentation of family story and expectations empowers community voice</p>
Disjuncture between policy and implementation	
√	<p><i>Enables political influence over development objectives</i></p> <p><i>Complete Base Plan:</i> Meeting with community on location, mapping of community concerns, opportunities and patterns of use encourages community representation <i>Dwelling typologies:</i> Documentation of family story and expectations supports community influence over development objectives</p>
x	<i>Creates a platform for government accountability</i>
x	<i>Addresses skills and knowledge gap in government officials</i>
Main drivers of informal settlement upgrade	
x	<i>Initiated by government authority</i>
√	<p><i>Initiated by NGOs and academics</i></p> <p><i>Complete Base Plan:</i> Meeting with community on location, mapping of community concerns, opportunities and patterns of use initiated by NGOs or academics <i>Dwelling typologies:</i> Documentation of use, plot sizes, tenure, building type; family story and expectations; physical characteristics; plot plan; photo or sketch; table of basic data facilitated by NGOs or academics</p>
x	<i>Initiated by rights-based activists or community</i>
Institutional support of social processes	
x	<i>Proposes administrative processes to support community structures</i>
√	<p><i>Strengthens CBO structures and capacity</i></p> <p><i>Complete Base Plan:</i> Meeting with community on location, mapping of community concerns, opportunities supports CBO structure and capacity <i>Dwelling typologies:</i> Documentation of family story and expectations strengthens community structures</p>
Institutional position of architectural profession in terms of informal settlement upgrade	
x	<i>Engenders accountability in architecture profession</i>
√	<p><i>Allows for disbursement: architecture fees</i></p> <p><i>Complete Base Plan:</i> Meeting with community on location, mapping of community concerns, opportunities and patterns of use within scope of architectural service <i>Dwelling typologies:</i> Documentation of use, plot sizes, tenure, building type; family story and expectations; physical characteristics; plot plan; photo or sketch; table of basic data within scope of architectural service</p>

√	<i>Mitigates elitism of architecture</i>	<i>Complete Base Plan:</i> Meeting with community on location, mapping of community concerns, opportunities and patterns of use enables access to architectural service <i>Dwelling typologies:</i> Documentation of use, plot sizes, tenure, building type; family story and expectations; physical characteristics; plot plan; photo or sketch; table of basic data enables access to architectural service
√	<i>Mitigates individualism of architecture</i>	<i>Complete Base Plan:</i> Meeting with community on location, mapping of community concerns, opportunities and patterns of use enables holistic view of settlement
x	<i>Encourages pro bono work</i>	
√	<i>Promotes community architecture movement</i>	<i>Complete Base Plan:</i> Meeting with community on location, mapping of community concerns, opportunities and patterns of use provides basis for community architecture intervention <i>Dwelling typologies:</i> Documentation of use, plot sizes, tenure, building type; family story and expectations; physical characteristics; plot plan; photo or sketch; table of basic data provides basis for community architecture intervention
√	<i>Politicises architecture education</i>	<i>Complete Base Plan:</i> Meeting with community on location, mapping of community concerns, opportunities and patterns of use affords political conscientisation <i>Dwelling typologies:</i> Documentation of family story and expectations affords political conscientisation

Key factor: Tenure Security		
Factors addressed	Reasons	
Incremental tenure security		
x	<i>Enables intermediate administrative recognition</i>	
√	<i>Enables consolidation vs freehold title model</i>	<i>Dwelling typologies:</i> Documentation of use, plot sizes, tenure, building type; family story and expectations; physical characteristics; plot plan; photo or sketch; table of basic data establishes basis for consolidation
Capital subsidy system as a vehicle for upgrade		
√	<i>Enables housing alternative to individualised subsidy</i>	<i>Dwelling typologies:</i> Documentation of use, plot sizes, tenure, building type; family story and expectations; physical characteristics; plot plan; photo or sketch; table of basic data establishes basis for development of alternatives to housing options based in understanding of self-driven solutions
√	<i>Embraces holistic approach supportive of upgrade</i>	<i>Complete Base Plan:</i> Meeting with community on location, mapping of community concerns, opportunities and patterns of use creates platform for collective approach
√	<i>Contributes to consolidation process</i>	<i>Dwelling typologies:</i> Documentation of use, plot sizes, tenure, building type; family story and expectations; physical characteristics; plot plan; photo or sketch; table of basic data enables support of consolidation process
Architectural contribution bound into capital subsidy system		
x	<i>Proposes alternative fee structure not individualised</i>	
x	<i>Allows for design fees</i>	
√	<i>Allows for urban design framework</i>	<i>Complete Base Plan:</i> Meeting with community on location, mapping of community concerns, opportunities and patterns of use contributes to development of responsive urban design framework

Legislative constraint of building standards		
√	<i>Determines appropriate building standards</i>	<i>Dwelling typologies:</i> Documentation of use, plot sizes, tenure, building type; family story and expectations; physical characteristics; plot plan; photo or sketch; table of basic data establishes basis of in situ building standards and <i>de facto</i> self-regulation
x	<i>Enables critical assessment of professional accountability to building standards</i>	
Restructuring of capital subsidy to effect transformation		
√	<i>Proposes mechanism for upgrade at settlement level</i>	<i>Complete Base Plan:</i> Meeting with community on location, mapping of community concerns, opportunities and patterns of use establishes basis for upgrade at settlement level
x	<i>Enables political shift from RDP model</i>	

Key factor: Participation		
Factors addressed		Reasons
Public participation in informal settlement upgrade		
√	<i>Enables collective engagement between community and professionals</i>	<i>Complete Base Plan:</i> Meeting with community on location, mapping of community concerns, opportunities and patterns of use enables sharing of information and engagement by all parties
√	<i>Makes allowance for stages of participation from protest to collaboration</i>	<i>Complete Base Plan:</i> Meeting with community on location, mapping of community concerns, opportunities and patterns of use facilitates collaboration and acknowledges community voice
√	<i>Enables development of skills and capacity in professionals and community body</i>	<i>Complete Base Plan:</i> Mapping of community concerns and opportunities encourages development of skills in community and professional body
Participatory research		
√	<i>Informs process, offers community voice</i>	<i>Complete Base Plan:</i> Meeting with community on location, mapping of community concerns, opportunities and patterns of use affords community opportunity to voice concerns
x	<i>Enables critical reflection</i>	
Collaborative design		
√	<i>Enables platform to articulate needs</i>	<i>Complete Base Plan:</i> Meeting with community on location, mapping of community concerns, opportunities and patterns of use encourages the articulation and documentation of needs
x	<i>Includes multidisciplinary teams</i>	
√	<i>Enables intersection of collective and individual</i>	<i>Complete Base Plan:</i> Meeting with community on location, mapping of community concerns, opportunities and patterns of use allows for the inclusion of individual within the collective <i>Dwelling typologies:</i> Documentation of use, plot sizes, tenure, building type; family story and expectations; physical characteristics; plot plan; photo or sketch; table of basic data allows the cumulative individual concerns to impact on the collective
x	<i>Mitigates mechanisms of control</i>	
Participatory urban management		
x	<i>Engenders ownership</i>	
x	<i>Facilitates relationship between informal settlement community and city</i>	

Key factor; Role of Architects	
Factors addressed	Reasons
Historical precedent of architectural involvement in informal settlement upgrade	
x	<i>Draws on previous examples of architectural involvement</i>
√	<p><i>Prepares architects for this work engendering an understanding of the requirements</i></p> <p><i>Complete Base Plan:</i> Meeting with community on location, mapping of community concerns, opportunities and patterns of use equips professional team with <i>in situ</i> information enriched through community contribution</p> <p><i>Dwelling typologies:</i> Documentation of use, plot sizes, tenure, building type; family story and expectations; physical characteristics; plot plan; photo or sketch; table of basic data affords basis to inform design response</p>
Potential space for architectural intervention	
x	<i>Does not default into design</i>
√	<p><i>Addresses the individual nature of architectural production</i></p> <p><i>Complete Base Plan:</i> Meeting with community on location, mapping of community concerns, opportunities and patterns of use facilitates collective engagement</p>
√	<p><i>Offers technical assistance within a collective programme</i></p> <p><i>Dwelling typologies:</i> Documentation of use, plot sizes, tenure, building type; family story and expectations; physical characteristics; plot plan; photo or sketch; table of basic data establishes base documentation for technical architectural assistance</p>
√	<p><i>Offers a politically conscious socio-technical level of service</i></p> <p><i>Complete Base Plan:</i> Meeting with community on location, mapping of community concerns, opportunities and patterns of use establishes socio-political consciousness</p>
Appropriate strategies for architectural intervention	
x	<i>Effects the right to careful and good design</i>
√	<p><i>Proposed spatial frameworks</i></p> <p><i>Complete Base Plan:</i> Meeting with community on location, mapping of community concerns, opportunities and patterns of use establish basis for responsive spatial framework</p> <p><i>Dwelling typologies:</i> Documentation of use, plot sizes, tenure, building type; family story and expectations; physical characteristics; plot plan; photo or sketch; table of basic data establishes platform for consideration of existing spatial patterns in framework</p>
x	<i>Facilitates the design of shared community buildings</i>
√	<p><i>Engenders commitment to participatory process</i></p> <p><i>Complete Base Plan:</i> Meeting with community on location, mapping of community concerns, opportunities and patterns of use strengthens participatory process</p>
√	<p><i>Enables shift from product-driven approach</i></p> <p><i>Complete Base Plan:</i> Meeting with community on location, mapping of community concerns, opportunities and patterns of use engenders commitment to process-driven approach</p>
Potential for social activism through architectural engagement	
√	<p><i>Engenders solidarity</i></p> <p><i>Complete Base Plan:</i> Meeting with community on location, mapping of community concerns, opportunities and patterns of use creates shared basis of understanding and empathy</p>
√	<p><i>Creates culture of engagement and pro-poor mentality</i></p> <p><i>Complete Base Plan:</i> Meeting with community on location, mapping of community concerns, opportunities and patterns of use encourages engagement and creates basis of understanding</p> <p><i>Dwelling typologies:</i> Documentation of use, plot sizes, tenure, building type; family story and expectations; physical characteristics; plot plan; photo or sketch; table of basic data encourages engagement and creates basis of understanding</p>
x	<i>Encourages long-term commitment</i>
x	<i>Supports personal conviction</i>
x	<i>Enables politically conscious education</i>
x	<i>Encourages debate</i>

4.3.4.2. Augmentation to *Making Community Map*

That which is described in CAP as base plan and community map are represented in contemporary terms by the availability of web interface GIS platforms, with the inclusion of Participatory GIS (PGIS). The principles espoused in CAP revolve around devising a shared platform between professional facilitators and the resident community. This platform of engagement harvests as much local knowledge as possible in an attempt to develop an understanding of the physical and metaphysical terrain of engagement. Where Geddes (1915) was considered radical in his proposal that community members could contribute photographs to his surveys, recent PGIS literature now suggests that this approach remains valuable and has been able to go to global scale.

In this instance, despite the double caveat of access control and accuracy, the advantage of the shotgun approach to maximum inclusivity seems to benefit the purpose of developing a shared vision for a community's upgrade. Technology seems to develop faster than theory, so that the notion of basing a methodology on any particular current device seems fairly irrelevant.

For this reason, it is proposed in this study that Participatory GIS ought to be included as an augmentation to the *CAP Making Community Map* in order to address the key factors contributing to the marginality of the architectural profession to the discourse on informal settlement upgrade more comprehensively.

4.3.4.2.1. Participatory Geographic Information System (PGIS)

Participatory GIS (PGIS) is a means of integrating local spatial knowledge with expert or official data, aimed particularly at the empowerment of communities who are neglected and rendered invisible through the lack of regularisation (Musungu et al, 2012; Paar & Rekitke, 2011). Literature suggests that the fairly generic discussion by Hamdi and Goethert (1997) of the base plan and community plan constitutes an overly simplified description of a key component in the upgrade debate. The apparently simple task of viewing the affected settlement from above has various implications and ramifications that deserve a somewhat deeper analysis and clarification of intent.

Due to technological development in the past two decades, Geographic Information Systems (GIS) and advanced computing hardware has added a new dimension to the previous dependence on static, expensive and centrally managed aerial photographs. The storing, mapping and analysing of spatially referenced data has evolved into a potential vehicle of dialogue between stakeholders at various levels, yet remains largely unrealised due to the high level of technical skill required to manipulate it (Musungu, Motala & Mancitshana 2012). Software is widely available, but access to good data and skilled users remains limited (Bishop 2010). Examples such as the Plano Global in Belo Horizonte, Brazil (Abbott 2002:311) as well as the Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY) upgrade programme in India (India Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation 2010) indicate support by government authorities to embrace the extensive use of GIS to capture and manage data that integrates physical layout plans with social and economic information. It is largely assumed, however, that this data capturing and management would be carried out by professionals with the necessary technical skills.

As in CAP, the assumption is therefore made that the first point of departure of the planning process is in the hand of the trained or skilled professional with access to the base plan or in this case, GIS technology (Bishop 2010; India Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation 2010). Even in situations where alternative hand-held devices for data capture have been documented, such as the use of Garmin GPS, smartphone apps and digital cameras (Sieber 2000), there remains a central requirement of relating all this material to a central computer-based operating system that requires skill in its operation.

However, where CAP assumes the simple printout of an aerial photograph, GIS technology does offer various platforms to the user, so that this division between the expert and resident community can be bridged in several creative ways. Where highly skilled professionals and operators are brought together with local residents, it is possible to establish the base frameworks for data capture and dissemination, while enriching this data with the assistance of mobile devices or even low-tech representations of conditions on the ground, such as model building or hand sketches (Musungu et al 2012).

Noting conditions on the ground by means of physical observation, transect walks, photographic documentation, hand sketches and household surveys can all be successfully

captured in a GIS representation of the settlement. This advance in technology therefore offers significant enrichment to CAP, where data can now be retained, layered and managed over time. Planning therefore results from and influences the quotidian conditions that CAP attempts to capture during the various workshop processes.

Community empowerment

The *Map Kibera* project in Nairobi, Kenya that commenced in 2009 has resulted in an improvement in service delivery and implementation of various upgrade projects. By collecting data over an extended period of time, communities and planners are able to monitor and adjust proposed interventions with an understanding of speed, scale and impact of such projects (Sliuzas 2004). The implied parameter for such a benefit is accessibility and operational skill within the affected community.

On several levels however, resistance to this technology can be observed. As much as GIS technology can serve to empower marginalised sectors of society (Paneck 2012), grassroots organisations often embrace the view that hi-tech solutions support and favour the hegemony of capitalist markets, thereby placing them firmly in an opposing camp (Sieber 2000; Sliuzas 2004). The cost of such innovation, the favouring of hi-tech skills required in the operation is considered a *non-essential issue to those who live at the edge of existence* (Sieber 2000). Even within established organisational structures, the introduction of new technology induced a destabilisation to the existing hierarchy, which can lead to a resistance to the implementation.

The added dimension of convergence between professional operators and grassroots participants creates fertile ground for mutual suspicion and the threat of dominance, intellectual territoriality or redundancy (Musungu et al 2012).

Despite such potential conditions of resistance, however, the value of PGIS has been documented widely and the ease of use and application once the primary skills have been acquired does eventually contribute to community empowerment through the visual mapping of previously unseen and unrecognised communities.

Accuracy

GIS fundamentally allows for a great degree of accuracy in the mapping of informal settlements. With the inclusion of participants who make use of additional tools and software to contribute to the GIS platform, some of this accuracy may be compromised. Standard GPS devices, smartphone apps and digital cameras can contribute to this documentation (Paar & Rekitke 2011: 243) but must be understood to require verification if accuracy is desired, as accuracy levels are necessarily dependent on the nature of the data entered (Sieber 2000). Cooper (2012) argues that volunteered participatory data capture for GIS application has great value in terms of open access information, but warns that these vehicles are not guided by any particular standards of accuracy. Issues of concern include:

- Positional or spatial accuracy
- Attribute or thematic accuracy
- Semantic accuracy
- Temporal accuracy or quality
- Completeness
- Logical consistency
- Lineage

These issues may not always be considered relevant for rapid appraisal processes, and the glossing over of detail may in fact be favoured in order to achieve a conceptual overview of a settlement. However, due to the ability of a GIS platform to layer information and therefore become a repository for further research and planning, the challenges pointed out by Cooper (2012) ought to be taken into consideration when engaging in participatory processes of GIS data capture:

- Dependence on purpose and context
- Non-involvement on standards
- Anonymous contributions
- Bias
- Qualitative aspects

Access and application

The establishment of complex GIS platforms that are enriched through voluntary participation relies on software that is accessible both in terms of data input, as well as freedom of use. Cooper (2012) points out that this is not always an open system due to the commercialisation of cyberspace and hence the acquired local spatial knowledge. Users are able to contribute but cannot always access data that is controlled by search engines such as Google, thereby leading to critics and scholars remaining skeptical of the potential exploitation and surveillance of local knowledge assets through corporate commercialisation.

In their description of the use of GIS in slum upgrades, the Indian Ministry of Housing and Poverty Alleviation (2010:14) also indicates the possibility of accessing information through web interface, but does not embroider on the control of this information.

