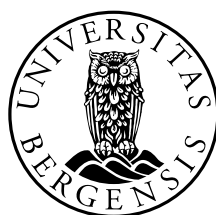# Consequences of South African Housing Policy

Twenty years of Struggle, Hope and Waiting

By Anna Koksvik Thorsen

Thesis submitted for the MA-degree in Social Anthropology University of Bergen

December 2020

Contents

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to thank the residents of the Hazeldean community that let me in to their lives, without whom, it would be impossible to pursue my project. I am forever grateful for your outstanding hospitality, openness and for taking care of me during my fieldwork. I would like to thank the staff and students at African Center for Cities and the organization Peoples Environmental Planning who let me participate in their research project. Your guidance and information about South African Housing projects and urban development was crucial for my project.

A special thanks to my supervisor Bjørn Enge Bertelsen for great professional direction. Your advice has been highly valued. Thank you for motivating me when I have been feeling stuck and for make me believe in myself and my project when I was doubting myself. I could not have asked for anyone better to guide me through this project.

To all my friends in Cape Town, thank you for being supportive, helpful and for giving me breaks from my research when I needed it. I would also like to thank my fellow students, friends and family for support and motivation through the long process of this project. Your words of comfort and encouragement has meant the most for me in times of frustration and excitement.

Glossary

Skollie: A derogative term for a colored man embodying danger

Braai: An Afrikaans word for barbeque

Taxi: White minibus used as local collective transport

AmaXhosa: An African ethnic group

IsiXhosa: A South African language

Rand: The South African currency

Skarrelling: Formal and informal practices for getting by

PEP: Peoples environmental Planning

SAHPF: South African homeless people's federation

ACC: African center for cities

Map
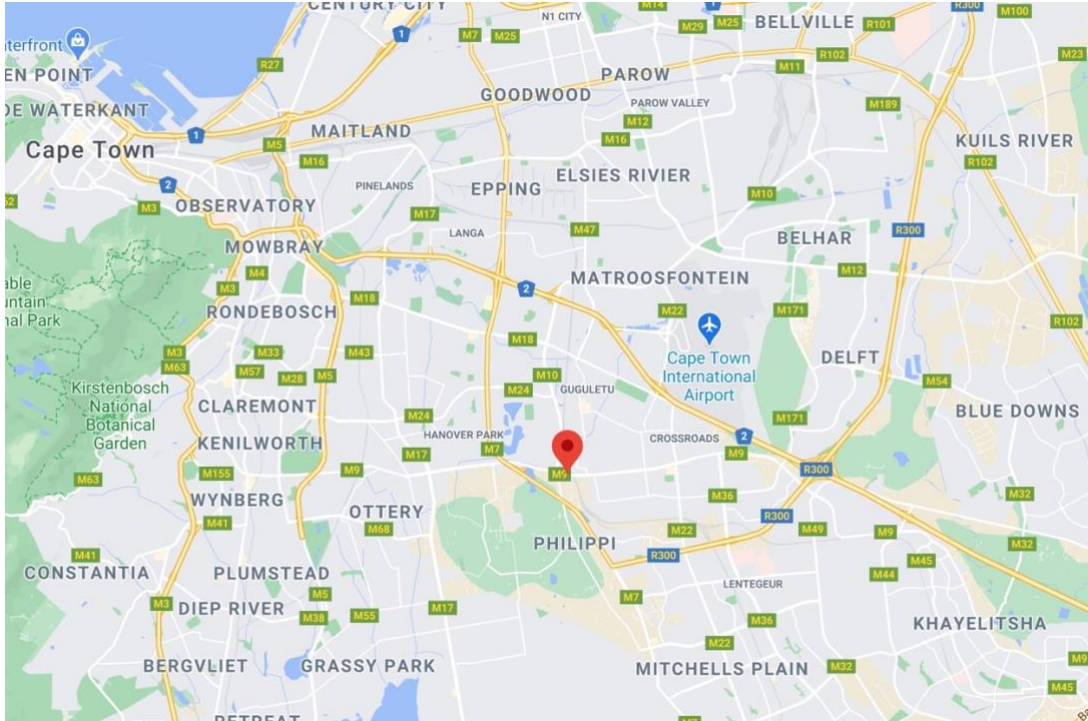
Map of township areas in Cape Town. The pin indicates approximately where Hazeldean is, within the wider area Philippi.

Chapter 1

Introduction:

Entering an unsafe area of Cape Town

My master project is an exploration of urban housing politics from below in the post-Apartheid city Cape Town, specifically focusing on multiple dimensions of experienced (un)safety. I have undertaken fieldwork in 2019 from February – July in Hazeldean, which is a community within a Township area called Philippi. A key reason why Hazeldean is an apt place to map and analyze notions of safety and danger, is that the residents of Hazeldean only came to receive their houses around year 2000, as they were part of a state housing program. However, while Hazeldean residents have only, then, recently moved into the area, there are both ongoing developments in the community and tense negotiations about land rights, heavily impacting people. Hazeldean is, therefore, also reflective of a more general and problematic aspect in the post-Apartheid South Africa more generally (Chance 2018). The aim is to understand how the lived experiences of South African housing policies are affecting residents' access to urban resources, such as mobility, housing, land right and safety.

This introductory chapter will outline the main themes, context and research questions of my MA thesis. Following an outlining of my research questions and the relevant terms I will be using; I will provide a contextualization of South Africa's Apartheid history without which I believe grasping post-Apartheid issues I will be dealing with would be difficult. Finally, I will briefly explain what issues and themes the different chapters of this thesis address before I will describe my way into Hazeldean. This element is highly relevant, I believe, not only because it provides an important methodological framework, but also it describes the City I did my fieldwork in - a city which is thoroughly segregated into distinct urban spaces which are essential for the reader to grasp in order to understand the particular part of it: Hazeldean.

Research questions

Having read up on South Africa and being interested in urban questions, before going to do fieldwork in 2019, two of my key pre-fieldwork research questions were:

1. Do people in the particular area I will be working in experience being urban citizens?

2. In what ways do different groups of people – differentiated by class, race or gender – have varied access to urban resources?

By urban resources, which is a term of broad significance, I mean resources like land rights, public space, public transport, infrastructure and security. I wanted to take a closer look at how these issues evolve in today's Post-Apartheid context in Cape Town – a city that even by South African standards is still regarded as South Africa's most segregated, according to anthropologist Fiona Ross (2010).

Historical context

There are historical reasons for such a pattern of spatial segregation: townships in South Africa are areas outside the city center that were constructed during the era of Apartheid, that was practiced between 1948 and 1994, a political ideology and economic system for racial segregation that put people in different racial categories. The Population Registration Act in 1950 aimed to "keep the different races pure" in a country of many races. The categories white, colored and black defined a person's place in the society by giving them different sets of rights and spatially divided them, to ensure the preservation of a "white South Africa" (Posel 2001).

Apartheid significantly affected urban and rural space as race segregation was materialized through spatial planning, to divide people. On a national territorial basis, the agricultural spaces were declared white areas, which pushed the rest of the population to so-called "native reserves" that were established as ghettoes outside of urban areas. These former "native reserves" have become townships in cities like Cape Town. The so called "white areas" included city centers, suburbs, farms, beach areas and mountains (Shepard and Murray 2007: 6) and the whole national territory was, therefore, in effect racially coded.

During the Apartheid era, people who were categorized as black or colored had no rights to reside in urban areas and were forced by the government to live in Townships (Ross 2010). Black Africans were only allowed to enter the urban areas temporarily as workers and when entering needed to show identification that proved they were allowed to be there (Shepard and Murray 2007).

Following the democratic transformation in 1994, the biggest changes have been the removal of racially defined rights, symmetry in the distribution of formally racially defined bureaucracies, and a commitment to Constitutionally defined human rights (Ross 2010: 3). While the post-Apartheid transformation also involved a multiculturalist idea of South Africa as a "rainbow nation", Shepard and Murray argue that the landscape in South Africa is still shaped by the historic process of race segregation and the power relations that follows. They point to continuities between the historically established landscapes in South Africa, which involve a series of tensions between wealth and poverty, men and women, and how these social categories reappear in the post-apartheid era, providing challenges (Shepard and Murray 2007).

Thus, as South Africa is still shaped by Apartheid's race segregation and power relations, which have resulted in tensions and major socioeconomic differences, this provides an important type of reality to Apartheid modes of politics and urban order. The claim that Cape Town is the most segregated city in South Africa (Ross 2010) substantiate the importance of asking my second research question in a particular area of the city: What access do people in Hazeldean have to urban resources compared to what people who live in central areas of the city have? To pursue this question based on what access my informants have to what I understand as urban recourses, I have divided my thesis into chapters focusing on different types of urban resources: mobility, housing, land rights and safety. To understand whether my interlocutors experience being urban citizens I have travelled to Hazeldean and asked residents about their life, hopes, challenges and needs, to understand their daily lives that has shown to be lacking many urban facilities that are accessible in more central areas of the city.

More specifically, I will explore what access my interlocutors have to urban recourses in a post-Apartheid urban landscape, I will also try to single out what mechanisms are reproducing patterns from the Apartheid era, how these are being reproduced and how they are visible? Such analysis is based on the argument that there are hidden forms of power in the current post-Apartheid society that derive from the Apartheid era. To identify hidden forms of power, Foucault (1995[1986]) suggests that one has to look at people's behavior and actions, because they are the subjects of the society and its power. This is a project about urban housing politics from below, where I will explore the consequences of such policies. However, I will not only focus on people as subjects of power, but rather how they are also political agents who are

accessing basic needs and recourses in creative ways as they are changing the urban landscape around them. I will argue that both perspectives comprise a view on urban politics from below.

Chapter overview

Chapter 2 will focus on patterns of mobility/immobility in Cape Town. I will also explain how I experienced that my own mobility was different from my informants, who were local township residents. Therefore, this chapter is both an introduction to a certain aspect of urban resources (im/mobility), as well as a chapter outlining key methodological aspects. In this chapter I am arguing that segregated areas shaped by the apartheid era affects people's mobility, but also that urban dwellers engage in remaking of the social and spatial formations of urban areas.

Chapter 3 is specifically focusing on housing. I will explain South Africa's progressive housing politics that is aiming to empower those who were disadvantaged by apartheid. I will explore the lived experience of South African housing policy in Hazeldean. Here, the key argument is that residents are experiencing the consequences of South African housing policy, but at the same time they are a part of a political process while they are shaping and developing their own community.

Chapter 4 will explore issues of land rights. This chapter will show how my informants don't have access to land. I will explain that the consequences for them, using Jefferson et. al (2018) understanding of *stuckness,* is that they become both stuck in time and in space. I will argue how issues of land rights are creating uncertainty about the future.

Finally, in chapter 5 I will focus on my interlocutors access to safety. I will describe what makes Hazeldean an unsafe area and that patterns of crime is also legacies from the Apartheid era. However, I will also explore how residents in different ways are protecting themselves and accessing more safety. The key argument to chapter 5 is that dangerous situations create uncertainty in the present.

Entering the field

The claim that Cape Town is the most segregated city in South Africa is something that I could relate to after my own experiences living in the city from January – July in 2019.

Although I had never been in South Africa prior to my field work, I have never experienced segregation on that level before, which I will describe below. Crucially also, Capetonians often underlined how other South African cities, like Johannesburg or Durban, were very different and "less European" than Cape Town. For instance, one evening I was talking to a young man, "Chris", I had met a few times before while a group of us was out drinking with also some students from UCT – people I had got to know during my stay in Cape Town. He was South African and a post grad student at UCT who grew up in Cape Town. He told me it was such a strange experience for him to go to Johannesburg when he was from Cape Town because he was white. He explained that he reacted the same way every time he arrived at the airport in Johannesburg. Suddenly he was just treated like anyone else. There was no difference if he was white or not. He said: "In Johannesburg people don't care who you are or where you are from. They will treat people the same way, while in Cape Town those things matter".

This also resonate with some of my non-white interlocutors in Cape Town. My informant John, who came from Eastern Cape to work as a bartender in Cape Town, told me it was like you could still see Apartheid in this city. Just if you go to a bar or hotel you can see all the guests are white, while all those who are working are black.

The township I was doing most of my field work in, is called Philippi and is located approximately a twenty-minute drive (by car) from the city center. I was introduced to Philippi because I was participating in a research program on behalf of ACC (African Center for Cities) at the University of Cape Town. This project "City research studio" was a collaboration between ACC and the NGO PEP (People's Environmental Planning). PEP's organizational work involves helping people who live in Hazeldean with reorganization and negotiations to eventually transfer land ownership to the people who lives in Hazelden.

The project I was participating in was a six-week research program in Hazeldean, which is a land area which people who joined South African Homeless People's Federation were located by this federation after Apartheid's resolution, to empower them with better living conditions. Most of these people in the Hazeldean community were in the first years after Apartheid's resolution upgraded from living in shacks in different areas to receiving new plots and houses in Hazeldean. The people who got access to houses in Hazeldean had joined the NGO named South African Homeless Peoples Federation. In many cases they were attending meetings

with the federation for years before they got the houses they were promised. Currently the land area of Hazeldean is owned by the organisation Utjani Fund. This area of land is where I worked with other students conducting more or less structured interviews with members of the Hazeldean community in their own homes. The result of the project would be given to PEP, so the organization could use the research to develop their work to the cultural context and to community member's own experiences.

After the ACC programme I was participating in ended, I had to start traveling to Hazeldean by myself, which became more challenging than I expected. It was also the time when I started learning through my own experience how mobility can be challenging in a highly segregated city like Cape Town - in my case, especially in relation to personal safety. During the research project with ACC we had a transport that would drive the research team from campus to the community house in Hazelden, where we met all the participants of the project. The researchers were followed and introduced to the interview candidates by members of the community, and then we were transported back to Campus after a couple of hours conducting interviews. As the project was heading towards its end, I couldn't imagine what it would be like continuing on my own considering the highly structured and organized nature of the ACC project; from the transport of researchers, who would be interviewed by the researchers and which questions would be asked to mention a few examples.

The research project with ACC was, however, both helpful and useful for me in several ways. It gave me the opportunity to go to a township in a safe way with people who had experience and knowledge. I got to practice how to do interviews with other researchers, which we also got feedback on from an experienced researcher. Maybe most useful for me, I met the people who later became my key informants and on which my individual research project draws on. Continuing on my own was a very different experience. An experience that would make me gain more knowledge about everyday life in Hazelden. Through my own lived experience, I learned more about the people I met in the community, what challenges they are facing in their lives, and the field as a place in a post-Apartheid context.

However, after the project with ACC ended, I had no clue how to continue on my own. I had already asked some research participants if they were interested in continuing working with me, and they were very positive and welcoming. On the other hand, they did not know how I was going to travel from where I lived in the City centre to Philippi. When I asked them if I

could continue to come back to Hazeldean and work with them they didn't hesitate. Of course, I could come. At the last day of the ACC project, I discussed the possibility of me continuing doing research in Hazeldean with some of the residents. One of the ladies from Hazeldean said: "We don't mind students coming. But you need to be safe. We will meet you and it will be safe for you. But you need to get here in a safe way, that is the most important. You can't take the white taxies."

"The white taxies" is the local transport in South Africa. They are mini vans used as collective transport. I got the residents phone numbers, so I could make a plan with them when I was coming so they could meet me. The women I was in contact with at this time was not one of the people I had worked with in Hazelden. Zandile was young, but she didn't have a job, so she told me they would always be available.

My contacts from Hazeldean didn't really know how I could travel there in a safe way, and I started to get worried because of my own lack of experience, knowing that certain areas in Cape Town are not safe. I was not familiar with this Township other than this particular neighbourhood and the few people I had talked to there. People that I talked to in the city told me I should not go to Philippi alone. When I told people I knew from the city that I was going to do research in a Township on my own, they asked me if I had lost my mind and warned me that these areas were very dangerous for me as a foreign white female. All these warnings I got from people I met made it more mentally challenging for me to pursue my project, and I became quite anxious as I started to feel like the whole thing was a lost case. Nobody I talked to knew how I could even travel to Philippi in a resendable and safe way. Especially without my own car. Not the people who organized the research project at UCT, none of my friends or people I knew in Town and not even the people I knew from Hazeldean.

The problem was that taking an Uber there would be too expensive in the long run on a student budget. I used to take Uber in the city, but that was much shorter distances. Also, I knew that a lot of uber drivers refused to drive into the townships because of safety issues. I was told that the uber drivers were especially vulnerable in townships because they were often attacked for taking costumers/jobs from the local taxi drivers. Uber drivers in Cape Town are often immigrants from other African countries such as Zimbabwe.

Unemployment and xenophobic attacks are an ongoing debate and a major problem in the South African society today. Casey argues that the historical legacy of structural, economic and spatial complications of Apartheid is part of the reason for xenophobia in Cape Town. She explains that the interaction of people and languages within South Africa has been a diverse and spatial process. Casey also argues that the parts of the Apartheid legislation that is about exclusionary politics such as land expropriation, spatial segregation and the creation of townships has affected contemporary ideas of autochthony. She uses her own ethnographic examples from her field work in Cape Town of black South Africans xenophobic attitudes towards immigrants from various nations of Africa exemplified here by an interlocutor she calls Mama (Casey 2018: 4).

> "Her tone of voice then shifted as she began to speak of Somali immigrants in relation to job security in South Africa. Mama was adamant that Somali immigrants were "stealing" jobs away from Capetownian citizens who "worked hard" and were deserving of employment opportunities in post-Apartheid South Africa."

As Ubers and other "foreign" types of transport are unpopular in townships, the most common local transport for people who lives in the townships, which are the white taxies, which I was also refrained from using. Apparently, these vans were usually in very bad condition, they were driven irresponsibly and were especially dangerous for white people because they would be a target. Or so I have been told.

One of the things that strikes me about most of the people that warned me about going to a township was that none of them had been to one themselves, so what did they actually know about it? During the first month of my stay in Cape Town when I was spending my time taking language course in isiXhosa, I had a friend that wanted to take me to a Township. He was from a township himself, so he wanted to show me where the locals live. He took me to Khayelitsha that is one of the biggest townships in Cape Town, where in certain areas they have successfully made some tourist attractions where people can come explore things like local African foods etc. in a Township.

We went there on a Saturday. We took a white taxi to Khayelitsha where we visited an outdoor festival area with South African braai (barbeque), music and drinks. When I came back to town, and when I told some of my local (white) friends that I had been visiting

Khayelitsha, they asked me "why would you go there?" I was surprised because for me it was only natural to want to see where the majority of people lives, and I was lucky enough to have meet someone who wanted to show me around. I was surprised that South Africans had never seen or even wanted to see a Township themselves in their own City. I asked what the reason was for not wanting to go there, and the answer was simple: "That's a place where you just don't go". When I asked why, I didn't really get an answer to the question, because they had never been. I am not exactly sure why people did not answer. It seemed like maybe they never really thought about it. Like maybe they were just told from they were young that the townships were no place to be, and thought it was weird that I was not thinking differently about it. However, I didn't ask more because it seemed like it was an uncomfortable subject.

The post-Apartheid society in Cape Town could, in my opinion be characterized by its segregation, the city's areas and its groups of people. One can say that the Apartheid regime, in Foucault's understanding of power, created different kinds of social bodies. In Cape Town, South Africa groups of "social bodies" such as those deemed black, colored or white remain segregated.

I think Foucault's theory can explain some of the mechanisms behind this phenomenon. He thinks that modern society from the nineteenth century has been characterized on the one hand by legislation and a discourse articulating social bodies and the status of each citizen. On the other hand, modern societies are characterized by disciplinary coercion to assure the cohesion of this same social body. To understand how these groups of social bodies and segregation remains, Foucault thinks that discipline may carry discourses that speaks of a rule, but that this is not necessarily a juridical rule, but a natural rule or a norm. This is what he thinks can explain the global functioning of what he calls a "society of normalization" (Foucault 1995[1986]). What I am trying to say is that the segregation in Cape Town has become Normal, and different groups of "social bodies" stick to their groups and follow their norms.

My next empirical example, also shows this "normalization", but is perhaps more explanatory. My informant is not originally from South Africa. However, I think his view of the segregation was interesting.

16

One day, when I had lunch with one of my informants in Town, I told him about my first journey to a Township with a white taxi. He had lived in Cape Town for 15 years. He knew where the taxi stand was but had never been there or taken one of the white taxies. I told him that I thought it was a bit strange how I had already been to places in Cape Town were a lot of local South Africans had never been, but he disagreed with me. "I will explain to you why. People from South Africa would never go to certain areas in the city or to Townships because they have nothing to do there". Then he continued to explain to me "For example, if they build a big mall in Khayelitsha, people will still not go there. Only the builders would go there, because they would have a reason to. People only go to these places if they have a reason to go there". He continued to talk to me about Cape Flats, which is a well-known township in cape town. He explained to me that Cape Flats was one of the most dangerous areas in Cape Town. "I went there because of my business. I had a costumer there that wanted to buy one of my products." He told me that he drove to Cape Flats with his car, and just went out to go into the costumer's house that was very tiny, and when the costumer was going to pay, he pulled out cash from under his bed. I asked him if he would go back there again if he got more costumers there. He answered that he would not go there again. "If I get a new costumer there, I will tell that person to come and meet me here."

Drawing on some of the same experiences as my informant I talked to about Cape Flats – and undertaking research in the same area which is spatially peripheral townships in Cape Town where the majority of the city's poor live – Tony Roshan Samara (2010) examines the relation between crime and urban governance in Cape Town. Cape Flats has historically been a meaningful site for "the war against urban terror", and Samara examines the relation between crime and urban governance in Cape Town, which he argues has key elements of apartheid policing still appearing in the democratic period.

Cape Town has big inequalities within the city, and Samara (2010) claims that urban governance becomes driven by security concerns which for them means protecting public order and economic growth. Samaras study shows that despite governments willingness to reform criminal justice systems from the apartheid era, so that the fight against crime will fit into a broader social development frame, the approach to security still comes from the idea that "dangerous populations" threaten economic growth and social stability.

In Cape Town, safety and danger seems to affect space and mobility, as I will go more in depth on in Chapter 2. The segregation in South African society is something that you can see almost everywhere. It also appears quite clearly in public transport. From what I am used to, public transport is places where there are all sorts of people within a society. But, from my impression that's not the case in Cape Town.

While walking through the train station with a friend of mine, he said: "let's play a game: it's called spot the white person!" I could see one or two other whites, but he told me that they were just walking through the station, and that's exactly what it looked like they were doing, just like us. We continued to walk to a different area of town, and we didn't walk far until we were in another area with only black people. We walked from the train station and to the City Hall and then to the taxi stand where the white taxies goes from. Yet again it was like being in a totally different place, and you literally could not spot a single white person, except from us. As I have already mentioned, the white taxis are also supposed to be unsafe, but it is almost the only form for public transport except from MyCitybus (which is quite new and in very few cases goes into Townships), uber and normal taxies. It was a very different atmosphere in the taxi stand for the white taxies. People were louder and I could hear most people there were speaking isiXhosa.

