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Territory and exclusion: Contestations over space in Mitchell's Plain

By

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Submitted in fulfilment of the academic requirement for the
degree of Master of Arts in the Faculty of Arts and Humanities at the
University of the Western Cape

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January 2022

Declaration

I, Zina Jacobs, declare that the following study “*Territory and exclusion: Contestations over space in Mitchell’s Plain*” is my own. Where I have made use of another’s work, I have attributed the source in the correct way.

This thesis was carried out in Mitchell’s Plain, Cape Town from February 2019 to December 2021. The study was conducted under the supervision of Professor Shirley Brooks of the Department of Geography, Environmental Studies and Tourism at the University of the Western Cape.



Signature



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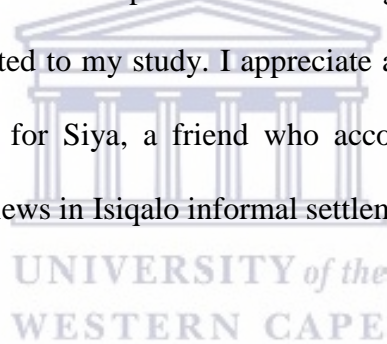
Acknowledgments

First, I thank my Lord and best friend, Jesus Christ, for allowing me the opportunity to pursue this Master's degree. He is the source of every idea and every ounce of strength, peace and joy needed to carry out and complete this study.

Thank you to my parents, grandmother, and siblings for the continuous love and support I received. Thank you for the patience, the motivation, and the guidance.

Thank you to my supervisor, Professor Shirley Brooks, for providing guidance and feedback throughout this project, and for the moral support.

I also thank my participants for their openness and willingness to share their time and thoughts with me on issues related to my study. I appreciate all information and insight that was given. I am also thankful for Siya, a friend who accompanied me and acted as an interpreter as I conducted interviews in Isiqalo informal settlement.



Dedication

To my parents, Nicola and Ashley Jacobs, for your unending love and support.

To my siblings, Amy, Diego and Ella Jacobs, you can do anything you set your mind to. To my grandmother, Alice Daries, for your strength, wisdom and constant encouragement. And to my uncle Noel English, for your prayers and leadership. Forever in my heart as you rest in power.



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Abstract

In the post-apartheid city, protest action has become synonymous with land invasions. The constant growth of informal settlements in South Africa places significant pressure on local and national authorities, but more so on local social dynamics. Additionally, informal settlements tend to occur on marginal land that is not well suited to development and prone to flooding, as well as fire risks, thus making it challenging for the government to render services or install bulk infrastructure. Further pressure is thus placed upon the government in terms of the provision of housing and even more so on social dynamics, as the brunt of economic inefficiencies is borne by local communities.

This thesis is about Isiqalo informal settlement as well as residents of Mitchell's Plain, Cape Town, during a time when tensions arose through protests over electricity and housing in particular. The May 2018 protests have been used as a prism through which to look at narratives about belonging and exclusion in Mitchell's Plain. Through a review of the secondary literature, media reports and open ended, in-depth, interviews, this study aimed to investigate the causes and effects of tensions between the two groups. The findings reported here are mainly based on data gathered from twenty qualitative semi-structured interviews conducted with respondents. The thesis explores histories, narratives, feelings and perceptions related to exclusion and territory as well as narratives of desperation experienced by both the black and coloured community in Isiqalo and Mitchell's Plain as they contest for scarce resources in this space.

Key terms: Exclusion; housing; informal settlement; place; right to the city; space; social exclusion; territory; urban poverty; protest action

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

This study is interested in exploring themes of belonging, exclusion and tensions within marginalized communities in the city of Cape Town, most particularly on the Cape flats. In introducing the thesis, this chapter provides the rationale for the study, briefly introduces the study area and its recent history, and lays out the aim and objectives of the thesis. Located in the field of Human Geography, the thesis adopts a qualitative methodological approach in investigating these issues of space, place and belonging, all of which are longstanding themes in the discipline.

1.1. Rationale for the study

In the post-apartheid period there has been a significant growth in informal settlements in South African cities. Land issues are highly contested and land invasions have sharply increased recently in Cape Town, South Africa (Phakathi, 2019). Land invasions generally occur in the marginalised sections of urban areas (Tissington, 2010). This has resulted in informal settlements existing all over the City and indeed the country, as informal settlements have become a “permanent feature” in the South African landscape (Mutero & Makwara, 2018).

Informal settlements are a reflection of inequity in terms of access to land across social groups. Their emergence is also a reflection of inefficiencies in the State’s provision of housing. High rates of rural-urban migration fuel the problem, however it is argued by many activists and scholars that dwellers in informal settlements deserve better treatment from authorities than they currently receive (Pikoli, 2014). Informal settlements are often the places that give rise to some of the country’s biggest issues and challenges (Turok, 2015).

This study thus delves into a critical issue in South Africa cities, as witnessed in and across the City of Cape Town. While the study looks at the area known as the ‘Cape Flats’, it has a geographical scope that is limited to Mitchell’s Plain, Cape Town. Informal settlements have become a permanent feature in and across Mitchell’s Plain. Mitchell’s Plain is a large township and is situated approximately 32 kilometres from Cape Town’s central business district (Titans AC, 2015). This is where the case study, Isiqalo informal settlement and the broader Mitchell’s Plain, is located and where the participants of this study reside.



Figure 1: Map/ aerial view displaying the Mitchells Plain area and location of protest action in May 2018 (Prepared by the author from Google Earth)

Land invasions often take place on marginal land that is not well suited to development and has high risks of flooding and fire. This makes it challenging for formal services to be rendered or for future development to take place. While the constant growth of informal settlements places significant pressure on local and national authorities, this thesis argues that even more importantly, it introduces new pressures on local social dynamics.