Despite these concerns, literature suggests that the use of GIS platforms that are managed concurrently by professional operators as well as grassroots volunteers and residents of an affected settlement community can successfully contribute to an incremental approach to upgrade or development (Abbott 2002; Paar & Rekitke 2011). From designers' perspectives, the combination of various documentation devices such as hand drawings, photographs, smartphone apps and GPS devices all contribute to a rich GIS platform that can serve as contextual parameters for design interventions. By using contemporary CAD software, realistic 3-D modelling of proposed interventions can be generated, thereby offering residents of informal settlements clear indications of what can be achieved (Sieber 2000). By relating a proposed intervention so closely to the existing conditions, residents are engaged on a visually emotive level to appropriate such a vision for themselves.

Once all relevant information has been captured, from photographs to CAD documents and converted to a GIS platform, literature concurs that such data may become accessible to government planning departments, community based organisations and other role players in the upgrade discourse (India Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation, 2010; Kwaku Kyem 2001; Musungu et al 2012; Sliuzas 2004). Bishop (2010) argues that an added advantage to GIS documentation can be seen in the resident communities having the ability to view the impact of an implementation and to be able to weigh it up against planned proposals, thereby allowing for a space of critical reflection.

Eventually it is argued that not only does PGIS present the opportunity to develop an understanding of the structure and changes in informal settlements, but due to its ability to adapt and be added to, the web interface allows for increased understanding of the system itself and therefore allows widespread access to learning materials impacting on the management of informal areas:

This in turn should provide for greater awareness of informal settlement issues and eventually better decision making by land administrators from negotiation phases through to designing and monitoring intervention processes (Bishop 2010:11).

4.3.4.3. Key factors addressed through augmentation to *Making Community Map: PGIS*

The following table (Table 4.4.2) indicates how the proposed augmentation to the CAP *Making Community Map* (Table 4.4) serves to address the key factors that were identified in chapter three.

Table 4.4.2: Key factors addressed through augmentation to <i>Making Community Map</i>		
Key factor: Definition of in situ upgrade of informal settlements		
Key factors addressed	Reason	
Definition of informal settlements		
√	<i>Identification of contested legal condition</i>	<i>PGIS offers platform to capture parameters of legal condition</i>
√	<i>Documentation of lack of services</i>	<i>PGIS assists documentation of services and problem areas</i>
x	<i>Acknowledgement of high social stress and poverty</i>	
Position regarding in situ upgrade		
x	<i>Pejorative: Eradication</i>	
x	<i>Problem-based: Solutions-driven</i>	
x	<i>Pragmatic: Incrementalism</i>	
√	<i>Radical: In situ upgrade</i>	<i>PGIS offers platform to capture in situ conditions</i>

Key factor: Transformative mandate		
Key factors addressed	Reason	
Informality as consequence of status quo		
x	<i>Documentation of causative historical and economic factors</i>	
√	<i>Provide platform to contest justice, access and citizenship</i>	<i>PGIS offers platform to capture and document conditions of marginality</i>
Level of transformation required		
√	<i>Proposes transformation of planning systems</i>	<i>PGIS facilitates multilayered capture of information to enrich planning processes and systems</i>
x	<i>Facilitates alternative to individualised systems</i>	
x	<i>Supports the stimulation of complex housing supply</i>	
x	<i>Enables transformation of administrative processes</i>	

Key factor: Tri-sectoral balance of power		
Key factors addressed		Reason
Power balance between government, civil society and community		
x	<i>Government top-down provision authority</i>	
√	<i>Civil society and NGOs in service of government</i>	PGIS offers communication platform for use by all stakeholders
√	<i>Communities recipient beneficiaries, collaborative</i>	PGIS offers communication platform for all stakeholders
x	<i>Rights-based activists reliant on judiciary</i>	
Disjuncture between policy and implementation		
x	<i>Enables political influence over development objectives</i>	
x	<i>Creates a platform for government accountability</i>	
√	<i>Addresses skills and knowledge gap in government officials</i>	PGIS builds on accessible use of interactive technology
Main drivers of informal settlement upgrade		
x	<i>Initiated by government authority</i>	
√	<i>Initiated by NGOs and academics</i>	PGIS offers communication platform for all stakeholders
√	<i>Initiated by rights-based activists or community</i>	PGIS offers communication platform for all stakeholders
Institutional support of social processes		
√	<i>Proposes administrative processes to support community structures</i>	PGIS offers platform to share information and management systems
√	<i>Strengthens CBO structures and capacity</i>	PGIS offers platform to share information and support community structures
Institutional position of architectural profession in terms of informal settlement upgrade		
x	<i>Engenders accountability in architecture profession</i>	
x	<i>Allows for disbursement architecture fees</i>	
x	<i>Mitigates elitism of architecture</i>	
x	<i>Mitigates individualism of architecture</i>	
x	<i>Encourages pro bono work</i>	
x	<i>Promotes community architecture movement</i>	
x	<i>Politicises architecture education</i>	

Key factors: Tenure Security		
Key factors addressed		Reason
Incremental tenure security		
x	<i>Enables intermediate administrative recognition</i>	
x	<i>Enables consolidation vs freehold title model</i>	
Capital subsidy system as a vehicle for upgrade		
x	<i>Enables housing alternative to individualised subsidy</i>	
x	<i>Embraces holistic approach supportive of upgrade</i>	
√	<i>Contributes to consolidation process</i>	PGIS captures existing condition to support consolidation process
Architectural contribution bound into capital subsidy system		
x	<i>Proposes alternative fee structure, not individualised</i>	
x	<i>Allows for design fees</i>	
√	<i>Allows for urban design framework</i>	PGIS enables basis for urban design framework
Legislative constraint of building standards		
x	<i>Determines appropriate building standards</i>	
x	<i>Enables critical assessment of professional accountability to building standards</i>	
Restructuring of capital subsidy to effect transformation		
√	<i>Proposes mechanism for upgrade at settlement level</i>	PGIS enables overview and holistic documentation of settlement
x	<i>Enables political shift from RDP model</i>	

Key factors: Participation		
Key factors addressed		Reason
Public participation in informal settlement upgrade		
√	<i>Enables collective engagement between community and professionals</i>	PGIS facilitates layering of information over time and information exchange at different levels of proficiency
√	<i>Makes allowance for stages of participation from protest to collaboration</i>	PGIS offers broad and interactive platform to capture and relate issues of concern

√	<i>Enables development of skills and capacity in professionals and community body</i>	<i>PGIS interactive and responsive to technological advances, evolves with increased contributions by all stakeholders</i>
Participatory research		
√	<i>Informs process, offers community voice</i>	<i>PGIS enables expression of community concerns</i>
x	<i>Enables critical reflection</i>	
Collaborative design		
√	<i>Enables platform to articulate needs</i>	<i>PGIS offers platform to articulate community needs</i>
√	<i>Includes multidisciplinary teams</i>	<i>PGIS accessible for multidisciplinary contribution</i>
√	<i>Enables intersection of collective and individual</i>	<i>PGIS reliant on individual engagement within collective contribution</i>
√	<i>Mitigates mechanisms of control</i>	<i>PGIS devolves authority to the collective</i>
Participatory urban management		
√	<i>Engenders ownership</i>	<i>PGIS increases accessibility and shared ownership</i>
√	<i>Facilitates relationship between informal settlement community and city</i>	<i>PGIS offers platform to share information and contribute to decision making</i>

Key factors: Role of Architects		
Key factors addressed		Reason
Historical precedent of architectural involvement in informal settlement upgrade		
x	<i>Draws on previous examples of architectural involvement</i>	
√	<i>Prepares architects for this work engendering an understanding of the requirements</i>	<i>PGIS enriches contextual parameters for architectural engagement</i>
Potential space for architectural intervention		
x	<i>Does not default into design</i>	
x	<i>Addresses the individual nature of architectural production</i>	
√	<i>Offers technical assistance within a collective programme</i>	<i>PGIS offers mechanism for technical assistance</i>
x	<i>Offers a politically conscious socio-technical level of service</i>	
Appropriate strategies for architectural intervention		
x	<i>Effects the right to careful and good design</i>	
√	<i>Proposed spatial frameworks</i>	<i>PGIS supports development of spatial frameworks</i>
√	<i>Facilitates the design of shared community buildings</i>	<i>PGIS enables basis for collation of information pertaining to shared spatial opportunity</i>
√	<i>Engenders commitment to participatory process</i>	<i>PGIS enriched through participatory process</i>
x	<i>Enables shift from product-driven approach</i>	
Potential for social activism through architectural engagement		
x	<i>Engenders solidarity</i>	
√	<i>Creates culture of engagement and pro-poor mentality</i>	<i>PGIS develops culture of engagement and creates awareness of socio-economic conditions</i>
x	<i>Encourages long-term commitment</i>	
x	<i>Supports personal conviction</i>	
√	<i>Enables politically conscious education</i>	<i>PGIS offers platform to capture document political conditions</i>
x	<i>Encourages debate</i>	

4.3.5. CAP wall chart: *Set of Actions and Related Tasks*

Table 4.5: CAP wall chart: <i>Set of Actions and Related Tasks</i>	
Set of Actions and Related Tasks	
Identify and prioritise actions	
	<i>Decide actions and related spatial and non-spatial interventions</i>
	<i>Prioritise interventions: need, feasibility and political viability</i>
	<i>Consider consequence and grouping in terms of input and goods</i>

Determining *Plans of Action* in response to the *Statement of Problems and Opportunities* (Table 4.5) embodies the outcomes of the workshop consensus. Whether these actions are prompted by the facilitators or remnants of the inherited community wish list, seems ambiguous.

Hamdi stresses the value of CAP in *Placemaker's Guide to Building Community* (2010:153) as follows:

- 1) *Timescale (now, soon)*
- 2) *Access to shelter/services/utilities*
- 3) *Problem solving*
- 4) *Plans, projects, programmes*
- 5) *Outputs (quantitative) – houses, water, etc.*
- 6) *Good practice (local)*
- 7) *Small-scale project based*

Although it could be considered a powerful opportunity for community investment in the unlocking of potential inertia (Hamdi 2004:xx,52), it could be argued that this establishment of tasks and actions could be severely hampered by the abbreviated nature of these workshops. Unless the participants genuinely represent all the relevant political players that are able to unlock resources, it is quite possible that a community's desire to enact certain interventions could become frustrated at this point. The professional team would be reliant on an in-depth knowledge of the history of conflict and obstacles to development that would have caused the reason for their involvement in the first place. Inherently, this undermines the proposed value of the exercise as being quick and unencumbered.

Essentially, this phase of deciding on a plan of action seems to rely on the glossing over of the detail concerns that may be blocking the development drive (Goethert & Hamdi 1988:19,22,42; Hamdi 2004:104).

Hamdi stresses this point several times as being key to the proposal of *not thinking too much before doing, and not doing too much before stopping to think about it* (2010:35). This primary concept is alluring in its flexibility and in its forgiving aptitude for tacit learning, but relies on multiple intervention and reflection, which is not clearly indicated in the *Wall Chart*. One needs

to read the literature very closely to realise that the system is not reliant on only one workshop of two to five days, but rather on a long-term commitment and the layering of many small or more complex engagements towards greater objectives (Hamdi 2010).

4.3.5.1. Key factors addressed in *Set of Actions and Related Tasks*

The following table (Table 4.5.1) indicates how the CAP *Set of Actions and Related Tasks* (Table 4.5) serves to address the key factors that were identified in chapter three.

Table 4.5.1: Key factors addressed through Set of Actions and Related Tasks		
Key factor: Definition of in situ upgrade of informal settlements		
Key factors addressed		Reasons
Definition of informal settlements		
√	<i>Identification of contested legal condition</i>	Deciding on actions, related spatial and non-spatial interventions; Prioritising interventions; Sequence, shared equity input acknowledges contested condition
√	<i>Documentation of lack of services</i>	Deciding on actions, related spatial and non-spatial interventions; Prioritising interventions; Sequence, shared equity input responsive to infrastructure requirements
√	<i>Acknowledgement of high social stress and poverty</i>	Deciding on actions, related spatial and non-spatial interventions; Prioritising interventions; Sequence, shared equity input according to levels of immediacy and alleviation
Position regarding in situ upgrade		
x	<i>Pejorative: Eradication</i>	
√	<i>Problem-based: Solutions-driven</i>	Deciding on actions, related spatial and non-spatial interventions; Prioritising interventions; Sequence, shared equity input enables solutions to identified problems
√	<i>Pragmatic: Incrementalism</i>	Deciding on actions, related spatial and non-spatial interventions; Prioritising interventions; Sequence, shared equity input determined in order to facilitate incremental approach
√	<i>Radical: In situ upgrade</i>	Deciding on actions, related spatial and non-spatial interventions; Prioritising interventions; Sequence, shared equity input determined to assuage disturbance to existing structures
Key factor: Transformative mandate		
Key factors addressed		Reasons
Informality as consequence of status quo		
√	<i>Documentation of causative historical and economic factors</i>	Deciding on actions, related spatial and non-spatial interventions; Sequence, shared equity input determined according to potential levels of contribution in response to causative factors

√	<i>Provide platform to contest justice, access and citizenship</i>	Prioritising interventions; Sequence, shared equity input determined to make allowance for shared citizenship
Level of transformation required		
√	<i>Proposes transformation of planning systems</i>	Sequence, shared equity input to refute top-down planning systems
√	<i>Facilitates alternative to individualised systems</i>	Sequence, shared equity input determined in response to collective objectives
x	<i>Supports the stimulation of complex housing supply</i>	
x	<i>Enables transformation of administrative processes</i>	

Key factor: Tri-sectoral balance of power		
Key factors addressed		Reasons
Power balance between government, civil society and community		
x	<i>Government top-down provision authority</i>	
√	<i>Civil society and NGOs in service of government</i>	Deciding on actions, related spatial and non-spatial interventions; Prioritising interventions; Sequence, shared equity input facilitates collaboration between community and professional body
√	<i>Communities recipient beneficiaries, collaborative</i>	Deciding on actions, related spatial and non-spatial interventions; Prioritising interventions; Sequence, shared equity input enhances collaboration process
x	<i>Rights-based activists reliant on judiciary</i>	
Disjuncture between policy and implementation		
√	<i>Enables political influence over development objectives</i>	Deciding on actions, related spatial and non-spatial interventions; Prioritising interventions; Sequence, shared equity input ensures broad based political participation
x	<i>Creates a platform for government accountability</i>	
x	<i>Addresses skills and knowledge gap in government officials</i>	
Main drivers of informal settlement upgrade		
x	<i>Initiated by government authority</i>	
√	<i>Initiated by NGOs and academics</i>	Deciding on actions, related spatial and non-spatial interventions; Prioritising interventions; Sequence, shared equity input enables participation process supported by NGOs and academics
√	<i>Initiated by rights-based activists or community</i>	Deciding on actions, related spatial and non-spatial interventions; Prioritising interventions; Sequence, shared equity input empowers community initiative
Institutional support of social processes		
√	<i>Proposes administrative processes to support community structures</i>	Deciding on actions, related spatial and non-spatial interventions; Prioritising interventions; Sequence, shared equity input strengthens existing structures and enables systems integration
√	<i>Strengthens CBO structures and capacity</i>	Deciding on actions, related spatial and non-spatial interventions; Prioritising interventions; Sequence, shared equity input recognises community contribution
Institutional position of architectural profession in terms of informal settlement upgrade		
√	<i>Engenders accountability in architecture profession</i>	Deciding on actions, related spatial and non-spatial interventions; Prioritising interventions; Sequence, shared equity input ensures collaborative decision making and accountability of all participants
x	<i>Allows for disbursement: architecture fees</i>	

x	<i>Mitigates elitism of architecture</i>	
√	<i>Mitigates individualism of architecture</i>	Deciding on actions, related spatial and non-spatial interventions; Prioritising interventions; Sequence, shared equity input supports broad based contribution by multiple stakeholders
x	<i>Encourages pro bono work</i>	
x	<i>Promotes community architecture movement</i>	
x	<i>Politicises architecture education</i>	

Key factor: Tenure Security		
Key factors addressed		Reasons
Incremental tenure security		
x	<i>Enables intermediate administrative recognition</i>	
√	<i>Enables consolidation vs freehold title model</i>	Deciding on actions, related spatial and non-spatial interventions; Prioritising interventions; Sequence, shared equity input informs consolidation process
Capital subsidy system as a vehicle for upgrade		
x	<i>Enables housing alternative to individualised subsidy</i>	
√	<i>Embraces holistic approach supportive of upgrade</i>	Deciding on actions, related spatial and non-spatial interventions; Prioritising interventions; Sequence, shared equity input supports collective decision-making
	<i>Contributes to consolidation process</i>	
Architectural contribution bound into capital subsidy system		
x	<i>Proposes alternative fee structure, not individualised</i>	
x	<i>Allows for design fees</i>	
√	<i>Allows for urban design framework</i>	Deciding on actions, related spatial and non-spatial interventions; Prioritising interventions; Sequence, shared equity input informs urban framework proposal
Legislative constraint of building standards		
x	<i>Determines appropriate building standards</i>	
x	<i>Enables critical assessment of professional accountability to building standards</i>	
Restructuring of capital subsidy to effect transformation		
√	<i>Proposes mechanism for upgrade at settlement level</i>	Deciding on actions, related spatial and non-spatial interventions; Prioritising interventions; Sequence, shared equity input addresses concerns at settlement level
x	<i>Enables political shift from RDP model</i>	