However, after much consideration of how I could travel to Hazeldean in the most reasonable way, I decided to try to take public transport to Philippi after some discussions with my main contact in Hazeldean, Zandile. We had made a plan, and she explained to me that I had to find the taxi that goes to Philippi and exactly what I was going to say to the driver, so he would know where to drop me off. And she would patiently be waiting for me at that spot.

As I was walking towards the taxi stand and became more nervous the closer I got, feeling more and more misplaced, I was stopped by a random person who advised me to take a bus to Philippi, instead of a taxi. He talked to a bus driver and said I could go with that bus. The bus driver didn't know where Hazeldean was, but he said I had to talk to a lady sitting in the bus that knew the place. So, I sat with her because she wanted to help me to get off at the right stop. It felt like people who saw me were doing everything they could to help me on this journey. And it was like they had never seen a foreigner or a white person taking the bus. Going into the bus I was nervous. I had no idea if this was safe, especially for me as a foreign

white female, as I had been told such identity could make you an easy target for people with bad intentions. Schwander-Sievers (2009) who conducted fieldwork in an area of conflict in Western Balkans experienced during her field works in the 1990's that friends and family was worried about her personal security, but what she experienced herself as a bigger challenge was how she had to discover a way into the cultural standards that would protect her, because she was not sure if her identity as an "outsider woman" could make her seem threatening or put her at special risk.

Drawing on Schwander-Sievers experience of being an "outsider woman", During my own field work, I learned that even though there are people with bad intentions, most people are nice and helpful. I experienced that trusting people I met, made me feel safer and trusting peoples advise, gave me access to my field in an area known to be unsafe, which is exemplified below:

As I uncomfortably walked into the bus feeling misplaced, but tried to hide it, and sat down with the lady that knew were Hazelden was. I was relived to discover that she was friendly and seemed like she wanted to help me. Still feeling a bit misplaced, it was comforting to talk to her on the bus. She told me she took that bus home from work every day to Philippi.

Unlike the white taxies, this bus had fixed stops on the way. Luckily Zandile knew the bus stop and said she would meet me there. But when I arrived, Zandile was not there, so the lady from the bus didn't want to leave me until I found Zandile. To my surprise, the bus driver didn't want to leave either. Zandile was still on her way, and the bus driver was so upset that she wasn't there yet. He asked for her number and called her. He then shouted at her because she was not already there even though she was just around the corner. The Bus only drove when I was with Zandile.

Zandile and her mother seemed relieved to see me in the right place. "We have been so worried about you!". I was relieved too! For me, it was such a positive experience to see how people was so willing to help a person that was obviously feeling insecure and how people showed such kindness to strangers. It was also strange because I was in areas where a lot of crime takes place. Paradoxically - at the same time, I had never felt so protected or felt like I could trust strangers as much as I did at that point.

Chapter 2

Mobility/immobility:

ideas about spaces and safety

Introduction

In this chapter I will generally focus on how safety and space play an important role on people's mobility in Cape Town, and some underlying factors of the latter. Further, in this chapter, methodology is also the focus area because space and safety has been important for how I operationalized my field work. I will reflect on how my identity as an outsider woman (Schwander-Sievers 2009) gave me more or less access doing field work. Schwander-Sievers reflects on how her identity could put her at special risks, that relates to this chapter, where I describe my own (im)mobility in unsafe spaces.

Drawing on the above, in this chapter I will show how segregated areas in post-apartheid Cape Town affects people's mobility in the way that people in Cape Town do not have the same access to mobility within the city. I will use my interlocutors' accounts to explain issues related to mobility, but I will also use my own experiences to explain differentiated access to mobility, for various reasons. Further, I will explain how my own mobility and learning how, where and when to move in the field, is relevant methodologically to how I could pursue my project.

The above aspects assume importance in light of current debates on the urban in South Africa: For instance, in Vanessa Watson et. al (2007) about urban planning and post-apartheid transformations in South Africa, the authors claim that cities in South Africa today are possibly more spatially divided than they were during the apartheid era. Not directly because of apartheid's segregation legislation, but because of growing economic inequalities due to larger cities new investments that are located in wealthier areas that historically were classified as white territories. In areas that were previously classified for non-white racial categories (such as black or colored), there are rapidly growing informal settlements and new public low-income housing projects. Watson et.al (2007) demonstrates that the pattern of socially and economically segregated cities remains, and the post-apartheid shift of

transferring black households into former "white areas" is a slow process. Furthermore, at present, growing areas suffer from social exclusion, growing poverty, health issues and crime.

In sum of this chapter, I want to argue that mobility in Cape Town is limited by historical factors, as well as ideas about race/ethnicity, safety and economy. To support my argument, I will use Foucault's theory about power and subjection to show how individuals' movement and behavior can be understood in terms of governmentality. Foucault understands production of "truths" as necessary for the society to function, and people are subjects of truths, because truths becomes laws and produces "true" discourses and rights. A process which results in people becoming judged, classified to what function they have in society (Foucault 1995[1986]). During Apartheid there were laws that controlled people's mobility, but I want to show how discourses of truths are being reproduced.

(im)mobility: Structures for movement made under apartheid

During the Apartheid era, the urban "white" areas in the cities of South Africa were the main areas of economic opportunity and were facilities like jobs, infrastructure or education were located. Poor people that had jobs or other errands in these urban areas were physically trapped in Townships which were areas of little possibilities for generating an income. Poor people who were living in townships had long and expensive daily trips to work and shops (Watson et al. 2007). Jensen explains that as the black population lived further away from the center than coloreds and especially whites, they were at considerable disadvantage. The spatial distribution of opportunities and people are an indication of inequality (Jensen 2008).

However, when the repressive laws and legislations from Apartheid that restricted the mobility of African, Indian and colored communities, hundreds of thousands of people moved to urban and peri urban areas in search of work, education, and other previously unavailable social and economic opportunities (Chance 2018).

I believe that it is important to understand the historical context of the South African society to understand how todays issues have evolved and are more or less results of the South Africa's history of racial segregation.

For, during the Apartheid era, an extreme exercise of stately power categorized and segregated people, which divided citizens spatially and controlled their movement and

mobility – an aspect I have also described in chapter 1. One can say that this exercise of power was not hidden, because a legal framework explicitly gave different rights to people of different categories of race. However, the after-affects are still visible and this practiced is part of the reason why it is commonly said that Apartheid still exist in the South African society – now, - not through law, but through class. Thus, the landscapes of South Africa are still shaped by the historic process of race segregation and power relations that follows (Shepard and Murray 2007).

One aspect of a Foucaultian understanding of power relates to controlling people's mobility and segregating citizens. As we saw above, this was a key aspect to the Apartheid era, but this modality of power still reverberates throughout the South African society – and specifically, also as Foucault would say, through the subjects of the society. Foucault understands individuals as subjects because they are products of the society and their actions and behavior is the result of governments exercise of power. One can also look at individuals as vehicles of power because they are its element of articulation. Effects of power that are certain bodies, gestures, discourses and desires are effects of power, and at the same time what is reproducing it. Foucault claims that we all have the power in our bodies (Foucault 1995[1986]).

During the Apartheid years from 1948 and after, urban planning was viewed as the most important tool for the governments' urban racial segregation policy to remove slum and "unsanitary" areas. The goal was to create healthier and modern environments (Watson et al. 2007). The government also used other measures to limit people's access to "white" areas such as the city centers, beach areas, suburbs and farms. During the apartheid time peoples mobility was controlled by government in the way that African people could only enter "white" areas with the right identification papers. They were only allowed to enter as workers and therefore needed identification that proved their right to temporarily stay there (Shepard and Murray 2007).

In today's South Africa these segregation systems are no longer law-baed, but by using my own data I would like to analyze how mobility/immobility patterns still persist and appears in other ways. Below I will demonstrate my main argument in this chapter, i.e., that there are still forms of segregation related to mobility occurring in South African cities, even though there is no Apartheid law. As I explained in the first chapter, the segregation in cape Town

has become Normal, and different groups of "social bodies" (Foucault 1995 [1986]) stick to their groups and follow their norms. I will try to explore what some of the mechanisms that creates this segregation are, what reproduces these and how they are visible.

Cape Town: infrastructure, segregation and spaces
To create an overview to easier grasp the full picture of the setting and theme of mobility in Cape Town, I will provide an overview of the city's infrastructure, spaces and transport systems. I believe this kind of an overview in addition to the historical context is crucial to understand mobility issues and how space and safety is related in Cape Town.

The City of Cape Town has a population of 4,2 million, and the cities number of actual households are 33 097. Economic pressures between 2011 and 2015, has resulted in an increase in the poverty levels in South Africa according to a poverty report released by statistics South Africa in 2017 (westerncape.gov.za 2017). This report shows that there is rising unemployment, higher costumer prices, lower investment levels, household dependency on credit, and policy uncertainty that are the main reasons to this economic development in recent time. The poverty reports the city of Cape Town's socio-economic profile means that the categories that are vulnerable to poverty are African females, children, people from rural areas, and people with no education.

Further, in poorer areas there are typically more crime. The high rate of crime in South Africa does have a significant impact on the livelihood of citizens. The rate of sexual offences in South Africa are amongst the highest in the world, and the murder rate in Cape Town is higher than in any other district of the Western Cape (westerncape.gov.za 2017).

High rate of crime affects people's livelihood, and high rates of crime finds place in poorer areas, which will be the ground to how I see people in poorer areas like Hazelden is affected – also their mobility. Swilling (2006) writes that the Western Cape region needs efficient transport systems, water and sanitation, telecommunications and power supplies in order to influence people's standard of living and economic growth. He claims that economic theory and empirical work has shown that public investment in infrastructure will have positive effects on economic growth and provide foundations for social development (Swilling 2006). Jensen (2008) claims that women in Cape Town are often more fearful than men to use metropolitan rail systems, while men because of their higher income and gender relations in

general, often had a car. None of my female interlocutors in Hazeldean had a car. My impression was also that most of them did not travel that much either. I think there are various reasons to why my interlocutors mobility - in and outside Hazeldean was limited. With the empirical examples from Hazeldean that I will turn to below, I want to show aspects like economy, lack of infrastructure, transport systems, water and sanitation affects how people physically move.

Transport (my own experiences)

Swilling (2006) claims that there is a need for more efficient transport systems in the Western Cape to improve people's standard of living and for economic growth.

Transport and how people physically move within the city and its spaces is a concrete example that shows in what ways people are mobile or less mobile. During my fieldwork I also had to move to different areas of the city and learned how transport in Cape Town works and how space and safety are related. The intention of my project to learn about people in Cape Town's everyday life, and how they are, or see themselves as mobile/immobile. My own experience is something I am using as a tool to understand which mechanisms and other factors are playing a role in people's access to mobility as it effectively contrasts with.

My impression is that my informants in Hazeldean have – for various reasons, a different access to mobility then I have, but also some of the issues where mobility are related to space and danger are similar. My informants were more mobile than me in certain spaces within township areas but traveling longer distances and to more urban areas in Cape Town is something my informants rarely do. I believe this statement in itself can be used to say something about mobility and segregation in Cape Town. However, to understand how different transport systems works and to create a broader view of how mobility, transport and infrastructure works in Cape Town, rather than only in Hazeldean and Philippi, I see my own experiences as a handy tool as well as necessary when access to information from others have been limited.

The first time I came to Hazeldean after the ACC project, I followed Zandile and her mother to their home. Hazeldean is next to a place called Ramaphosa. According to my informant Zandile, Ramaphosa is an informal settlement that appeared in April 2018. From where the bus dropped me off, we had to walk through Ramaphosa to come to Hazeldean. I quickly

learned why I was supposed to take the white taxies and not the bus. The white taxies did not have fixed stops, so you would be able to get off on the other side and walk straight in to Hazeldean. I also learned how mobility in areas like this can be challenging – and, according to some; especially for me as a white foreign woman. As I have explained in the previous chapter, Schwander-Sievers (2009) raised the question whether her identity as an "outsider woman" potentially could put her at special risk or give her advantages.

What I am trying to say, is that in this context you become less mobile because of unsafe areas. As I mentioned in Chapter 1, Shepard and Murray (2007) claims that the landscapes in South Africa involve tensions between wealth and poverty, men and women which provides challenges in the post-apartheid era. I assume, mobility challenges are also provided by such tensions, as the landscape are marked by them. As the Apartheid law controlled "non white" categories mobility (Shepard and Murray 2007), I think my ethnographic experiences of moving through space indicates that space and danger can make mobility challenging for people in general in the post-Apartheid era.

While we were walking through Ramaphosa (which only took a few minutes), Zandile was hiding her phone in her top, and she put her scarf over the top so it would not be visible for anyone while we were walking in Ramaphosa. She told me it was so easy to get robbed here, if they could see that you have anything with you, they could take it.

In Ramaphosa, there were only shacks, and no houses like in Hazeldean. Shacks are small shelters constructed by hand, often using metal plates. These shacks are different from the houses in Hazeldean which are mostly small single houses with each their own plot, usually one floor and brick walls (see photo on page 41). There were also large amounts of garbage laying on the ground in Ramaphosa, and naturally it smelled like garbage there too. As we walked, there was a police car driving passed us. I asked Zandile if they were doing a lot of patrolling in the area. "They come around, but they are not here when we need them. If anything happens and we call them they will take their time. Maybe they will come here an hour after we called them, and then it is too late."

We came to Zandile's house where she lived with her mother, sister and Zandile's son. It was a tiny house, much like the rest of the houses in Hazeldean. It was simple, one floor with a living room and small kitchen, bathroom and two bedrooms. The living room had beige tiles,

the walls was almost the same colour as the tiles and there was a dark brown sofa and curtains there. They had no table, but a small bookcase with some photos in it, an old tv and a radio. The kitchen was small, and some of the trays and cabinets were broken. Zandile and her mother were very welcoming when I came into their home. I greeted Zandile's sister and her son. They were polite and shy. I was thinking that I would probably be shy too, if I was a child and a foreign stranger came to visit.

Zandile said we should start with my research, and she had thought of some people in Hazelden that I could interview. So, we went to visit two different ladies in their houses. One that I had met before during the ACC project, and one that I had not met before. If it had not been for Zandile's willingness to help me with my project, finding another way to do my field work would be a challenge. This is because I experienced myself as less mobile when I was in Hazelden then what I was normally. Zandile had explained to me that if I was walking around alone, people could take advantage of me, so I took her seriously.

During my fieldwork in 2019, Zandile was the person I became dependant on to do research in Hazeldean. Since she was one of the few informants, I had in Hazeldean that I was able to contact via WhatsApp, she was always meeting me when I arrived and following me around in the area and taking me to other residents. I think this is important to mention, because the arrangement we had made her function as a gate keeper during my fieldwork. I was dependent on her to come to Hazeldean, and she was the one who decided in many cases who I was meeting of Hazeldean's residents. According to Zale (2017), In order to get started in participant observation, a participant observer often needs to establish contact with a research participants or gatekeepers, i.e., individuals who have some control over the access to the group you want to study. Similar too my arrangement with Zandile, Zale explains that the gatekeeper may contact potential research participants and set up meetings. As for me, all the informants I met after the ACC project, I met through Zandile.

When we came back to Zandile's house after a few hours of interviewing people, Zandile's mother or "mama", as we called her was cooking in the kitchen. Mama wanted me to stay for dinner, but then we realized that it was getting late, and we realized that I needed to get going, because I needed to get home before it gets dark. Traveling with the white taxies after dark was not recommended and especially coming to the taxi stand in town after dark and alone was not a good idea. Mama gave me a big portion of chicken and rice in a plastic box and told

me to eat well once I got home and bring the box back to her next time. Mama told me that next time I came she wanted me to stay over, so I could spend more time with them and join them to church. Zandile followed me to where I could catch the taxi to town. It only took us a couple of minutes to get to the road and we did not walk past the shack settlement.

After coming to Hazeldean successfully by myself, I was motivated to go back soon. I spoke to Zandile on WatsApp to arrange when I could come back. She sent me a voice message laughing because the bus driver from the first day I went there had called her, just to ask her if everything went ok that day when I came there. "you know why I am laughing? I just received a call from the bus driver. He was checking that you are ok, and that everything went well that day. I said yes its ok, and then that was it" And then I could hear her cheerful laugh on my phone. I asked Zandile if I could come back on the next Monday, which was actually the beginning of the month. Most people in Cape Town get their salaries in the beginning of the month, and this seemed to be a problem for me going to Hazeldean. Zandile told me:

> "I think Monday is not right, because Monday, it's the end of the month, and the skollies are going up and down, because they think people got money… so…, I think the best day for you to come is on Wednesday. You could come Wednesday".

Access to mobility and creating safe spaces

In my experience, there were mainly two things that gave me access to mobility to travel to Hazeldean and moving around in Hazeldean: Networking and safety. As I have described above, in the space of Hazeldean, I experienced myself as less mobile and to gain mobility I had to follow a number of precautions. As Schwander-Sievers (2009) also experienced during her fieldworks in an unsafe area was that she had to discover a way into the cultural standards that would protect her. As I demonstrated in Chapter 1, I learned to trust peoples advises to feel safer. I learned to make rules for myself, that I mostly learned from my informants and contacts in Hazeldean. When I traveled with white taxies, I did not bring more cash or valuables then necessary, and I was not wearing any jewelry. When I came to the taxi stand, and found the Philippi taxi, I always made sure that the driver knew where Hazelden was before I got in.

I was always planning a-head with Zandile when I was coming and communicated with her on my way there, so she could meet me when I arrived. This way I would not be standing on the side of the road alone, in Philippi.

However, you can never be sure that things go exactly according to the plan, and there was in these times I felt most vulnerable, but as I have already explained it could seem like my identity as an "outsider woman" made people more willing to help. The second time I went to Philippi, I went on a Friday afternoon with the white taxies to stay there for the weekend. The taxi stand was loud and crowded, and a guy standing on the side of the taxi stand selling CD's asked me what I was looking for. He had noticed that I was carrying a backpack and told me to put it in front because there was a guy walking behind me trying to open it. He told me where to go to the taxi to Philippi.

When I came to the Philippi terminal, several people were helping me to get in the right taxi, and when I got to the right taxi, they told me I must sit in front. I had texted Zandile on my way, so she would know what time I would arrive. When I got off in Hazeldean, Zandile was not there, but she texted me that she was on her way. It was 5:30 in the afternoon, and as soon as I stepped out and was standing on the road, a lady came over and asked what I was waiting for. I told her that my friend was on her way. Then another lady came over too, and looked surprised while asking what was going on. Clearly, they assumed that I was in the wrong place and did not know what I was doing. And there came another man as well, wanting to help. The first lady told me: "I will wait with you. Your friend is the one that should be waiting for you, not the opposite. You must be careful because these days the young generations don't understand things. You can't trust them".

Reflecting on such sentiments of taking care of me as a stranger, I was always followed around wherever I walked outside in Hazeldean, and If I stayed over, we did not go outside the house after dark. And of course, when I traveled home, which was back to town, I had to take a taxi early enough to get home before dark. And finally: Avoid traveling on your own on Sundays when less people are outside, shops are closed and less security people in the streets.

I did travel home from Philippi one time on a Sunday, which made me realize that I had to take this seriously. I had stayed over at Zandile's aunt's house from a Saturday to babysit

while the aunt was taking a nightshift at a nursing home. When the Sunday came, we went to visit some other family members of Zandile. Later in the afternoon, I realized I had to get going if I was going to get home before dark. When I finally arrived in the taxi stand in Cape Town, I walked out of the taxi stand to catch another taxi to Sea Point, where I was living at that time. Once I got out of the taxi stand, which were much more empty than usual, I crossed the street and started walking towards the Sea point taxi a couple of hundred meters away, there were very few people around, only some people, clearly homeless. One of them stood up when he saw me and started walking after me. I just started walking faster, then another guy started following me as well. I just continued walking towards the next taxi and didn't look back, but then I noticed that one of them tried to open my backpack. Luckily their lack of discreet made me realize quickly so I took my backpack in front of me and hurried into the taxi. This happened just within a few minutes while I was walking downtown in Cape Town and made me realize I needed to avoid these kinds of situations.

I believe that my identity influenced my experience of the field, as well as what I got access to and what I didn't get access to. Also as I have explained, I think I had to relate to safety differently than local people in Townships, mainly because of two reasons; 1: I was not familiar with the area and had lack of experience. 2: I looked like someone who didn't belong there and I stood out. As a researcher who does participant observation, you should influence the way people live their lives as little as possible, because the goal is to learn about them (Zale 2017).

However, I learned that this is not as easy as it sounds. Even though you learn to adapt and make some changes on things as how you dress, act and what kinds of things you need to be aware of (such as safety), it is impossible to escape from your identity and where you come from completely. The fact that my own identity affected how I experienced things during my field work was something I became aware of quickly and had to accept. It was unusual for western people to be in a township.

Schwander-Sievers (2009) who also had culturally and politically differences from her interlocutors, needed to find out how she would gain trust between the interlocutors and herself. Also, she was not sure whether her identity would give her more challenges or advantages. From my own field work, I could relate that my identity as an "outsider woman" might bring both advantages and challenges: On the one hand, as I mentioned in Chapter 1, I

had been told that being a foreign female on her own could make me seem like an easy target to someone who would take advantage of me.

This became clear when Zandile, her niece and I arrived at the taxi stand to go to town one day. When we arrived, people started shouting at us to get in their taxi, and one of them said he would give us a special price that was 300 rand, which I knew was a ridiculous price, because it cost 18 rand to take the Philippi taxi one way for one person. It felt a bit overwhelming for all of us. Then one of the taxi guys that acted more friendly and calm said to us "don't listen to him, he is going crazy now because he sees a white person. Some people when they see white people, they see money. I am so sorry about that".

On the other hand, being an "outsider woman" and standing out or looking misplaced also gave me the assumption that people wanted to help me or protect me from putting myself to risks. Even though I come from a very different background then my informants, and most likely influenced the way my informants were living or how they acted more or less, I think in some ways It was easy for me to get accepted. As I have described in the first chapter, when I asked if I could continue working with people from Hazeldean after the ACC research project had finished, they did not hesitate to say yes, and their hospitality was more than I could ever hope for.

I experienced that most of the people I met in Hazeldean or the wider area Philippi appreciated that I was showing interest in their lives, especially they showed excitement that I was learning their language isiXhosa, which is the main African language in Western Cape. Even though I only had basic knowledge about the language, people I met that were isiXhosa speakers usually responded in a very positive way if I greeted them in isiXhosa.