There are two provisions in law which govern the handling of unlawful invasions of land, namely the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 and the Prevention of Illegal Eviction from Unlawful Occupation of Land Act, Act 19 of 1998 (PIE ACT). Section 26(3) of the Constitution states: “No one may be evicted from their home, or have their home demolished, without an order of court made after considering all the relevant circumstances. No legislation may permit arbitrary evictions” (RSA: 11: 1996). The Prevention of Illegal Eviction from Unlawful Occupation of Land Act, Act 19 of 1998 (PIE ACT) states: “No person may evict an unlawful occupier except on the authority of a competent court.” (Parliament of RSA, 1998).

The above laws can be invoked to protect individuals who occupy land illegally and who have erected housing structures on said land. The definition of a structure as per the PIE Act is a “building or structure ... [which] includes any hut, shack, tent or similar structure or any other form of temporary or permanent dwelling or shelter.” (Parliament of RSA, 1998).

This is not straightforward however, as both illegal eviction from land and unlawful occupation infringe upon basic Human Rights as entrenched in the Constitution. The purpose of the PIE Act is, on the one hand to provide for the prohibition of illegal eviction, and on the other hand to provide procedures for the eviction of unlawful occupiers. The purpose of PIE is therefore to protect both the occupier and the landowner and applies to all land within the Republic of South Africa. Thus, government (including local municipal government) has a responsibility to deal with the constitutional rights of both unlawful occupiers and landowners in a careful and balanced manner.

SALGA (2020) explains some of the legal complexities. The following quote explains how an unlawful occupier is defined in PIE and what the exemptions are:

“a person who occupies land without the express or tacit consent of the owner or person in charge, or without any other right in law to occupy such land, excluding a person who is an occupier in terms of the Extension of Security of Tenure Act, 1997, (ESTA) and excluding a person whose informal right to land, but for the provisions of this Act, would be protected by the provisions of the Interim Protection of Informal Land Rights Act 31 of 1996”. Furthermore, according to the Trespassing Act, Act 6 of 1959, trespassing means, *“to gain access/entry to someone’s property without his/her consent”* (SALGA, 2020).

Some cities, such as the City of Cape Town, actively attempt to prevent new land invasions. Cape Town has a controversial Anti-Land Invasion unit, which patrols the city and demolishes new structures in an attempt to head off new land invasions (Human Settlements, 2020). However, once an informal settlement has been established, it tends to remain a permanent feature in the landscape. Services then need to be provided retrospectively.

Land invasions across South Africa have given rise to, and are often accompanied by land conflicts, all of which have social and economic impacts upon society as well as occupiers. The research presented here was undertaken with residents from the Isiqalo informal settlement as well as Mitchell’s Plain community members. This study explores the social impacts surrounding land invasions in Cape Town, South Africa through a case study of the Isiqalo community and the Mitchell’s Plain community. Using this part of the city as a case study, the aim is to explore and expound on the social and economic issues that surround land invasions.

Isiqalo informal settlement, meaning “new beginning” in isiXhosa, is situated on privately owned land in Cape Town (Etheridge, 2018). In this case, there is ongoing conflict between the new informal residents, the owners and the City, as the residents have demanded on

numerous occasions that the City purchase the land from the owners. Protests over service delivery have been synonymous with the existence of Isiqalo. It has also been synonymous with conflicts with the surrounding community members of Mitchell's Plain. Such ongoing conflicts have resulted in permanent social tension between the two communities.

Protests have taken place on many occasions over the years, since the beginning of Isiqalo informal settlement in 2011, but the most violent period of protests took place in 2018 where residents demanded service delivery and the installation of bulk infrastructure. The events were widely reported in the media, as Jakes Gerwell Drive, one of the main entrances/ exits in Mitchell's Plain, along with several other roads, was barricaded by protestors. This stirred the anger of Mitchell's Plain residents, particularly those who commute to other parts of the City for work and other purposes as their mobility was hindered. A group of Mitchell's Plain residents thus physically retaliated. This resulted in further violence back and forth, the death of a young man from the Mitchells Plain community, and the start of a civic society organisation known as 'Gatvol Cape Town' (See Appendix G).

1.2. Research statement

This study recognizes the tensions between two groups in Mitchell's Plain. It recognizes the racial as well as class differences among Isiqalo residents and Mitchell's Plain residents. In addition to investigating the socio-economic aspirations of both groups, the study recognizes the social connection to land and seeks to investigate this phenomenon. In analysing data collected for this study, narratives about histories, perceptions and emotions are discussed and reflected upon, in an attempt to gain deeper insight into the problems and tensions experienced in this part of the city.

1.3. The Study Area

The study area is situated in Mitchell's Plain, Cape Town. Mitchell's Plain is mainly a "coloured" township located 32 km from the central business district of Cape Town (Titans AC, 2015). It is one of South Africa's largest townships. It is situated on the Cape Flats on the False Bay coast between Muizenberg and Khayelitsha. Created as a "model township" by the apartheid government, it was built during the 1970s to house coloured victims of forced removals from central Cape Town, as a result of the implementation of the Group Areas Act. Mitchell's Plain is no longer known as an official "coloured township" although the vast majority of residents continue to identify as coloured. Sub-sections within Mitchell's Plain currently reflect a diversity in class across the population.

Isiqalo informal settlement is located along the Jakes Gerwell Drive entrance to Mitchell's Plain. Prior to the land invasion, the land consisted largely of sand dunes covered by vegetation. According to Etheridge (2018), the settlement emerged in 2011 and by the year 2018, 2291 structures had been erected on the land. Residents have moved to this land in large numbers from the end of 2011, as a result of being evicted from backyard shacks in informal settlements and townships in and across Philippi, Khayelitsha and Gugulethu, among other reasons. The land comprises of two pockets and is privately owned by Robert Ross Demolishers and Lyton Props (Etheridge, 2018). A sand mining business was operated by Ross and Lyton's, however the property had been vacant for many years. This land is now home to thousands and the settlement continues to grow.