Key factor: Participation		
Key factors addressed		Reasons
Public participation in informal settlement upgrade		
√	<i>Enables collective engagement between community and professionals</i>	Deciding on actions, related spatial and non-spatial interventions; Prioritising interventions; Sequence, shared equity input enables platform for collective engagement
x	<i>Makes allowance for stages of participation from protest to collaboration</i>	
√	<i>Enables development of skills and capacity in professionals and community body</i>	Deciding on actions, related spatial and non-spatial interventions enables mutual skills and capacity transfer
Participatory research		
x	<i>Informs process, offers community voice</i>	
√	<i>Enables critical reflection</i>	Sequence, shared equity input creates opportunity for reflection

Collaborative design		
x	<i>Enables platform to articulate needs</i>	
√	<i>Includes multidisciplinary teams</i>	Deciding on actions, related spatial and non-spatial interventions; Prioritising interventions; Sequence, shared equity input ensures platform for multidisciplinary contribution
√	<i>Enables intersection of collective and individual</i>	Deciding on actions, related spatial and non-spatial interventions; Prioritising interventions; Sequence, shared equity input accommodates individual concern within the collective
√	<i>Mitigates mechanisms of control</i>	Sequence, shared equity input devolves control to broad based decision making platform
Participatory urban management		
x	<i>Engenders ownership</i>	
√	<i>Facilitates relationship between informal settlement community and city</i>	Deciding on actions, related spatial and non-spatial interventions; Prioritising interventions; Sequence, shared equity input enables shared platform of communication

Key factor: Role of Architects		
Key factors addressed		Reasons
Historical precedent of architectural involvement in informal settlement upgrade		
x	<i>Draws on previous examples of architectural involvement</i>	
√	<i>Prepares architects for this work engendering an understanding of the requirements</i>	Deciding on actions, related spatial and non-spatial interventions; Prioritising interventions; Sequence, shared equity input informs design process
Potential space for architectural intervention		
√	<i>Does not default into design</i>	Deciding on actions, related spatial and non-spatial interventions; Prioritising interventions; Sequence, shared equity input places emphasis on process
√	<i>Addresses the individual nature of architectural production</i>	Deciding on actions, related spatial and non-spatial interventions; Prioritising interventions; Sequence, shared equity input enables consideration of collective concerns
x	<i>Offers technical assistance within a collective programme</i>	
x	<i>Offers a politically conscious socio-technical level of service</i>	
Appropriate strategies for architectural intervention		
x	<i>Effects the right to careful and good design</i>	
√	<i>Proposed spatial frameworks</i>	Deciding on actions, related spatial and non-spatial interventions; Prioritising interventions; Sequence, shared equity input informs basis of spatial framework
x	<i>Facilitates the design of shared community buildings</i>	
√	<i>Engenders commitment to participatory process</i>	Deciding on actions, related spatial and non-spatial interventions; Prioritising interventions; Sequence, shared equity input reliant on participatory process
√	<i>Enables shift from product-driven approach</i>	Deciding on actions, related spatial and non-spatial interventions; Prioritising interventions; Sequence, shared equity input places emphasis on approach to process

Potential for social activism through architectural engagement		
x	<i>Fosters solidarity</i>	
√	<i>Creates culture of engagement and pro-poor mentality</i>	Deciding on actions, related spatial and non-spatial interventions; Prioritising interventions; Sequence, shared equity input supports recognition of engagement and encourages empathy with context
x	<i>Encourages long-term commitment</i>	
x	<i>Supports personal conviction</i>	
x	<i>Enables politically conscious education</i>	
x	<i>Encourages debate</i>	

4.3.5.2. Augmentation to *Set of Actions and Related Tasks*

CAP is situated within the paradigm of collaborative planning, assuming a mutuality of intent and purpose by participants in the process. Literature suggests that this paradigm has been institutionalised as part of planning practice (Purcell 2009) and is therefore supportive of the position assumed in CAP.

Concerns raised, however, indicate that the role of the facilitator cannot be presumed to be neutral (Gunder 2010). Power relations that define the macro-context giving rise to conditions in informal settlements are invariably brought under scrutiny when engaging in any upgrade or development initiative. Where the facilitator is positioned within such power structure therefore determines whether the participative process will contribute to the reinforcement of such structures or its transformation.

In the absence of a scenario where development agents are employed by marginalised communities, it is to be assumed that this relationship of facilitator as external party thus results in a condition of induced participation (Mansuri & Rao 2013).

When collaborative planning as a process is then pursued, it has been widely argued in planning theory that the danger of co-optation or manipulation resides within such a process. Recent arguments support a view as espoused in Hamdi's later texts (2004; 2010), in which systemic views such as those forwarded by Capra (2002) are proposed. In such a view, the facilitator becomes a nodal point of connection for the flow of communication between networks, thereby creating conditions for the emergence of power within these networks. This then allows for the emergence of community, or for a system of guided self-determination. How this impacts on the role of architects in this position requires consideration, as the same concerns impacting on collaborative planning may apply to collaborative design.

It is therefore proposed that a clear understanding and position regarding collaborative planning and design is required as an augmentation to the CAP *Set of Actions and Related Tasks*. In this way, it is proposed that the key factors contributing to the marginality of the architectural profession to the discourse on informal settlement upgrade can be more comprehensively addressed.

4.3.5.2.1. Collaborative planning

Seen in the wider context of planning literature, the *Wall Chart* bases its recipe for success heavily in the assumption of the paradigm of collaborative planning which, as we shall see, has significant implications for all the participants. Contemporaneous with the development of the *Wall Chart* (1997), Healey (1997) published the book *Collaborative Planning: Shaping Places in Fragmented Societies* that set in motion a great degree of theoretical consideration of the mechanisms and consequences of such an approach.

The intention of collaborative or communicative planning is primarily to offer a more inclusive process that could potentially provide wiser outcomes for development than those produced in the technocratic top down expert or rational model of planning (Brand & Gaffkin 2007; Kaz, 2006; Purcell 2009). The desire to facilitate discourse that could go beyond the *wish list* and embrace a shift from competitive interest bargaining to negotiated consensus-building were seen as positive improvements.

Collaborative planning could therefore be seen as a new movement in which direct involvement with the public was desired, attempting to include those who were previously ignored or marginalised in the decision-making process, thereby giving voice to the voiceless. An underlying mandate of social transformation is embedded in this approach, relying on the collective intelligence of a group to respond to circumstances impacting on them (Brand & Gaffkin 2007; Hickey & Mohan 2005; Sanoff 2006). The facilitation of such group dynamics is considered to be *co-design* (Sanoff 2006:135) and implies a dynamic relationship between the external party (planner/ facilitator) and the participant community. Issues that collaborative planners would be addressing include the development of an understanding of power relations among role-players, recognising the potential beneficiaries or victims of a situation and reading the potential formation of coalitions among the participants. As pointed out by

Brand & Gaffkin (2007:302) *collaborative planning assumes a mature level of civic literacy among a widely informed public, which in itself indicates the potential problems this approach brings with it when dealing with fundamentally marginalised and often uninformed groups such as those living in informal settlements.*

General agreement exists in planning literature that collaborative planning has become a core principle of the planning discipline (Kaza 2006; Purcell 2009), to forge consensus among interested parties, thereby augmenting the democratic process. In fact, current discourse assumes this institutionalisation of participative practice as ethically correct, where those affected by plans necessarily ought to be involved with the making of those plans. This then lends legitimacy to decision making and actions impacting on their lives. According to Seltzer & Mahmoudi (2012:4):

... planning cannot take place, as currently conceived, in the absence of citizen involvement.

Critique against collaborative planning

Critical consideration of collaborative planning, however, primarily addresses the issue of power relations and the potential for social transformation. Prompted largely by the desire to effect transformation, Purcell (2009) and Gunder (2010) argue that the very nature of collaboration and consensus-building serve to *re-inforce the political-economic status quo while producing democratically legitimate decisions* (Purcell 2009:147). Through the process of consensus building he argues that resistance is effectively suffocated. Gunder (2010:302) similarly accuses collaborative planning of serving to *depoliticise conflict, neutralise dissent and legitimise the values of both government and private sector pro-development interests*. He cites Bengs (2005) in stating that the main function of community planning theory is to *lubricate the neo-liberal economy, and in particular the workings of the real-estate market*.

Fischler (2000), Hickey & Mohan (2005) and Kiissel (2013) refer to the critique aimed at collaborative planning and point out the primary disappointment as residing in its failure to achieve the anticipated social transformation. The key issue remains that of the power relations between parties. Planning theorists rely on the philosophical positions of Habermas

and Foucault to situate the potential of communicative planning or consensuality. According to Purcell (2009:149) the Habermasian view holds that *communicative action posits an ideal of inter-subjective understanding that ... can serve as the basis for democratic governance*. Participants thus deliberate towards an inter-subjective understanding of the common good using rational argumentation (Gunder 2010; Healy 2003).

Fischler (2000) argues that although such Habermasian consensuality may be useful as a norm for evaluation, it ought not to be elevated to a prescription for action. He turns to Foucault in situating such practice in its historical context and assessing the dangers that it poses for individuals and society at large. Specifically, the nature of public communication is hereby considered, in the fact that participants are expected to reveal their private opinions or concerns in a public arena and can therefore feel very vulnerable. Often the most important and influential information actually remains invisible and unstated.

Consensus

Consensus-building as the outcome of collaborative planning is therefore seen to embody two fundamental problems, both relative to the reinforcement of the status quo: Primarily, the role of the facilitators is embodied in the mandate underpinning their involvement in the participative process as agents of government or other forms of authority. Secondly, in the context of such induced participation, the expectation is that the participants reveal an inner self to public exposure. The goal of consensus building may be considered too ambitious, as argued by Brand & Gaffkin (2007), maintaining that power differentials cannot be dissolved through logical argumentation. The role of the emotional and personal narrative is required to achieve an authentic platform of negotiation and deliberation. They therefore consider it important to be able to work productively within a space of conflict.

Kaza (2006:261) considers this desire for consensus to be tyrannical, citing typical examples of public meetings where powerful interest groups collectively organise themselves to *indulge in grandstanding, to the detriment of others*. He does not consider local interests to be as cohesive as they are portrayed and suggests that *to believe that participation will lead to socially preferable outcomes is at best naïve*. Contentious issues are avoided and the consensus that is achieved is thin, fragile and open to manipulation. Effectively this calls for

greater transparency in the position held by the stakeholders during the process of negotiation and suggests that it is a more legitimate approach to development to assume positions of persuasion and negotiation, rather than insisting on consensus (Abbott 1996; Kaza 2006).

Transformation

So if consensus building is not the place for the redistribution of power (Purcell 2009:156) and could be viewed as an elaborate form of co-optation, in which the less powerful groups are dominated into accepting decisions they do not really agree to (Booher & Innes 2002), does this then dismiss the premise of participative or collaborative planning altogether? Hickey & Mohan (2005:263) warn against *throwing the baby out with the bathwater*, insisting that despite the inherent concerns, the principle of participation in the decision-making process retains the potential for genuine processes of transformation. Literature suggests that scholars are in agreement that although power relations cannot always be challenged at the systems level, collaborative approaches *can address the techniques of empowering people in the context of participation* (Kiiisel 2013:233). This is due in part to the problematic power relation between planners and the state: planners often being the agents of the state themselves, therefore inscribing the systemic confirmation of the status quo. Once again, the conclusions drawn by Mansuri & Rao (2013) in their World Bank report, illustrate the primary difference between induced and organic participation as being fundamental to conditions for transformation.

True resistance to dominant power constructs can only take place in conditions as described by Purcell (2009) and Harvey (2012) where *chains of equivalence* are established, each having their own distinct relation to the existing power structure and taking up independent, equivalent and collective positions. Seeing themselves equally disadvantaged by systems or groups of oppression results in a sense of solidarity and creates conditions for the organic emergence of resistance. On a global scale, this is illustrated by the *Right to the City* activist groups that are collectively taking a stand against globalisation and neo-liberalism. On a local scale of informal settlement community, however, the galvanising issues may be on a more localised level, such as the delivery of sanitation or other basic services.

Facilitation

The role of facilitation therefore becomes the crux of the matter: Participation being a natural aspect of organic social transformation, and induced participation being riddled with concerns of determinism and manipulation, under what circumstances does it become ethically acceptable or justifiable to involve an external party into such a process? Simply stated, Sanoff (2006:136) describes facilitation as *a means of bringing people together to determine what they wish to do and helping them find ways in deciding how to do it*. This, as previously illustrated, is far more complex than it seems:

The practice of collaborative planning requires more than just thorough mediation; it requires arenas for non-adversarial discourse where value systems can be articulated, where shared strategic conviction can grow, where conflicts are reframed in a less antagonistic manner and where the discourse shifts from the competitive bargaining of fixed interests to a mode of negotiative problem-definition and consensus-building (Brand & Gaffkin, 2007:291).

Facilitation, according to Brand & Gaffkin (2007), therefore requires a sophisticated mastery of semiotics and hermeneutics. A facilitator who is thus skilled, would be able to discern within the generically perceived *whole* of the group, distinctive networks of interactions that are the effective distributors of power within the group. Booher & Innes (2002) suggest that a collaborative network can be seen as an organic system (Capra 2002), in which diversity is the source of raw material that brings together ideas, values, interest and knowledge. The source of energy is the interdependence among participants and authentic dialogue is the genetic code. Such authentic dialogue takes time to develop, requiring trust and confidence to express honest views and feelings (Booher & Innes 2002). Within such conceptualisation of the organic nature of participation, the possibility exists that the facilitator becomes absorbed into the collaborative network, thus changing the nature of the participation from induced to organic through authentic involvement in the dialogue. The facilitator therefore becomes an equivalent participant in the decision-making process, eventually ceding the position of external expert.

Chettiparamb furthers this view in equating the participative process with *autopeoisis* (a system capable of reproducing and maintaining itself): By embracing a worldview that accommodates complexity and diversity, structuring towards an emergent order that is specifically non-deterministic, she argues that:

... it allows the steering of society in a direction that it might not otherwise adopt if left to itself. By influencing the parameters identified in the theory of autopoiesis, it becomes plausible to allow society to plan for itself, removing the plan-centered and planner-centered view that is dominant in planning today. Planning the act of planning then becomes an additional level of engagement, a level that cannot be deterministic, but remains influential nonetheless (2007:278).

Networks

Returning to the intention of collaborative planning as described by Healey, she re-iterates the plea for the

importance of understanding complexity and diversity in a way that does not collapse the atomistic analyses of specific episodes and individual achievements, or avoid recognizing the way power consolidates into driving forces that shape situational specificities (2003:117).

In their discussion on *Network Power in Collaborative Planning*, Booher & Innes (2002) indicate such an understanding of the potential of consensus building to reside in the space between the individual and the collective that is defined by networks. They describe *Network Power* as *a shared ability of linked agents to alter their environment in ways that are advantageous to both the individual and the collective (2002:225)*. Collaboration is therefore positively engaged in the pursuit of common goals within a framework of shared meanings, thus allowing *Network Power* to emerge. In this context, facilitation becomes the ability to connect networks, neither challenging nor acquiescing to the networks, rather assisting in the establishment of a framework for communication flow to occur (Booher & Innes 2009).

Collaborative planning seen in this light, therefore, creates the conditions for community to emerge, thereby giving credence to the potential of social transformation (Chettiparamb 2007; Gleeson 2004; Hamdi 2010).

4.3.5.3. Key factors addressed through augmentation to *Set of Actions and Related Tasks*:

Collaborative Design

The following table (Table 4.5.2) indicates how the proposed augmentation to the CAP *Set of Actions and Related Tasks* (Table 4.5) serves to address the key factors that were identified in chapter three.