Different African systems and urban dwellers

AbdouMaliq Simone writes about life and the structure of four different African cities. His case material are results of looking at the more informal community associations to identify that there were other forms of collective activity that could seem to have greater impact on people's lives than the more formally organized sectors in urban lives. Simone (2004) claims that people may participate in informal sector activities because of ease of entry, labor market flexibility, less complicated or too expensive to provide some services formally. Simone's insights on informal systems in African cities has helped me understand things in my own

material, such as the local transport system. In Cape Town, local transport was not formally organized, and did not have systems like an official timetable etc. The only way to figure out the system was to talk to people, and let people help me, as I have described above. To understand it, the lived knowledge was the way to go.

Transport systems like the white taxies and normal taxies that transports people both in the city and the townships are systems that existed before systems like uber or MyCityBus came to Cape Town, and these more formal transport systems has, as I described in the first chapter received a lot of negative response from people within the local transport sectors in Townships.

As I have written above, Swilling (2006) claims that there is a need for better transport systems for economic growth and better living standards. In today's South Africa, I have experienced the local transport system, such as the white taxis to be a better alternative to meet people's needs, rather than official systems like uber which are too expensive for many people, and for safety reasons I have described in Chapter 1, are not normally used in Township areas. Busses have in my experience been less flexible, and the newest collective transport system MyCitybus, did rarely go to any township areas.

What I am trying to say is that the newer collective transport systems in cape Town, has not shown to be very successful to improve people's standard of living or economic growth in poor areas. These systems have, according to my experiences and my impression been successful in more urban and wealthier areas, but not in Township areas, where there are a greater need for economic growth and better living conditions. However, I think Swilling (2006) is right that there is a need for improving transport systems in Cape Town considering that some of my data indicates that people in Township areas have less access to mobility. My point is that a possibly improved transport system in Cape Town should be inspired by the local informal systems that already exist. So, I will argue.

Simone (in Miraftab 2006) claims that "normative" urbanization in African cities does not recognize people's complex resources for sustainable urban life, or what Simone is calling "people as infrastructure". As a critique to Foucault's understanding of individuals as subjects of power (Foucault 1995[1986]), Simone understands African cities survivals despite urban and development plans, as examples of resistance. Individuals capability of resistance and

political agent is not taken in consideration in Foucault's (1995 [1986]) theory of individuals as subjects. As I explained in Chapter 1, people in Townships in Cape Town are showing negative attitudes towards Uber drivers, that are usually immigrants from other African countries, for stealing costumers/jobs from the local taxi drivers. Xenophobic attitudes towards black immigrants from various nations of Africa (Casey 2018), I think could be understood as an example of resistance.

Simone (in Miraftab 2006), argues that African cities are often presented by government officials, urban planners and development workers as failed cities. However, he explains that western models of development are less about understanding urban dwellers needs, than about making them governable. African urban dwellers like for exapmple informal traders, the car washer or the boss boy that steers transport is extremely innovative in making a viable living in cities and engage in remaking of the social and spatial formations of urban areas. Simone (in Miraftab 2006) states that they do this in ways that no public policy or formal institutionally driven development agenda has yet to match.

Simone is showing how resistance is contextualizing in the changing urban life in Africa. He is showing how peoples informal practises and networks is not only survival strategies, but a struggle over the legitimacy of self-employment and the right to survive in the city. People struggle against official practices that objectify African urban dwellers and make the relationships among them that are the source of life invincible. Simone claims this is a losing battle for the state (Simone in Miraftab 2006).

During field Work in Hazeldean I have participated when residents have been using unformal transport systems, which seems to be working for the locals. One weekend when I was staying with Zandile's family, on a Sunday morning, we all woke up early to get ready for church. They all dressed up very nice. Mama in a white shiny top and a long-patterned skirt and high heels. Zandile in a flowery skirt, purple top and a big gold necklace. We were taking a taxi to the church, they told me. We stood on the road, and they stopped one of the first cars that drove by. It had no taxi sign, and it was not an uber either. It was just a regular car that was old and had some broken windows. We got in, and we payed 8 rand per person, which I believe is not cheap for unemployed people in South Africa, like them. However, I think this system was very effective. We did not have to walk to a bus stop, we did not have to check any timetable and we did not have to wait.

Mobility in Hazeldean

People that live in Hazeldean that I have talked to, has faced different issues related to mobility for various reasons such as infrastructure, economy and security. When people started arriving in Hazeldean around year 1999, which were one of many housing projects in South Africa, there was no electricity or proper toilets inside the houses that had been constructed. For a long time, there was also no roads in Hazeldean which has created issues and discomfort for people living there. According to Kerry Ryan Chance (2018), residents of such housing projects (similar to Hazeldean) have explained that the new housing projects in South Africa do not take in consideration what it means to actually live in existing settlements or in the new projects. Housing projects are often built farther away from the city than their existing communities, were transport costs are lower and proximity to jobs are closer, which gives indication that people's mobility might have been getting worse in the post-Apartheid society.

Infrastructure in the community has been very limited in Hazeldean, which made life more challenging for the residents. At the time when there were no roads or streetlights in the community, people had to go outside their house to go to a toilet, it could be both unpleasant and unsafe if they had to go after dark. Even though things have developed in Hazeldean since 1999, there are still challenges in my interlocutors lives that are related to their mobility. I will show some different examples from my interlocutors' lives.

Mary, a resident in Hazeldean that I met after the ACC-project was finished told me how she has experienced issues related to mobility after she moved into her house in Hazeldean in 2001. Mary is living in a house with her 23-year-old daughter who has downs syndrome. Mary told me that it was not always easy to walk around in Hazeldean. "They build roads here three years ago. Without the roads it was complicated. We had to walk in the wet when it was raining." Apart from that, she has had bigger problems when she has been needing to go to places outside of Hazelden. She told me that her house gets very cold during winter, and one time she put on the stove and opened it to warm up the house because she had no heater. Unfortunately, her daughter sat down on the hot stove, and got on fire, so she needed to get to

the hospital as soon as possible. The problem was that she had no transport to get there. In this situation, Mary put her daughter in a wheelbarrow and got her to the fire station. From there she could call an ambulance. When they finally arrived at the hospital, they shouted at her there because she didn't bring her daughter earlier. Mary said the hospital was not so far away, but it was a bad one. They did not clean her daughters' wounds and told Mary that if anything happened to her child, it was her own responsibility.

During the ACC research project, which I was part of, Me and my research partners wanted to know how Sophie, the cheer person of the communty experienced bringing up her children in Hazelden, and she was as usual happy to share with us. Sophie told us that bringing up her kids has been one of the challenges in her life. For example, taking her kids to school was a challenge, because they used to have walking distance to school where they lived before, but here in Hazeldean they needed to buy clip cards for the bus. She continued by explaining that their income was not allowing them to get clip cards, so they had to sacrifice, and they did so by only having meat once a week. "The money was little, but the experience. No one can take that away from you".

The same goes for Sophies older neighbor, Miriam who has to walk to church because she does not have money for transport. She said that the NGO PEP, that is currently involved in the Hazeldean housing project must hire transport for people, that they can pay monthly. My interlocutor's experiences support Chance's (2018) statement that South African housing projects are often located further away from already existing communities where things like transport costs are lower.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have shown how segregated areas in the post-apartheid city Cape Town affects people's mobility in the way that people in Cape Town differently affects people's mobility – including also how notions of security and space are affecting mobility in. Further, I have shown how the Apartheid law segregated people and made "non-whites" less mobile, and I have tried to show, through varied examples, how there are still key mechanisms in South African society that are reproducing patterns of mobility and what makes these visible.

I have argued that some of the mobility patterns that can be understood as a part of Apartheid's legacy can be seen as hidden exercise of power. While the Apartheid law no longer explicitly

segregates people, Foucault (1995[1986]) understands people or the societies subjects' actions as visible exercise of power.

People's attitudes towards spaces and localities, where it is safe, when and where you can go, how and who, I understand as mechanisms that reproduces and makes mobility patterns inherited from Apartheid visible. I have shown examples of how people move in Cape Town, with my own experiences and how my informants in Hazeldean move from place to place, and what challenges they are facing that are making them more or less mobile. What I have found is that issues of economic precarity and experienced in security most often affect people's mobility in Hazeldean.

Scholars like Swilling (2006) claims that better transport systems are crucial for economic growth. While people in Places like Hazeldean are normally poor, I have shown how they have little access to mobility and urban facilities and recourses, like school, church or hospital. Which can be seen as a bad circle that is difficult or impossible to come out of, which is why people can say that Apartheid is still alive and are still disadvantaging people.

Apart from people being disadvantaged, and understood as merely subjects of power, I have also argued how people are also showing resistance to such forms of marginality by struggling against official practices by participating in informal sector activities because of ease of entry, labor market flexibility, survival or just because it is less complicated, or too expensive to provide some kinds of services informally (Simone 2004). Simone (in Miraftab 2006) claims this is a losing battle of the state.

Chapter 3

Housing developments in Hazeldean:
What is the lived experience of South African housing policies?

In this chapter I will analyze the lived experiences and everyday practices of what I identify as South African Housing policy. Hazeldean is one of many housing projects in South Africa, and the residents lives and their access to basic needs are affected by housing policies. I will draw on anthropologist Kerry Ryan Chance's (2018) work that demonstrate how problems related to housing have persisted in South Africa, regardless of the state housing programs. At the empirical and ethnographic level, by lived experiences and everyday practices I mean in what ways do people get basic needs in Hazelden. More specifically, in this chapter I will focus on how people get access to, or create basic needs like water, electricity, roof over their heads and a sense of safety.

Most of my interlocutors in Hazeldean define themselves as poor. Access to resources and basic needs would, therefore, often be challenging for my interlocutors. Poverty is not only understood as living below a minimum level of income – such as in many of the indicators and indexes by UN bodies and NGO's and, also official South African statistics. According to the world bank, for instance, living below 12 South African Rand or 1,90 US$ per day per capita is defined as the international Poverty line in 2014, and the poverty rate in South Africa was in 2014 estimated to 55% (Worldbank 2020).

Instead, as South African anthropologist Fiona Ross (2010) has underlined drawing on work in urban South Africa, a range of factors beyond income also come into play. For one, Ross explains how recent work has documented the importance of factors such as social networks and the way one is able to activate these to access resources including money, food, care and access to institutions. Also, one's inclusion or exclusion from systems of power (Ross 2010). Ross refers to professor in comparative studies Andries Du Toit in her book, who questions the export of "social exclusion" discourse to the development and poverty field. He argues that the governing African National Congress has its power base in urban areas and is more sensitive to the concerns of urban working class and business then it is to the rural poor and the landless unemployed. He claims that democracy has politically empowered not the

poorest of the poor, but the almost poor, the all-but-poor, and the not-so-poor. However, the marginalized working class and landless unemployed are poor because of their relative exclusion from the formal economy as well as their political marginality. Du Toit questions what policies are necessary to address the needs of the long-term poor (Du Toit 2004, in Ross 2010).

 Furthermore, a view of households over time reveals that some households move into and out of states of impoverishment while others stays in constant poverty. Their movement, depending on their social networks, individual skills and household relations are allowing the household as a whole or individuals within to move out of poverty over time (Ross 2010:107).

Ross's insights into the dynamic nature of households has been helpful for my analysis of housing developments and how these are perceived and experienced in Hazeldean. As it has been claimed that housing projects in South Africa are not reflecting individual needs (Chance 2018), I will demonstrate what these needs are, with residents' experiences. For example, I will show what they understand as their dream house.

What I will argue in this chapter, drawing on insights from my interlocutors in Hazeldean, is that the last 20 years has comprised a process of struggle for creating a better life for themselves and their families. Importantly, such a struggle was not, as I will show, supported in key ways by PEP (Peoples environmental planning) or any of the other NGO's that have been active, but must be seen as reflecting the community more broadly.

As the community includes mostly women, gender relations are also something I will reflect on in this chapter. The particular challenges these residents have met and the different and creative ways they found solutions to these are precisely the aspects I will explore in this chapter. Finally, I will analyze and contrast with Teresa Caldeira's (2017) work on how peripheral urbanization and that residents, in the process of urban development become political agents.

South African housing policies
Because South African cities were racially divided during Apartheid, black people have been disadvantaged and forced to live outside of the areas of economic activity and social facilities. Ross claims that in Cape Town, the city remains largely segregated through class and racial

lines because of the conflict between those who had the advantages of the apartheid law, and those who seek to establish their lives in the areas the Apartheid law had earlier locked them to, which can be said to be valid for the residents in Hazeldean. For this reason, in post-Apartheid South Africa, housing has become a crucial and burning political issue – also as it is a key area to address Apartheid wrongs (Ross 2010). For instance, when the ANC government came into power after the democratic change in 1994, the South African post-Apartheid Constitution emphasized the right of everyone to adequate housing. There was a housing program entitled Reconstruction and Development Programme of 1994 (RDP) that was meant to provide free houses from the government under a subsidy program (Osman 2019).

Even though nearly 2,5 million homes have been built, the post-apartheid state has struggled to keep pace with the increasing demand. In Cape Town, the number of families on official housing waiting lists is estimated to rise by twenty thousand annually, which is a result of the urban migration after the fall of Apartheid (Chance 2018).

Section 26 of the South African constitution obliges the post-apartheid state to provide housing, while also safeguarding against evictions. The section states:

> "everyone has the right to have access to adequate housing. The state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available recourses, to achieve the progressive realization of this right. No one may be evicted from their home, or have their home demolished, without an order of court." (quoted in Chance 2018: 92).

Regardless of RDP and other programs, problems related to housing have persisted in South Africa, and many South Africans have been on so-called housing waiting lists for many years, which have caused extreme frustration and violent protests in South Africa. People are showing unhappiness with empty promises and unclearness about when housing developments will happen (Osman 2019).

After the Durban shack dwellers movement Abahali baseMjondolo emerged in 2005, the political landscape in South Africa has been affected by a higher amount of protests. The shack dweller movement began as a road blockage in protest of the sale to a local industrialist, of a piece of land that were promised to shack dwellers for housing. The

movement grew quickly and now has supporters from more than 30 settlements (abhlali.org 2006) It was counted 881 "illegal" protests in the year of 2005 and a national average of 5 protests per day in the following years after 2005. The protests in shack settlements have been identified by mainstream news, academics and state agents as either organizations and events that are called "new social movements" and more local and sporadic protests as "riots" lacking political intelligibility. Post-Apartheid activists has, despite their criminalization taken positions in state offices and non-governmental organizations and even played key roles in the leadership of formation of national political parties, such as the EFF (Economic Freedom Fighters) (Chance 2018).

Chance claims that protesters forces reached beyond South Africa's sovereign territories, despite that "the poor" are typically understood as a depoliticized category, an impoverished population passively awaiting government delivery (Chance 2018).

As Chance demonstrates, "the poor" are showing dissatisfaction towards the government through their protests. Despite the impressing number of nearly four million houses built by South Africa's state-run housing program since the democratic transition in 1994, not only is there a problem with the increasing demand in urban areas. The houses that have been built have been claimed to have a typical "one size fits all" standard and has not included individual needs (Osman 2019). "The prevention and Elimination of Reemergence of Slums Act" from 2007 aimed to eliminate and prevent the reemerging of slums by the year of 2014. At the same time as the Slums Act, mobilizations against relocations to new housing projects were ongoing in every big city in South Africa. As one of the housing officials said about Mendini Hills in Durban: "when there are houses built for people from informal settlements, they do not want them yet, when such removals occur, we as the council are seen as the harassers." (quoted in Chance 2018:12).

As I mentioned in Chapter 2, such housing projects have only to a very limited extend reflected on how it actually is like to live there, or individual needs. For example, were multiple families prevented from living in a single residence and they were not permitted to build onto their homes as families grew over time. State agents have tended to allocate families of the same community to separate housing projects, especially when they are politically organized (Chance 2018). These housing project neither include socio-cultural amenities and jobs are located at the periphery of cities, far away from such housing projects,

which can be claimed to maintain some of Apartheids patterns of spatial segregation (Osman 2019).

Despite South Africa having had progressive housing policies, the country still faces major challenges when it comes to socio economic differences. For individuals, challenges related to housing issues are experienced and expressed in different ways. Individual needs and how people cope with the situation of not achieving a decent standard of living may vary across highly different circumstances of life and personal and social circumstances. In the following I will show examples from my informants' lives who shared their experiences with me in order to make sense of how housing developments are lived, engaged and navigated.

The first meeting

As already introduced in Chapter 1, the first time I came to Hazeldean was with the ACC research group, of which I was part, we met the people from Hazeldean who had volunteered to meet us. In advance, the residents had been asked to share with us details about their life in Hazeldean. On this day, in February 2019, we were sitting in the meeting room in Hazeldean that was used for community meetings. This meeting room is where we had the first introduction. We met participants from Hazeldean, who were all wearing white T-shirts with the NGO PEP's logo on it, who was collaborating with ACC on the research project we were doing. Sophie, who was the chairperson of the community of Hazeldean, gave us an impassionate speech about "the long road with suffering" from year 2000, when people started moving to their new houses in Hazeldean, until today.

Sophie further explained to us, that the SAHPF (South African homeless people's federation) was an NGO who were working with identifying land and negotiating owners of land, who also helped creating new homes in Hazeldean which used to be, she claimed, a farmland area prior to the housing development. Sophie pointed out that - "when the councils gave us houses, they just gave us the keys. They don't get to know us." From how I understood Sophie, I believe that what she meant by her statement was how the council's lack of interest in peoples' needs may be part of why some people have been disappointed which also relates to Chance argument about the housing projects little consideration of individual needs (Chance 2018).

Sophie continued explaining to us how SAHPF was owning the land, so a new NGO called the Utjani fund got involved to buy the land so they could later transfer it to the community, which is still an ongoing process. Sophie expressed that residents in Hazeldean experienced that Utjani found were more interested in how they as residents wanted their houses, than what they were used to from SAHPF. However, as the land is not yet transferred to the residents, PEP is currently involved in the community to help, among other things – to resolve this issue. Sophie said: "Now we are going with PEP to build new houses."

PEP (People's environmental planning) established in 1998 has worked with informal communities in South Africa to implement housing and basic services in a manner that according to PEP – that places people at the center of their own development, focusing on rebuilding the social compact between informal citizens and local government. Hazeldean is one of PEP's community-centered housing developments which includes assisting the community to identify land, negotiating with local authorities, securing planning and environmental approvals, accessing government subsidies and project design, planning and management. PEP is also expanding its housing program to include households who do not qualify for the full government-housing subsidy, which includes mixed-income developments through cross-subsidization and providing rental housing for backyard shack dwellers (Peoples Environmental Planning 2016).

PEP, that was involved in the Hazeldean community at the time of my fieldwork, also work with ACC on this research program, aiming to improve an understanding of how they can do better housing developments in Hazeldean in the most suitable way for the people who actually live there, I was told by PEP's representee. In other words, PEP wants to get to know the people before helping them, to understand their needs, unlike how Sophie explained earlier experiences with the councils that gave them houses. To improve their understanding of how they can do better housing developments, they would use the results of ACC's research project which was based on interviews with the residents.

The residents of Hazeldean all came from different places and areas within South Africa. Some were from other places in the wider area Philippi, many of them from other townships in Cape Town as well as people from other provinces in South Africa such as the Eastern Cape. Most of these people were living in shacks before they arrived in Hazeldean and were generally from socioeconomically poor backgrounds. As became clear from interviews and

conversations I had during my fieldwork, what these people have in common is that they all had a dream of a better life and a better home for themselves and their family. To achieve their dream of a better home, they all joined the SAHPF (South African homeless people's federation) that could provide them with a new house to increase their living standard.

Sophie had explained to me that they had decided that they wanted self-standing houses, and not flats. However, the houses people were provided in Hazeldean were more or less four walls and a roof. Since then, some people have done more constructions on their houses then others. I will show some different examples that gives an indication on what the formal planning of the community and the plot sizes looked like. Also, I will show two different examples of inhabited houses. The draft of Hazeldean shows community facilities and plots similar in shape and size. I will show through interviews I have had with residents, how I think "the one size fits all" (Osman 2019) could be said to be valid for Hazeldean. This also indicates how actual urban development can be quite different from housing projects formal planning.

Figure 1: House in Hazeldean with few constructions on the outside

Figure 2: building used for community toilets which is now the home of two people who has done reconstructions on the inside as well as building a fence for security.
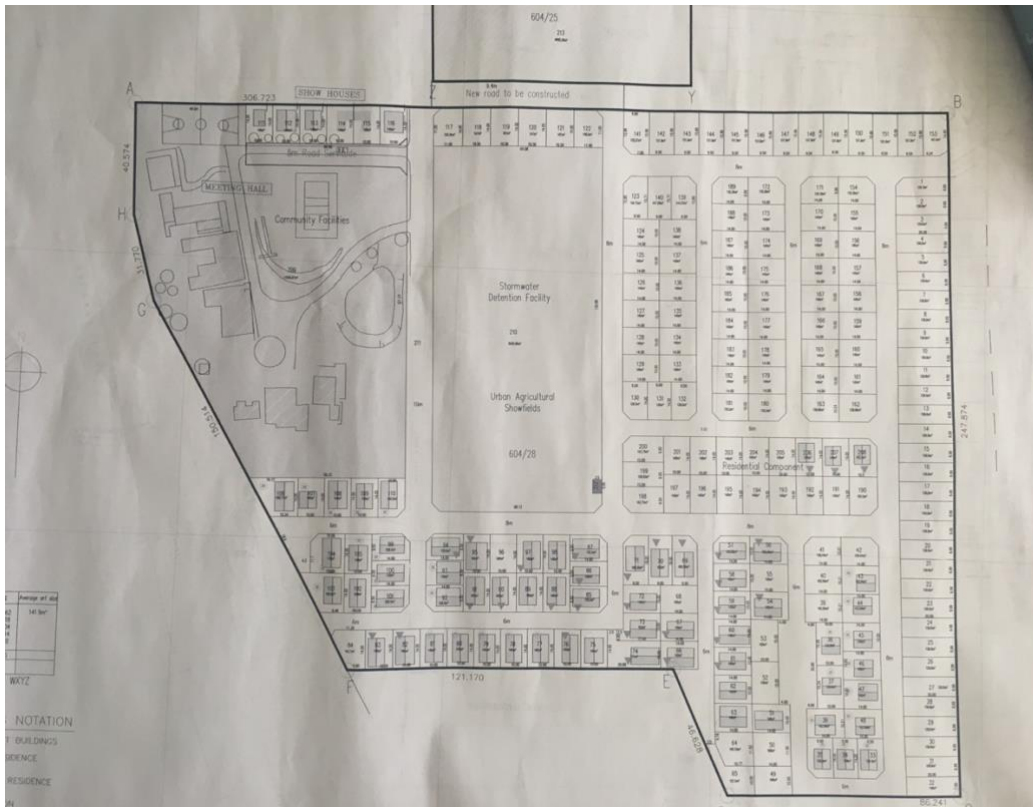
Figure 3: draft of Hazeldean

Today, around 20 years later, people have undertaken different constructions on their houses. Reflecting a pattern of rogue urbanism that is common in Sub-Saharan Africa, Edgar Pieterse (2011) bring attention to what he calls cultural practices, everyday stylization, and the theoretical explorations of the implications of formal and informal economic flows that reshapes and build character to African cities, which is similar to how Simone (2004) explained urban dwellers informal systems, exemplified in Chapter 2. Pieterse is critical to the policy discourses of development literature that he claims is creating an image of African cities as sites of the urbanization of poverty, and insists that such representations must be understood with a more sensitive insight into the interior and communal life of ordinary people, as they continually enlarge their effect driven engagement with the multiple worlds they inhabit and cross (Pieterse 2011).