1.4. Research Aim and Objectives

The aim of this study is to investigate the contestation over space in Mitchell's Plain, Cape Town. It aspires to elucidate the feelings and perceptions of belonging and exclusion of the

urban marginalised in this context. In order to achieve the aim, the following three objectives have been set to guide this research:

- To investigate and understand both groups' living conditions, experiences and challenges, that is Isiqalo and Mitchell's Plain residents.
- To explore the relationship between the two communities, that is Isiqalo and Mitchell's Plain residents.
- To explore perceptions and histories of territory, belonging and exclusion through the prism of the May 2018 protests.

As explained above, the interviews were conducted following the explosion of tensions in the area in 2018. Feelings have been running high and it is in this context that the above questions become pressing.

1.5. Structure of the thesis

The first chapter has introduced the thesis and the background to the study. It discussed the rationale for the study within the context of pressing social tensions in South African cities, in particular those related to land invasions in Cape Town. The case study was introduced and the aim and objectives of the study were outlined. Chapter Two discusses the relevant literature that underpins and elucidates the key themes of the study. These key themes relate to space and place in the context of Human Geography, social exclusion and urban poverty. Chapter Three provides a more detailed background to the study, laying the foundation for the research findings by giving contextual information. Chapter Four discusses the methodological approach used in the writing of this study. It includes the methods used, the ethical considerations and challenges in the data collection process. Chapters Five and Six, titled 'Space, place and belonging in Mitchell's Plain' and "'This is our place' – Narratives of desperation' respectively, include the findings and analysis of the collected data. The

findings are discussed and are linked to the key themes of the study. Chapter Seven is the conclusion of the study where the study's main findings are summarised and concluded, and recommendations made.



CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

“The city has never been a harmonious place, free of confusions, conflicts, violence.” – Christina Dreifuss-Serrano (Dreifuss-Serrano, 2015)

2.1. Introduction

The key themes identified by this study are space and place, social exclusion and urban poverty. The key literature to be reviewed seeks to elucidate the above themes and how it relates to the case study. In an attempt to review the themes of *space*, *social exclusion* and *urban poverty* this chapter will review theories such as Lefebvre’s production of space and Rights to the city. It will also explore insider/outsider perspectives on place, as well as the historical background of class, race and identities in Cape Town and the greater South Africa.

2.2. Perspectives on Space and Place

Understandings and theories of space have been debated across the various disciplines, but have been a particular and longstanding concern in Human Geography. Over the years, the theory of space and place has been contested and the desire to add a new perspective to its definition has grown. Various theoretical perspectives have been adopted over the decades to explore notions of space and place. For example, humanistic scholars in Geography argued that human beings’ ‘sense of place’ is important in exploring their real life worlds.

In Human Geography, the definition and understanding of space has shifted from one that is absolute, including a geometry or system of objects at a location, to one that is relative (Hubbard et al, 2002). With this shift we understand space to no longer solely be defined along physical lines. Instead, the understanding of space includes relational space, that is, how people relate to space. The prior understanding of space lacked this inclusion of people. The understanding of space has shifted from a positivistic and quantitative geographical

perspective to that of a qualitative one (Hubbard et al, 2002). This new approach includes the different aspects of human life such as culture or spatial contestation, for example.

The concept of relational space has been of importance in Geography and in other disciplines following the so-called “spatial turn” of the 1990s. The lens through which we view and understand space in Geography has shifted. As Arthur (2012) states, understanding space requires attention to the relations among bodies (Arthur, 2012). These relations include people’s beliefs and morals and the different ways in which it can be expressed.

Relational space is defined as that which is “continuously produced through socio-spatial relations; the relationship between space, spatial forms and spatial behaviour.” (Hubbard et al, 13: 2002). The production of space is therefore ongoing and exists as people exist on a day-to-day basis. Space encompasses and is a result of economic, cultural and socio-political relations. Space is not stagnant, but instead encompasses movement and flow.

Taking this further, the geographer David Harvey introduced the idea of ‘time-space’. He argues that space should not be viewed as absolute, which is argued by Newton, nor as relative, as argued by Einstein who, also argues that space curves or bends but time remains fixed. Instead, Harvey argues that space-time should be conceptualized as a relation (Harvey, 2008). He argues that space can only be understood through human practice. Space is thus not absolute, but depends on the circumstances.

Similar to space, place was previously understood and defined as absolute. Place was understood as “a gathering of people in a bounded locale (territory)” (Hubbard et al, 16: 2002). The concept of place has progressed and can be understood objectively and subjectively. Agnew (1987) argues that there are three components of place: namely locale, the environment in which relations exist (objective); location, the geographical region that hosts social and economic relations (objective); and sense of place, the subjective feelings

that are experienced in a place (subjective) (Agnew, 1987). Prior to the shift, the understanding of place solely included the locale and the location. The three components of place, however, are of equal importance.

According to Relph (1976), understanding the 'sense of place' encompasses sense of belonging. It is therefore impossible to exclude human relations when understanding place. Massey continues to describe place as a host of intersections and power geometrics that are the result of many economic, social and political relations (Massey, 2004). These power geometrics are what result in discrepancies in the way people experience place. Massey recognizes that people's lives are interconnected but that places are understood and experienced differently by different people.

Space relations across territories are given cultural meaning, and thus 'social space' includes forms of territoriality. Social space or spatiality relates to how geographical space, landscape and property are cultural and therefore have a history of change. Furthermore, 'lived' grassroots experiences and understandings of geographical space are social and of importance (Massey, 2004).