Table 4.5.2: key factors addressed through augmentation to <i>Set of Actions and Related Tasks</i>		
Key factor; Definition of in situ upgrade of informal settlements		
Factors addressed	Reason	
Definition of informal settlements		
x	<i>Identification of contested legal condition</i>	
x	<i>Documentation of lack of services</i>	
x	<i>Acknowledgement of high social stress and poverty</i>	
Position regarding in situ upgrade		
x	<i>Pejorative: Eradication</i>	
x	<i>Problem-based: Solutions-driven</i>	
√	<i>Pragmatic: Incrementalism</i>	Collaborative design enables mechanism for incremental upgrade
√	<i>Radical: In situ upgrade</i>	Collaborative design takes cognisance of <i>in situ</i> opportunities

Key factor: Transformative mandate		
Factors addressed	Reason	
Informality as consequence of status quo		
x	<i>Documentation of causative historical and economic factors</i>	
√	<i>Provide platform to contest justice, access and citizenship</i>	Collaborative design affords opportunity to contest citizenship through shared authorship
Level of transformation required		
√	<i>Proposes transformation of planning systems</i>	Collaborative design refutes top-down planning approach
√	<i>Facilitates alternative to individualised systems</i>	Collaborative design enables collective contribution
√	<i>Supports the stimulation of complex housing supply</i>	Collaborative design affords expression of complex needs and requirements
x	<i>Enables transformation of administrative processes</i>	

Key factor: Tri-sectoral balance of power		
Factors addressed	Reason	
Power balance between government, civil society and community		
x	<i>Government top-down provision authority</i>	
√	<i>Civil society and NGOs in service of government</i>	Collaborative design mechanism for contribution by all stakeholders
√	<i>Communities recipient beneficiaries, collaborative</i>	Collaborative design mechanism for contribution by all stakeholders
x	<i>Rights-based activists reliant on judiciary</i>	

Disjuncture between policy and implementation		
√	<i>Enables political influence over development objectives</i>	Collaborative design strengthens political influence over development objectives
x	<i>Creates a platform for government accountability</i>	
x	<i>Addresses skills and knowledge gap in government officials</i>	
Main drivers of informal settlement upgrade		
x	<i>Initiated by government authority</i>	
√	<i>Initiated by NGOs and academics</i>	Collaborative design facilitated through professional service providers
x	<i>Initiated by rights-based activists or community</i>	
Institutional support of social processes		
x	<i>Proposes administrative processes to support community structures</i>	
√	<i>Strengthens CBO structures and capacity</i>	Collaborative design enables contribution by community structures
Institutional position of architectural profession in terms of informal settlement upgrade		
√	<i>Engenders accountability in architecture profession</i>	Collaborative design ensures multiple authorship and accountability
x	<i>Allows for disbursement: architecture fees</i>	
√	<i>Mitigates elitism of architecture</i>	Collaborative design renders architectural service accessible
√	<i>Mitigates individualism of architecture</i>	Collaborative design assuages individual top-down authorship
x	<i>Encourages pro bono work</i>	
√	<i>Promotes community architecture movement</i>	Collaborative design supports community architecture
√	<i>Politicises architecture education</i>	Collaborative design enables recognition of politically interactive space

Key factor: Tenure Security		
Factors addressed	Reason	
Incremental tenure security		
x	<i>Enables intermediate administrative recognition</i>	
√	<i>Enables consolidation vs freehold title model</i>	Collaborative design supports consolidation through shared authorship
Capital subsidy system as a vehicle for upgrade		
x	<i>Enables housing alternative to individualised subsidy</i>	
√	<i>Embraces holistic approach supportive of upgrade</i>	Collaborative design enables collective contribution and holistic approach
√	<i>Contributes to consolidation process</i>	Collaborative design contributes to consolidation through contribution by end user
Architectural contribution bound into capital subsidy system		
x	<i>Proposes alternative fee structure, not individualised</i>	
√	<i>Allows for design fees</i>	Collaborative design acknowledges value of design service
√	<i>Allows for urban design framework</i>	Collaborative design supports development of urban design framework
Legislative constraint of building standards		
√	<i>Determines appropriate building standards</i>	Collaborative design responsive to <i>de facto</i> building standards
√	<i>Enables critical assessment of professional accountability to building standards</i>	Collaborative design creates platform for critical assessment of building standards
Restructuring of capital subsidy to effect transformation		
√	<i>Proposes mechanism for upgrade at settlement level</i>	Collaborative design applicable to upgrade at settlement level
x	<i>Enables political shift from RDP model</i>	

Key factor: Participation		
Factors addressed	Reason	
Public participation in informal settlement upgrade		
√	<i>Enables collective engagement between community and professionals</i>	Collaborative design reliant on collective engagement between community and professionals
x	<i>Makes allowance for stages of participation from protest to collaboration</i>	

√	<i>Enables development of skills and capacity in professionals and community body</i>	Collaborative design enhances and supports existing skills base
Participatory research		
x	<i>Informs process, offers community voice</i>	
x	<i>Enables critical reflection</i>	
Collaborative design		
√	<i>Enables platform to articulate needs</i>	Collaborative design supports articulation of needs
√	<i>Includes multidisciplinary teams</i>	Collaborative design implies inclusion of multidisciplinary groups
√	<i>Enables intersection of collective and individual</i>	Collaborative design ensures intersection of individual and collective
√	<i>Mitigates mechanisms of control</i>	Collaborative design devolves centralised control
Participatory urban management		
√	<i>Engenders ownership</i>	Collaborative design encourages emotional ownership
√	<i>Facilitates relationship between informal settlement community and city</i>	Collaborative design enables platform of communication between community and city

Key factor: Role of Architects		
Factors addressed		Reason
Historical precedent of architectural involvement in informal settlement upgrade		
x	<i>Draws on previous examples of architectural involvement</i>	
√	<i>Prepares architects for this work engendering an understanding of the requirements</i>	Collaborative design prepares architects for complexity in authorship
Potential space for architectural intervention		
x	<i>Does not default into design</i>	
√	<i>Addresses the individual nature of architectural production</i>	Collaborative design supports collective platform of engagement
√	<i>Offers technical assistance within a collective programme</i>	Collaborative design enhances technical assistance within collective programme
x	<i>Offers a politically conscious socio-technical level of service</i>	
Appropriate strategies for architectural intervention		
√	<i>Effects the right to careful and good design</i>	Collaborative design supports well considered design
√	<i>Proposed spatial frameworks</i>	Collaborative design enriches spatial framework
√	<i>Facilitates the design of shared community buildings</i>	Collaborative design facilitates the design of shared community buildings
√	<i>Engenders commitment to participatory process</i>	Collaborative design relies on participatory process
√	<i>Enables shift from product-driven approach</i>	Collaborative design attaches value to process
Potential for social activism through architectural engagement		
√	<i>Engenders solidarity</i>	Collaborative design mitigates professional silo's and enhances solidarity
√	<i>Creates culture of engagement and pro-poor mentality</i>	Collaborative design supports engagement and engenders mutual understanding
√	<i>Encourages long-term commitment</i>	Collaborative design encourages commitment through shared authorship and emotional investment
√	<i>Supports personal conviction</i>	Collaborative design enhances personal conviction
√	<i>Enables politically conscious education</i>	Collaborative design supports political consciousness
√	<i>Encourages debate</i>	Collaborative design offers basis for debate

4.3.6. CAP wall chart: *Plan for Implementation*

Table 4.6: CAP wall chart: <i>Plan for Implementation</i>	
Identify tasks	
	<i>Consider primary tasks</i>
	<i>Consider constraints</i>
	<i>Establish responsibilities: Full, shared, support</i>
Synthesise proposal	
	<i>Prepare co-ordinated action plan</i>
	<i>Executive summary of workshop</i>
	<i>Area profile</i>
	<i>Overall planning objectives</i>
Project memorandum	
	<i>Project objectives</i>
	<i>Project implementation</i>
	<i>Project budget</i>
	<i>Plan</i>

The exactness of plans, whether for schools, housing or settlements, displaces the creativity of disorder in favour of places, which are easy to regulate and manage by those who provide (policy); Over-regulation and over-standardisation quickly become prescriptive and serve as a substitute for competence. They disturb the balance between design and emergence and with it the very people and organisations we now know are vital to the health and resilience of a community; The result is that people become dependent on having everything provided for them as a commodity, including knowledge ... in particular when applied to the reasoning of exactness ... This reasoning when applied to place making and human development ... is a borderline personality disorder, because nothing is good enough, causing humiliation and resentment in others (Hamdi 2010:144).

The implementation plan becomes the deliverable of the workshop (Table 4.6). By having established what the immediate needs and tasks are, as opposed to what could be relegated to the long term, the participants of the workshop are effectively empowered to undertake certain actions for themselves. This forms a conclusive link to the principles established by Turner (1976), in which people are assisted in helping themselves by the intervention of professionals (Capra 2002; Hamdi 2006:xviii). The importance of this approach is further underscored:

Enablement is the ability or willingness to provide the means with which to open doors and create opportunities in order to build livelihoods, reduce vulnerability and sustain development (Hamdi 2010:147).

This process, as described in the *Wall Chart*, does not point to architectural intervention:

Action planning typically includes the following phases whose final objective is implementation, whatever the sequence of work:

- *problems and opportunities*
- *goals and priorities*
- *options and trade-offs*
- *resources and constraints*
- *project team tasks*
- *implementation and monitoring*

(Goethert & Hamdi 1997:43).

The implementation would depend on the needs as established during the workshop. No particular argument is made in favour of a built project. On the contrary, Hamdi (2004) goes to great lengths to point out the problems associated with funds being unnecessarily squandered on architectural interventions, buildings that do not respond to the genuine needs of the community.

The plan does not rule out the possibility of architectural intervention (Hamdi 2004:81-83), although the nature of CAP is essentially non-deterministic in its translation and appropriation. Holistic, systemic solutions to problems are sought, which may or may not result in the identification of the need for built intervention.

4.3.6.1. Key factors addressed in *Plan for Implementation*

The following table (Table 4.6.1) indicates how the *CAP Plan for Implementation* (Table 4.6) serves to address the key factors that were identified in chapter three.

Table 4.6.1: Key factors addressed through CAP Plan for Implementation		
Key factor: Definition of in situ upgrade of informal settlements		
Key factors addressed		Reasons
Definition of informal settlements		
√	<i>Identification of contested legal condition</i>	<i>Identification of tasks:</i> Consideration of constraints; establishment of responsibility levels; <i>Synthesising of proposal:</i> Preparation co-ordinated action plan; overall planning objectives establishes parameters for contestation of rights
√	<i>Documentation of lack of services</i>	<i>Identification of tasks:</i> Consideration of constraints; <i>Synthesising of proposal:</i> Preparation co-ordinated action plan; area profile; overall planning objectives; <i>Project memorandum:</i> Project objectives; project implementation; project budget; plan establishes parameters for implementation of services
√	<i>Acknowledgement of high social stress and poverty</i>	<i>Identification of tasks:</i> Consideration of constraints; <i>Synthesising of proposal:</i> Overall planning objectives; <i>Project memorandum:</i> Project budget establishes parameters for addressing marginalising conditions
Position regarding in situ upgrade		
x	<i>Pejorative: Eradication</i>	
√	<i>Problem-based: Solutions-driven</i>	<i>Identification of tasks:</i> Consideration of primary tasks; consideration of constraints; establishment of responsibility levels; <i>Synthesising of proposal:</i> Preparation co-ordinated action plan; executive summary of workshop; area profile; overall planning objectives; <i>Project memorandum:</i> Project objectives; project implementation; project budget; plan facilitate mechanism for implementing solutions
√	<i>Pragmatic: Incrementalism</i>	<i>Identification of tasks:</i> Consideration of primary tasks; consideration of constraints; establishment of responsibility levels <i>Synthesising of proposal:</i> Preparation co-ordinated action plan; executive summary of workshop; area profile; overall planning objectives <i>Project memorandum:</i> Project objectives; project implementation; project budget; plan facilitate mechanism for incremental upgrade
√	<i>Radical: In situ upgrade</i>	<i>Identification of tasks:</i> Consideration of primary tasks; consideration of constraints; establishment of responsibility levels <i>Synthesising of proposal:</i> Preparation co-ordinated action plan; executive summary of workshop; area profile; overall planning objectives <i>Project memorandum:</i> Project objectives; project implementation; project budget; plan facilitate mechanism for <i>in situ</i> upgrade

Key factor: Transformative mandate		
Key factors addressed		Reasons
Informality as consequence of status quo		
√	<i>Documentation of causative historical and economic factors</i>	<i>Synthesising of proposal:</i> Executive summary of workshop responds to causative factors
√	<i>Provide platform to contest justice, access and citizenship</i>	<i>Synthesising of proposal:</i> Overall planning objectives <i>Project memorandum:</i> Project objectives; project implementation support platform to assert citizenship
Level of transformation required		
√	<i>Proposes transformation of planning systems</i>	<i>Synthesising of proposal:</i> Overall planning objectives; <i>Project memorandum:</i> Project objectives responsive to bottom-up decision-making process
√	<i>Facilitates alternative to individualised systems</i>	<i>Identification of tasks:</i> Establishment of responsibility levels supports collective intention
x	<i>Supports the stimulation of complex housing supply</i>	
x	<i>Enables transformation of administrative processes</i>	

Key factor: Tri-sectoral balance of power		
Key factors addressed		Reasons
Power balance between government, civil society and community		
x	<i>Government top-down provision authority</i>	
√	<i>Civil society and NGOs in service of government</i>	<i>Identification of tasks:</i> Consideration of primary tasks; consideration of constraints; establishment of responsibility levels; <i>Synthesising of proposal:</i> Preparation co-ordinated action plan; executive summary of workshop; area profile; overall planning objectives; <i>Project memorandum:</i> Project objectives; project implementation; project budget; plan enabled through professional contribution
√	<i>Communities recipient beneficiaries, collaborative</i>	<i>Identification of tasks:</i> Consideration of primary tasks; consideration of constraints; establishment of responsibility levels; <i>Synthesising of proposal:</i> Preparation co-ordinated action plan; executive summary of workshop; area profile; overall planning objectives; <i>Project memorandum:</i> Project objectives; project implementation; project budget; plan enabled through collaboration with community
x	<i>Rights-based activists reliant on judiciary</i>	
Disjuncture between policy and implementation		
√	<i>Enables political influence over development objectives</i>	<i>Synthesising of proposal:</i> Overall planning objectives <i>Project memorandum:</i> Project objectives; project implementation; project budget; plan support political influence over planning objectives
x	<i>Creates a platform for government accountability</i>	
√	<i>Addresses skills and knowledge gap in government officials</i>	<i>Identification of tasks:</i> Establishment of responsibility levels; <i>Synthesising of proposal:</i> Preparation co-ordinated action plan; overall planning objectives; <i>Project memorandum:</i> Project objectives enable knowledge sharing and skills transfer to government officials
Main drivers of informal settlement upgrade		
x	<i>Initiated by government authority</i>	
√	<i>Initiated by NGOs and academics</i>	<i>Identification of tasks:</i> Consideration of primary tasks; consideration of constraints; establishment of responsibility levels; <i>Synthesising of proposal:</i> Preparation co-ordinated action plan; executive summary of workshop; area profile; overall planning objectives; <i>Project memorandum:</i> Project objectives; project implementation; project budget; plan outcome of initiative taken by NGOs and academic researchers
√	<i>Initiated by rights-based activists or community</i>	<i>Identification of tasks:</i> Consideration of primary tasks; consideration of constraints; establishment of responsibility levels <i>Synthesising of proposal:</i> Preparation co-ordinated action plan; executive summary of workshop; area profile; overall planning objectives <i>Project memorandum:</i> Project objectives; project implementation; project budget; plan outcome of initiative taken by activists and community
Institutional support of social processes		
x	<i>Proposes administrative processes to support community structures</i>	

√	<i>Strengthens CBO structures and capacity</i>	<i>Identification of tasks:</i> Consideration of primary tasks; consideration of constraints; establishment of responsibility levels; <i>Synthesising of proposal:</i> Preparation co-ordinated action plan; executive summary of workshop; area profile; overall planning objectives; <i>Project memorandum:</i> Project objectives; project implementation; project budget; plan contribute to strengthening of CBO structures
Institutional position of architectural profession in terms of informal settlement upgrade		
x	<i>Engenders accountability in architecture profession</i>	
x	<i>Allows for disbursement: architecture fees</i>	
x	<i>Mitigates elitism of architecture</i>	
x	<i>Mitigates individualism of architecture</i>	
x	<i>Encourages pro bono work</i>	
√	<i>Promotes community architecture movement</i>	<i>Identification of tasks:</i> Establishment of responsibility levels; <i>Synthesising of proposal:</i> Preparation co-ordinated action plan; overall planning objectives; <i>Project memorandum:</i> Project objectives; project implementation contribute to community architecture
x	<i>Politicises architecture education</i>	

Key factor: Tenure Security		
Key factors addressed		Reasons
Incremental tenure security		
x	<i>Enables intermediate administrative recognition</i>	
√	<i>Enables consolidation vs freehold title model</i>	<i>Identification of tasks:</i> Establishment of responsibility levels; <i>Synthesising of proposal:</i> Overall planning objectives <i>Project memorandum:</i> Project objectives establish shared parameters for consolidation process
Capital subsidy system as a vehicle for upgrade		
x	<i>Enables housing alternative to individualised subsidy</i>	
√	<i>Embraces holistic approach supportive of upgrade</i>	<i>Identification of tasks:</i> Consideration of primary tasks; consideration of constraints; establishment of responsibility levels; <i>Synthesising of proposal:</i> Preparation co-ordinated action plan; executive summary of workshop; area profile; overall planning objectives; <i>Project memorandum:</i> Project objectives; project implementation; project budget; plan support holistic approach to upgrade
√	<i>Contributes to consolidation process</i>	<i>Synthesising of proposal:</i> Area profile; overall planning objectives; <i>Project memorandum:</i> Project objectives support consolidation process
Architectural contribution bound into capital subsidy system		
x	<i>Proposes alternative fee structure, not individualised</i>	
x	<i>Allows for design fees</i>	
√	<i>Allows for urban design framework</i>	<i>Synthesising of proposal:</i> Overall planning objectives; <i>Project memorandum:</i> Project objectives aligned within urban design framework
Legislative constraint of building standards		
x	<i>Determines appropriate building standards</i>	
x	<i>Enables critical assessment of professional accountability to building standards</i>	