In the communal life of Hazeldean, it is safe to say that the people's everyday practices have built character to the community, and that these practices are shaping urban development in African cities. In Hazeldean, some people have done constructions on their own house, and some has had help from others. But, for what cost and what is their goal? Sophie said in the last part of her speech: "it has been 20 years; people are tired now." She continued to explain

today's situation: "Some people have increased their income and can build their dream house, but it depends on their income. How can we complete our dream house and make a home?"

To better understand individual needs, and how the standard of South African housing projects has not met these criterias, I will explain my interlocutors needs, hopes and goals. My general impression of what my informants' goals or hopes for the future are reflect in Sophie's intervention: it is to live in their dream house that they feel is their home. The question then becomes – which I will try to explore through my data; what are the criteria to achieve a dream house and make it their home?

Starting with the notion of "dream house", Miriam, who was introduced in Chapter 2, told me that she didn't have an image of such house when she first arrived in Hazeldean in year 1999. For her, anything would be better than the shack she came from in Khayelitsha. However, she said that if she had the money, she would fix the leaking roof which was built very badly. My other interlocutor Cindy said that the house that was built for her was not good, so she had to fix the roof that was leaking as well as seeing to re-painting the walls and putting tiles on the floor. She said that her house is not her dreamhouse, but she did not have a choice moving from the shacks. Cindy told me she lived in two different shack areas in Philippi before she moved to Hazeldean. However, she has hope that it will become her dreamhouse. If she could own the house, she wants to build the house higher and have a yard.

My interlocutors' have been expressing unhappiness with the houses they are currently living in and, for many have effectively, been their only option. They need certain improvements and facilities in their houses to achieve what they are calling their dream house, but are lacking resources to achieve this, and most importantly for them, ownership of the houses.

Facilities like water, electricity and safety have, for my interlocutors been crucial criteria for them to achieve a good living standard in their home. As Sophie commented: "When you move into a house, and there are electricity and water, you feel at home". Sophie now has one of the more impressive looking houses in the neighborhood with a beautiful looking entrance and cozy inside. She said her house is now a home proper. When she moved into her house, it was like a dream come true, because she never had a house before. "That Christmas I didn't go anywhere, even though the walls were grey. Now it's a home."

Trying to make an analysis on what the difference between a house and a home might be, and what a dream house looks like, from my informants' explanations I believe that both the appearance of the house and the house function are important matters. From how I understood my interlocutors, I think title deeds is also a criteria to feel "home", whereas now, some has claimed they feel like tenants.

Mama Anathi who were at the time of my fieldwork 64 years old, lived in Kaylitsha before she came to Hazeldean. Her story is a bit different than the other women I did interviews with, because she did not receive a house like the others. After joining the organization, she was allowed to reside in Hazeldean, so she brought a shack. After the organization said no, she moved into the old municipal toilet building. She and her husband did everything by themselves, but she told me they she feels bad because she was expecting to have the house of her dreams at the age of 64. "I want two bedrooms, kitchen, dining room and a lounge. It's just one big room. If we can get subsidy, we can build the house of our dreams, but there is no subsidy".

Sophie said that even though you can see that the place is not really developed, it is changing. But at this time, they don't have the recourses, and people can come any time breaking their doors. On the positive side, access to toilets, electricity and infrastructure in the community like roads and streetlights has improved over time in Hazeldean. However, people still have problems with their houses because of the bad materials they are made of. The houses in Hazelden are not well insulated and this makes it difficult to heat them up during winter. Furthermore, they easily get flooded when there is heavy rain—also due to the inadequate draining system in the area.

From shacks to new houses in Hazeldean: Miriam's story

To convey some features of my interlocutors' lives and how their lives in Hazeldean has changed over time, I will use one of the resident's stories as an example to give some insight in their situation. Miriam is and older woman, and the first person I did an interview with – together with my two research partners from ACC. She was introduced to us by the coordinator of the research program, and we interviewed her in her home. Miriam shared information about her life, which I think is insightful information for understanding the context people are living in, and the importance of the relevant timeline that is from ca 1999

until today, especially because the South African society - in the years after Apartheids resolution has been through major democratic changes.

Life stories, as Du Boulay and Williams (1948) approach these, can be used to say something about the society the people of interest are living in, and how the society has become like it appears today. However, it is also important to be aware that these kinds of stories are also a way for individuals to represent themselves, and therefore they will choose which things they will tell and what they choose not to tell (Du Bolay and Williams 1948). As a researcher one has to see more than one person's viewpoint to be able to understand something about a society (Jackson 2005).

However, in Jacksons point of view, what is important is not deciding whether people's stories are true or false, but to understand how it influences what takes place in the future. In Jackson's explanation events quickly blur into and become stories. He claims to have observed during his own research how an event transforms from what *had* happened into what people now think *should* happen. Jackson says that he experienced during his own research that ten days after an event had happened, it was no longer remembered as it had been lived, but how it had been recounted in the process of making sense of it in a way that suits the interests of those who were mostly affected by what had happened (Jackson 2005).

From how I understand Jackson, the anthropologist job is not to tell peoples stories as it necessarily happened in real life, but to be able to explain how peoples stories and events that has happened in their life has effected them, what meaning these events have to them, how different events have influenced their values and how they relate to their future for instance. In other words, I have chosen to focus on some of my informant's life stories to understand what is important to them and why.

Considering one should use more than one person's perspective to understand something about a society, and not just an individual him/herself I will also use information and stories from other informants to be able to make an analysis of the data. However, I believe Miriam who is an older person and one of the first people that came to Hazeldean, has perspectives which can be valuable information considering she may have a fuller picture or a broader view of the community's development, which in my opinion makes her story a good place to start.

Miriam is one of the inhabitants of the Hazeldean community. She is living alone, after her husband passed away, and her son resides in the township of Khayelitsha. Also, she frequently walks and attends to one of the Christian churches in Gugulethu (on many occasions Nosipho, our translator, accompanies her). She seemed like she had a very noble character and appeared like a very religious person and this spirituality connects very well with her hopes and expectations of life. She lives in a small and modest concrete house with a gable roof made of tile and aluminum sheet. The house contains a dining room that serves as access and lobby that connect with the rest of the spaces; the kitchen with a small table, the bathroom in the center and two small bedrooms in the back. The room, where we met to talk with Miriam for the interview had a friendly and quiet atmosphere, and is the place where it is evident that this woman has invested, economically and aesthetically, to reflect her character; types of fabric that cover the sofas with different colors and textures, a wooden sideboard that shows some of the special belongings she has, like fine glassware and ceramics, the old television and its large antenna, as well as other things that I suppose for Miriam are meaningful items. Last but not least, a bouquet of flowers perfectly placed on a small table in the center of the room.

During the interview Nosipho, our isiXhosa-English translator and member of the Hazeldean community, helped us bringing this interview to life because our team did not speak isiXhosa and Miriam could only speak that. Miriam was born in 1941 and had married at the age of 21. By that time, she and her husband were looking for the opportunity of living in a city. In 1980 they moved to Cape Town, but with all the Apartheid pressure they had to stay on the outskirts of town. Miriam told us apartheid was a sad time, and white employers had to hide them, and say that no one was working for them. Sometime after, in 1995, Miriam and her husband moved to a shack area located in Khayelitsha where she worked as a cleaning lady, however neither of them was comfortable living there.

One day she saw an advertisement on the streets of Khayelitsha about the Federation SAHPF, and she joined to the original "Group Federation" in Hazeldean. Being part of the committee, she was entitled to belong to the second group to move to Hazeldean with a house already having been constructed and waiting to shelter her. So, without hesitating she moved with her husband to Halzedean approximately in 1999 having the key to open the door of her first home. At first the house didn't have a bathroom, water and electricity. However, she was very

happy to have a house, as this was much better than the shacks they were used to. We also asked her if she had an image of her dream house before moving to Hazeldean. She told us that she didn't because anything would be better than the shack, and she remembered that she felt good and comfortable the first night she slept in the house.

Miriam recounts how the process of integration with the other inhabitants belonging to the first group of settlements was pleasant and together they behaved like a community. However, there was a certain resentment against the second group that she was part of as the first group were not lucky enough to have a house ready waiting for them, they got a plot, and had to build the house with their own hands. Miriam pointed out that the first group didn't blame the people in the second group, but the SAHPF.

Miriam also got along very well with the new settlement group that gradually arrived and although the people came from different parts of South Africa, they had a good relationship. Besides, at this time, she contributed with 50 cents per month to the SAHPF, a contribution that were given to eventually receive the title deed of her home. But nothing happened. She told us "When you save 50 cents, that is no hope". From how I understood Miriam, she did not have high expectations of results from the contribution because it was so little and unfortunately, she was not able to save more because of limited resources, which is a common issue for residents in Hazeldean with low incomes.

Miriam also told us that time has changed, and the level of crime has increased a lot to the point that people in Hazeldean are scared to be on the streets or even to be in their houses. Miriam told us that the increasing amount of crime has resulted in each family becoming more individual. She continued explaining that she herself is afraid of her neighbors as they have stolen or broke her belongings, and for that reason she feels afraid and unhappy. Miriam explained that the neighborhood has become difficult because there are children who lost their parents who are no longer safe. When she and her husband moved to Hazeldean in 1999 they didn't know their neighbors, but that it was nice to meet people from different places. Now she doesn't feel safe because there is too much crime. However, the most important place in the area for Miriam is the church. She loves going there, and she said she will always go. Even if her legs hurt, she would still go to church.

Although Miriam's husband is no longer with her, Miriam has done everything in her power to keep her house standing, and with her own means, granted by a small monthly state pension which also pays bills, such as for electricity. However, she expressed that with limited income and without much help, she has managed to make some improvements on her house. Like the anti-theft fence, the bathroom and the tap in the kitchen (previously this was outside her house but her neighbors broke it and so she decided to keep it inside). However, she has not been able to fix her leaking roof.

Miriam was at this moment 78 years old. She still had a strong countenance but was very afraid to live in Hazeldean. However, she did not lose hope that someone would help her to get ownership of her house and that someday she will be able to leave Hazeldean, to a new quieter and safer place away from crime and violence, the great dream, the promised land of the Eastern Cape.

Miriam encourages that "in our age we have to do things differently" and she has hope that the circumstances will change. She hopes that if the community can get more resources, so the area can develop better.

Organizing for a new beginning in Hazeldean: Sophie's story

Talking to several residents in Hazeldean, they seemed to reflect Miriam's argument as well, i.e., that they all originally came to the community with a positive attitude towards moving into their new house and becoming a part of the Hazeldean community. For many, the process of getting their starter house in Hazeldean was a long process and the feeling of happiness and relief after they moved in is something that was repeated in many conversations and interviews.

Moving on from Miriam's story, Sophie's perspectives includes more information about organization of the community considering Sophie is the chairperson of the community. Some of her responsibilities includes to know about the community's needs and bring resources. She also needs to look at previous committee's failures, to make improvements. They make reports from this, to ask what can be done.

Sophie told me about the planning of housing in Hazeldean:

"from 20 years ago until now, there have been 6 different committees here. The committees were making sure the money was getting to Utjani fund, and in 1999 they were still discussing what kind of houses they wanted. The community could decide the planning of the houses and the committee would be their voice. They also had a technical person that gave advise. The technical person gave them skills. It was a very good system. I was very well organized."

Sophie and her husband started building their house in Hazeldean in the year of 2000, were they raised their three children, which she said was the biggest gift for their family. Sophie is very much engaged in her community and as a research participant with ACC's project. She was happy to share her own experiences and perspectives of life in Hazeldean.

Sophie moved to Hazeldean in the beginning of the community's development, when the people helped each other to build their houses. Sophie's house is now looking nice and representable and has three bedrooms, a kitchen, toilet and dining room. For Sophie, moving into her house was like a dream come true. "…If you don't have a house from before, you have to pinch yourself…".

Helping each other to build their new houses in Hazeldean was a part of the integration. Even though it was heavy work, they enjoyed it because they did it for themselves, Sophie explained. Hazeldean is a mostly black community where most residents are amaXhosas. Sophie originally came from a colored community, but she experienced a good integration with the amaXhosas. When her children played with the other kids in Hazeldean, they learned isiXhosa from their friends, and their friends learned Afrikaans from her children.

Sophie seemed eager to share her story and the process of moving to Hazeldean with her family. Before Sophie moved to Hazeldean, she got married in Hanoverpark, which is another Township in Cape Town not far from Philippi, where she lived with her husband. The two of them were staying in the backyard of her family's home. Her brother lived in the main house.

"I was getting married about 22 or 23. And another thing is this. In there, we were staying with my mother the first year. You know, every couple wants to become strong, but when you live with other people... the sisters and the brothers you know, sometimes there is interference, sometimes the husband says something to you, and

the brothers say Eyyy!! Let my sister! Even today is like that in families. We (Sophie and her husband) were not clicking, there were a lot of disagreements, and we looked for another place and is how we were moving (…) So, we decided to move, we lived from one place to another, I ended up staying in a lady's backyard."

After moving a few times, but still not finding a good place where they could live comfortably and alone as a family, Sophie subscribed to a council list for a house. However, the Council for City of Cape Town's waiting list was so long, but she subscribed to the list. She noted that in the project there were mostly black amaXhosa's. Even though she came from a colored community where they spoke Afrikaans, she did not see being a part of the amaXhosa majority as a problem. She just wanted to have her own space. Sophie explained that she met a lot of people during the process of getting her house, like the founder of the Homeless People's Federation, who tell her she could get a house in Kayelitsha. But, Sophie could not get a house in Khayelitsha at that moment as she was not part of this group. However, she noted something very interesting; this group was very organized and had savings skills. So, she realized that: "OMG, this is a long process!".

Even though Sophie expressed that she saw group organizing of collective savings for getting a starter house as challenging, she started mobilizing by starting a group with other people representing Hanoverpark. For her it was not easy to be organized as a group, specially to gain the trust of the people for having their savings, but as Sophie said: "there was nothing to lose". With a lot of effort, she explains joyfully that at one point in the group were 107 members, and she was leading it. She feels very proud of that. She was in charge of attending meetings, working on reports, and other tasks.

Sophie also says upstanding and proudly that she was so involved with the organization of the group that managed to work for the Federation "they gave me a job". She continued explaining how she developed better skills to express herself, but also other skills that she didn't have before, in the process of group organization. "My English was broken. I couldn't be with my little mind, I had to learn to talk, express myself, and behave." She also told us very proudly: "the savings scheme was driven by women, but it was a challenge because they neglected the house. We are the ones who dry the water of the leaking ceiling".

To be involved in the meetings, and be outside the house, represented a challenge for the women who neglected their house tasks which made her husband annoyed with her at times when there was no cooked food or when the children were unattended. She describes that for her it was difficult but, after all, "We were doing it for the family and the more you want your house, the more the things you neglect, but we tried to organize ourselves and with the savings, we had something to answer". In a very respectable manner, Sophie highlighted the transparency of the saving group "we opened a bank account, collecting 25 cent every week, or you could save whatever you wanted". Sophie showed us the personal saving book, a paper-thin book that each person had for proving or verify their payments. This booked was used 9 or 10 years ago. Sophie could assure that the organization of the group was not easy, but its constancy was its success. After waiting and working approximately 2 years, the organization Utjani Fund had found a land that became Hazeldean.

Finally, after Utjani had found land for housing, every person who was subscribed to the savings group received 10000 Rd for the constructions of the house, and there was also a record of the purchased materials. This is how they started to build their houses. She explained that they didn't get their house like they are now, but they have extended them: "I was the first one to move in, because I was desperate to move from the shack back yard. I said I would not stay another winter".

I think Sophie's story is a great example of how residents change and become political agents. As I have shown above, Sophie has developed her character and her skills in the process of organizing and becoming the cheer person of the Hazeldean community. As Caldeira (2017) demonstrates, residential urban space, its qualities and practises generate new modes of politics through practices that create new kinds of citizens.

Challenges and crating basic needs in Hazeldean

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa states that every citizen has the right to access to adequate housing and that the state must take reasonable legislative and other measures within its available resources to achieve the progressive realization of this right. Access to housing also includes access to services such as portable water, basic sanitation, safe energy sources and refuse removal services, to ensure that households enjoy a decent standard of living (Western Cape Government 2017).

Although the South African government has a progressive housing policy - and at the same time major socioeconomic differences, how these policies unfolds in real life situations can be quite different than what the intention is, if you take a closer look at what is happening on ground level.

Sophie continued by explaining some of the challenges of living in her new house in the beginning. When it comes to water, she only had one faucet. And she remembered telling a friend at that time that she could not live without water. So, eventually they bought a pipe and put it in to the kitchen, because she wanted to make things easier for herself. Electricity came later. At that time, they had a neighbor with an electricity box, so they asked her to help them. Sophie said that when they finally got their own electricity, they noticed that they had been paying way more than they should.

> "Even though you are a grown lady, you get like a child when you get electricity. It was very good, but also tears and challenges. When I look back now, it was good challenges. All this disagreement. You learn and you grow from it. When you move into a house and it is electricity and water, you feel at home".

Ross uses the term *skarrelling* - which is a mixture of different kinds of formal and informal work, loans, sharing, borrowing and improvising to designate the type of practices of getting by, that my interlocutors Zandile and Cindy, who I interviewed during ACC's research project engage in. Ross explains how *skarrelling* is used as a temporal way for getting basic needs. Ross, however, suggests that its emotional and psychological consequences are that one becomes short-lived when one gets by temporarily. Some takes pride in their *skarrelling,* but for others it is simply what must be done to survive (Ross 2010: 108).

My main contact in Hazeldean Zandile, as well as many others I talked to during my research did not have decent or stable work. But some of them, including Zandile were able to get by with improvising informal work. Zandile had friends and people she knew over for hair appointment's in her room. And Cindy sold chicken legs and beer from her house. People in Hazeldean has shown great ability to find solutions and being creative to achieve a better standard of living. However, such informal work has not given my informants any stabile income. Even though both Zandile and Cindy showed pride in their business skills, there

comes times when Zandile has no appointments and Cindy can no longer sell beer after the police came and took her beer because she did not have a license.

Besides residents' individual needs, Sophie as the voice of the community has many opinions of what the community as a whole need the most. Like a new place where they can have their meetings. The meeting room they have now is an old garage with a leaking roof. She also mentioned other facilities needed in the community. "we need a community center where people can meet and discuss. We also need a safe playground for our children, daycare and library. Children now can be killed and robbed."

Unfortunately, there are also other more crucial things and facilities in Hazeldean that are lacking. As I explained in chapter 2, things like infrastructure, toilets and streetlights create challenges and even affects people's mobility in the community. As I have exemplified above, basic needs such as water and electricity are important facilities for having good living conditions, and for some are essential to feel at home.

Gender relations in post-apartheid communities

Most of the people I came in contact with in Hazeldean were women. Also, all the research participants in the ACC project were women. While I was conducting my fieldwork, I was wondering how come I mostly came in contact with females in Hazeldean while in the city, I came in contact with more men.

Fiona Ross explains some of the factors that has changed gender relations in South Africa. For one, exclusion of Africans from cities during Apartheid resulted in a massive regional and seasonal gendered migration which has changed kinship ties. While the state was well aware of this complex issue, this was considered in the criteria for who qualified for housing subsidies in the post-Apartheid era (Ross 2010).

Drawing on Ross' experiences from "The Park", a post- Apartheid community outside Cape Town where she has worked, most of the adult women there became mothers as teenagers, which is a tendency that often continue among their children. In many of these cases the fathers don't support or participate in the lives of their children, and very often children of teenaged mothers is brought up by the teenagers mother, and the child is often socially recognised as the child of their biological grandparents and as the sibling of the biological mother (Ross 2010: 79).

The way Ross explains gender relations and the tendency of teenage mothers and absent fathers is for me similar to my observations in Hazeldean where I met a lot of single mothers, divorced and widowed women. For example, was my main contact in Hazelden, Zandile, was a single mother. She had her son as a teenager, and the biological father was never participating in their life. Zandile's mother was divorced to her father, and Zandile and her son lived together with her as if they were siblings.

One of my informants, who happens to be married told me that she experienced a lot of jealousy in the community. "When me and my husband cleaned this place, people were jealous. Most people who are living here are single. Now they are jealous." She told me that very few of the people in Hazeldean were married and there were a lot of single parents.

The household could be used as an analytic category that usually are related to policy and economy to measure the consequences of specific social relations. For example, households headed by women have tendency to be poorer than those headed by men (Ross 2010).

What is left out of such analyses is the emotional experiences, the effort and complexity that goes into creating relationships and sustaining them. Ross explained how residents in The Park in different ways had to generate rights in households and to their products. Ross examples illustrate reciprocity in responsibilities and caring and how people usually asked friends for short term material assistance (Ross 2010:92).

> "For example, Thelma regularly cleaned Baby's house while the latter was at work, and Korporal collected firewood for her. This work generated rights to a meal and later enabled them to claim a bed in Baby's domestic unit when their own shack was being rebuilt after a fire. Exchanging labour or money for food was common, particularly among young adults".

Ross suggests that people create social links that are useful when it comes to meet their needs when basic materials requirements are lacking, and to attain socially sanctioned goals over time. However, Ross explains that the depth of social relations and networks of mutual obligation in the settlement has made it difficult to delimit both the household and the community (Ross 2010: 92-93).

When I was with Zandile, often during the weekends in Hazeldean we went to her aunt in Vukuzenzele. Zandile usually went there to babysit her aunt's children and do house chores

while the aunt was at work. We got meals from the aunt in Vukuzenzele, and Zandile had a place where she could stay in the weekends which was nice for her who lived in a smaller house together with her family in Hazeldean.