The influential thinker Henri Lefebvre (1991) has had a big influence in shaping theoretical ideas about space, including in Geography. As he points out, social space is a social product (Lefebvre, 1991). This means that the space produced also serves as a tool of thought and of action. Furthermore, in addition to being a means of production it is also a means of control, and thus of domination and of power.

2.2.1. Lefebvre and 'Right to the City'

The concept of '*Right to the city*', coined by Lefebvre, is defined as the right of urban citizens to not be excluded from the qualities and benefits of social life within urban societies (Isensee, 2013). David Harvey then describes the right to the city as not only a right of access

to what already exists but also the right “to change it after our heart’s desire” (Harvey, 2003: 939). He further describes this as the right to be the creator/ planner/ thinker of a different society. He argues that this is one of the most fundamental and “precious” of human rights as it is the ability to restructure the social, political and economic sphere within the city as well as outside. An important part of this right entails the act of decision-making, and he calls for this power to move from the state, to those who actually make up the urban space. Lefebvre’s notion of a ‘Right to the city’ encompasses notions of power and how power should be transferred from the state’s exclusive control to the people in urban societies.

Lefebvre reinforces the notion of space being more than something which is concrete or absolute. He then continues to categorize and conceptualise various forms of space as either perceived space, conceived space or lived space (Lefebvre & Nicholson-Smith, 1991). *Perceived space* refers to the objective and tangible space people experience daily in their surroundings. *Conceived space* refers to representations or mental constructions of space (such as planning documents). Lastly, *lived space* is the combination of perceived and conceived space and encompasses an individual’s real experience of space in their daily lives. In this view, “lived space is not just a passive stage on which social life unfolds, but represents a constituent element of social life” (Purcell, 2002).

This view of space allows us to understand the social connection people have with one another as well as the connection with their lived environment. It therefore allows us to understand territoriality within societies. Harvey (2003) argues that the city is a place of creative destruction yet at the same time, that it is a place of resilient, enduring and innovative social form. Harvey encourages us to question who really has rights within cities and whether or not the city really is a place of equality for all those who live in it.

Karl Marx wrote that ‘between equal rights force decides’ (Bodirsky, 2017: 675). Marx argues that we change ourselves by changing the world we live in and vice versa. In other words, that we are the architects of our world and that we create the city through our day-to-day actions. This involves our political, intellectual and economic interactions.

This leads us to the issue of social justice and what it entails. A socially just society would allow for all to have rights to the city. We still, however, need plans and continuous ideas regarding the ideal of justice because, as Harvey puts it, “we live in a society in which the inalienable rights to private property and the profit rate trump any other conception of inalienable rights you can think of” (Harvey, 2003: 940).

To have rights to the city means to have power in the processes of urbanization. This means to have the ability, or decision-making power, to make and remake the city and to do so in a “fundamental and radical way”, as Harvey notes. Such a perspective questions how members of society see themselves in relation to their urban landscape. It questions the nature of public space in their city. It questions how people from various social classes access the city, and the kind of interactions that exist between city administrators and residents. It also questions and identifies the spaces which the marginalized occupy.

It should be noted that urban makeup is always changing. Geographers and urban theorists have linked recent changes to globalisation and neoliberalism. A key problem in many parts of the world is the manner in which structures of urban governance are changing and are moving further and further away from the everyday reality of the urban poor. Lefebvre argues that neoliberal government disenfranchises the citizens of the city (Purcell, 2002). He argues that in order to counter such urbanism we need to move towards understanding ‘Rights to the city’. ‘Rights to the city’ is an idea that seeks to transform the nature of urban space. It is rooted in urban justice (Huchzermeyer, 2014).

Lefebvre also argues for the importance of incorporating time in our understanding of space (Elden, 2007). Space should not be conceptualized in binary terms or based on logic, but instead, should be perceived as a combination of production, exchange and accumulation over time. The above approach gives us an understanding of how space is produced. Lefebvre (2016: 6) views space as follows: not only is space a “product to be used, to be consumed, it is also a means of production; networks of exchange and flows of raw materials and energy fashion space and are determined by it.” Lefebvre then argues that in society, space is suppressed and controlled by the structures of capitalism and the control of the state.

For Lefebvre, the ‘Right to the City’ idea is a critique of understandings of city development as a mechanical process that is free from any ideology. Through his work, Lefebvre tried to create a political consciousness about urban processes. The city is seen as a result of processes where all the citizens participate. No one should be excluded from these processes, instead it should be inclusive of all (Walsh, 2013).

The city is also where the rich and the poor as well as the powerful and the layman are in conflict over the use of spaces within the city. Lefebvre gives examples of how the rich and powerful use their wealth to claim spaces within the city. This often leads to the exclusion of some. The working class, he argues, contribute toward the beauty of cities through things such as festivals and celebrations but their participation in the city is often limited to this.

In France, for example, particularly Paris, the poor have been pushed away from the city centre and their presence in the city has been replaced by offices. The wealthy people moved into suburbs and thereby emptied the urban centre. These kinds of shifts raise the conflict between diverse groups who are pushed further away from the city centre.

In his book *Urban Revolution* Lefebvre (2003) argues that spaces within the city should not only be seen in terms of ‘exchange values’, but also valued in terms of their use (‘use value’);

however because the state prioritizes exchange values, people are often alienated. He argues that cities have become a place of expropriation rather than participation.

Lefebvre argues that the way modern cities are planned and arranged should be by the people, and not for the people (Purcell, 2014). The city is supposed to be a place of experience for all. It is a place where people from diverse backgrounds, and classes contend over the shape of the city. The city should come from this process of contending.