Restructuring of capital subsidy to effect transformation		
√	<i>Proposes mechanism for upgrade at settlement level</i>	<i>Identification of tasks:</i> Consideration of primary tasks; consideration of constraints; establishment of responsibility levels; <i>Synthesising of proposal:</i> Preparation co-ordinated action plan; executive summary of workshop; area profile; overall planning objectives; <i>Project memorandum:</i> Project objectives; project implementation; project budget; plan establishes mechanism for upgrade at settlement level
x	<i>Enables political shift from RDP model</i>	

Key factor: Participation		
Key factors addressed		Reasons
Public participation in informal settlement upgrade		
x	<i>Enables collective engagement between community and professionals</i>	
√	<i>Makes allowance for stages of participation from protest to collaboration</i>	<i>Identification of tasks:</i> Consideration of primary tasks; consideration of constraints; establishment of responsibility levels; <i>Synthesising of proposal:</i> Preparation co-ordinate action plan; overall planning objectives; <i>Project memorandum:</i> Project objectives; project implementation embraces participation from protest through to collaboration
x	<i>Enables development of skills and capacity in professionals and community body</i>	
Participatory research		
x	<i>Informs process, offers community voice</i>	
x	<i>Enables critical reflection</i>	
Collaborative design		
x	<i>Enables platform to articulate needs</i>	
x	<i>Includes multidisciplinary teams</i>	
√	<i>Enables intersection of collective and individual</i>	<i>Identification of tasks:</i> Establishment of responsibility levels; <i>Synthesising of proposal:</i> Preparation co-ordinated action plan; overall planning objectives; <i>Project memorandum:</i> Project objectives; plan encompasses individual contribution to collective intention
√	<i>Mitigates mechanisms of control</i>	<i>Identification of tasks:</i> Establishment of responsibility levels; <i>Synthesising of proposal:</i> Preparation co-ordinated action plan; overall planning objectives; <i>Project memorandum:</i> Project objectives; plan devolves authority to the collective
Participatory urban management		
x	<i>Engenders ownership</i>	
√	<i>Facilitates relationship between informal settlement community and city</i>	<i>Synthesising of proposal:</i> Area profile; overall planning objectives; <i>Project memorandum:</i> Project objectives; project implementation; project budget; plan establishes shared platform for communication and knowledge sharing

Key factor: Role of Architects		
Key factors addressed		Reasons
Historical precedent of architectural involvement in informal settlement upgrade		
x	<i>Draws on previous examples of architectural involvement</i>	
x	<i>Prepares architects for this work engendering an understanding of the requirements</i>	
Potential space for architectural intervention		
x	<i>Does not default into design</i>	
√	<i>Addresses the individual nature of architectural production</i>	<i>Identification of tasks:</i> Establishment of responsibility levels; <i>Synthesising of proposal:</i> Preparation co-ordinated action plan; overall planning objectives; <i>Project memorandum:</i> Project objectives enables architectural engagement with collective entity
x	<i>Offers technical assistance within a collective programme</i>	
x	<i>Offers a politically conscious socio-technical level of service</i>	
Appropriate strategies for architectural intervention		
x	<i>Effects the right to careful and good design</i>	
√	<i>Proposed spatial frameworks</i>	<i>Identification of tasks:</i> Consideration of primary tasks; consideration of constraints; establishment of responsibility levels; <i>Synthesising of proposal:</i> Preparation co-ordinate action plan; executive summary of workshop; area profile; overall planning objectives support development of spatial frameworks
√	<i>Facilitates the design of shared community buildings</i>	<i>Project memorandum:</i> Project objectives; project implementation; project budget; plan enable design of shared community buildings
√	<i>Engenders commitment to participatory process</i>	<i>Identification of tasks:</i> Establishment of responsibility levels; <i>Synthesising of proposal:</i> Preparation co-ordinate action plan reliant on participatory process
√	<i>Enables shift from product-driven approach</i>	<i>Synthesising of proposal:</i> Preparation co-ordinated action plan; overall planning objectives support process-driven approach
Potential for social activism through architectural engagement		
√	<i>Engenders solidarity</i>	<i>Identification of tasks:</i> Establishment of responsibility levels infuses all participants with shared concern
√	<i>Creates culture of engagement and pro-poor mentality</i>	<i>Identification of tasks:</i> Consideration of primary tasks; consideration of constraints; establishment of responsibility levels induces culture of engagement
√	<i>Encourages long-term commitment</i>	<i>Synthesising of proposal:</i> Overall planning objectives; <i>Project memorandum:</i> Project objectives; project implementation contribute to involvement over longer term
x	<i>Supports personal conviction</i>	
x	<i>Enables politically conscious education</i>	
x	<i>Encourages debate</i>	

4.3.6.2. Augmentation to Plan for Implementation

In their development of an *Implementation Plan*, Goethert & Hamdi (1997) avoid a commitment to the proposal of architectural interventions. Their focus remains at the community advocacy level. Their concern is that an over-emphasis and centralised control of singular projects can serve to undermine the capacity building of a marginalised community. It is proposed, however, that *Community Architecture* offers an approach to architectural production that supports the intentions of the *CAP Plan for Implementation* by navigating the intersection of the collective and individual intentions of the CAP.

By engaging in authentic design dialogue (D'Anjou 2011) where co-operation between designer and client community exists, the outcome of the *CAP Plan for Implementation* may be inclusive of spatial proposals both at a settlement level as well as shared community facilities. In this way, the professional contribution by architectural practitioners may enrich the development plan facilitated through the CAP.

It is therefore proposed that the *Plan for Implementation* ought to be augmented by the embrace of *Community Architecture* in order to successfully address the key factors contributing to the marginality of the profession to the discourse on informal settlement upgrade.

4.3.6.2.1. Community Architecture

Hamdi & Goethert's (1997) aversion to concluding CAP with the proposal of a built project or even the proposal of a determined architectural intervention stems from the concern that such object-driven focus may serve to undermine the central tenet of CAP, which is to build community. In positioning their argument thus, they are effectively ruling out the possibility that the discipline of architecture may be able to support such a process of enablement.

Their concern with the impotence of architecture to contribute to the development of strategic action planning within poor communities points to a fundamental principle of architectural production, namely authorship. The implicit accusation is that architectural design relies on individualised and primary authorship by the expert professional who is per definition not representative of the collective entity that is the resident community of the informal settlement. The knowledge base required to be in this expert position is exactly that which is normally absent in such a marginalised and vulnerable community. The distaste for projects that become centrally driven or administered within the regular practices of architects in the service of state or donor agencies, reflects a concern for the continued undermining of the process of emergence in favour of overly simplified and finite interventions that leave communities no better off than before the project was implemented.

The skeptical view of professional involvement by architects in a project-focused approach is evident in much of the literature describing work done by SPARC in India (Patel 2001). A key

problem, according to Mitlin (2013), is that professionals are trained to solve development problems rather than to relinquish control to communities, giving little acknowledgement to inherent skills sets and relying on professional models and formal processes that have as yet not managed to address these systemic problems effectively. The proposal is forwarded that professionals, including architects, ought to be held at bay by community organisations while internal problem-solving strategies are developed, after which professionals can be drawn in to serve the community's desire for further formalisation processes or negotiations with state authorities. Mitlin (2013) calls for possible re-education of professionals so that they may develop the *right attitude* towards communities. Strategies are therefore aimed at protecting the urban poor from undue professional influence, while at the same time making use of professional services to engage with government and powerful agencies.

In a seminar held in Barcelona, Payne (2008) similarly points to the possibility that architects and planners may, in fact, be obstacles to the process of slum upgrading due to the inappropriateness of their approach. The call by Feireiss (2011) is for the architectural discipline to reconsider its validity in this context, where a loss of meaning and ultimate redundancy could result.

Authorship

The inherent tension indicated both by SPARC (Patel 2001) and Mitlin's (2013) outright skepticism of the role of professionals in the development of urban poor communities, as well as CAP's careful avoidance of specific architectural intervention reveals the protection of knowledge or professionalism as existing at the cost of the end user's voice. This matter became prominent in architectural discourse of the 1960s, mostly in the face of the disillusionment with the failures of Modernism and the heroic architect figure. The notion that the all-powerful architect ought to have full control over the subdued client or end user was questioned by such people as Lucien Kroll (1986), John Habraken (1961), Giancarlo de Carlo (2005), Hassan Fathy (1976) and John Turner (1976). Increasingly, a vocabulary of participative design was investigated to reconsider the nature of the specialisation that had become formalised and institutionalised in the mid-19th century.

According to Anstey (2006), the author function attributed to the figure called the architect can be traced back to the middle of the 15th century, when Leon Battista Alberti described the architect as one able to articulate a divine sense of beauty, ordering events in the world by way of his intellect. The judgment of such an architect's worth would be made on the significance of his intention – the design –even more than in terms of a completed building, due to the absolute level of control exerted on paper. Once the craftsmen, clients and contractors had exerted their influence on the construction, he could no longer be held fully accountable. In this way, the intent of the primary author figure becomes the *oeuvre* that can be individually valued or criticised.

In his seminal essay *The Death of the Author* (1967), Roland Barthes upset this worldview of primary authorship in his consideration that meaning actually resided in the interpretation of a work, more than in the production thereof. He maintains that meaning can only be achieved when authorship is effectively relinquished:

... the birth of the reader must be ransomed by the death of the author.

In response to this, Foucault (1969) argues that the disappearance of the author is not particularly relevant in terms of situating the importance of an *oeuvre*. He challenges the issue of who really speaks, overlaying it with the more important matter of what is appropriated into culture at any given point and why. Foucault (1969) therefore assumes this disappearance and expresses a deeper concern for the lingering meaning of the text that has come into existence.

Indicative of this paradigm shift, architectural discourse reveals a similar investigation into authorship and its obviation such as Habraken's (1961) *Supports*. In this, he expresses concern the production of an architectural approach that allows for user appropriation beyond primary authorship. The very literal translation of this analogy into structural support and self-help infill, however, does not fully satisfy the challenge posted by Foucault (1969) in terms of the appropriation of cultural meaning. Where Habraken's (1961) call for user enablement seems to translate into an absolution of the design imperative, therefore an execution of the author, it is in Foucault's consideration of the space that is uncovered by the re-consideration of shared authorship that a meaningful re-interpretation becomes possible.

Vernacular

Investigation into this space of authorial ambiguity led some of the thinking into the realm of self-authored architecture, or the vernacular. Rudofsky's (1965) exhibition in which he proclaims an *Architecture without Architects* provided a powerful platform from which to question the validity of the individualised and specialised voice of the *starchitect*. According to Maudlin (2010:13), vernacular architecture is defined in opposition to architecture, it is architecture's *other*, first and foremost concerned with buildings outside of architecture: *Vernacular architecture is the architectural language of the people*. In wishing to discover the lost space of meaning between the author-architect and the end user, vernacular architecture therefore appeared to be the panacea of this people-centered movement. Documentation of vernacular building practices, materiality and context-appropriate technologies continue in an increased understanding of cultural and environmental sustainability, as documented in Paul Oliver's (1997) *Encyclopedia of Vernacular Architecture*.

Following on John Turner's (1976) studies of informal settlements in Peru, several architectural scholars began to see the place-making of informal settlements as a type of post-industrial vernacular, where patterns of inhabitation and social delineation could be read as the manifestation of cultural organisation and expression. Kellett & Napier (1995) distinguish three distinct points of departure in this understanding of slum vernacular:

- *Fernando Viviescas, who holds that squatter settlements are a simple and inevitable response to impoverished material considerations, tending eventually towards a kitsch replication of middle-class aesthetics*
- *Amos Rapoport's binary distinction between traditional vernacular as opposed to designed environments, where he contests that despite the absence of imposed design, vernacular settlements could be evaluated on aesthetic grounds by designers*
- *Paul Oliver's evolutionary framework of understanding informal settlements and the vernacular as being at the extreme end of a scale of knowledge specialisation.*

Kellett & Napier (1995) assume this last point of departure as a model for understanding the observed transformation of spontaneous settlements over a period of time in terms of density, complexity of use, incremental insertion of infrastructure, tenure security and ultimately, an increase in the use of specialist construction labor and, by implication, professional services.

In this understanding, informal settlements are situated in an evolutionary scale pre-empting a distilled vernacular. These settlements are therefore situated at one end of the scale of knowledge specialisation, with the Albertian figure of the architect as author residing at the other end of the scale. It becomes evident that tension resides in this polarity.

The argument as it relates to architecture thus revolves around the issue of an unbundling of the divine authorship to develop an approach that takes cognisance of the innate knowledge, skills and cultural value of the residents of the informal settlement.

The model proposed by Mitlin (2013) infers an inverted community-professional relationship in which the professional is only included into the process once he/she can be relegated to the role of service provider. Although such a relationship is not uncommon to any professional practice, it does not encourage a condition of existential authenticity.

D'Anjou (2011) maintains that existential authenticity can only occur in a condition of mutual dialogue. In the client-architect relationship, three models are posited:

- *The paternalistic model (one-way communication): the architect makes all the decisions, denying the client any autonomy, resulting in a degrading and dehumanizing condition*
- *The client-autonomy model (one-way communication): clients dictate services that are expected and allowed, thereby restricting the designer's freedom*
- *The co-operation model: Communication is central; individual does not control the conversation, but all parties are embedded in it, so that the dynamics are guided by the subject matter at stake; shared decision-making and reflective dialogue.*

This last model of interaction between the client and the designer is supported in the preceding steps inscribed in CAP, thereby creating a potential platform from which an authentic design dialogue can take place. Within such a space of collaborative thinking and mutual respect, it is argued that an architecturally authentic response may be developed.

The community architecture movement

Following on the questions posed by the advocates for demand-driven approaches to

housing, a small number of socially conscious architects paid heed to this call and started calling themselves *Community Architects*. From the UK architect Walter Segal's system for self-build in the 1970s, Rod Hackney went on to establish the concept of community architecture in the 1980s, including this concept into the Royal Institute of British Architects' (RIBA) institutional structure:

Community architecture emphasized the relationship between the architect and the client and sought to strengthen this to increase the relevance and appropriateness of the design approach and solution for the client who quite often could be a community organization or voluntary group (Jenkins & Forsyth 2010:12).

A difference in approach to community architecture evolved between Europe and the USA, where the former were focused on producing improved design through participation, whereas the US advocacy planners were more interested in community empowerment itself (Jenkins & Forsyth 2010:6). Further results from the Community Architecture movement are the Community Technical Aid Centres and Resource Centres, both in the USA and UK that remain active. Services are rendered that straddle architectural concepts through to implementation, along with generic training programmes, business planning and funding services (Community planning 2014).

Till (1998) argues that community architecture can only be considered as an alternative to normative practice when it genuinely redefines the relationship between the architect and the user and, by implication, provides a platform from which to challenge the status quo. He is critical of the assumption of soft liberal rectitude that often accompanies the practice of community architecture, in which claims are made that stable, self-sufficient communities as well as contented and confident citizens and professionals will result. This, he argues, is a naïve and idealistic view of a *purified* community. Such utopian tendencies run the same risks as the modernist architecture that it is meant to challenge. By ignoring the social constructs and complexities of a community, an overly generic assumption of behavioural engineering can result in exactly the type of failed environments that led to the implosion of Pruitt Igoe.

Instead of positing a lofty idea of community and cloaking it in an assumed vernacular, Till (1998) argues that community is manifested in the production of its space, of which architecture constitutes a part. Such manifest space possesses the potential for transformation as long as all parties are prepared to engage in quotidian concerns with a shared available knowledge base:

A collaboration between architect and user where they both take on the figure of Angels with Dirty Faces not only leads to politically charged architecture of the community, but also unravels the supposed autonomy of the profession. Both parties in the collaboration need to learn from each other (Till 1998:17).

Two significant examples of Community Architect programmes have been reviewed outside of the UK and USA: In Cuba (Valladares 2013) and within the Asian Coalition for Housing Rights (Archer 2012).

The Cuban example, inspired by the architect Rodolfo Livingstone, was introduced by the NGO Habitat Cuba in the early 1990s and represents a mandatory inclusion of the profession as service to the community. It is a self-funded government programme where families pay for the services rendered and the architects involved earn a modest salary, living in the areas they are serving. The scale of intervention is specific, problem-based and engaged with everyday concerns. It is therefore considered to be not only a technical programme, but impacting on the social fabric as well (Valladares 2013).

Archer (2012) describes the role played by Community Architects in Asia in similar terms, although in this case it is seen as a voluntary commitment by the professionals. Urban poor communities within the Asian Coalition for Housing Rights are becoming increasingly pro-active regarding the assertion of their housing choices, from negotiations around tenure issues to the implementation of infrastructure, collective savings and the improvement of housing. In this context, the technical assistance of community architects is becoming more valued, albeit with the caveat that an understanding of the social context and the relationship between people and their environment is fundamental for a judicious intervention.