During the integration when people started moving to Hazeldean, according to Sophie, people in the community helped each other to build the houses. Zandile's mother told me about how there were some kind of reciprocity of responsibilities between people when she moved to Hazeldean in 2006. When she moved into her house, it had no doors. A grandma that has now passed away organized a guy from the shacks that would fix the doors, and they had to pay him. Mama told me that they don't do individual things in the community. This is something that especially appears in times when people in the community are in need.

Peripheral urbanisation and how residents improve their living standard

From the interviews I have conducted as well as the participant observation I have done in Hazeldean, I have learned that not only living far from job opportunities and services has been a challenge in the residents lives, but also the standard of the actual houses they live in. My empirical examples have shown there are similarities to my interlocutors' stories when it comes to how they get access to basic needs, and that over time residents have done extensions and improvements. I will argue that the developments my interlocutors have done in their homes indicate that the houses they received around year 2000 was not sufficient for a basic standard of living. For them, this standard of house, did not meet their criteria to become a home.

I want to make an analysis based on my data and the information my informants have been giving me, how they experience ongoing housing developments which includes involvements of NGO's and the state's housing policies. During the first meeting and introduction in Hazeldean, when Sophie and other residents that were much involved in the community held their speeches; Lisa, a single mother of two living in Hazeldean was talking about PEP's involvement and "the long road with suffering". She said that they don't want their children to suffer like them, and she continued with an encouragement to PEP, saying: "If you can assist us with actions, not words. I am a woman of actions. We don't want people to hand out things, we can organize ourselves. Even if we fail, we still try to learn from it and get better."

Lisa's opinions can say something about the issue of auto construction among the poor, and how urban development in many cities has been largely constructed by their residents. Teresa

PR Caldeira (2017) uses the term peripheral urbanisation which refers to a way of producing space, where residents have a crucial role in the production of space. Caldeira explains that this mode of urbanisation is a slow process that transversally has relations to official logics and politics.

Caldeira (2017) claims that peripheral urbanisation is occurring in many cities of the global south, regardless of their different histories of urbanisation and politics. However, peripheral urbanisation unfolds differently in different places. She explains in her article about Peripheral urbanisation that residents have not only built their own houses, but frequently their neighbourhoods. Caldeira claims that during such processes of constructions of houses, neighbourhoods and (if you look at the large scale) developing cities, many people become citizens and political agents. People, in the process of urban development who do constructions, interact with the state and its institutions in the process (Caldeira 2017).

Caldeira's argument has four key points that I will explain. After, I will discuss which of them applies to Hazeldean, and how this community has developed.

1. Agency and Temporality

Peripheral urbanisation refers to modes production of urban space that operate with a specific form of agency and temporality. Residents are agents of urbanization, not only consumers of spaces developed and regulated by others. Caldeira (2017) thinks that people build their houses step by step with the resources they are able to put together at the time, which over time is a process of auto construction.

As I have shown earlier in this chapter, my interlocutor's in Hazeldean have, over the past 20 years done constructions and developed their houses step by step with the recourses they have had access to. All the residents I have met in Hazelden has changed their house more or less, since they moved in. Many of them were still hoping to achieve their "dream house", which people often had specific criteria for what a "dream house" is or look like. For example, running water, nice yard or a tall house.

Caldeira (2017) explains that each phase of the process of peripheral urbanisation involves improvisation, complex strategies and a constant imagination of what a nice home look like.

Ross, who uses the term *skarrelling* to describe complex strategies to access basic needs, makes a similar argument to Caldeira's in terms of what pheripheral urbanization is, arguing that *skarrelling* is a temporal practice like sharing or borrowing and includes formal and informal work (Ross 2010: 108).

Referring to my examples above, I do think that residents in Hazeldean did have a constant imagination of what a nice home or what they often called "dream house" look like. However, I think this imagination has for many, developed through the process of the community and their houses developing. Many of my informants said they did not have an image of their dream house when they arrived in Hazelden but was only happy to have a roof over their head.

Caldeira (2017) claims that as neighbourhoods grows, and the population increases, streets are paved and facilities like water and electricity arrive. Also, over time facades will improve and houses are enlarged. Which can be said to be valid for Hazelden where, for the past 20 years, people have seen water and electricity arrive, and the area has in general got more facilities as well as people have improved their houses. Some much more than others. However, she explains that despite persistent poverty, the process of transformation of peripheral areas can be seen as a model of social mobility (Caldeira 2017). This claim is for me, very interesting, but I am not sure if I would agree that this is also valid for Hazelden. There has been development and changes in Hazeldean over the past 20 years. However, increasing crime and peoples' feelings of being in a hopeless situation of not being able to move forward, makes it difficult for me to agree that the process of transformation that has happened in Hazeldean can be seen as a model of social mobility. I also think that the post-Apartheid society can, in some cases, be difficult to compare to other societies with big socio-economic differences.

2. Transversal logic's

During the interactions with the state, peoples' actions typically escape the framing of official planning, while they operate inside capitalist markets of land. However, the institutions of the state are crucial in creating conditions for urbanisation and incorporation of the poor in the city. Caldeira (2017) claims that it is also clear that the state does not act in the

favour of auto constructors. It is when organized citizens are able to maintain their disturbing presence and demanding changes that the state may operate and formulate policies.

The fact that residents in Hazeldean don't own the land, where they have been living for years and made so much effort in making better homes and a strong community seems to be one of the biggest disappointments for most my interlocutors. Lisa expressed some dissatisfaction with the way she was given her starter house in Hazeldean, as well as the current situation with no title deeds as well as the other struggles with the conditions of their houses and crime. "They give me a key, I had to take it even though it's not my dream house, I worry about my children if I die. If the land can be transferred, I can sell my house and go to Eastern Cape, it's too much crime here."

The Women in Hazeldean that I have had the pleasure to meet and get to know, has shown great abilities in organization, finding new solutions, making constructions and improvements on their houses as well as protecting themselves and their families against crime. How people have talked about involvements and developments by different NGOs indicates disappointment, lack of trust and reliance in them. My interlocutors have also come up as proud and capable, but at the same time the impression I am left with is that in their current situation they feel sort of stuck and not able to move forward, in a place that turned out to be not like they expected.

The questions I am left with is how does the housing policies which affect them and the promises such as title deeds, that has shown them so far to be empty promises make those who are affected by them feel? Do they feel like they have independence or power over their own lives? Do they have trust in Government agencies or NGOs?

3. Experiments in politics and democracy

Shifting conditions in the peripheries of both improvement and the reproduction of inequality, have made the agents that produce urban space involved in complex political relationships. Peripheral urbanisation, primarily residential urban space, its qualities and practises generate new modes of politics through practices that create new kinds of citizens. (Caldeira 2017).

Sophie has through the past 20 years become driven in group organizing and federation work. As I explained earlier, she told me how she developed better skills to express herself, as well as other skills that she didn't have before, in the process of group organization.

However, the skewed presence of the state, the constant abuse of residents by the institutions of order and several processes of stigmatisations and discrimination against residents are according to Caldeira (2017) examples of what makes peripheries spaces of invention of new democratic practises. In many parts of the world, social movements and grassroots organisations from peripheries have created new discourses of rights and put forward demands that are the basis of the rights of citizenships, the formulation of new constitutions, the experimentations with new forms of local administration, and the invention of new approaches to social policy, planning, law and citizen participation (Caldeira 2017).

Caldeira claims that these movements have generated changes in everyday lives and qualities of urban space, as they have forced their improvement. They have also produced deep political transformations. They have taken the materiality of spaces of inhabitation to anchor movements that create new political subjectivities and expose the inequalities that sustain the reproduction of peripheral urbanization and limit dominant political arrangements (Caldeira 2017).

4. Heterogeneity

Caldeira's (2017) last key point to her argument is that peripheral urbanisation is a process of residents engaging in production of space that is making them new kinds of urban residents, consumers, subjects and citizens. Areas produced by peripheral urbanization are dynamic, creative and transformative. Similar to Caldera's point, as I explained in chapter 2, Simone (in Miraftab 2006) showed examples of how urban dwellers are extremely innovative in making a viable living in cities, and that "normative" urbanization in African cities does not recognize people's complex resources for sustainable urban life.

However, even though peoples' engagements in production of space has shown to be transformative, they are not able to erase the gap that separates peripheries and their residents from other spaces and social groups, which is a gap that constantly has been recreated and frequently increased, both in terms of the disparity of quality of urban spaces and the income

and recourses of social groups, claims Caldeira (2017). She explains that peripheries are undoubtedly about inequality because they are poor, discriminated against and frequently violent. In Hazeldean it is safe to say that the area is at least poor and violent.

However, according to Caldeira (2017) peripheries are not homogenously poor, and usually much better than they were in the past. As for the Hazeldean community, things were much worse around year 2000, when there was no infrastructure like roads or streetlight, electricity or water. Life has definitely become easier for residents in many ways over the past 20 years.

Over time, peripheral urbanisation generates heterogenous urban spaces, claims Caldeira (2017). Since at least the middle of the 20th century, peripheral urbanisation has offered poor residents of metropolises of the global south opportunities to inhabit these cities by maintaining alternative markets and spaces in which housing and urban life are precarious and affordable. Some governmental interventions in the housing market intended to expand low-income housing have both increased the availability of housing for the poorest and affected the dynamics of auto construction. This might be more or less relevant in a South African post-apartheid context, because of the stately housing projects that are meant to impower people that were disadvantaged by the state during the Apartheid era.

However, Caldeira's (2017) argument is recognisable to what I have experienced in the Hazeldean community. Despite their grate abilities to changing and doing constructions on their houses, integrating and creating a community, negotiating, making informal jobs and collaborating with community members on neighbourhood watch etc. they are still living a completely different life and are still very segregated spatially, socially and economically from other social groups in Cape Town. Despite their creative ways of making lives, the past 20 years have not been showing much form of social mobility, in my opinion. Residents are feeling stuck and some of them are losing hope for a better future, which I will explain more in the next chapter. Looking at the broader picture, this seems to indicate how the formally abolished apartheid law is still appearing in the south African society and reproducing inequality between earlier racially defined groups, since the other social groups in Cape Town my interlocutors are segregated from have been segregated from them during the apartheid era.

Conclusion

Through empirical examples, in this chapter I have shown how my interlocutors employ highly varied strategies to gain access to basic needs such as water, electricity, roof over their heads and to attempt to acquire a sense of safety. These are all central aspects to what I have called the lived experience of South African housing policies.

I have further described South African housing policies formally, which for the most part is a process of realizing people's right to adequate housing, to empower poor people that have been disadvantaged by the Apartheid laws and policies. Despite the progressive politics and stately housing projects in South Africa, I have shown how the "one size fits all" standard of the houses showed little understanding for what it means to live in the houses or individual needs. As unhappiness with these housing policies has led to many protests, I have shown how according to Chance (2018) protests of "The poor" and its forces have affected sovereign territories despite its criminalization of the protesters, which indicates that marginalized groups of the South African population have political agency.

I have described how life in Hazeldean over the past 20 years have been a process of struggle to improve lives and access basic needs, that must be understood as reflecting the community itself, rather that stately hosing policies and NGO's involvements in the community. I have also tried to understand the resident's motivation to how they have been struggling to improve their lives and how they are doing this in practice. For one, the "dream house" has from my impression been a motivation. I have also tried to understand what the difference between a house and a home is, to better understand people's needs and criteria for a better standard of living.

In practice, I have shown how the residents have been improving their lives and accessed basic needs with different practices of *skarrelling*. They have also produced the space around them or the community which they are part of, which is how Caldeira (2017) understands urban development. In the process I have also shown how the residents become political agents.

Post-Apartheid communities like Hazeldean are often communities with many female headed households, which have according to Ross (2010) historical and political reasons. She claims that female headed households are often poor compared to those headed by men. Despite lack

of recourses, the women in Hazeldean have shown great abilities to create social links that are useful when basic needs are lacking. When it comes to doing necessary improvements on the houses or helping neighbor's in times of need due to crime etc., they have found creative ways and collaborated to access basic needs, which Ross is calling *skarrelling*.

At the same time, when residents have produced space and changed their community, they have also changed to become new kinds of residents that are political agents. My point is that residents in Hazeldean have become a part of a democratic proses where they as residents put forward their demands and invent approaches to social policy. In other words: In this chapter I have shown how residents in a Post-Apartheid community are experiencing the consequences of South African housing policy, but at the same time they are a part of a political process while they are shaping and developing their own community.

Chapter 4

Land rights/title deed:
Future-oriented waiting and *stuckness*

"It is twenty years later, and to still not have a title deed is disgusting…".
Lisa's powerful statement during the introduction meeting in Hazelden indicates there are
strong feelings related to issues of land rights, which this chapter will explore.

One of the central pre-fieldwork research questions guiding my project was: In what ways do
different groups of people – differentiated by class, race or gender – have varied access to
urban resources? Based on my fieldwork it seems clear that one such urban resource that has
appeared to be relevant, and one of the focus areas of this research, is property or land rights
which is also referred to as title deed in this case. In the South African context, title deeds are
the document that proves a person's legal ownership to a piece of land or property.

In this chapter I will address the importance of such rights by focusing on how residents in
Hazeldean are experiencing *not* having ownership to the houses they live in, i.e. lacking, then,
the vital urban resource of title deeds. To better understand and explain their situation I will
use the term *stuckness* that Andrew Jefferson et. al. (2018) understands as the sense of not
making progress and not seeing a future. Jefferson et.al. uses the term to describe the
interrelations of space and time in sites of confinement by focusing on the people who are
confined or stuck etc. and their everyday life and tactics to cope or escape. For me, this
resonates with how my informants have described their own situation of feeling stuck or in a
hopeless situation, but still trying every day to find hope and creative solutions to cope with
or escape their current situation of being landless. I will use interview materials I have
collected to give a deeper insight in their situation, and I will use Jefferson et. al.'s
understanding of *stuckeness* for comparison and analysis of my own data.

During my time doing fieldwork in Hazeldean in 2019, I noticed how time in various ways
and on different scales were important for the community. At one level this reflects a long
history of waiting for formalization: For, over the past 20 years people have been waiting,
fighting and negotiating for their title deeds. How do they live in a time of waiting, not

knowing what is ahead of them? In this chapter I will also explore what it means to live in such a form of temporality characterized by future-oriented waiting. One of my informants described their situation as being "tenants" which brings me to one of my key questions to explore through this chapter. What is it the effect of living in what may be experienced as a tenant for 20 years?

The last subpoint to this chapter will be to explore the fine line between the feeling of not seeing a future and being driven by hope for the future. I have informants that has expressed losing hope or giving up, and there are those who are driven by hope and are still waiting, attending meetings or simply relying on God. My main argument, however, is that issues of land rights are creating uncertainty about people's future, but also the future of their offspring.

Land rights in South Africa

When the 1913 Land Act was launched in South Africa, it defined only 13 percent of South African land as black reserves, and still today the white minority of the population own most of the best agricultural land in South Africa. It is a complex issue because land compromises many valuable elements such as volatile gases as well as organisms and minerals (Chance 2018).

Since 1994, the African National Congress has tried to change the architecture of Apartheid by providing formalized housing on a mass scale. As I have described in chapter 3, the post-Apartheid state has struggled to keep pace with the increasing demand (Chance 2018). The conflicts over land and its political heritage also plays out on the formal political arena, exemplified by the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), a South African far-left political party. EFF claims that the reason why the black majority is poor is due to their lack of property. EFF also claim that this is a result of colonization (effonline.org).

Under the colonial orders in South Africa, land and housing were treated as zones of social biological and agricultural reproduction. Houses were given away for free, but land was classified as currency or transaction. The post-apartheid land reform retained the principal of willingly selling and buying, which means that those involved in the transaction enter into voluntary contract. This was argued by the World Bank to be necessary to stimulate economic growth in South Africa. As a matter of practice, residents have been redistributing land by other means, especially informally occupying and creating homes upon it. Even though South

Africa's post-apartheid reforms tend to segregate land from housing, residents that the American anthropologist Kerry Ryan Chance talked to characterized them to be more belonging to each other. "A place to call home" was a slogan that the activist group Abahlali used that implied both land and housing (Chance 2018).

"iKaya" in South Africa, may be a place of private ownership or not, claims Chance (2018). It is an ability to remain or return, unlike property, which is defined in terms of rights and obligations. Chance argues that residents may experience a security of land tenure without ownership. Because, under traditional authority there are also systems of private property. However, colonial and postcolonial laws and policies have criminalized this kind of urban informality.

As I have described in the previous chapter land rights and housing has historically been a burning issue in South Africa. Unlike PEP, which is an organization working for improving living conditions of poor people, the organization Abahlali is more activist-oriented and are trying to democratize society from below.

Abahlali's city-wide Summit on land, housing and dignity from 2014 states:
> "we are clear that there will be no landlord or messiah that will deliver land or have all answers pertaining to land but ourselves. We are clear that it is sinister to be landless and homeless in a country that has produced multi-millionaires in this sector. We are clear that it is unreasonable to buy land that already belongs to you. We are clear that state land is our own land. We have been very clear that the social value of land must come before its commercial value. We are clear that land occupations are a form of land reform carried out from below. We are clear that without land and without decent housing our dignity is compromised. We are clear that without dignity our citizenry and humanity is at risk. We are clear that if we continue to pretend as if politicians will one day come up with a one size fits all solution, we will be self-deceiving. And yes, we are clear that one day our children and our next generation will put blame on us if this question of land is not resolved now." (Abahlali 2014 in Chance 2018:83).

Abahlali's statement above shows both dissatisfaction with the one size fits all solution which I problematized in the previous chapter, but also a concern for future generations, which I will explore further in this chapter. Abahlali says explicitly that the land already belongs to them.

So did the resident in Hazeldean, Lynn: "we are staying here with hope, it's our place. People are promising things."

Title deeds is the root to insecurities in people's lives
Hazeldean is according to PEP, a "stalled" housing and upgrading project, where the households do not have title deeds to their properties. One of PEP's projects in Hazeldean is facilitating the provision of formal title to the residents. As I have described more in detail in Chapter 3, PEP works to facilitate the provision of formal title in assisting the community with identifying the land and negotiating with local authorities. (Peoples Environmental Planning 2016).

As I have described in Chapter 3, PEP has been working with ACC on a research project to get a better understanding of housing developments in Hazeldean from the residents own point of view. PEP has many different projects in different areas and Townships, and they also have an office in Cape Town, where I first met, after contacting PEP. However, as I have not observed in detail how PEP work practically, my focus here is on people's experience of their work - also as my project in general focuses on urban housing politics from below.

I have tried to understand why title deeds are important for residents and how not having title deeds are making people feel and how it affects their lives. In Hazeldean, more than 20 years have now passed since the first inhabitants moved in, creating a community with their starter houses. Two decades after, they are still missing their title deed. I will try to argue how this is creating an insecurity in people's lives.

Transferring the land to the residents has been a long process, but they still don't see any changes, which has been a big disappointment to many. People have expressed that without their title deeds, they feel like they are more limited and that they are without opportunities such as moving, changing or improving their house, or have anything to pass on to their children.

To better understand why people are experiencing insecurity of not having title deeds to their house, I think it is important to understand that a house could also be seen as a site for reproduction of household and kinship, which I believe is an important factor to why residents

are concerned that not having title deeds will also affect their children's future and other kin relations.

Ross studies in the post-Apartheid community "The Park" shows that people experience difficulties of sustaining families and caring properly for children in conditions of poverty. When Ross spoke to the residents in The Park between 1995 and 2000 about their expectations of new housing, many had spoken about their desires to create nuclear families or to stabilize two-generational female-headed households (Ross 2010). This gives indication that the house is important for kin relations, and also is similar to households in Hazeldean were many are female-headed and where many do or aspire to have two-generational households, which was described more in detail in Chapter 3.

Ross explains that people's effort in forming their households are directed at creating and consolidating relationships, at making homes, stablishing domestic relations, ensuring the continuities of homesteads, securing genealogical relations over time, and so on. She explains that our attempts are directed towards relationships: they entail practiced emotional and material investment over time (Ross 2010: 91).

The title deeds, according to my informant Fezile, normally come from the city council which he claims is a long process. The residents in Hazeldean who are attempting to get their title deeds are usually attending meetings about land transfer regularily. Zandile's mother told me that herself and the other residents are busy negotiating about the land transfer in the meetings where people from Hazeldean and a guy from land affairs that are advising them what to do. However, according to Zandile's mother, the Utjani fund is still delaying the transfer: "In the beginning we were told that this is our land. This is our center. But as the years go, they changed the story. That thing is painful for us, because this is not the house I was dreaming of, but I had to take it."

My other interlocutor Susan told me she went to meetings in Hazeldean with the SAHPF. She went to these meetings for eight years, but nothing happened: "I sacrificed for this house. Years of meetings, and what do we get? I came all this time for meetings. Whatever.

Stuckness: no opportunity to move on

After speaking to several interlocutors in Hazeldean, the general impression is that they are unhappy with the situation they are living in, and one of the biggest issues for them is the fact that they don't have ownership to the houses. Like Lisa told me, she claims to live in fear because she can't sell her house and move. "We are locked to this place now".

Drawing on perspectives from Andrew Jefferson et.al, who understands *stuckness* not simply to be a product or effect, but as a phenomenon that needs further explanation. In their perspective, to be existentially and socially stuck is not just a question of being suck in place but equally about being stuck in time. It is the sense of not making progress, of not seeing a future, which leads to a sense of the term they use; *stuckness* that may linger and endure, shaping people's lives in significant ways. They argue that confined lives are worth further explanations (Jefferson et.al 2018).

I interviewed Mama Themba in her house, who has been living in Hazeldean for 19 years, waiting to receive her title deeds. When we were sitting in her living room, and her kids were sitting next to us, watching TV, she told me that her mother-in-law got the house after she had joined the federation. I asked Mama Themba how she felt about not having title deeds and she replied:

> "I'm not comfortable because if I want to sell this house, I can't. I feel bad. Title deeds is important because I want to own this house. One day I will pass away, and I have nothing to pass to my kids. I don't think I have a future here; I want to go back to Eastern Cape".

Mama Themba was unfortunately without the opportunity to move back to the Eastern Cape, where she originally came from. As I have explained previously in Chapter 3, state housing projects after Apartheid's resolution tends to allocate families (Chance 2018). This example shows how the issue of land rights is making people stuck and not able to move back to where they desire to live.

Jefferson et. al (2018) explains how the experience of *stuckness* is not simply an expression of physical confinement and spatial closure, but expresses the way people make sense of confining dynamics and practices. For them, the ultimate stake is the connection or opposition

between involuntary confinement and forced mobility one the one hand, and desired place-making and the freedom to move on the other.