Lefebvre further argues that the inhabitants of cities have rights. The right to live in it, the right to participate in it, and the right to make the city in their view (Simone, 2005). All should have this right. The 'Right to the city' is therefore both a signal and a demand (Marcuse, 2009). It signifies the existing pain felt by the people who are alienated from everyday life in modern societies; while the demand is that we confront the everyday reality and create an alternate reality that is meaningful, less humiliating, playful, and at the same time, engaged. For Lefebvre, the city is the place of revolution.

Essentially, the fundamental basis of the 'Right to the City' is that all humans should understand and have the ability to exercise their full citizenship so that they are able to manage their habitat and engage in social production (Isandla Institute et.al, 2011). It also promotes a democratically managed city by including all members of society to participate in planning and governance. In turn, this strengthens the local government, and therefore, national government. It also strengthens social organizations. This is critical as social organizations are often the backbone of local communities through their different programmes and initiatives. Lastly, the 'Right to the City' promotes the environmentally sustainable use of all urban space, where the overall good of the people is more valued than individual property rights.

2.3. Contested territories: Place, identity and exclusion

Power and contestation over space, place and territory are of great interest to political geographers. These are contestations over ownership or over belonging. In these conflicts, one sees the defining of ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders’ – those who are regarded as belonging versus those who are seen as not belonging in a particular space or place. An important concept here is ‘territory’, a term often coupled with land contestation. It is also an important concept in this study. Territory can be defined as a relation which can be an outcome of territoriality, or a space that is bounded (Elden, 2010).

Territory is not limited to its physical dimension, but instead includes its social dimension. It therefore has social dimensions that are evident in people’s daily lives and social patterns. Territory needs to be analysed historically and philosophically because the notion encompasses questions of identity, integrity, sovereignty and spatial coherence (Elden, 2010). Territory is social, and humans are inherently social beings. It is therefore very likely that most, if not all groups of people experience and express forms of territoriality in their daily lives.

2.3.1. Insiders and outsiders in place

Edward Relph is a key contributor to literature that explains insiders and outsiders in place and how place plays a vital and profound role in human existence (Relph, 1976). It is possible for both to co-habit the same place but simultaneously have different experiences in terms of their lived reality. He notes that ‘insiders’ tend to feel safe, secure and stable while outsiders tend to feel unsafe, insecure and stressed (Seamon & Jacob, 2008). He argues that the more people feel inside a place, the stronger their identity is with that place. On the contrary, it is possible for people to feel completely isolated and separated from place, this is called ‘outsideness’ (Seamon & Jacob, 2008).

Cresswell (2004) notes that people and things are strongly linked to particular places through particular histories. He notes the connection between people and place. This can lead to conflict and tensions that surround place. For example, this sense of identification with place is the reason that people who live in a certain area are more likely to be opposed to developments in their local communities, as opposed to being bothered by developments occurring outside of their community – the so-called NIMBY syndrome (‘not in my backyard’). Local opposition to developments such as building new housing and/or fracking, or the siting of landfills, are common examples. Cresswell also argues that when people feel that the place is under threat it may lead to crime or violence, as self-defined ‘insiders’ act to expel ‘outsiders’ from their space (Cresswell, 2004).

An insider is an individual who is perceived as being included and has a thorough understanding of local knowledge which is evident in the way the individual exists and operates within the place (Moran, 2007). Being an ‘insider’ in a community is linked to ‘belonging.’ The notion of ‘belonging’ is revealed through certain practices and through the patterns of behaviour of individuals or a community. They are generally only understood by those who live in this setting. Recent studies have shown the context-specific nature of certain structures of practices and how they shape the ways in which these differences are manifested. Insider/outsider discourses, in communities, are revealed in times of crisis, whether environmental, social or political.

In Moran’s (2007) study set in Ireland, the Connemara region is characterised as one of the most economically insignificant or marginalized areas in Ireland. Its fixation on the past through the maintenance of certain practices has been critically reviewed by the international media, so much so that day-to-day practices by residents of the region are seen as being steered towards the past. This continues to perpetuate an insider/outsider mentality, because

inhabitants of the region are viewed as marginal and as resisting attempts by incomers to integrate more fully into the community.

This must be seen however within the context of national policies in Ireland as well as European policies. Studies have found that the ways in which these ‘insider/outsider’ differences take place in everyday life at the local level is a result of the interactions between a set of complex political factors and administrative cultures at national levels, which, then, continuously recreate and amplify perceptions of 'belonging' and 'otherness' (Moran, 2007).

Chang (2000) argues, as seen in the Little India community of Singapore, that ‘insider-outsider’ identities are fluid because they can be defined in different ways. In Little India, the Chinese merchants viewed an insider as someone who has invested economically into the community, whereas the Indian community viewed an insider as someone who was of the same ethnicity as the locals (Chang, 2000). He notes that both groups have their own thoughts and ideas of how the same place should be represented. This is common with informal settlements and their surrounding communities, as examined in the current study, as both groups often claim and identify with spaces differently.

Sometimes the defining of insiders and outsiders within a community leads to far darker outcomes and is accompanied by violence. In Northern Ireland, for example, residents now choose to live apart as a result of its dark past. This was the ethno-nationalist conflict, which took place over a period of about 30 years. The social repercussions from bomb attacks, conflicts and constant military presence were severe upon residents, particularly children and young adults.

In the now democratic Northern Ireland we continue to see a divide as residents now vote to live apart. This is a reflection of the cultural divide that persists. Graham & Whelan (2007) note that there is a “what we have, we hold” narrative (Graham & Whelan, 2007: 479). This

is a key example of a place that is highly contested and where ‘*insider-outsider*’ identities are strongly reflected in the segregated spaces and lived realities of citizens. These identities stem from histories of past oppression.