Although it does not fall under the term Community Architecture, the *Morar Carioca* programme introduced in Rio de Janeiro in 2010, offers another significant example of a demand-driven approach to the client-architect relationship within the informal settlement context. Within the *Morar Carioca* programme, public offices are situated in the settlements (Postos de Orientacao Urbanistica & Social – POUSOs), where on-site architects, engineers and social workers are available to offer technical assistance. In engaging on the ground in on an intimate scale, the possibility of urban consolidation of neighbourhoods is created (Gomes 2013). In this instance, architects render their service to community by way of their government appointment.

4.3.6.3. Key factors addressed through augmentation to *Plan for Implementation*:

Community Architecture

The following table (Table 4.6.2) indicates how the proposed augmentation to the CAP *Plan for Implementation* (Table 4.6) serves to address the key factors that were identified in chapter three.

Table 4.6.2: Key factors addressed through augmentation to CAP <i>Plan for Implementation</i>		
Key factor: Definition of in situ upgrade of informal settlements		
Factors addressed	Reasons	
Definition of informal settlements		
x	<i>Identification of contested legal condition</i>	
x	<i>Documentation of lack of services</i>	
x	<i>Acknowledgement of high social stress & poverty</i>	
Position regarding in situ upgrade		
x	<i>Pejorative: Eradication</i>	
x	<i>Problem-based: Solutions-driven</i>	
√	<i>Pragmatic: Incrementalism</i>	Community architecture creates platform for incremental upgrade
√	<i>Radical: In situ upgrade</i>	Community architecture facilitates <i>in situ</i> upgrade

Key factor: Transformative mandate		
Factors addressed	Reasons	
Informality as consequence of status quo		
x	<i>Documentation of causative historical and economic factors</i>	
√	<i>Provide platform to contest justice, access and citizenship</i>	Community architecture provides platform to assert citizenship
Level of transformation required		
√	<i>Proposes transformation of planning systems</i>	Community architecture implies a multi-tiered contribution that refutes top-down planning
√	<i>Facilitates alternative to individualised systems</i>	Community architecture relies on the collective contribution of all stakeholders
√	<i>Supports the stimulation of complex housing supply</i>	Community architecture enables a differentiated response to housing demand
x	<i>Enables transformation of administrative processes</i>	

Key factor: Tri-sectoral balance of power		
Factors addressed	Reasons	
Power balance between government, civil society and community		
x	<i>Government top-down provision authority</i>	
√	<i>Civil society and NGOs in service of government</i>	Community architecture embraces contribution from professional service providers
√	<i>Communities recipient beneficiaries, collaborative</i>	Community architecture embraces contribution from community
x	<i>Rights-based activists reliant on judiciary</i>	
Disjuncture between policy and implementation		
√	<i>Enables political influence over development objectives</i>	Community architecture strengthens political influence of the participants on the decision-making platform
x	<i>Creates a platform for government accountability</i>	
√	<i>Addresses skills and knowledge gap in government officials</i>	Community architecture provides opportunity for mutual skills transfer
Main drivers of informal settlement upgrade		
x	<i>Initiated by government authority</i>	
√	<i>Initiated by NGOs and academics</i>	Community architecture can be initiated by NGOs and academics
√	<i>Initiated by rights-based activists or community</i>	Community architecture can be initiated by activist groups and community
Institutional support of social processes		
x	<i>Proposes administrative processes to support community structures</i>	
√	<i>Strengthens CBO structures and capacity</i>	Community architecture serves to strengthen existing networks and structures within the community
Institutional position of architectural profession in terms of informal settlement upgrade		
√	<i>Engenders accountability in architecture profession</i>	Community architecture reinforces professional accountability
√	<i>Allows for disbursement: architecture fees</i>	Community architecture provides opportunity to attach value to professional contribution
√	<i>Mitigates elitism of architecture</i>	Community architecture fosters approach of inclusion
√	<i>Mitigates individualism of architecture</i>	Community architecture enables collective contribution by all participants
√	<i>Encourages pro bono work</i>	Community architecture facilitates shared equity contribution by all participants
√	<i>Promotes community architecture movement</i>	Community architecture is promoted
√	<i>Politicises architecture education</i>	Community architecture offers vehicle for politically conscious education

Key factor: Tenure Security		
Factors addressed	Reasons	
Incremental tenure security		
x	<i>Enables intermediate administrative recognition</i>	
√	<i>Enables consolidation vs freehold title model</i>	Community architecture serves to assist consolidation process
Capital subsidy system as a vehicle for upgrade		
x	<i>Enables housing alternative to individualised subsidy</i>	
√	<i>Embraces holistic approach supportive of upgrade</i>	Community architecture enables incremental upgrade within holistic approach
√	<i>Contributes to consolidation process</i>	Community architecture serves to assist consolidation process
Architectural contribution bound into capital subsidy system		
√	<i>Proposes alternative fee structure, not individualised</i>	Community architecture offers platform for collective fee structure
√	<i>Allows for design fees</i>	Community architecture offers platform for collective fee structure
√	<i>Allows for urban design framework</i>	Community architecture relies and builds on urban design framework
Legislative constraint of building standards		
√	<i>Determines appropriate building standards</i>	Community architecture ensconced in de facto negotiated building standards

√	<i>Enables critical assessment of professional accountability to building standards</i>	Community architecture enables platform to assess validity of professional adherence to building standards
Restructuring of capital subsidy to effect transformation		
√	<i>Proposes mechanism for upgrade at settlement level</i>	Community architecture supports incremental upgrade at settlement level
x	<i>Enables political shift from RDP model</i>	

Key factor: Participation		
Factors addressed		Reasons
Public participation in informal settlement upgrade		
√	<i>Enables collective engagement between community and professionals</i>	Community architecture facilitates collective engagement between all participants
x	<i>Makes allowance for stages of participation from protest to collaboration</i>	
√	<i>Enables development of skills and capacity in professionals and community body</i>	Community architecture enables mutual skills transfer
Participatory research		
√	<i>Informs process, offers community voice</i>	Community architecture provides tangible expression of community voice
x	<i>Enables critical reflection</i>	
Collaborative design		
√	<i>Enables platform to articulate needs</i>	Community architecture responds to articulated needs
√	<i>Includes multidisciplinary teams</i>	Community architecture relies on multidisciplinary contribution
√	<i>Enables intersection of collective and individual</i>	Community architecture supports individual contribution within collective endeavour
√	<i>Mitigates mechanisms of control</i>	Community architecture serves to devolve authority to the collective
Participatory urban management		
√	<i>Engenders ownership</i>	Community architecture encourages emotional ownership
√	<i>Facilitates relationship between informal settlement community and city</i>	Community architecture provides tangible basis of negotiation between settlement and city

Key factor: Role of Architects		
Factors addressed		Reasons
Historical precedent of architectural involvement in informal settlement upgrade		
√	<i>Draws on previous examples of architectural involvement</i>	Community architecture supported in preceding examples
√	<i>Prepares architects for this work engendering an understanding of the requirements</i>	Community architecture offers vehicle as preparation for engagement in upgrade contexts
Potential space for architectural intervention		
√	<i>Does not default into design</i>	Community architecture relies on process-driven approach preceding design resolution
√	<i>Addresses the individual nature of architectural production</i>	Community architecture relies on collective contribution
√	<i>Offers technical assistance within a collective programme</i>	Community architecture serves as vehicle for technical assistance within collective programme
√	<i>Offers a politically conscious socio-technical level of service</i>	Community architecture renders socio-technical contribution politically conscious
Appropriate strategies for architectural intervention		
√	<i>Effects the right to careful and good design</i>	Community architecture supports the development of good design
√	<i>Proposed spatial frameworks</i>	Community architecture responsive to spatial frameworks
√	<i>Facilitates the design of shared community buildings</i>	Community architecture enables the design of shared community buildings
√	<i>Engenders commitment to participatory process</i>	Community architecture reliant on participatory process

√	<i>Enables shift from product-driven approach</i>	Community architecture engenders process-driven approach
Potential for social activism through architectural engagement		
√	<i>Engenders solidarity</i>	Community architecture stimulates solidarity between all participants
√	<i>Creates culture of engagement and pro-poor mentality</i>	Community architecture supports culture of engagement
√	<i>Encourages long-term commitment</i>	Community architecture encourages long-term involvement and commitment
√	<i>Supports personal conviction</i>	Community architecture inspires personal conviction
√	<i>Enables politically conscious education</i>	Community architecture supports politically conscious education
√	<i>Encourages debate</i>	Community architecture evokes debate

4.3.7. Monitoring and Evaluation

The need for monitoring and evaluation of development projects is forwarded by Hamdi in most of the literature that supports the thinking behind CAP. In *Housing without Houses* (1991:149) he argues that *most monitoring ends up as little more than bookkeeping, self-serving and not intent on learning*. He suggests that there is a need for a more qualitative and participatory approach to evaluation. This concern for learning from the process is further elaborated in *Small Change* where Hamdi (2004:xxv) reiterates the value of reverse thinking, in which the order of *survey-analyse-plan* is turned around to being one of *plan-analyse-survey, then reflect, then plan-analyse-survey*.

The cyclical and progressive nature of such a non-linear process is held by Hamdi (2004:97) to be key to the recurring theme of his work that he describes as the provision of designed structure that enables the creative energy of emergence, aligning his thoughts to those of Capra (2002).

... what did you provide and enable, how did it adapt and transform and how will it be sustained ... what role and responsibilities did you assume ... what kind of learning did it inspire, what difference will it make (Hamdi 2010:131)?

Despite this deep concern for evaluation, however, the CAP *Wall Chart* does not offer any particular parameters for such an evaluative process. The extensive literature following on that publication also avoids any specific direction and it is left to the reader to develop their own strategies and understanding of processes that have been initiated.

A recent publication by Dietz (2011) addresses this problem in the same spirit of participatory understanding that underpins CAP. In a collaborative effort between Leiden University and the African Studies Centre, a method has been designed specifically to assist in the assessment of development projects. This method is called Participatory Assessment of Development (PADev). He argues that, although methods of evaluation exist, such as *Randomized Controlled Trials*, the research and social conditions for its success often don't exist (2011:8). He argues that PAdDev is more holistic and participatory, enabling the researchers to gain insight into perceptions of development and change in a particular geographical area over several decades:

It shows how local people value development initiatives, external interventions and 'projects', and gives an idea of their assessment of the impact of these development initiatives on people's capabilities and on poverty and inequality (Dietz 2011:8).

The process consists of three-day workshops involving up to fifty opinion leaders. These groups include a representative cross-section of the affected society, such as relevant religious groups, various age groups, those that are both literate and illiterate, both genders and a wide spectrum of income levels.

According to the PAdDev Guidebook (2011), the workshops consist of ten exercises:

1. *Historical events that have affected the area and its effects on conditions*
2. *Positive and negative changes in the area (in 6 domains: natural, physical, human, economic, socio-political, cultural)*
3. *Wealth groups, value of attributes and population distribution in terms of wealth (perception)*
4. *Project recall (development interventions), along with a recall of who the initiators were (from NGOs to local communities)*
5. *Project assessment: From big positive impact, through no impact to negative impact*
6. *Relationship between perceived changes and development projects (within the six domains)*
7. *Best/worst projects with reasons*

8. *Historical assessment of Best/Worst projects: what was expected, what was delivered, how it is currently perceived*
9. *Impact on wealth classes: who is benefiting/suffering most due to the interventions*
10. *Assessment of Agencies in terms of (inter alia) commitment, trust, honesty, respect, support*
11. *Additional: personal profiles of the participants: life history, literacy, religion, marriage status, family relations*

Having conducted several such workshops, Dietz and his team have been able to conclude that *people not only judge initiatives by the outcome or their practical success but also by the quality of the process* (2011:10). Relationships of trust, respect and dependability are highly regarded and projects that are perceived as being top down, without consultation often result in conflict, even leading to violence despite the intended aid. Often, private sector or multilateral donors that seek fast and visible success contribute to projects that have a hit-and-run nature, are disrespectful, too quick, and are considered more harmful than sustainable.

Understandably, the effectiveness and impact of development assistance that is largely driven by public funding has come under scrutiny and the means of monitoring such projects have received much attention.

In their assessment of interventions in informal settlement upgrades, Kremer & Field (2005:37) propose that:

... careful consideration should be given to the wide range of individual- and community-level outcomes that could be monitored, especially as there exist several important questions which previous studies of slum upgrading projects have not been able to address (such as sustainability concerns). Issues specific to urban settings, public goods, and implementation should be taken into account when planning rigorous evaluations of slum upgrading projects.

They argue in favour of a consideration of randomised evaluations and suggest that all programmes ought to be subject to process evaluations, although not all should be subject to impact evaluations.

4.3.7.1. Key factors addressed in *Monitoring and Evaluation*:

The following table (Table 4.7) indicates how the CAP *Monitoring and Evaluation* serves to address the key factors that were identified in chapter three.

Table 4.7: Key factors addressed through <i>Monitoring and Evaluation</i>		
Key factor: Definition of in situ upgrade of informal settlements		
Factors addressed		Reasons
Definition of informal settlements		
x	<i>Identification of contested legal condition</i>	
x	<i>Documentation of lack of services</i>	
x	<i>Acknowledgement of high social stress and poverty</i>	
Position regarding in situ upgrade		
x	<i>Pejorative: Eradication</i>	
x	<i>Problem-based: Solutions-driven</i>	
x	<i>Pragmatic: Incrementalism</i>	
x	<i>Radical: In situ upgrade</i>	

Key factor: Transformative mandate		
Factors addressed		Reasons
Informality as consequence of status quo		
√	<i>Documentation of causative historical and economic factors</i>	Monitoring and evaluation offers opportunity to document and assess causative factors
x	<i>Provide platform to contest justice, access and citizenship</i>	
Level of transformation required		
√	<i>Proposes transformation of planning systems</i>	Monitoring and evaluation supports transformation process within planning systems
x	<i>Facilitates alternative to individualised systems</i>	
x	<i>Supports the stimulation of complex housing supply</i>	
√	<i>Enables transformation of administrative processes</i>	Monitoring and evaluation supports transformation of administrative processes

Key factor: Tri-sectoral balance of power		
Factors addressed		Reasons
Power balance between government, civil society and community		
x	<i>Government top-down provision authority</i>	
x	<i>Civil society and NGOs in service of government</i>	
x	<i>Communities recipient beneficiaries, collaborative</i>	
x	<i>Rights-based activists reliant on judiciary</i>	
Disjuncture between policy and implementation		
√	<i>Enables political influence over development objectives</i>	Monitoring and evaluation enables reflection on development objectives
√	<i>Creates a platform for government accountability</i>	Monitoring and evaluation enables structures for accountability
√	<i>Addresses skills and knowledge gap in government officials</i>	Monitoring and evaluation enables assessment of skills and knowledge levels of all participants
Main drivers of informal settlement upgrade		
x	<i>Initiated by government authority</i>	
x	<i>Initiated by NGOs and academics</i>	
x	<i>Initiated by rights-based activists or community</i>	

Institutional support of social processes	
x	<i>Proposes administrative processes to support community structures</i>
√	<i>Strengthens CBO structures and capacity</i> Monitoring and evaluation supports community networks and structures
Institutional position of architectural profession in terms of informal settlement upgrade	
x	<i>Engenders accountability in architecture profession</i>
x	<i>Allows for disbursement: architecture fees</i>
x	<i>Mitigates elitism of architecture</i>
x	<i>Mitigates individualism of architecture</i>
x	<i>Encourages pro bono work</i>
x	<i>Promotes community architecture movement</i>
x	<i>Politicises architecture education</i>

Key factor: Tenure Security	
Factors addressed	Reasons
Incremental tenure security	
x	<i>Enables intermediate administrative recognition</i>
x	<i>Enables consolidation vs freehold title model</i>
Capital subsidy system as a vehicle for upgrade	
x	<i>Enables housing alternative to individualised subsidy</i>
x	<i>Embraces holistic approach supportive of upgrade</i>
x	<i>Contributes to consolidation process</i>
Architectural contribution bound into capital subsidy system	
x	<i>Proposes alternative fee structure, not individualised</i>
x	<i>Allows for design fees</i>
x	<i>Allows for urban design framework</i>
Legislative constraint of building standards	
x	<i>Determines appropriate building standards</i>
x	<i>Enables critical assessment of professional accountability to building standards</i>
Restructuring of capital subsidy to effect transformation	
x	<i>Proposes mechanism for upgrade at settlement level</i>
x	<i>Enables political shift from RDP model</i>

Key factor: Participation	
Factors addressed	Reasons
Public participation in informal settlement upgrade	
x	<i>Enables collective engagement between community and professionals</i>
	<i>Makes allowance for stages of participation from protest to collaboration</i>
√	<i>Enables development of skills and capacity in professionals and community body</i> Monitoring and evaluation creates basis for improvement of skills and capacity in all participants
Participatory research	
x	<i>Informs process, offers community voice</i>
√	<i>Enables critical reflection</i> Monitoring and evaluation serves as platform for critical reflection
Collaborative design	
x	<i>Enables platform to articulate needs</i>
x	<i>Includes multidisciplinary teams</i>
x	<i>Enables intersection of collective and individual</i>
√	<i>Mitigates mechanisms of control</i> Monitoring and evaluation ensures devolution of authority
Participatory urban management	
x	<i>Engenders ownership</i>
x	<i>Facilitates relationship between informal settlement community and city</i>

Key factor: Role of Architects	
Factors addressed	Reasons
Historical precedent of architectural involvement in informal settlement upgrade	
x	<i>Draws on previous examples of architectural involvement</i>
x	<i>Prepares architects for this work engendering an understanding of the requirements</i>
Potential space for architectural intervention	

x	<i>Does not default into design</i>
x	<i>Addresses the individual nature of architectural production</i>
x	<i>Offers technical assistance within a collective programme</i>
x	<i>Offers a politically conscious socio-technical level of service</i>
Appropriate strategies for architectural intervention	
x	<i>Effects the right to careful and good design</i>
x	<i>Proposed spatial frameworks</i>
x	<i>Facilitates the design of shared community buildings</i>
x	<i>Engenders commitment to participatory process</i>
x	<i>Enables shift from product-driven approach</i>
Potential for social activism through architectural engagement	
x	<i>Engenders solidarity</i>
x	<i>Creates culture of engagement and pro-poor mentality</i>
x	<i>Encourages long-term commitment</i>
x	<i>Supports personal conviction</i>
x	<i>Enables politically conscious education</i>
x	<i>Encourages debate</i>

4.4. Conclusion

The hypothesis proposed in this thesis is that the architectural profession is marginal to the discourse on informal settlement upgrade. In chapter two, a literature review including selected international upgrade programmes and relevant South African policy served to confirm this hypothesis. Pertinent issues arising from this literature review were identified in chapter three and corroborated by way of semi-structured interviews conducted with selected experts in the South African discourse on informal settlement upgrade. From this meta-discourse the second sub-question of the thesis could be deliberated, namely identifying the key factors that contribute to the suggested marginality.