Residents in Hazeldean are people who could, in my opinion, be said to be confined or trapped against their will regarding to Jefferson et. al.'s (2018) definition. Not because anyone is forcing them to stay or that they are physically locked inside a spatial area, but because they are without the opportunity to leave, which many of my informants claim they would have done if they had title deeds. If we look back in time and look at the history of South Africa, those deemed black and colored were forced to move out of wealthier areas because of the Apartheid law, and they are still living in townships which have been declared as black and colored areas by the Apartheid law. Regardless of NGO's and stately welfare projects in these areas, the majority of the black and colored people in the South African society are still in the same areas that the Apartheid law forced them to. It is safe to say this is valid for my interlocutors in Hazeldean as well.

On the other side, Jefferson et. al. (2018) state there is also another element to take into consideration, namely people's desired place making and freedom to move. People who desire to occupy particular places, to make homes, to build legacies for their children or to move, in pursuit of fresh opportunities and new challenges. These are aspects relatable to things my informants have told me.

One night when I was visiting Zandile's family, me and Zandile went to visit their neighbor Lynn. We had a conversation while we were sitting in the living room. Lynn started talking after she and Zandile shared some stories about the crime they have been exposed to during their time living in Hazeldean:

> "I want my title deed. Soon I will be 60 and I haven't got a title deed. I stayed 25 years; I still don't have it. I would not sell this house, because I worked hard for it. I would rent it out and go to look after my mom in Eastern Cape. I want to make my house a family house. My children live in a shack, so they want to come stay in this house".

Lynn here eminently (and painfully) shows a great example of peoples desired place making in pursuit of fresh opportunities. Also, her statement shows the element of the house as a site

for reproduction of family and kin relations. The importance of title deeds seems to be mostly motivated by residents' kin relations.

Experience of hopelessness being politicized

As I mentioned in Chapter 3, according to Du Toit (2004, in Ross 2010) landless unemployed are poor because of their relative exclusion from the formal economy as well as their political marginality. Chance who has been working among urban poor in various South African cities argues that we can analyze how residents of shack settlements use their material lives to make political platforms. She argues that this way we can better understand democracy as a lived concept in the thin roofed houses, in for example where she worked, in the Kennedy Road settlement in Durban. (Chance 2018). Kennedy road is a 40-year-old settlement in Durban, where systems of informal tenure means that residents "own" or "rent" their homes and the land beneath them, but by law the land belongs to the government. In an urban shack settlement like this, residents have been occupying in numbers to establish power over the territory, which means that the residents are living in an unforeseen future. If a new governing order will be established, forced evictions can occur to reset interactions of power in shack settlements (Chance 2018).

By looking at interactions between residents and state agents, Chance (2018) examines how material properties such as land are used in everyday tactics of community building among the urban poor. Similar to Caldeira (2017) explained in Chapter 3, Chance (2018) claims that "the poor" transform themselves and their urban environment and become legible to state agents. Chance considers how the urban poor collectively mobilize and identify with each other.

Unlike Chance's interlocutors, my informants do not engage in large-scale protest, nor do they live in a shack settlement per se. However, - I think the experience of hopelessness they are feeling of living in a house that is not in their name, in a land that they think *should* belong to them, but legally does not, are similar. Further, how they collectively express their dissatisfaction and use the land to develop and transform a post-apartheid community, is something they might have in common.

Like most other settlements, and the Hazeldean community, the majority of those living in Kennedy Road are unemployed, and those with jobs typically work on a casual or temporary

basis and rely on pensions and other state agents to survive. The Kennedy Road settlement has been an ANC stronghold since 1994. During early Abahali protests, residents often wore red T-shirts with the slogan "No land, No house, No vote." Except protest with clear messages like the example above, Chance explains that using the land to collectively identify and transform housing infrastructure practices that make the urban poor seen and heard in the city, is not directed towards effective policing, but towards establishing a home (Chance 2018).

Land is central to what Chance, invoking an Africanist and vitalist metaphor, calls "living politics" because residents use it to enact sovereignty and sustain their homes. For the residents that Chance spoke with, are not bound to the land in an ontological way but, instead, the land has historical meaning with concrete effects on the future. Chance show how residents use the land to construct, gain access to, and transform post-apartheid housing (Chance 2018). As for my informants in Hazeldean, they are not bound to the land or feeling a sense of belonging. Many of them long to go back to where they came from before they moved to Hazeldean. However, they have made it clear that the land belongs to them. They were promised it, and the right to the land or the title deeds to their houses is for them, necessary to move forward and have a better future.

Temporality and insecurity

Some of the residents in Hazeldean have waited so long, that they have given up hoping for their title deed and stopped going to meetings about land transferring. One of my interlocutors told me how scary it is to live in such uncertainty because they have a lack of control of their own future. Jefferson et.al (2018) argue that we need to understand how temporality animates *stuckness* as an important dimension of confinement, where death is the ultimate temporal boundary. They want to focus on the empirical question of how structures of *stuckness*, confinement and forced mobility impact on the possibilities of "making life".

A lot of my fieldwork has dealt with how people have been integrating in the Hazeldean community, improving their houses and creating basic needs for having good living conditions. I believe that these aspects, which were prominent in my material, can be referred to what Jefferson et. al. (2018) is calling "making life". As I have shown in Chapter 3, people have invested a lot of effort, time, different types of work, constructing and so on, during their time living in the Hazeldean community. These things could be people helping each other

building houses and doing constructions like building a fence or getting a water tap in the house, integrating in the community or raising children. With that said, they have also been limited in resources, and people have expressed how not having their title deeds have affected their possibilities to achieve their dream house. All the effort they have been giving in the uncertainty of their future and in a land that is not in their name. What are the consequences if they cannot say that this piece of land belongs to them?

One day me and Zandile went to her neighbor Lisa to interview her. I had met her earlier during my fieldwork. At that time, we had a long conversation about Lisa and her daughter's life in Hazeldean. This time I had asked her to talk about the crime in Hazeldean and title deeds especially. Lisa seemed to not have faith in the negotiations about land transferring. She shared with us her feelings of living in fear and feeling like a tenant. Based on her statements in this interview, the consequences of living in Hazeldean – a land that legally does not belong to them seems to be causing fear, stress and sleepless nights, for Lisa and most likely her fellow neighbors. Lisa said:

> "We want to leave because we live with fear in our own house, and we feel like tenants in our own land that we worked hard for. Last time I was in Community meeting about title deed, Paul was telling us we could get title deeds if we give a piece of land to him, there with the church. Then they could push the city of Cape Town to hand over our title deeds and our substitutes. They say we are not the owners of the land; it belongs to Utjani. We want to own something. Now we live in fear because we cannot sell this place and leave. We are locked to this place now. It is worrying me. I am very stressed, and I can't sleep because Utjani can say anytime that we must move out because it does not belong to us. Utjani and Paul, they work together. They are crooks. I want my title deed, soon I will be 60 and I haven't got a title deed. I stayed 25 years. I still don't have it. I would not sell this house, because I worked hard for it. I would rent it out and go look after my mom in Eastern Cape. I want to make my house a family house. My children live in a shack, so they want to come stay in this house."

In Hazeldean I had only one male informant, whom I believe had a bit more outsider perspective on the community then my other interlocutors. Fezile was renting a room in a family's house in Hazeldean, to save money while he was working. He was a young, single

Xhosa man in his 30's, who I came in contact with because he was friends with Zandile and they were also neighbor's. Fezile had some interesting perspectives on the title deed situation in Hazeldean and his viewpoints differed from many others – as those we have seen above. For one, he was critical of how much time people spend waiting for their title deeds. Fezile told me that the title deeds normally come from the city council and is a long process:

> "It can take more than five years, probably it's a lot of work. My cousin just got his after waiting for six years. Most of the people that have that issue didn't buy their property, it was handed down to them by the government. The government are being too slow, they should do more. They should do it as a project." He continued: "Nothing should make them uncomfortable. They should not be anxious because the government probably don't have enough manpower for the process, so they should just be patient. When people have been waiting for 20 years, what are they waiting for? It's going to take time. …they are waiting because they were promised it, but no government can give to so many people. It takes time and it's a process that will go on for so many years. So, I think people should start build for themselves and stop waiting for the government to give them houses. Give them jobs, not houses"

From how I understood Fezile, he thinks that the government has given people empty promises that have resulted in people waiting for (maybe) no reason, that has resulted in people spending time waiting, when they could focus more realistic and forward-looking things. Also, from how I interpret what Fezile said, he is blaming the South African government for people being misled into a constant battle for their title deeds, which for many can end up being a lost case. Instead of focusing on sensible tings as getting people jobs.

Despite that Fezile believes people are spending time waiting unnecessary, according to Jefferson et. al. (2018), people think of time through relations because people invest in time collectively and for others. people project themselves through time via relationships and across generations. They explain that relationships with significant others are infused with obligations which always exist across time. The hope for a different future, and the fear that they may be no other future, is often seen as an individual thing, but Jefferson et. al. (2018) explains that while individuals may see no way out of the present situation of being stuck, they continue to struggle for the sake of their offspring. This reminds me of the first introduction in Hazeldean during the ACC project, when residents were speaking during the

introduction meeting: "If the land can be transferred, I can sell my house and go to Eastern Cape. It's too much crime here. We don't want our children to suffer like us".

If we say that being an eternal tenant means to be waiting for title deeds until death, how do they find hope? Jefferson et. al. (2018) explains that the most extreme form of temporal *stuckness* is the threatening presence of death. As for my informants that are getting older and fear that they will be waiting until they die, worrying about how that will have consequences for their children and other kin relations.

Hope and future

My interlocutors spends much time worrying about their future. As I have mentioned previously in this chapter, some people are scared that they in a worst case scenario will not get title deeds before they die and will have nothing to pass on to their children. However, there is also hope in my interlocutors' lives. As I showed in the previous chapter, even Miriam who at the time was 78 years old and widowed, did not lose hope that someone would help her to get ownership of her house and that someday she will be able to leave Hazeldean, to a new quieter and safer place, to the promised land of the Eastern Cape.

It is hard for people to not have title deed if they do not live in the type of house they wanted, because they were forced to take what they got, because it was their only option. As I have mentioned earlier, several of my informants have told me that they feel like they are renting their house, and this made me wonder how that affects their hopes for achieving what they understand as their dream house, which I have discussed in chapter 3. According to my interlocutors, if they owned their house, they could have done more with the house they have, and also sell it.

For people who are confined or stuck, the present is limited in options and possibilities and the future is unknown. *Stuckness* as Jefferson et. al. (2018) suggests it, is not a choice, but is given and for many *stuckness* is a curse. However, many people with such curse deal with that curse in a form of hope.

According to Jefferson et. al. (2018) Hope is perceived by some scholars as imagining a better, distant future which enables the individual to suffer in the present. Ghassan Hage (2016) however argues that hopefulness is a disposition to be confined in the face of the

future, being open to what the future will bring, even if one does not know what that might be. Jefferson et. al. understands anticipation to be an imbodied practice or a subtle sensing of what the future holds.

The anthropologist Ghassan Hage (2016), who has worked with questions concerning future-politics and hope explains that it is common to say that hope is a relation to the future and suggests that hope is a technology of constructing the future in the process of relating to it. However, what does it actually mean to "relate" to the future? People are faced with questions of ambivalence and uncertainty. Why do we for instance speak of hope sometimes in terms of "daring to hope"? What does this daring refer to in terms of fear or attachment to an outcome? According to Hage (2016), another example to complicate what "relate" to the future means, is that this relation is a mixture of the temporal and the spatial in the imaginary of peoples hope. Which is similar to Jefferson et. al's (2018) understanding of *stuckness*, which also has both temporal and spatial aspects. Relation to the future is temporal because it is a relation to a different time, but it is also a relation to a different space. Every salvation has its paradise, claims Hage (2016), who refers to an example of the imaginary of migration, which has the temporal "I hope it will be different later", or the spatial dimension: "I hope it will be different over there."

One of the many conversations I had with my main contact in Hazeldean, Zandile shows, in my opinion, how her relation to the future is both temporal and spatial. The example I will describe below shows how the houses have poor standard, which makes the houses particularly vulnerable for flooding during heavy rain which creates problems for the residents. Such problems related to the standard of the houses are also described in chapter 3.

Problems such as the poor standard of the houses, lack of title deeds and lack of safety, naturally makes people feel more stuck. Because the present situation is limiting people, Jefferson et. al.'s (2018) suggestion is that people use hope to cope with such inconvenient situations and continue to struggle for the sake of their offspring, which I think my interlocutor Zandile shows a great example of.

In May 2019, I spent a night in Hazeldean and the neighboor community Vukuzenzele with Zandile. I first came to Vukuzenzele, which is walking distance to Hazeldean, where PEP is also involved with one of their projects. I meet Zandile there before we went to her aunt's

place. Her auntie was packing to go to New Crossroads for the night because there had been a leak in the bedroom upstairs. Zandile followed me upstairs to show me. The bed was turned over on the side against the wall because it was soaked, and they had an electric heater there to dry the room. I could smell the moisture in the room.

The next morning, I talked with Zandile about her 11-year-old son. He had already gone to school. She told me that he is good at school and how smart he is: "I want to buy a house in the suburbs, because I don't want him to stay in this neighbourhood. It is not good, and I want him to go to university. But I need to get the right job, maybe catering, but I am not registered for that". Zandile was sad that as much as she wanted to have a job and an income, she was now 30 and could not find any available jobs for her.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have explored what are the effects of living like a "tenant" for 20 years. To understand what it means to live in Hazeldean without title deeds, I have shown the relevance of temporality and the impact of a history of waiting and negotiating; a struggle to get their promised title deeds and a fight for a better future and hope.

I have contextualized land rights issues with examples from Apartheid history. When The 1913 Land Act was launched in South Africa, it defined only 13 percent of South African land as black reserves, and still the white minority of the population own most of the best agricultural land in South Africa. I also explained how the Apartheid regime classified land as currency, while houses were given for free after the resolution (Chance 2018). I have explained how residents may have a different understanding of land than the state, which might be a root to some of the conflicts regarding land rights.

Further, I have shown, with empirical examples, how landlessness and lacking title deeds are a major insecurity in people's lives in today's post-Apartheid society. I understand lands rights and title deeds as an urban resource, which without – people are being disadvantaged. In chapter 2, I explained how people's mobility were limited in different ways in relation, in particular, to urban spaces. In this chapter I show how people's social mobility over time are less accessible. Crucially, no title deeds mean for my informants in Hazeldean that they have no opportunities to move, are less able to change or improve their house, or fear not having anything to pass on to their children.

Thus, I have tried to explain how the title deeds struggle is creating insecurity over time and also impact the future and future generations. I used Jefferson et. al's. (2018) *stuckness* to better understand and give meaning to my informant's expressions of insecurities and frustrations. The term *stuckness* is equally about being stuck in time as it is being stuck in space. My informants longing for fresh opportunities in a different place than Hazeldean, which in many cases has been motivated by kin relations is in my opinion empirical examples of what *stuckness* is about.

Even though my informants are not doing any types of violent protests, which are common in Post-Apartheid's political climate, I have shown how in Hazeldean, residents are collectively expressing dissatisfaction. Kerry Chance's (2018) work shows that the urban poor identifies with each other and mobilize to become state agents. This collectively expression of dissatisfaction is what Chance (2018) understands as peoples experience of hopelessness is being politicized. In chapter 3, I also showed how residents change over time.

In residents' feelings of hopelessness and frustration, there is a temporality related to these feelings and the struggles for land rights. For Jefferson et.al. (2018), death is the ultimate temporal boundary, and *stuckness* impact on possibilities of making life. However, I have explained that while individuals may see no way out of the present situation, they continue to struggle for the sake of their offspring.

This chapter is therefore also about hope. I have explained that because people think of time through their relations, that is in some cases how they continue to have hope. Hope is understood differently by different scholars but is commonly understood as different ways to relate to the future. Hage (2016) claims that relation to the future is temporal: relation to a different time. But, as I have shown drawing on my interlocutors, relation to the future is also spatial – a potential - relation to a different space.

My empirical data shows that my informants hope is future oriented and also kin related. They are hoping that their offspring's future is in another place that is better. What I have tried to argue through this chapter is that these relations to future and hope are consequences of being confined or stuck, or what some informants have described as living like "tenants"

Chapter 5

Safety:

Uncertainty in the present and stereotypes

Introduction

One of the biggest changes' residents in Hazeldean have seen during the past 20 years, is the experienced increased amount of crime they are now exposed to. In conversations with me, many residents did not only point to a general increase in crime - which can also be found in statistics from across South Africa, as South Africa's department for statistics shows that the general level of crime in South Africa has increased in 2016-2018 (statssa.gov 2018) – but instead pointed to Hazeldean's immediate surroundings: People started noticing a higher amount of crime and feeling more insecure in the community and in their homes after, as previously mentioned, an informal settlement known as Ramaphosa emerged next to them in 2017. This area has numbers of Shacks, now inhabiting more people than Hazeldean.

I have had many conversations and interviews with my informants about safety and crime. As I have also dealt with above, I have myself also experienced, during my field work, feeling unsafe traveling back and forth to Hazeldean, in addition to when I have been staying in the area. What I want to explore in this chapter is how people approach crime and how they try to create safety, living in an unsafe area such as Hazeldean in Philippi.

While, as I have shown above, the issue of title deeds and land rights, is about uncertainty over time and uncertainty about the future, issues related to crime and safety is more about uncertainty in the present. I will argue in this chapter, using my informants' stories, how specific events and situations create a more acute uncertainty for people's life and their safety. As Kevin Birth (2012) explains, the artifactual determination of time represent the sedimentation of generations of solutions to different temporal problems. Current ideas of years, weeks, hours etc. are examples of ideas that are useful in measuring durations of what happens in our world.

In order to address such issues, the following questions guide: What is necessary for residents to create safety? For instance, how and why does the community organize a so-called neighborhood watch? Is this a result of an absent state where the police force does not give people any sense of safety? I will also explain how issues related to concerns about safety could be legacies from the Apartheid era and that racial politics may also affect how safety issues unfold and create stereotypes. Addressing this issue, I will show how crime has historical and political aspects, and is closely related to race, class and gender. Analyzing dynamics in Hazeldean, I will contrast with and make use of Steffen Jensen's ethnography (Jensen 2008) that explores the actions of male and female residents, gangs, police officers and local government officials as they negotiate the processes of democratic transition and violent crime, but which in the late 1990's appeared increasingly threatened by insecurity and impending chaos. I will use the term *skollie* which refers to a colored man who is embodying danger. I will specifically go in to the origins of such figure of crime (Jensen 2008).

Finally, I will argue that crime in Hazeldean is a societal problem – despite the fact that fear, in some cases is also individualized – and underline this by also explaining how residents also stive towards creating safety as a community by organizing so-called a neighborhood watch system. As in previous chapters, I will also here make use of Ross's (2010) term "skarrelling" which are tactics and creative solutions to access basic needs, while recourses are limited, to support my argument. In this chapter I will also argue that crime is not only a societal problem, but more specifically a gendered problem. I will explain how stereotypes, makes colored men according to Steffen Jensen (2008) the problem, while women being victims to violent crime, has according to the United Nations (2015), almost become an acceptable phenomenon in South Africa.

Apartheid's racial politics and poverty

While the Apartheid regime was disadvantaging black and colored people with racial politics and racially defined rights, black and colored people are still being disadvantaged due to their lack of access to basic human needs. Fezile, who I introduced in the previous chapter, told me why he thinks the white people in South Africa are so much more successful than the black people. I think his statement is an agrument for the fact that it is difficult to come out of poverty and the challenges that comes with poverty, such as safety issues and crime, which according to him are taking peoples time and energy.

"If you are white and grow up here, all you have to worry about is what you are going to study. They don't have to worry about safety etc., a lot of the black people have to worry about basic human needs, and therefore it is difficult for them to be able to use their creativity. When your mind is always hooked up in worrying about basic human needs, it does not allow you to use your creativity".

Ross's findings from an in-depth study decency, housing and everyday life in a post-Apartheid community indicate the enormous socio-economic differences that exist and persist in South Africa. It can, thus, be said that Apartheid still exists in the society of South Africa (Ross 2010). Not through law, but through class. The background for this statement is that a large number of the African population are still poor, after their properties were taken over by whites during apartheid. The anthropologist Kerry Ryan Chance were told stories during her work in the South African city Durban, about how evictions from land have been a struggle between residents and state agents for decades and making life secure in slums historically have been an important issue for South African governance (Chance 2018: 6).

Cape Town is no exception, and Ross claims that the city remains largely segregated through class and racial lines because of the long-standing divisions between those who benefitted from the advantages of the Apartheid law, and those who sought to establish their lives in the areas the Apartheid law had earlier locked them to. As Ross details, residents in such areas struggle with ongoing humiliations of being poor in a context where job security seems to be undermined by neo-liberal economic policies. Ross explains that social relationships are shaped by poverty's cruelty and violence, impending also on basic everyday interactions (Ross 2010: 4).

Ross explains in her book that the way people deal with humiliations and poverty must be understood in the context of colonialism and Apartheid's history, that have made many peoples life difficult. According to Ross, one of the ways poor people deal with the difficulties they experience in their life is through drug use and alcohol dependence which produce even greater lack of opportunities. There are also high rates of domestic and other forms of violence (Ross 2010:7).

82

As I have mentioned earlier, the increasing amount of crime in Hazeldean started after the so-called informal settlement known as Ramaphosa appeared next to Hazeldean. Informal settlements are commonly occurring in South African cities. Chance (2018) explains that where governments have failed to provide available and affordable land and housing, the urban poor have constructed their own dwellings, complex rental schemes, property agreements and communal lives. As I have explained in chapter 3, Caldeira's work on auto construction shows how *the poor* commonly are constructing their own living spaces before an area is urbanized in formal sense. She argues that during such processes of constructions of houses, neighbourhoods and developing cities, many people become citizens and political agents (Caldeira 2017).

In Hazeldean, residents are usually blaming people from this particular area called Ramaphosa for the crime they are experiencing. According to Jensen (2008) "the other side" is commonly representing a more violent territory then "this side", and that space expresses other identity markers like respectability, gender or class. Chance explains how space is not a preexisting or empty container, but is rather lived, made and remade. Those without formalized housing, who might desire and await government to deliver housing and land, are not waiting passively. Rather their activities constitute an autonomous capacity for generating not only economic growth, but also specific infrastructures for their lives in the city (Chance 2018:90). In Hazeldean, the Ramaphosa people have stolen things, money and electricity from the residents.