Contestations over land ownership and belonging are familiar issues in the South African context. They link back to a history of colonialism in Africa, and are volatile in post-apartheid South Africa specifically. The next section moves to discuss literature on poverty in general and in particular with regard to South African cities.

2.4 Perspectives on urban poverty

Urban poverty often refers to the economic and social struggles that are experienced by marginalized individuals in industrialized cities (Cano-Hila, 2020). Urban poverty exists in industrialized societies but is usually more dominant and evident in the Global South and in countries such as South Africa. In an attempt to understand urban poverty it is first necessary to understand what poverty really is. Research has often focused on defining and characterizing poverty and two kinds of poverty have been identified; namely absolute poverty and relative poverty.

Absolute poverty is a concept used to describe individuals who do not meet the basic conditions to live a healthy life physically. Such individuals lack basic necessities such as food, adequate housing, and clothing. These standard conditions are universal and any persons who lack the above are regarded as living in absolute poverty. Relative poverty, however, contextualizes poverty and relates it to, firstly, the standard of living within a society and then also to that particular moment in history. Relative poverty must be contextualized culturally and therefore cannot be used universally and/or across societies (Cano-Hila, 2020).

Townsend (1979) explored how people interpret poverty and believed that poverty should be understood in the context in which it occurs. He argued that what is regarded as a basic need

in one society, could be regarded as a luxury in another (Townsend, 1979). For example, in developed or industrialized countries, having electricity in your household is considered a basic need; that could allow us to argue that those who live without it are living in poverty.

The basic conditions needed to qualify as a member of the urban poor can vary and depend on an individual's history, where they currently are in life and their social circumstances, to name a few. Certain variables, however, have been identified that can have an impact on the difficult situations of poverty, such as “gender, low education levels, lack of professional skills, family structure, illness, lack of social protection, marital separations, unemployment, and large families” (Cano-Hila, 2: 2020). The most vulnerable social groups are therefore children, women and the elderly.

In an attempt to categorize and define different experiences, Saraceno (2002) has identified six groups that experience poverty, namely:

“...relatively secure members of the middle class (labelled as the new poor); people with a permanently low income, living above the poverty line; the long-term deprived, who suffer significant material or non-material deprivations, but are not necessarily excluded from participating in social life; the long-term socially excluded; people with an unsettled mode of existence (labelled as commuters between a normal life course and social decline); and new immigrants...” (Saraceno, 2: 2002)

Poverty is therefore experienced by individuals who continuously have financial difficulties, however, it is not limited to this perspective. Poverty is also characterized by an individual's inability to fully integrate into the established living standards within the society. Cano-Hila (2020) notes that an individual's level of participation can be used to measure poverty. Essentially, the more impoverished an individual is, the less likely they are to participate in

society. An individual's level of participation can be affected by their income and lifestyle. An increase in income therefore means an increase in participation. In order to fully enjoy participation within a society, individuals need a particular income and resources in order to develop socially and economically.

Who or what is responsible for poverty? There are various ways in which poverty has been explained and is perceived. One perspective is that people are responsible for their poverty, this is known as the individual responsibility approach. Another perspective is that poverty is “produced and reproduced by structural forces”, this is known as the structural approach (Cano-Hila, 2020). The last perspective is that poverty depends on culture and is defined by the social system, this is known as the culture of dependency approach.

The individual responsibility approach shifts the responsibility to the individual who experiences poverty. This perspective holds the view that people who experience poverty have a lack of skills, and have moral and physical inadequacies and this causes them to not achieve success. The structural approach to poverty shifts the responsibility to structural processes. According to this perspective, the structural forces that act within a society (factors such as gender, class, ethnicity, employment status, education level, etc.) determine the distribution of resources.

This structural view of poverty explains that the lack of ambition observed among some poor groups is not the result of a culture of dependency, as some argue, but is rather the result of their precarious and deteriorated personal and social situation; thus, the lack of prospects and effort is the *consequence* of poverty, not its cause. From this perspective, combating poverty does not involve an individual change, but rather requires policy measures that seek to distribute wealth and resources across all of society in a more equal way (Cano-Hila, 2020).

From a cultural perspective, Murray (1990) looked at what he calls a culture of dependency, which is how poor people depend on the social-welfare system and the benefits thereof as opposed to being active in the labour market. He notes that a “subculture” has been created where the personal development, ambition and the desire for self-improvement has weakened (Murray, 1990). Poor people who depend on the social-welfare system settle for receiving hand-outs instead of striving towards a better life. This is a big risk, as they live on the funds created by other members of society.

2.4.1 Race and poverty in South Africa

In South Africa, race is intertwined with poverty in complex ways. Due to the period of colonization, South Africa has become a racially diverse country. According to Gradin (2013) in 2008, approximately 80% of the population had different African ancestry while 9% of people were mixed race (coloured). Whites were an additional 9%, and the remaining 2.5% were of Asian or Indian origin. Furthermore, during the apartheid regime the distribution of resources was extremely unequal across these groups. White people had approximately eight times the average per capita income and expenditure levels of non-whites. Apartheid’s legacy is evident today as the inequality still exists and is evident in and across the different provinces. This racial divide has significantly impacted population groups in terms of poverty and deprivation (Gradin, 2013).

South Africa is one of the most unequal societies in the world and the poverty gap has widened since the end of apartheid. South Africa continues to have a dual economy and has one of the persistently highest inequality rates in the world. According to The World Bank (2021), the Gini coefficient recorded in 2015 was recorded at 0,63. The high inequality levels continue to exist because of the legacy of exclusion and the nature of economic growth, which is not pro-poor and does not generate enough jobs. In terms of wealth there continue

be stark inequalities, especially as “intergenerational mobility is low” (The World Bank, 2021) which means that inequalities are passed down from generation to generation.