In chapter four, the Community Action Planning (CAP) method of engagement as developed by Goethert & Hamdi (1997) has been investigated as a platform from where the key factors may be addressed. Limitations inherent to CAP have been considered critically from the perspective of such facilitation contributing to the empowerment of informal settlement communities. Where CAP does not offer conclusive opportunity for the architectural profession to become engaged in the discourse, certain augmentation measures have been proposed.

From this investigation, a comparative table (Table 4.8) serves to illustrate the potential of this enriched platform of engagement to address the identified key factors. A summary of this matrix (Tables 4.9; 4.10) indicates that CAP serves to address the stated key factors to a level of 18%, with the proposed augmentation measures serving to address these factors to a level of 5%. Collectively, therefore, CAP and the augmentation address the key factors to a level of 23%. In addressing the key factors, it is proposed that the *Documentation of Key Information* is the most significant aspect of the methodology, followed by *Making the Community Map* and the *Plan for Implementation* (Figure 4.1; 4.1.1; 4.1.2).

Table 4.8

Application of CAP & Augmentation in terms of Key Factors: Full Matrix

Table 4.9: Application of CAP & Augmentation in terms of Key Factors: Summary (refer to Table 4.8)

	Total CAP & Augm in terms of each key factor	Introduction	Statement of Problems and Opportunities	Documentation of Key Information	Making Community Map	Actions	Plan for Implementation	Needs & Networks	PGIS	Collaborative Design	Community Architecture	Total CAP	Total Augm	Total CAP & Augmentation terms of all key factors
Definition	30%	0,00%	0,35%	0,10%	0,27%	0,22%	0,40%	0,10%	0,02%	0,00%	0,00%	1,34%	0,12%	1,47%
Transformative Mandate	22%	0,00%	0,40%	0,52%	0,52%	0,15%	0,17%	0,20%	0,05%	0,10%	0,10%	1,76%	0,45%	2,21%
Tri-Sectoral Balance	23%	0,40%	0,20%	1,24%	1,02%	0,37%	0,62%	0,27%	0,07%	0,17%	0,25%	3,85%	0,77%	4,62%
Tenure security	21%	0,00%	0,45%	1,04%	0,82%	0,25%	0,75%	0,35%	0,20%	0,20%	0,22%	3,30%	0,97%	4,27%
Participation	31%	1,49%	0,89%	0,57%	0,55%	0,37%	0,57%	0,47%	0,22%	0,20%	0,22%	4,45%	1,12%	5,56%
Role of Architects	18%	0,00%	0,30%	1,19%	0,82%	0,52%	0,65%	0,50%	0,15%	0,35%	0,42%	3,48%	1,42%	4,89%
Average	24%											18,18%	4,84%	23,03%

Table 4.10: Application of CAP & Augmentation in terms of Key Factors: Summary (refer to Table 4.8)

	Introduction				Statement of Problems and Opportunities				Documentation of Key Information			Making Community Map			Actions		Plan for Implementation					
	Participants	Arrangements	Materials	Event	Context	Comm. Issues	Community Observations	Needs & Networks	Base Plan	Spatial Elements	Non-physical elements	Complete Base Map	Dwelling Typologies	PGIS	Set of Actions & Related Tasks	CD	Identify tasks	Synthesize Proposal	Project memorandum	CA		
Definition	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,05%	0,07%	0,22%	0,10%	0,00%	0,05%	0,05%	0,10%	0,17%	0,05%	0,22%	0,00%	0,10%	0,17%	0,12%	0,00%		
Transformative Mandate	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,05%	0,10%	0,25%	0,20%	0,15%	0,22%	0,27%	0,25%	0,25%	0,05%	0,15%	0,10%	0,07%	0,07%	0,10%			
Tri-Sectoral Balance	0,07%	0,10%	0,12%	0,10%	0,00%	0,05%	0,15%	0,27%	0,45%	0,57%	0,50%	0,52%	0,60%	0,07%	0,37%	0,17%	0,22%	0,27%	0,25%			
Tenure security	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,12%	0,10%	0,22%	0,35%	0,52%	0,30%	0,22%	0,40%	0,60%	0,07%	0,25%	0,20%	0,17%	0,30%	0,27%			
Participation	0,62%	0,47%	0,30%	0,10%	0,17%	0,25%	0,47%	0,47%	0,15%	0,32%	0,40%	0,15%	0,22%	0,22%	0,37%	0,20%	0,12%	0,20%	0,25%			
Role of Architects	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,07%	0,22%	0,50%	0,45%	0,52%	0,52%	0,30%	0,30%	0,15%	0,52%	0,35%	0,22%	0,25%	0,17%			
Total % of Key factors addressed	0,70%	0,57%	0,42%	0,20%	0,40%	0,65%	1,54%	1,89%	1,71%	1,99%	2,01%	1,99%	0,62%	1,89%	1,02%	0,77%	1,22%	1,17%	1,22%			
Total % of Key factors addressed	1,89%				2,58%				4,67%			4,00%			0,62%		1,89%		3,15%			

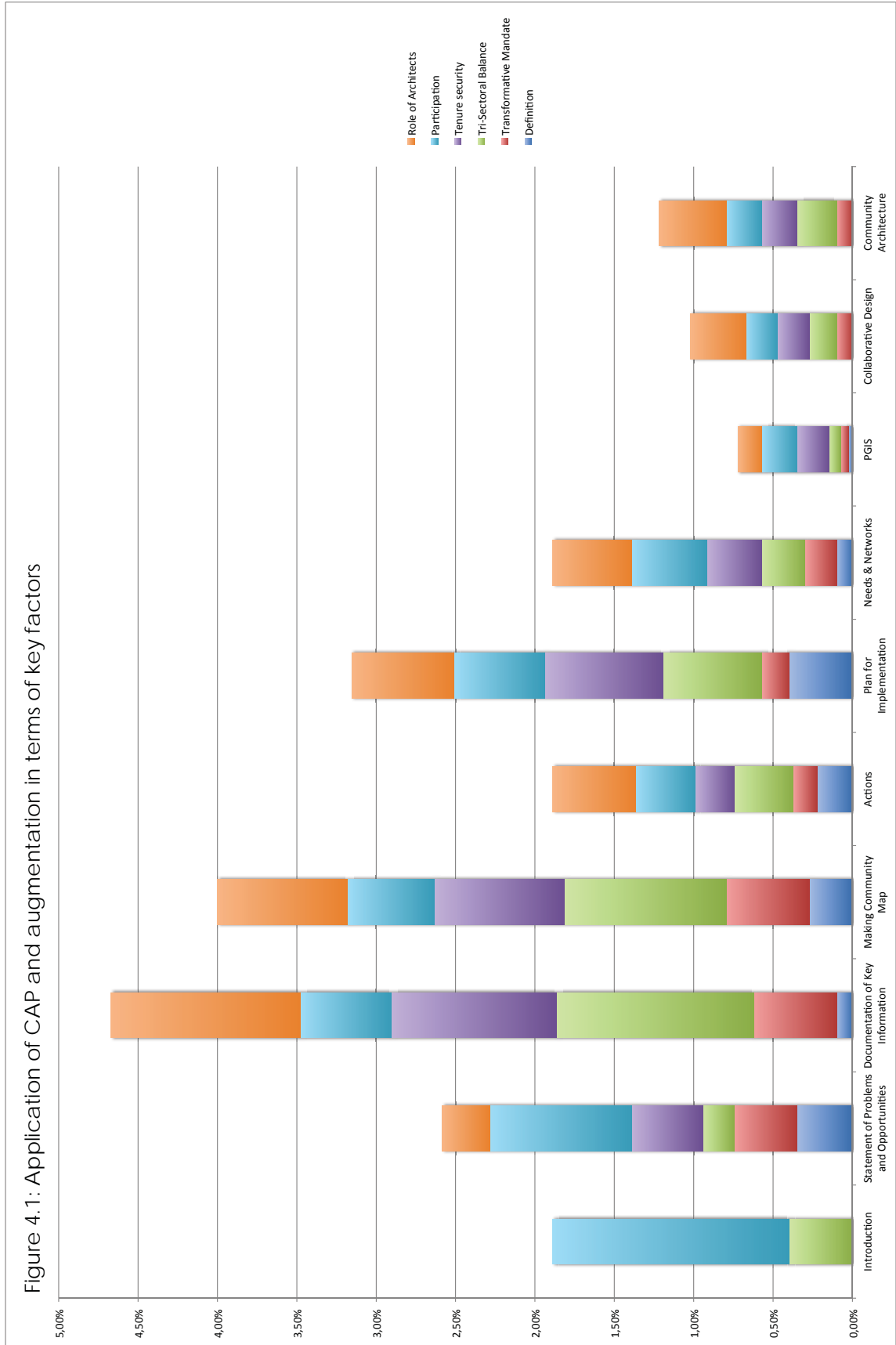
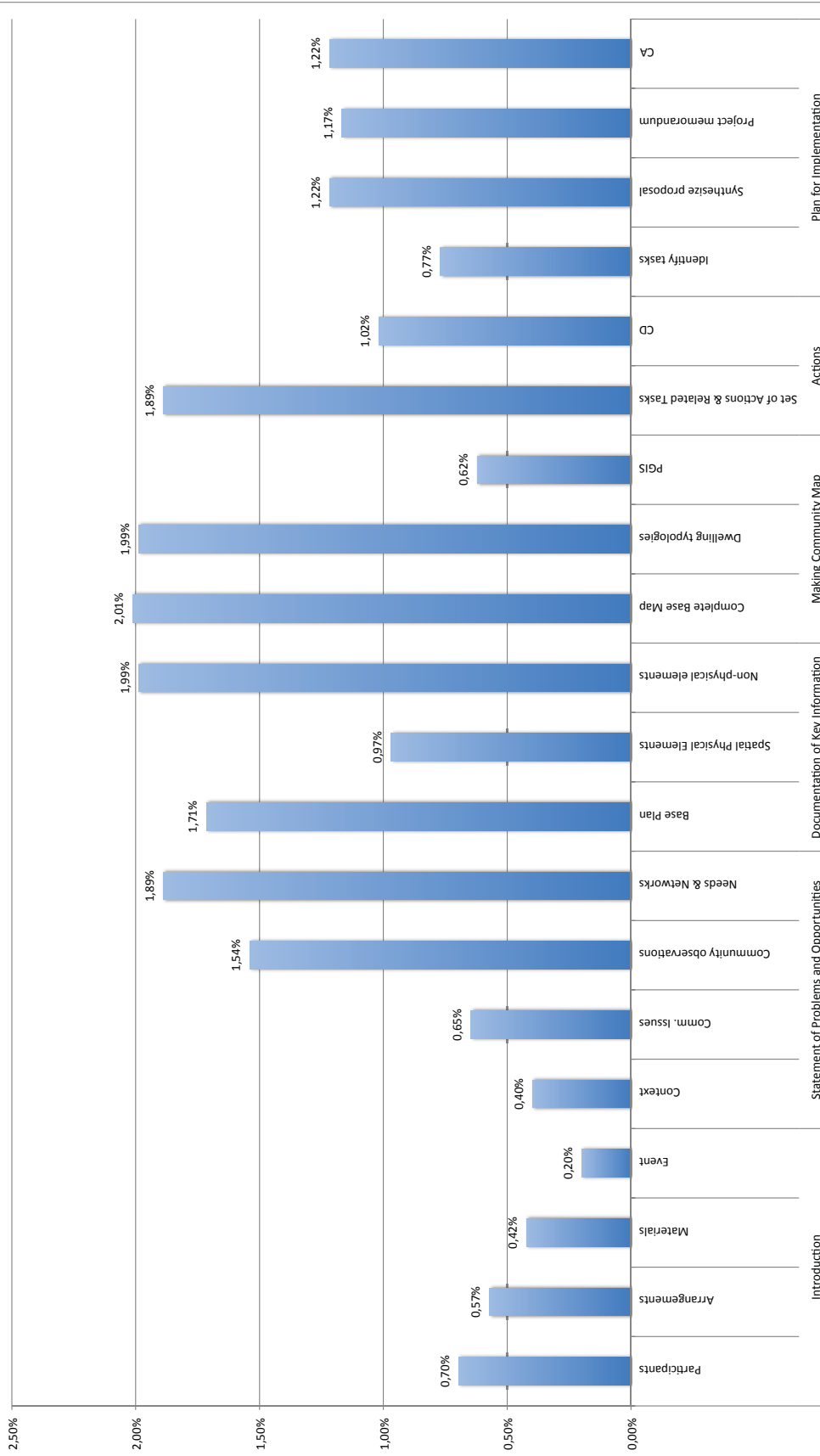
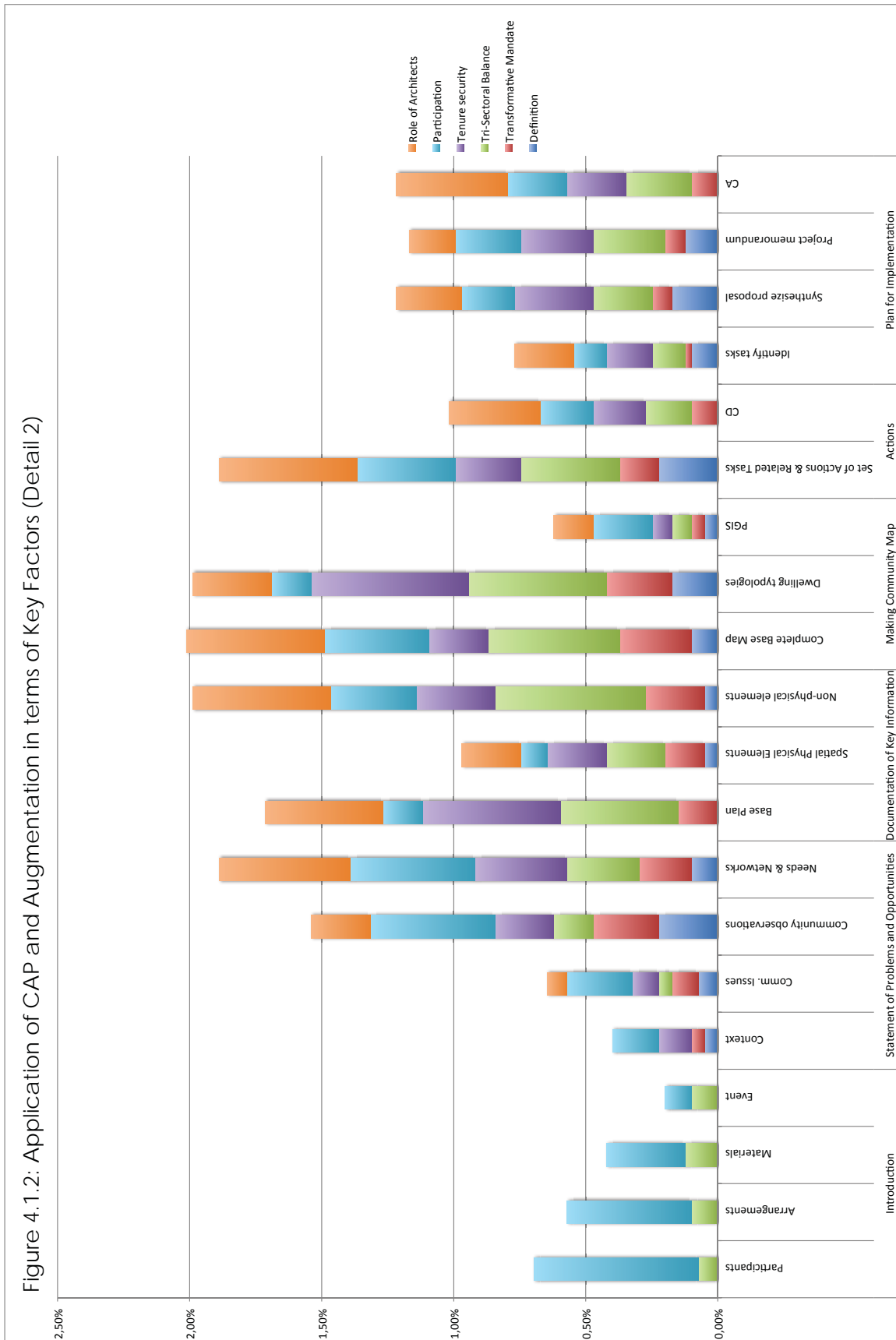
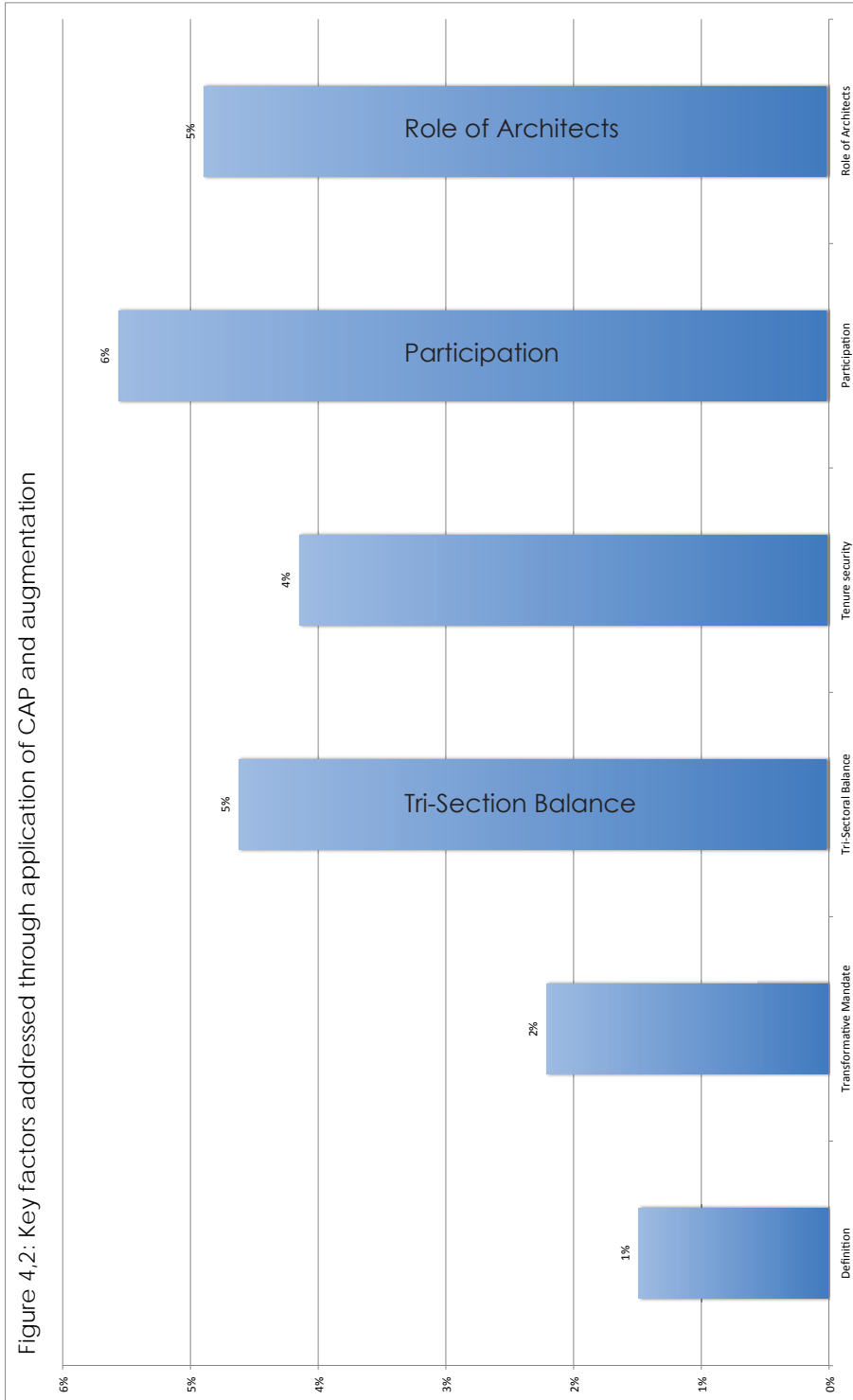