In Cape Town or in townships in general, informal settlements are known to be dangerous and also where *skollies* live and operate. Steffen Jensen (2008) explains how Apartheid policy impacted on the possibility of producing livable communities and especially on those embodying the "danger", i.e. colored men in townships. As an indication of the power of this Apartheid invention, many townships residents, men and women, have internalized the *skollie* stereotype. Although most were clearly not *skollies*, many accepted the existence of an abstract colored man as a problem. The colored man according to Jensen, is the object of political struggle and identification. Even though real-life personalities are more complex individuals, people still relate to this figure when they engage with dominant society and relate to other people in the township. Jensen states that the *skollie* is a paradoxical figure: "While nobody is him, he is potentially everybody" (Jensen 2008: 5).

The Apartheid regime created a categorization system, which made citizens readable in different categories. Apartheid powers created categorizations based on race and ethnicity, and also stereotypes such as the *skollie*. As I explained in chapter 2, Foucault (1995[1986]) thinks that society produces a discourse of "truths", and that the effects of this power: bodies, gestures, discourses etc. is also reproducing these truths. In other words, power relations in society can produce certain identities such as the *skollie* with production and circulation of a discourse.

Jensen (2008) claims that the government and bureaucracies in South Africa took the *skollie* and made him real or objectified him. In the eyes of the government, the *skollie* destabilized families, committed crimes and was unemployable. While the apartheid regime used force and violence against the city's non-white population, the production of the *skollie* identity can be seen as a more productive and subtler form of power. In other words, from my understanding of Jensen, the Apartheid regime used its power to produce an identity that people would blame for violence and force that was actually a result of Apartheid wrongs.

Jensen explains how this use of power happened more specifically; when the apartheid regime forcibly removed thousands of coloreds from the inner city, it also produced colored spaces. Also, when it puts generations of men behind bars, it produces a particular form of criminality. This form of productive power assumes the superiority of certain groups over others. The *skollie* represented all that was wrong. Jensen argues that the Apartheid dominance in Cape Town was articulated and turned in to politics and intervention through race, class and gender (Jensen 2008), and that in post-Apartheid South Africa, the state no longer oppresses people because of their skin color or removes them because they live in an area set aside for other racial groups. However, in the post-Apartheid era the *skollie* continue to animate official government reports and polices. He continues to function as one of the implicit benchmarks for understanding coloreds.

However, the individual's behavior and actions, who Foucault understands as subjects of the society or social bodies, must be seen as the effect of power (Foucault 1995[1986]). In a South African crime context, you could see the behaviors of the so-called *skollies* and victims of crime as the effect of Power in South Africa. In this chapter, I will show empirical examples from Hazeldean to show how residents talk about criminals and crime in general,

and also how their actions, that are aimed to create safety can be seen as results of power relations in the Post-Apartheid South Africa.

To make an analytical use of the notion of *skollie* and how the post-Apartheid society is producing this stereotype, I want to show some of my informants who are originally from colored communities' attitudes towards criminals. Clara, who is a colored woman living in Hazeldean and one of Zandile's neighbors who they have good contact with, originally came from Manenberg, a township in Cape Town where she was living in a backyard there with her sister. When I talked to her in her house in Hazeldean, which for instance was very small with broken windows and had only one room, she told me: "I am still glad I have this house, because if my children would grow up where I'm from, they would probably be gunmans.(sic!)"

From how I understood Clara, for her it is better to live and race her children in Hazeldean, despite some materially difficult circumstances, the community in itself is a better and safer environment to live in than where she originally came from, and that her children would turn out differently if they grow up there. From my understanding, I think Clara's statement says something about a different harsher environment in colored communities. Jensen explains that the life of many colored men was harsh, involving hard manual labor, extensive drug and alcohol abuse, violence and extended stays in prison. Also, he explained how many accepted the existence of an abstract-colored man as a problem, they did not, however, accept the stereotype as an image of themselves, but rather split the idea of the problematic colored man from the concept of self. (Jensen 2008). I think also this applies to Clara. However, there are uncertainties of living in Hazeldean as well, according to my informants' stories.

Crime in Hazeldean and racial politics: Sophies Story

Sophie, who was introduced in chapter 3 as the chairperson of the community, is perhaps the resident in Hazeldean, who have been sharing most stories and opinions about safety with me and my research partners during the ACC research project.

Sophie, who appeared as a kind and open person, I soon discovered she also had tougher sides to her personality. She and her family who also came from a colored community, to Hazeldean which is mostly amaXhosa, experienced both inclusion and some challenges bringing up children and integration in the community. Sophie said that her daughter didn't mix with

anybody. She explained to us that one of her daughters had a lighter skin tone than the rest of her family, which made her stand out in Hazeldean: "My daughter was light skinned like you, and a boy living here was saying "White bitch, what are you doing here?" I went to see the mother and told her that we are not here to visit, we are here to stay. And this white bitch is staying!"

Sophie told us that when she spoke to the boy that had offended her daughter, she told him that even though she was not from here, she came from a gangster area, and that she knew about "gangsters". She looked in our eyes and told us: "This is how you have to talk to this people". As I have mentioned, Sophie was originally from a coloured community, that she referred to as a "gangster area", and she used a reference to her former area of residents when navigating the social arenas in Hazeldean. As I explained in chapter 1, the different racial categories in south Africa defined a person's place in the society to achieve "racial purity" (Posel 2001). The already culturally different groups of those deemed "black and "coloured" were spatially divided, and the distinction between them is important aspects to understand todays issues, especially in relation to safety and danger.

However, Sophies navigation of social arenas in Hazeldean is not uncommon: As Steffen Jensen explains, notions of danger often rely on stereotypes of race, gender and class that date back centuries, which is as true of Cape Town as anywhere else. His book "Gangs, Politics & Dignity in Cape Town" traces how township people try to maintain dignity in the face of hardship and danger. It also explains how large political, economic and cultural forces determined the fate of coloreds in Cape Town. The Apartheid state placed colored's in Cape Town in a buffer zone between whites and Africans. The emerging capitalist economy of the Western Cape demanded cheap labor for industry and agriculture. Also, a combination of the legacy of colonialism and racism meant that attitudes towards colored's were permanented by racial discourses (Jensen 2008).

However, my interlocutors did not say anything to me about peoples *race* when they have been exposed to crime, but that the robbers had spoken Afrikaans to them, which is the language colored's in Cape Town usually speak. When Sophie shared her story, her focus was more about the traumatic experience for her family and how the community can create safety.

When we talked about Sophie's house, while having an interview with the woman herself in her living room, she told us that in year 2000, when they moved in, they brought the things they had from before. But they lost a lot of these things because of robberies:

> "We had a lot of robberies, 3 times with guns, they took everything. It was like a movie, and my children were traumatized. The first time I was at a meeting with the federation. We were all victims there. My friends lost their rings, and the robbers took everything in our house. Our curtains and pillows, and whatever was in the fridge. The community brought us stuff after the robbery, and I hope the robbers are dead now. They were influenced by drugs, and it was scary. I was scared they would rape my children. They were only here for about 10 minutes, but it felt like an hour. The second time we were watching a movie in our house, and BANG! The door opened, and they wanted to steal money or cellphones. When they came in here, they spoke Afrikaans because they knew about us. We lost a lot and it takes time to get things back. I can just wish they are dead. Some of the robbers are so stubborn also. They won't talk, so one time someone tied them on the railway for the train to finish them".

Sophie explained that it is not easy to recover after experiencing something like that. She told us that most of the people here are victims of crime. As I will elaborate on below, they have neighborhood watch, but it is falling apart, so they need to find ways to improve. We asked Sophie if she thinks PEP should do something to make the community safer, and she told us that she doesn't think PEP can help them with this. She said that she thought the community has to figure out how to come up with safety: "You need to make yourself safe and make gates. They sometimes break these, but when you know there is crime because your neighbor screams, you are scared to help, because then you could also get in danger".

Sophie went on, trying to explain to us why the community need to create their own safety:

> "Only one police maybe come patrolling around, but the police don't sleep here, we do. And we need to make ourselves safe. The neighborhood watch can work with the police. They could get a special number from the police to call. But the neighborhood watch could also fool you. They could pretend to patrol the house and come in to talk, so they must go for training".

Sophie's husbands were sitting next to her in the couch and added to her story about the crime. He said he is not scared of crime anymore, even though Sophie makes it clear that she disagrees with him. They start fighting about this, and it was obvious that this annoyed her. She told us that anyone who has been robbed will be afraid. She continued and said that even though you are scared, you overcome the fear. "This is my home, and I want to stay and make it safe".

Sophie's story shows how uncertain the situation in Hazeldean is. Residents are living in a community where they know that robbers can break in their doors any time, and that the chances are high. To answer some of my questions guiding this chapter, I think Sophie's story answers to what is necessary for residents to create safety? She claims very clearly that the residents are the best for the task, but that police should do more to help them to achieve safety. Further, I will explain how the residents collaborate and create safety with neighborhood watch.

Electricity robberies in Hazeldean

During the time I was conducting my field work in 2019, the community was experiencing an electricity crisis. In May 2019, residents in hazeldean claimed that people from Ramaphosa started stealing electricity from residents in Hazeldean.

The first time I came to Hazeldean after they had started having problems with the electricity, I was told that people from Ramaphosa had taken a wire to their electricity box to steal their electricity, and the wire went right over their roof, which was a problem because the power was now overloaded, and with the wire on top of their house, it could start burning any time. I came to Hazeldean the day after they got the wire attached to their house. I was supposed to come the day before, but Zandile was unable to see me because she had to rush to the sub council (someone who will ensure that the council services meet community needs) because of the electricity crisis. Zandile recounted the story:

> "The Ramaphosa people stole electricity from the danger (electricity box), then they
> took their wire on top of theirs, over the roof to steal the electricity. It is too much for
> the wire, and it starts burning over our roof. Mama and sister need to patrol because it
> is overpowering the electricity and always burning. At night they must be out with the
> kids because they are afraid to be burned by the electricity fire.

Before the community people were controlling until they stopped stealing, but now they start again. Each and every one has to go out to patrol, especially at night. Ramaphosa people look in daytime to see what they can steal, and they can come back in night-time to steal it. The community people are the ones that are in control of that. 2 days ago, we were sleeping, and we woke up because people were screaming because the wire was burning, and it was like it was lightning on top of our roof. So, we had to take out the kids in the middle of the night. We were scared to be burned. We were standing outside for hours. We called the electricity agency, and they said that they could not fix it because it was too dangerous. They took their complain to someone that could fix it, but it is still not fixed. We are still waiting for them to come fix it, and we cannot patrol every night because we get sick. I feel very bad and deeply hurt. When we came here, we did not have electricity, but we waited until 2007 until we got it, and we did not steal from anybody. Last night I was so hurt by this. Maybe one day when they get their own electricity it will get better. It feels like we are tenants now because we are not in control of the house we live in".

Zandile explained how she feels hurt by the electricity robbery because how she and her neighbours have waited for years to get their electricity and never stole from anyone else. I don't know who the people from Ramaphosa that stole the electricity are, but according to Steffen Jensen (2008), for almost hundred years, notions of danger, violence and moral transgression in Cape Town partly revolved around the figure of the *skollie*, which is an Afrikaans term meaning someone who refuse to work for a living.

I think the figure of the *skollie* is relevant for the electricity thefts as it is used to describe a violent thug, lurking around urban spaces, seizing the moment and terrorizing hard working people. As Zandile said, she felt hurt because they have been patiently waiting to get electricity. As I have shown in different examples in previous chapters, residents in Hazeldean have been waiting for years and worked hard to get what they have today. From how I understood Zandile, what residents experience is that they are being terrorized from poor people that are, as Jensen describes the *skollie* – "lurking around" to see what they can steal. Zandiles story also indicated that the Ramaphosa people being poor is also the problem. As she hoped it would get better if the Ramaphosa people get their own electricity.

A couple of days later I came back to Zandile in Hazelden, and the Ramaphosa people had removed the wire they used to steal electricity, because Zandile's mother had been giving them a lecture and shouted at them. However, Zandile's family were still worried, and Zandile could not leave the house when the others were at church because they were scared, they would come back. Zandile said the people from the electricity company wouldn't work, and that this was painful for her family. Zandile said: "They said they were supposed to come, but nobody did come yet. This is an emergency because they can burn anytime. And my mom, she is so stressed now. You can tell because she is distant when you talk to her, and she wakes up early!" When I saw mama, I could tell she was exhausted. She was not herself. Not cheerful or happy. She looked tired and had this kind of indifferent attitude.

Zandile and I went to her neighbor, Martha, to ask how she was experiencing this crisis. She told me that during this electricity crisis she had no electricity for 3 weeks, and she could not make fires either, because it attracted robbers. Martha elaborated:

> "The Ramaphosa people, like, they want to fight. They attacked a lady on Saturday. Yesterday they were digging outside here. I am starting to be scared because they can kill people for the electricity. we stayed in the dark and waited for our electricity. we would never steal. You must never allow them to take anything that does not belong to them. The lady told us you must never make an agreement with those people in the squatter camp. They let them use the electricity from the poles. They are like zombies when you talk to them, they keep quiet. It's not nice. I am scared of the people from the shacks because they don't come to talk, they come with force. They are saying they have rights now so they just come with force, and they can kill someone. Now they are rolling this place, they are the owners of this land."

As I am trying to argue in this chapter, living in a community where they are exposed to so much crime creates a significant uncertainty in the present. Analytically, what I take from my conversation with Martha is that crime and uncertainty is dominating their lives, and the crime is not allowing people to live like they want. As I explained earlier in this chapter, in a Foucault perspective you could see how the residents are living, being dominated by crime and how their attitudes towards the criminals as effects of power relations, and their behavior are the behavior of a social body (Foucault 1995). As I asked when introducing this chapter, is residents' approach to crime a result of an absent state where the police force does not give

people any sense of safety? From the narratives above, it sems like the crime is more or less dominating the community, and that creating safety is a task for the community members themselves. I will in the next sub chapters show different approaches to creating safety.

Individualized fear and skepticism of others

If one look at the South African governments fight against crime, their approach to security, according to Samara (2010), is based on fear for "dangerous populations" – an approach I have also detailed in Chapter 1. If we move away from a perspective of governance, i.e. a focus on the state, similar but also different dynamics can be seen. For as I have shown in the examples and narratives above.

For individuals, fear can also be seen to be an important factor to people's approach to safety. As Burchardt (2017) puts it in her article about the use of Pentecostal practices to protects against "urban risks": "One fundamental way in which Pentecostals relate to places of risk is, of course, to stay away." (Burchardt 2017: 90).

Even though residents in Hazeldean seem to have a shared experience of what the problem is, which creates danger and uncertainty, people are also experiencing this fear and uncertainty in their own house, which I think my interview with Sophie above is a good example of. I think this somehow makes fear more individualized for many people, even though the fear they are experiencing is also a societal problem. I want to show, by telling Martha's story how this individualization of fear makes people afraid of helping others, because this could potentially involve a risk.

Martha, who I have shared many conversations with about crime, now told me how she reacted – out of fear and insecurity, when she met someone in need during the electricity crisis:

> "11pm there was a naked guy outside. He was crying and asked if I could call the police, but I said I can't because I don't have electricity, And I will not let you inside. I feel so bad about this crime, and sometimes I just want to drop everything and leave this place. I just trust god. When people run past and asked for help, and sometimes it is not that you don't want to help, but you are scared. I was talking to this neighbor that we need neighborhood watch, but it is not safe for us because to do patrolling

ourselves. Friday night my house was shaking because of the shooting outside. And this Ramaphosa place is a drug place. Yesterday I asked a guy to help me with something, and I would give him 50 rand. He said he would never, he gets money from drugs. This place was a very nice place before, but not anymore because of these shacks. And the police cannot help because they are very, very scared."

What are people doing in practice to create safety?

In the introduction, I asked what is necessary for residents to create safety? What I would like to argue, is that even though crime and danger in Hazeldean is a societal problem, there are both individual and collective practises to create safety. Individually, I have observed and been told that people do things such as building fences around their house, staying more inside, or praying.

Crime and uncertainty is often experienced inside peoples own houses. I have the impression from my own observations and what residents have told me, that over time, when people have been experiencing more crime, people have also become more individual, by staying more inside or being afraid to help others. Fezile, who was introduced in chapter 4 told me, like many others, that because of all the informal settlements, it is not safe:

> "Because its informal, it's no list of who stays where. If anyone steals, it's easy for them to hide. So, it's not safe. Sometimes you hear gun shots at night, and you know it's not the police. Personally, what I do, I keep to myself. If you go out and talk to people and say where you stay and were you work, they can trace you. But that is also my personality, I don't mind being on my own, so I think that could be an advantage that keeps me more safe."

Fezile is quite new to the community and is only renting a room there. However, Miriam who is one of the oldest residents who was introduced in chapter 3, whom have been living in Hazeldean since 1999 explained how people in Hazeldean are scared to be on the streets or even to be in their houses. Miriam explained that the increasing amount of crime has resulted in each family becoming more individual.

Even though the Hazeldean community are practicing neighborhood watch, a practice where they as neighbors organize a system for patrolling their houses, and in other ways are helping

each other in times of crisis, some people have also shown little faith in such practices and expressed the feeling of being powerless in the situation, and simply rely on god.

Pentecostal's in Cape Town put major emphasis in the powers of the holy spirit for protection against misfortune, crime, poverty, illness and death. Marian Burchardt claims that this protection is not only directed at persons or situations, but also at particular sites, such as people's homes (Burchardt 2017). While she explains how people are protecting themselves from what she calls "urban risks", she claims that these risks are often linked to urban marginalization, infrastructural defensives and the criminal complex of the drug economy.

During 24 to -25 May 2019, I was staying over with Zandile's family for the weekend, and as usual I was sleeping in Zandile's bed with her and her son. I was struggling to sleep because of the crowded bed, and at midnight just as I was about to fall asleep, I heard Zandile's mother in the living room. She started to pray. She started calmly, but after a while her praying got more intense. She started yelling and crying her prayers.

> "I am poor, but to you god, I am not poor. I am rich in spirit. You are not judging me. My house is not a house. Please help us. Heavenly father! do something. Please! Change my story. These people from Ramaphosa hurt us and they don't know how they hurt us. We have no power. You have the power!"

Mama's praying to protect her house or her family's life could indicate that security is not only about police presence, alarm systems, absence of crime, etc. Instead, security in some cases are about existential, cosmological or religious forms of protection. Burchardt (2017) claim that Pentecostals have transformed into safe places through their prayers, which allows those residing in it to live their lives with peace in their souls.

To contextualize the strong religiosity in South Africa, especially among the poor population, Kgatle (2020) explains that Pentecostalism is thriving while the government is struggling to deal with unemployment, poverty and inequalities. After Mama's praying in the middle of the night, I heard some people fighting right outside the house, and that was the first time I felt the unsafety of sleeping in that house. I also heard something was thrown towards the wall of Zandile's house. Unlike other areas in Cape Town, there was no fence or alarm system here in Hazeldean, and I remember thinking about how easy it must be to break into the house. I was

scared. After a while the fighting stopped, and the next thing I heard was gun shots. It was not far away, and I felt even more unsafe than before. I also felt so bad because there were kids sleeping there every night. The others seemed like they were sleeping thru it. Almost like it was normal. I heard sirens too.

Next morning Zandile asked me if I had heard the gun shots. I said "yes, I was worried, weren't you?" She laughed a little bit, and said I was in a different country now, and must get used to it. I asked her if she didn't feel unsafe. She said that god was protecting us.

This section shows how religious practices and beliefs are powerful notions for protection and safety and the ruination of danger. Kgatle claims that contemporary Pentecostalism, which is a Protestant Christian movement offers an opportunity for individuals to succeed. Pentecostalism is more appealing to many people in South Africa because it promises salvation in both spiritual and material or financial prosperity, claims Kgatle. Contemporary Pentecostal churches in South Africa have an ability for economic reform and transformation for both individuals and their families. Pentecostal churches are vehicles of change in the society to the majority of people going through poverty, unemployment, and inequalities. Instead of adjusting themselves to neoliberalism, the contemporary Pentecostalism is creating alternative economic reform (Kgatle 2020).

For Zandile's family, their church and god were very important parts of their lives. I also joined them to church, which was they're idea. We went on a Sunday, the whole family to a church that was in a school, and when we came there, a girl was on the stage preaching in a microphone, and on the side of the stage there was a man playing piano. There was a certain energy in the room. Some people were sitting down praying with closed eyes, some of them crying. Some of them were sitting on their knees in front of the chair doing the same, while some were walking back and forward praying out loud and crying, and some of them was even shouting. There were many different elements during this church session, and it lasted for almost 6 hours. There were a lot of preaching from different people, testimonies, singing and offerings. During the testimonies a girl came forward and told us that her shack had recently burned down. After the offerings, the father announced that she was given a new job. I asked Zandile about this after church, and she told me that the girl was lucky to get the new job, because she would now earn 16000 rand, and she used to earn 5000 rand in her previous

job. On Monday the girl would have to quit her old job to start the new one. I asked Zandile if the church provided her with this job, and she said no, it was God.

This church experience made me somehow understand the grate impact religion has in my informants lives. While they are seeing little progress and development from governmental forces and NGO's, they see in their church that people are getting life changing opportunities from God. As police force and other security systems have been absent in Hazeldean, it can seem like religious practice becomes more reliable for residents, as they experience Gods' salvations when they are in church.

How and why does the community organize neighborhood watch?
The collective experience of uncertainty in Hazeldean, and the common experience of what the problem is, seems to make people create collective solutions or approaches to create safety, such as organizing neighborhood watch and helping each other in times of crisis.

In chapter 3, I explained how residents are practising different types of *skarrelling* to create a better standard of living and create basic needs by using formal and informal work, helping each other with favours etc. Unfortunately, *skarrelling* also increases the crime risk in some cases. As the example I presented in chapter 3, Cindy was robbed when she sold beer because her business attracted criminals. Her business was an informal type of work, which Ross exemplifies as *skarrelling*. Ross suggests that its emotional and psychological consequences are that one becomes short-lived when one gets by temporarily. for some people it is simply what must be done to survive (Ross 2010:108).

Even though we have seen some examples of *skarrelling* creating unsafe situations, neighbors doing each other favors in times of need or in times of crisis, or when they are helping each other and collaborating patrolling in the neighborhood, this type of *skarrelling* have also shown to be used as a way of recovering from crime or creating safety. For instance Sophie, who experienced brutal robberies in her home, thinks that it is important that the community organizes security for themselves, which I think also can be understood as a form of *skarrelling* (Ross 2010). According to Sophie, only the people that actually live there can create this security. She said that they have for instance organized neighbourhood watch to make a safer environment in the community even though this system still needs improvement.