Conceptualizing and analysing urban poverty, however, goes one step further as it requires that one focuses on the processes that generate urban poverty. These processes include social dualization, stigmatization, poverty concentration and precariousness. Understanding urban poverty is about more than merely calculating the level of poverty in a given country or region. Understanding urban poverty is about analysing the conditions that lead to the different situations of poverty. It is about analysing both the processes that generate urban poverty and understanding the processes that offer a way out of it.

2.5. Theories of social exclusion

The theory of social exclusion recognizes that “poverty has both material and nonmaterial dimensions” (Sen, 2000). What often goes unrecognized is the nonmaterial dimension of poverty – that is, exclusion. This refers to the exclusion of the poor from participating in and accessing opportunities and activities. According to PACS (2016), social exclusion is generally characterised by three distinguishable features. Firstly, it “involves culturally-defined social categories” meaning it reflects cultural perceptions, values and norms, all of which shape and influence social interactions. Secondly, social exclusion must be seen as embedded in social relations. Thirdly, the practice of social exclusion “affects people’s rights and entitlements”, thus recognizing the many ways in which people are denied the opportunities needed to obtain and sustain a good standard of living (PACS, 2016). Furthermore, the study of social exclusion can help contextualize poverty in social systems and structures. It contains an important focus on causality. It also involves a clear awareness of the multi-dimensionality of deprivation (Hickey & duToit, 2013).

In an attempt to better understand social exclusion, it would be useful to delve into social *inclusion* and what it encompasses. Social inclusion encompasses being an integral member of society. Such a member has access to good social networks, adequate housing, educational resources and various resources within a community (Khan, 2015). This access gives rise to opportunity. The UN describes social inclusion as:

“...the process by which efforts are made to ensure equal opportunities – that everyone, regardless of their background, can achieve their full potential in life. Such efforts include policies and actions that promote equal access to (public) services as well as enable citizen’s participation in the decision-making processes that affect their lives...” (Brown, 2021)

Social exclusion occurs as certain members of society are pushed or relegated to the outskirts of society. When this happens, members are no longer able to participate in, or lose, rights within society. This may be in the form of reduced legal rights, reduced access to resources or reduced opportunities. Ways in which members are pulled from the core, ‘included’ society vary. A key factor is poverty. Poverty acts as a magnet and pulls members away from the core society and into the fringes.

This may have a geographical element to it. As people move away from the city centre, they experience a greater degree of social exclusion. In essence, poverty derails people to these fringes where many, if not all people, are denied access to resources.

Another ‘magnet’ is ill-health. Members of society who are physically or mentally ill may experience a harder time interacting in society and may also be derailed into the fringes. Another magnet is discrimination, particularly along the line of race, gender and sexual orientation, among others such as citizenship for example. Other factors include the lack of education, jobs and housing. The above factors or reasons why people are socially excluded

often work in conjunction and people usually experience more than one reason why they are socially excluded. They deal with a large number of forces that pull them away into the fringes of society. This process has a number of consequences. It could be in the form of members experiencing a greater degree of ill-health, or an increase in criminal activity due to feeling disenfranchised, to name a few (Agulnik, 2002).

The concept of segregation is vital when reflecting on social exclusion. Segregation often affects other services such as schools, housing, and historically, has often linked to racial segregation. Some may refer to this concept as being “separate but equal”. On the contrary, because of South Africa’s historical apartheid we know this statement is untrue. Those who were discriminated against during the period of enforced segregation were provided with substandard or worse services. The minority population had the upper hand and were segregated from the rest of society, either through laws or informal processes (also known as ‘hidden discrimination’).

Another concept is social isolation, this is where a community may separate itself from the mainstream and do so on a voluntary basis. Such communities may do so due to religious, cultural or other factors perhaps in an aim to preserve their identity. This, however, is different from social exclusion as social exclusion refers to external factors that push or pull an individual to the fringes of society.

2.5.1 A brief history of social exclusion in Cape Town

The issue of land in Cape Town is one that cannot be fully understood without a reflection on its socio-political and spatial history. Cape Town’s history is characterised by racial discrimination, translated into the infamous system of apartheid which was implemented in South Africa from the 1950s (Spinks, 2001). This was a systematic attempt to exclude non-white people from the benefits of citizenship.

With the Nationalist Party victory in 1948 (the onset of apartheid), even though Cape Town was a colonial city and race was a major influence of its human geography, it was still one of the least racially segregated cities in sub-Saharan Africa (Western, 1981). Cape Town was then remodelled within the 46-year period of white-controlled, rule. The remodel was solely along racial lines.

Considering Cape Town's three and a half century history of intercontinental trade and slavery, the majority of Capetonians, were neither Whites nor Blacks but "mixed-race" and were labelled "Cape Coloured" (Western, 1981). The new government attempted to restructure the racial geography of South Africa; "...in some areas Coloureds were obliged to supplant Black Africans, or Indians to supplant Black Africans; and there are ethno-linguistic divisions even among Black Africans" (Western, 1981).

These racial lines have strongly framed Cape Town's urban geography ever since, despite efforts to change this. Fixing and correcting this error was, and continues to be, a big obstacle for the current government. Cape Town residents have received political freedom but this is not fully reflected in its geography. The spatial planning of the city is too strongly along the lines of racial segregation. It can be argued that the attempt to untie the city from its racial geography has unfortunately placed additional pressure on the, already divided, people of Cape Town.

Cities were viewed as primarily spaces for the white minority. Despite the fact that Whites are outnumbered by Black Africans, apartheid regulations sought to limit the number of Black Africans entering the cities in the country. However, after the collapse of the disenfranchising and immoral political system, South Africa witnessed a change in its urban geography. The Group Areas Act was repealed in 1991 and attempts to enforce pass laws

were abandoned in 1986. This meant that black South Africans were now allowed to stay in Cape Town as residents.