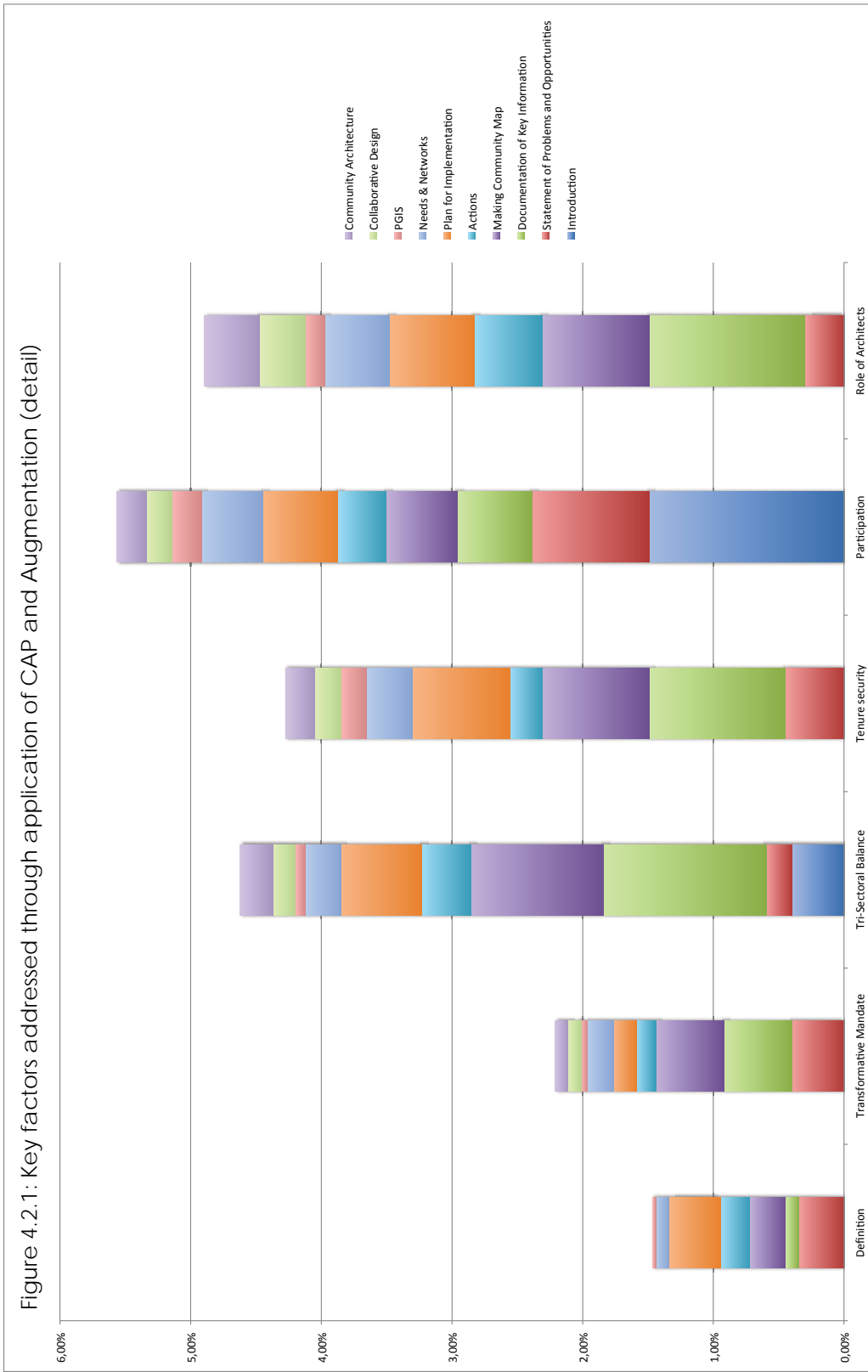
Figure 4.1.1 Application of CAP and Augmentation in terms of Key Factors (Detail 1)



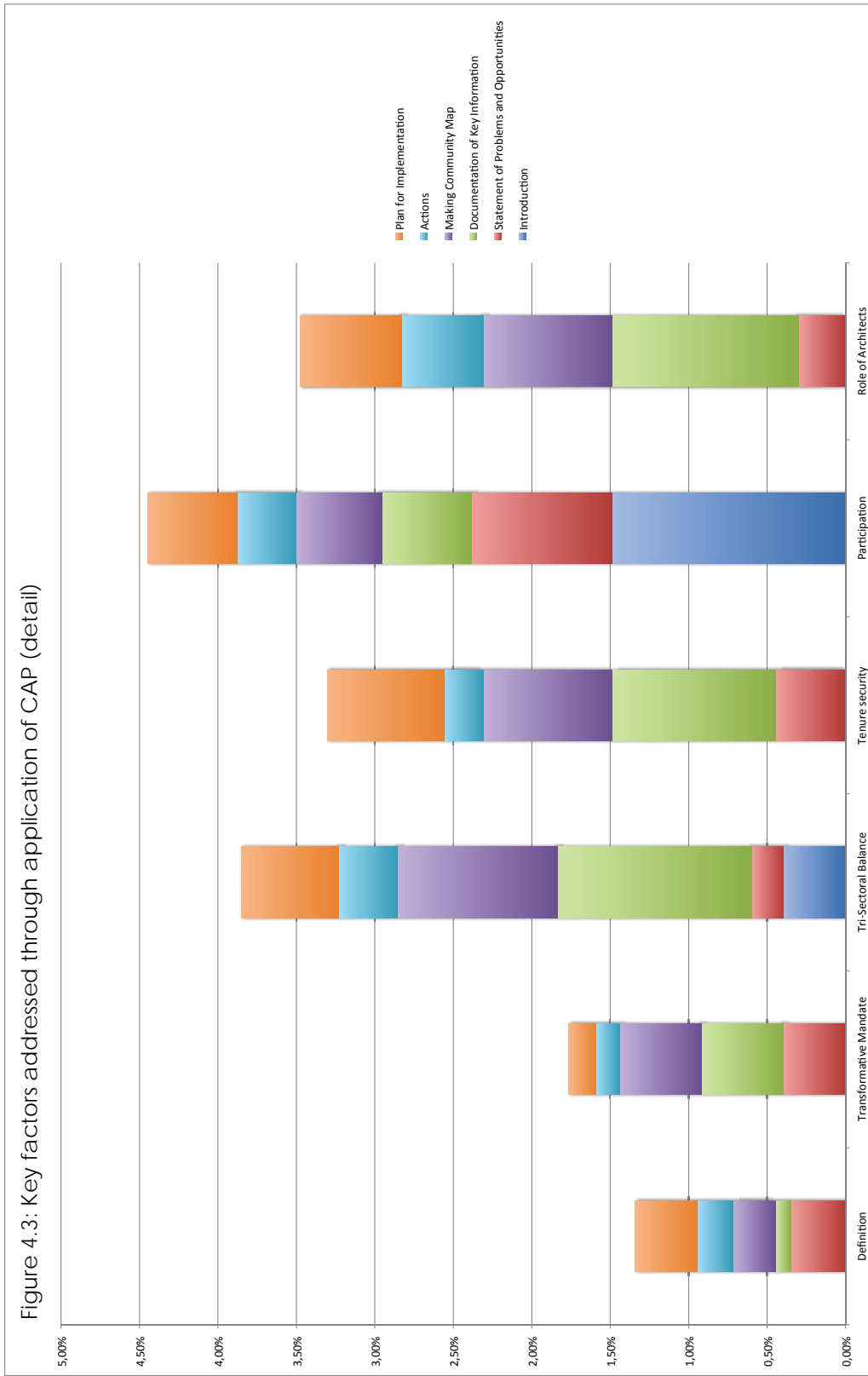


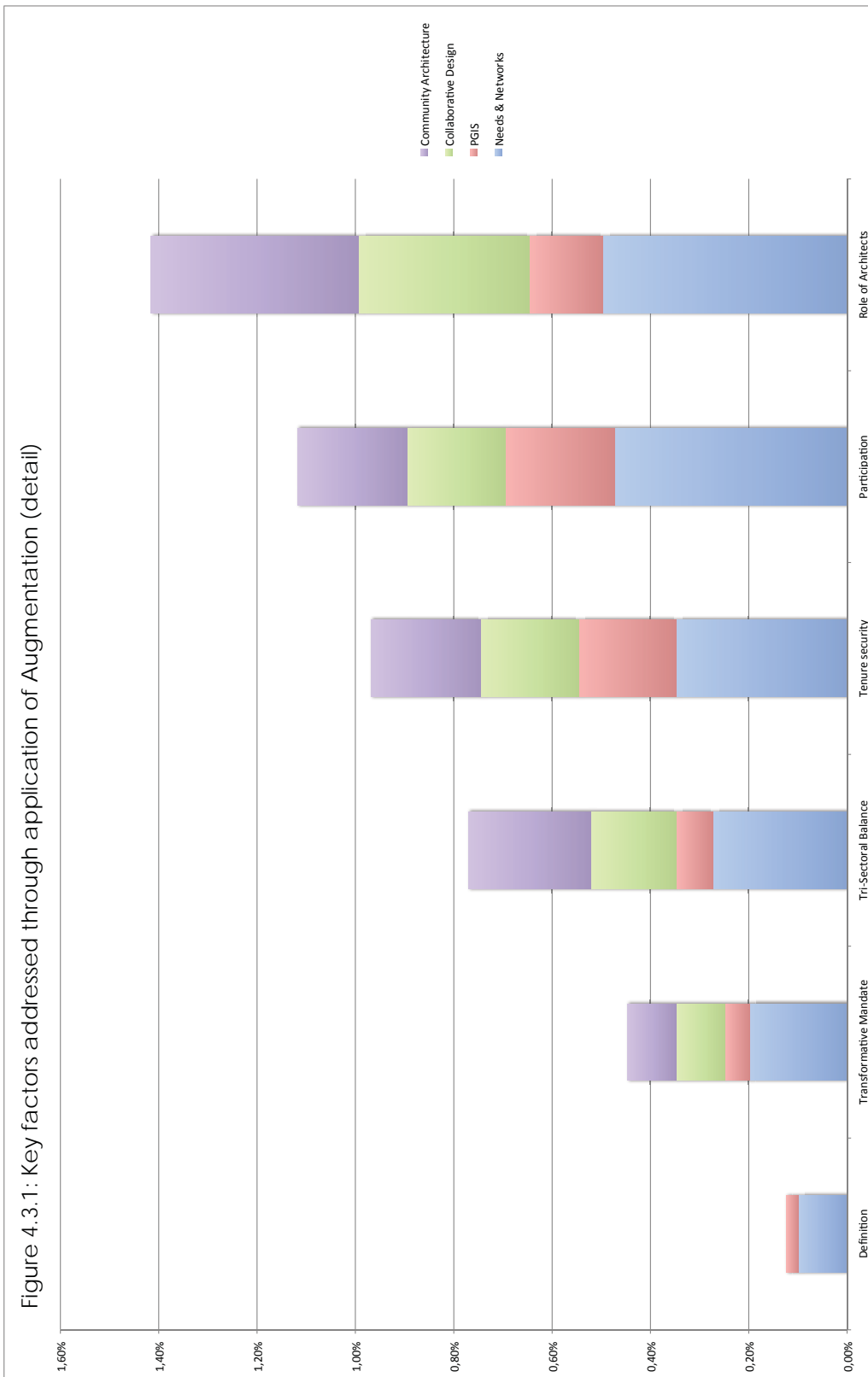
Seen in proportion to all the factors under consideration, it is further proposed that CAP and the augmentation measures address the issue of *Participation* most effectively, followed by *Tri-Sectoral Balance* and the *Role of Architects* (Figures 4.2; 4.2.1).





Seen in the detail aspects of CAP application, the methods that make the greatest contribution are the participative completion of the *Base Map*, the documentation of *Dwelling Typologies* and *Non-physical elements*, followed by the *Set of Actions and Related Tasks* as well the analysis of *Needs and Networks* as proposed in the augmentation measures (Figures 4.3; 4.3.1).





In the following chapter, this platform of engagement will be tested by way of a case study undertaken over a five-year period in a school of architecture in Pretoria, South Africa. The case study is limited to student work undertaken in the honours year (4th year of academic tuition), during a half semester module spanning seven weeks. During the first year of investigation, an additional eight-week live build process was undertaken that contributes to the body of work. Apart from the student work, a workshop series was undertaken during 2011 on the site of engagement, where greater in-depth analysis of the participating community could be undertaken. These additional exercises informed and enriched the subsequent iterations of the module, assisting in the critically reflective process.