When I was in Hazeldean on the 28th of May, a normal Tuesday, I asked if they had any more electricity problems. Zandile told me that they didn't, but that there were still people in the community that had not got back their electricity. This was underscored by a lady we met on the way to Zandile's house. She was waving at us, and I recognized her because I had interviewed her earlier. She was walking around with her phone and a charger. She told us that she had no electricity in her house, and she was very frustrated about it. She told us now she must walk to another place to charge her phone, and she is risking it will get stolen on the way. After a chat with that lady, we got into the house and had a chat while we made tea, as usual, and had lunch. I got a big bowl of spaghetti. They were always so generous to me. Even though they did not have much, they would always offer me something, and almost insist on me to also stay for dinner. Zandile told me while eating spaghetti for lunch:

> "The day before yesterday they lost electricity that side" this was another part of the community. The side that the first group of people that came to Hazeldean are staying. "They don't know why, so they suspect the Ramaphosa people because it was the community people who allowed the Ramaphosa people to take our electricity. They should go to the committee, and they should go to Ramaphosa to make them stop. We made them stop by our own patrolling, and we still patrol undercover. If we hear a noise, we call the neighbors and the police. And then we all go out to patrol. Even though we are only 5 people, we all go. Our fear is that if the head of Cape Town will hear that the comity allowed people from the squatter camps to come take electricity, and then they will not come and help us. It is affecting all of us, even if we have electricity, we have to help others by boiling water for them or charge their phones." There was a phone charging in the kitchen, always making a noise while I was there. "You see also this phone in the kitchen is someone else's. I am not good; I live in fear now because I know they can come anytime to steal our electricity again. We are working together even though we are only 4 or 5 women because we feel like we should." She was talking about the ladies that were living in their street. They belonged to the second group that came to Hazeldean in 2006. "We came together in 2006, and we helped each other. The people who came earlier that does not have electricity now did not help us, that's why we feel like we must stick up for each other. Nobody else is coming to give us security, so we must so it for our self. Even though we are only 5 women."

When introducing this chapter, I asked how and why does the community organize a so-called neighborhood watch? In this sub chapter, we see that there are the women of the community who are organizing neighbor-hood watch where they are patrolling in the neighborhood and waring neighbors and the police if anything suspicious happens. From my analysis, Zandile's story shows how there is a sense of collective experience of uncertainty and a collective way of creating safety and trust in each other.

I also asked in the introduction to this chapter, if this ways of creating safety a result of an absent state where the police force does not give people any sense of safety? My analytical understanding of Zandile's statement, I think it is clear that the police force is not giving the community members any security, as she claims nobody else than themselves is coming to give security.

Safety: a gender issue

I have argued that safety and crime is not only an individualized problem, but a societal problem. I want to argue that crime could also be a gender issue. South Africa is known to be one of the most dangerous countries in the world for women. The United Nations states that despite South Africa's progressive laws, gender-based violence "pervasive" in South Africa (UN). According to the UN, the violence inherited from apartheid still appears in the South African society dominated by deeply entrenched patriarchal attitudes towards the role of women in the society, which has made violence against woman and children an almost accepted social phenomenon. Different forms of violence against women and girls existed throughout the country, which included gender-related killing of women; domestic violence and gang rapes (UN 2015).

Jensen explains that women have to negotiate tensions between their male kin's behavior that are constructed or real, while making living, while men have to negotiate the expectations and fears of their families and the gaze of the state, while surviving the mean streets of the impoverished, marginalized and violent township. Some of them turn to gangs to claim their dignity (Jensen 2008).

Doing field work in a community with mostly women, and having mostly female informants, I believe it is important to give attention to how women experience crime and living in an unsafe environment. I will share Mary's story of how she is handling crime as a gender issue.

Mary, who was introduced in chapter 2, is living in a house with her 23-year-old daughter who has Downs Syndrome. "This place is not safe; we just live here by mercy. In this place I have a lot of challenges. Especially at night. If I am upstairs, I can hear people killing. One night I heard they brought a woman here to kill her, and I heard her crying, and I could not sleep."

Mary told me that last year November, a lady was raped in her backyard, which makes her very worried because her 23-year-old daughter was raped twice. The rapist was from Zimbabwe and did not show up to court. Mary told me that she saw his photos on Facebook because his friends was renting in the neighborhood. They even opened a second case, but nothing came out of it. For two years, Mary took her daughter to court, every Wednesday. The rapist died before case was closed. The rapist was 76 years old, and she wanted answers from him. She wanted to know why he could rape her child with downs syndrome. "I still have dreams, and I see him".

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have shown how issues related to safety and crime is a creating uncertainty in the present. However, the roots of the safety issues of crime go back in time. I have shown in this chapter, to answer what is creating uncertainty in people's lives, how the legacy from Apartheid and its racial politics has, as for many other problems in South Africa created societal issues like crime and danger in people's lives that still appears in today's society.

As the majority of the black and colored people in South Africa are poor because the apartheid regime disadvantaged them, they are naturally exposed more to crime. You could say crime and safety is somehow an economical issue. Ramaphosa is an informal settlement where people are living in shacks. They have less facilities than people in Hazeldean, like for instance electricity which was used as an example in this chapter.

The Apartheid regime's racial politics has also created stereotypes, which have created an image of colored men "the skollie" as the problem. I have also shown how women are experiencing violent crime and fear for their own lives and their daughters. The UN claims that the patriarchal attitudes towards the role of women in the society inherited from Apartheid is to blame for this (UN 2015).

In this chapter, I have also explored through my informants' stories, what is necessary to create safety. There are material things, which I exemplified more in chapter 3, like a fence which could be seen as necessary to create safety. Otherwise, there are both individual and collective actions that my interlocutors have expressed to be necessary for safety.

Individually, I have exemplified that people stay more inside or use religion to create safety, or the feeling of safety. Collectively, the community has shown great ability to organize neighborhood watch and patrolling to help each other and create safety in difficult times.

Chapter 6

Conclusion:

Political struggle and

Uncertainty in different temporalities

Through the various chapters in my thesis, one of the overarching questions have been to explore if residents of the Hazeldean community experience to be urban citizens. More specifically, I have tried to understand in what ways class, race or gender are determining factors for what access they have to various forms of urban resources – specifically land rights and access to adequate public space, public transport, infrastructure and security. The lived experiences of South African housing policy have been my point of view on access to urban resources.

To explore how issues regarding accessing urban resources are evolving in today's Post-Apartheid context in Cape Town, which have been claimed to be South Africa's most segregated city (Ross 2010), I have divided my thesis into chapters that are focusing on different aspects of my interlocutors in Hazeldean's lives, and also different kinds of urban resources. These are: Mobility, housing, land rights and safety.

Power of Apartheid legacies and resistance of urban dwellers
I want to argue that all the chapters are showing, in different ways, some more explicitly, how the structures of the Apartheid era still appear in the post-Apartheid society, and, crucially, how this is a hidden form of power that are affecting people's lives. More specifically this hidden form of power is affecting people's access to urban resources, by controlling how people move, their attitudes towards different spaces and groups of people, how they are living life and what they desire in life.

In other words, I am arguing that South Africa's history and the formally abolished Apartheid regime are still – in different ways controlling how South Africans are living. However, I have also been arguing, using for instance Simone (2004), that people's political agency and

creative solutions are, at the same time, changing the South African urban society and landscape.

Unlike Foucault's (1995 [1986]) understanding of people as subject of the society, people in post-Apartheid Cape Town do also shape the urban context: While poor people in Cape Town are being disadvantaged – and structurally and systematically so - at the same time they are producing the urban landscape surrounding them. While doing this they are also becoming political agents - as Caldeira (2017) also argues more generally, which indicates that citizens of the post-Apartheid society, like residents in Hazeldean have some form of political influence as they are doing various forms of what can be understood as resistance.

Both Simone (2004) and Caldeira (2017) shows how this is a global phenomenon. Thus, for instance in chapter 2, I explained how Simone (Simone in Miraftab 2006) understands "people as infrastructure". He explains how citizens are urban dwellers by using informal systems and claims that these are examples of resistance, due to African cities survivals despite official urban and development plans.

In chapter 3, I used Caldeira (2017) to explain how peripheral urbanization is the process of residents producing urban space, and in the process they are changing to become political agents. I also introduced Ross' term *skarrelling* in various analyses, to show examples of how urban dwelling can be done in practice - which is a mixture of different kinds of formal and informal work, loans, sharing, borrowing and improvising. What I think is important with Ross' explanation of *skarrelling* is the emotional and psychological consequences that one becomes short-lived when one gets by temporarily. I believe this is important to not romanticize urban citizens forms of resistance and political agency, and to remember that many of these people are living very difficult lives, which I have tried to create a picture of though ethnographic examples from my field work. These examples are showing how residents in Hazeldean are struggling every day to access basic needs and waiting for a distant better future, and while waiting – but also fighting, they are living in fear of the constant threat of crime and danger.

Mobility/immobility patterns are inherited from Apartheid
South Africans' access to mobility is no longer controlled by law, as it was in the Apartheid era, but rather ideas about race/ethnicity, security and economy, as I explained in chapter 2.

After those deemed "black" or "colored" was disadvantaged by the Apartheid regime, the majority of those groups are still poor in the Post-Apartheid society. This also applies to residents in Hazeldean who were normally poor, and therefore had little access to mobility, urban facilities and recourses like for example education, church or hospital. I argued that these are examples of why one can say that Apartheid is still alive and are still disadvantaging people, because as Watson et.al (2007) demonstrates; in areas previously classified for non-white racial categories, there are rapidly growing informal settlements and new public low-income housing projects that the pattern of socially and economically segregated cities remains.

To identify the patterns of segregation, or more specifically mobility and the mechanisms that sustained them, I argued using Foucault's (1995 [1986]) theory about hidden forms of power that people's actions and movement etc. visualizes such power mechanisms. Therefore, I have shown examples of how my interlocutors in Hazeldean move, and what is challenging their mobility. In this study, economic precarity and experienced danger appeared to be important obstacles to mobility.

In Chapter 1 and 2, I also demonstrated how my own mobility could be challenging in Cape Town, because ideas of race/ethnicity, safety and danger have shown to affect space in the post-Apartheid city. I used Schwander-Sievers (2009) to demonstrate how my identity as a foreign woman affected my access to mobility and how I had to relate to space and personal security. This indicates that, as the Apartheid regime used to control people's mobility by law, and those deemed black or coloured was disadvantaged, in the post-Apartheid Cape Town, space and danger can make mobility challenging for people in general. As Shepard and Murray (2007) demonstrates by pointing at continuities between the historically established landscapes in South Africa, which involve a series of tensions between wealth and poverty, men and women. These social categories reappear in the post-apartheid era and provide new challenges.

However, in addition to showing how mobility patterns are controlled by power relations, I have also showed using Simone (2004) how people are struggling against official practices by participating in informal sector activities because of labor market flexibility, because it is less complicated or too expensive to provide some kinds of services formally. Simone (in Miraftab 2006) claims this form of resistance is a losing battle of the state.

Lived experience of South African housing policy

As Chapter 2 is showing how people's physical and immediate mobility are less accessible for my interlocutors, Chapter 3 demonstrates how social mobility over time may be less accessible or challenging for residents in Hazeldean, because, as I have demonstrated with my ethnographic examples, accessing basic needs and improving living standard has been difficult. This chapter dealt with South African housing policy and the lived experiences of them, specifically in Hazeldean, one of the stalely housing projects aiming to undo Apartheid wrongs and empower those who were disadvantaged by the Apartheid regime. However, as I made clear in Chapter 3, South African housing projects had a "one size fits all" standard which did not include individual needs. Jobs and other urban facilities were located at the periphery of cities, far away from these housing opportunities, which can be claimed to maintain some of Apartheids patterns of spatial segregation (Osman 2019). I showed how the claimed "one size fits all" standard which did not include individual needs of the post-Apartheid housing projects also applies for Hazeldean, exemplified with my interlocutor Sophie's statement: "When the councils gave us houses, they just gave us the key. They don't get to know us."

Housing projects located in Townships like Hazeldean, I would say, are actually putting people in the same areas as the Apartheid regime locked them to. As I made clear in chapter 1, townships in South Africa are areas outside the city center that were constructed during Apartheid. I explained how on national basis, the agricultural spaces were declared white areas, which pushed those deemed "blacks" and "coloreds" to established ghettoes outside of urban areas. These have become townships in cities like Cape Town (Shepard and Murray 2007). In chapter 2, I introduced Watson et.al's (2007) claim that the pattern of socially and economically segregated cities remains, and the post-apartheid shift of getting black households into former "white areas" is a slow process. Also, that in present time, growing areas suffer from social exclusion, growing poverty, health issues and crime.

Despite South Africa's progressive housing policies, the country still faces major challenges when it comes to socio-economic differences. Above, I have tried to point at some factors with the housing policies that have in some ways, failed to undo the wrongdoings of

Apartheid. For individuals, challenges related to housing issues are experienced and expressed in different ways. In chapter 3, I showed varied examples from my informants' lives who shared their experiences with me in order to make sense of how housing developments are lived, engaged and navigated.

My informants' experiences and stories show that life in Hazeldean over the past 20 years have been a process of struggle to improve lives, that must be understood as reflecting the community itself. I have also tried to understand the resident's motivation to how they have been struggling to improve their lives and how they are doing this in practice. For one, the "dream house" has from my impression been a motivation.

With ethnographic examples and Caldeira's (2017) understanding of urban development, I have shown how the residents have been producing the space around them or the community which they are part of. In the Hazeldean community, which consist mostly women, I have shown how these residents have developed and given character to the community. In the process, I have also shown how the residents become political agents and argued that these residents have become a part of a democratic process where they put forward their demands and invent approaches to social policy.

Uncertainties in different temporalities

In Chapter 4, I have shown how issues of land right and residents not knowing when or if they will achieve their title deeds are creating many uncertainties in their lives. I have explained through interviews how my informants are worried about their future. I have tried to argue that residents in Hazeldean, who are lacking title deeds feel as if they are not in control of their future, and that according to Jefferson et.al (2018) *stuckness* is equally about being stuck in place and being stuck in time.

In Chapter 3, where I described South African housing policy formally, I used Chance (2018) who claimed that post-Apartheid state housing projects in many cases allocate families to separate housing projects. In Chapter 4, where I explain how residents in Hazeldean are stuck (in place), my ethnographic examples show that several of my interlocutors are referring back to where they came from or where they have family members, but that being landless makes them stuck in Hazeldean.

Not only are people worried about their own future; they are also worried about their offspring's future. People think of time through relations because people invest in time collectively and for others (Jefferson et. al. 2018). To show how the residents are handling the situation of being "stuck", apart from attending meetings of land negotiations, people have been waiting and are using hope to cope in difficult circumstances of life. Some are still hoping for their own future, while others are hoping for the sake of their offspring.

While uncertainties about title deeds are uncertainties over time and future, chapter 5 is describing uncertainty in the present. I have shown through various empirical examples how crime is acute and dramatic situations. Unlike in chapter 4, where I have described people being concerned about their future, dangerous situations are making people more concerned about their life and security in the present. However, I have shown how residents have different approaches to access security. These are approaches that are both individual and collective. The approaches I have shown examples of like simply being careful, praying and staying inside are individual, while patrolling and organized neighborhood watch are collective approaches to security.

Contribute to urban anthropology

As other anthropologists within the field of urban anthropology such as Kerry Ryan Chance (2018) have demonstrated how urban housing politics has led to unhappiness, among other things, because they have been lacking individual and basic needs. My thesis contributes to exemplify what these needs are specifically and how residents of such housing project are in different ways accessing these. I have shown that one motivation has been the "dream house" which I have found has criteria of certain appearance and function. For a house to become a home, I have also found that facilities like water or electricity is crucial, but also that a title deed is necessary to feel at home, and not like a tenant.

Scholars have argued that urban dwellers reshape and build character to African cities. In my thesis I demonstrate how this happens from a resident's perspective, in a post-Apartheid community of mostly women. I have demonstrated how practices described as urban dwellings (Simone 2004) and political agency which are part of a democratic process (Caldeira 2017) unfolds in a specific community, Hazeldean. I have shown what the consequences of such practices like those I have called *skarrelling* (Ross 2010) are struggles against crime, danger and poverty. I have shown with concrete examples what are creating

uncertainties in residents' lives. My ethnographic examples are demonstrating that residents' practices to create safety has both made them clever in organizing this collectively, but also in some cases made people become more individual and afraid.

To the crucial and burning subject of South African land rights, I have contributed by exploring what it means for people to be waiting, not knowing what is ahead of them. For example, have my interlocutors described the feeling of living like a tenant, and lacking opportunities of moving and improving life. I have also found that landlessness is affecting people's possibility to assure the next generations future, and as people are worried about kin relations, I have found that these are also used to create hope for the future in a difficult circumstance of life with different temporal uncertainties.

References

Birth, Kevin K. 2012 *Objects of Time: How Things Shape Temporality.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Burchardt, Marian 2017 Pentecostal Productions of Locality: Urban Risks and Spiritual Protection in Cape Town, in *Religion and the Global City,* 79-94. London: Bloomsbury.

Caldeira, Teresa 2017 Peripheral urbanization: Autoconstruction, transversal logics, and politics in cities of the global south. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space,* 35(1) 3-20.

Casey, Mary L. 2018 Understanding Violence Against Foreigners in Cape Town: Conceptions of Autochthony and Xenophobia in Post-Apartheid South Africa. Gettysburg: The Cupola.

Chance, Kerry Ryan 2018 *Living Politics in South Africa's Urban Shacklands.* Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

Du Boulay, Juliet and Rory Williams 1984 *Collecting life histories* in Ellen, R.F., *Ethnographic Research: A Guide to General Conduct*. ASA research Methods in Social Anthropology 1. London: Academic Press, 247-257.

Du Toit, Andreis 2004 Social Exclusion" Discourse and Chronic Poverty: A South African Case Study, in *Development and Change,* 987-1010. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Foucault, Michel 1995 (1986) Disciplinary Power and Subjection in *Power,* Steven Lukes (red.), Oxford & Cambridge: Blackwell.

Hage, Ghassan 2016 Questions Concerning a Future-politics in *History and Anthropology* 465-467. Melbourne: Routledge.

Harrison, Philip, Todes, Alison & Watson,Vanessa 2007 Planning and Transformation. London and New York: Routledge.

Jackson, Michael 2005 The Course of and Event *in Existential Anthropology: Events, Exigencies and Effects, Methodology and History in Anthropology* Volume 11, New York: Berghahn Books, chapter 1, 1-14.

Jefferson, Andrew, Turner, Simon & Jensen, Steffen 2018 Introduction: On Stuckedness and Sites of Confinement. *Ethnos Journals of Anthropology,* 84:1, 1-13.

Jensen, Steffen 2008 *Gangs, Politics & Dignity in Cape Town: Oxford: James Currey.*

Kgatle, Mookgo Solomon 2020 The Relationship between the Economic Strand of Contemporary Pentecostalism and Neo-Liberalism in Post-1994 South Africa. *Religions,* 156(11): 1-10.

Miraftab, Faranak 2006 For the City Yet to Come: Changing African Life in Four Cities (review). In *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 26 (1), 2006, 155-157.

Murray, Noëleen & Shepherd, Nick 2007 Introduction: Space, Memory and Identity in the Post-apartheid City *in Desire Lines: Space, Memory and Identity in the Post-apartheid City*. British Library.

Pieterse, Edgar 2011 Introduction: rogue urbanisms, in *Social dynamics,* 1-4. Cape Town: Routledge.

Posel, Deborah 2001 Race as Common Sense: Racial Classification in Twentieth-Century South Africa, in *Ways of Seeing: Beyond the New Nativism,* 87-113. Cambridge University Press.

Ross, Fiona C. 2010 *Raw Life, New Hope: Decency, Housing and Everyday Life in a Post-Apartheid Community.* Claremont: UCT Press.

Samara, Tony Roshan 2010 Policing Development: Urban renewal as Neo-liberal security strategy. In *Urban studies* 47 (1), 197-214.

Schwander-Sievers, Stephanie 2009 Securing "Safe Spaces": Field Diplomacy in Albania and Kosovo in *Women Fielding Danger, 173-198.* Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Simone, Abdou Maliq 2004 *For the City Yet to Come: Changing African Life in Four Cities.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Swilling, Mark 2006 Sustainability and infrastructure planning in South Africa: a Cape Town case study in *Environment & urbanization,* Sheridan Bartlett, Diana Mitlin & David Satterthwaite (eds), 23-50. International Institute for Environment and Development.

Zale, Julie 2017 Privacy, Informed Consent, and Participant Observation. In *Perspectives on Science*, 25(4). 465-487.

Online sources

abhlali.org 2006 A Short History of Abahlali baseMjondolo, the Durban Shack Dwellers' Movement. (online) Available at http://abahlali.org/a-short-history-of-abahlali-basemjondolo-the-durban-shack-dwellers-movement/ (downloaded 09. September 2020)

Databank.worldbank.org 2020 Poverty & Equity Brief (online). Available from: https://databank.worldbank.org/data/download/poverty/987B9C90-CB9F-4D93-AE8C-750588BF00QA/SM2020/Global_POVEQ_ZAF.pdf
 (downloaded 14. September 2020).

effonline.org 2016 Radical Voice. (online) *https://www.effonline.org/radical-voice* (downloaded 6. December 2018)

Osman, Amira 2019 South Africa urgently needs to rethink its approach to housing, The Conversation, October 10, 2019. (Online). Available from: https://theconversation.com/south-africa-urgently-needs-to-rethink-its-approach-to-housing-78628 (Downloaded 02. September 2020).

Peoplesenvironmentalplanning.org.za 2016 PEP. (online). Available from https://peoplesenvironmentalplanning.org.za/programmes/#cchd (downloaded 26. November 2020).

United Nations: World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD), Johannesburg Summit, Sustainable development. (online). Available from:

https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/milesstones/wssd (Downloaded 14. September 2020).

un.org 2015 Sustainable Development Goals. (online). Available from

https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/blog/2015/12/despite-progressive-laws-gender-based-violence-pervasive-in-south-africa-un-expert-warns/ (downloaded 10.11.2020).

westerncape.gov.za 2017 SEP: Socio-Economic Profile. (online). Available from:

https://www.westerncape.gov.za/assets/departments/treasury/Documents/Socio-economic-profiles/2017/city_of_cape_town_2017_socio-economic_profile_sep-lg_-_26_january_2018.pdf

(Downloaded 03. September 2020).

statssa.gov 2018 while crime increases, fear rises and trust in criminal justice systems drop (online). Available from http://www.statssa.gov.za/?p=11627 (Downloaded 09. December 2020).