It is predominantly a combination of the repeal of these laws as well as the removal of the Coloured Labour Preference Area regulations that led to the most significant change to Cape Town. From 1982 to 1992, the Black African population in Cape Town drastically increased, with Xhosa people arriving from the Ciskei and Transkei in the Eastern Cape in response to work opportunities. We continue to see this growth today. Rian Malan describes this in a colourful way:

“..It was as if a distant dam had broken, allowing a mass of desperate and hopeful humanity to come flooding over the mountains and spread out across the Cape Flats. They came at a rate of eighty, ninety families a day, and built homes with their bare hands, using wooden poles, tin sheeting bits and pieces of trash rescued from landfills and plastic garbage bags to keep out of the rain.” (Ahluwalia & Zegeye, 2003: 267)

The government’s capacity to provide adequate housing was overtaken by the rate and scale of the influx of people into cities. The government could not, and still cannot keep up with this rate in terms of the provision of housing. This has given rise to a significant feature across South African cities: informal settlements (also known as shantytowns or squatter settlements). The housing structures, known as shacks, are made of tin, cardboard and wood. As informal settlements grow, so does the pressure and demand on the housing programme, in particular the Reconstruction & Development Programme (SAHO, 2011).

Communities that co-exist alongside informal settlements are no longer purely segregated along racial lines. Such communities are often separated by histories, languages, and economics (SAHO, 2011). This is the reason why we continue to see groupings in Cape

Town. In Mitchell's Plain, for example, the majority of residents still speak Afrikaans as well as English. In most cases either the residents, or their parents have experienced the reality of segregation during apartheid and were identified as coloured under the apartheid racial classification system. Similarly, most Khayelitsha residents still speak isiXhosa, as well as English, and most residents identified as Black under the apartheid racial classification system.

On the Cape Flats in particular, nearly all of the communities remain poverty stricken. Due to apartheid's forced removals, massive housing settlements on the Cape Flats were built for people removed from the city centre and relocated. The "Group Areas" on the Cape Flats include Athlone; Belhar; Bonteheuwel; Cape Flats Dune Strandveld; Cape Flats Sand Fynbos; Elsies River; Khayelitsha; Manenberg; Heideveld; Hanover Park; Mitchell's Plain; Lavender Hill; Vrygrond; Capricorn; Overcome Heights; Sea Winds; Retreat; Grassy Park; Lansdowne, Cape Town; Ottery, Cape Town; Lotus River; Parkwood; Strandfontein; Pelican Park and Eagle Park (SAHO, 2011).

"Despite significant political and economic progress, with three open general elections, a progressive constitution, and a growing black middle class, apartheid's sociospatial structure remains dominant." (Oldfield in Lemanski & Oldfield, 2009: 3)

Lemanski & Oldfield (2009) note that although all citizens now have the freedom to move to any part of the City, we continue to see segregated areas, particularly along the urban periphery. Even when affordable housing is provided by government to low-income citizens who are generally black Africans, it is often located along the urban periphery. This perpetuates the segregated apartheid geography of Cape Town.

Oldfield (2002) argues that the government and communities need to be analysed and reconstructed in order to see true transformation in the post-apartheid city. The nature and fabric of the relationships between the government, policies and citizens also need to be reconstructed. Oldfield notes that spaces such as the Cape Flats, although they no longer serve the same purpose as they did during apartheid, continue to mirror the racialized apartheid city.

2.6 Conclusion

Ultimately, contestations over space, social exclusion and territory are interrelated. This chapter has reviewed literature on the perspectives on space and place, Lefebvre's *Right to the city*, and contested territories that include identities and exclusion. It has also reviewed literature on insiders and outsiders in places, as well as perspectives on urban poverty in South and social exclusion in the City of Cape Town and the Cape Flats in particular. The apartheid era is long over, however we continue to see the inequalities and divisions perpetuated in the modern City and in the distribution and ownership of resources such as land. Race and class still greatly influence South Africa's spatial geography, nationally, provincially and locally.

CHAPTER THREE: BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

This chapter provides further contextual information for the study, thus assisting the reader in understanding the findings (Chapters 5 and 6). The chapter provides more detail on the land issue in Mitchell's Plain and the broader Cape Town. It contextualizes this thesis, provides in-depth information on the background of Isiqalo informal settlement and provides additional information of the May 2018 protest action.

3.1. Contextualising the urban land issue in Mitchell's Plain

The pressure on South African municipalities to provide residential, and other forms of land, is constantly growing. Prof. Angelopulo notes that this pressure will double in the years 2015 to 2030 because of rapid population growth (Dlamini, 2015). Angelopulo estimates that the population in South African cities grows by about 25 percent every five to six years. In addition to the need for housing, this growth is coupled with an increased pressure on the public school system, the provision of water and electricity, and the transport system.

It has been estimated that, by 2050, an estimated 80 percent of South African citizens will predominantly be living in cities. The City of Cape Town has a capital expenditure budget to deal with infrastructure; however, the population growth increasingly surpasses the growth in the economy. It is therefore crucial that the City is pro-active and responsive in its planning.

The City has attempted to address and improve such planning and development through various platforms/planning frameworks such as Integrated Development Plans, Spatial Development Frameworks, Integrated Human Settlements Strategies, Housing Projects Pipelines and the like. Limited access to funding, however, has delayed the implementation of the above (Dlamini, 2015).

Land invasions are generally a result of a number of processes such as rapid urbanization, population growth, immigration, and limited funding in terms of housing delivery. As explained land invasions are responses to structural inequality in South African cities and are coupled with social, economic and environmental challenges, which are evident at a local and community level. They may also impact existing planned projects aimed at providing housing opportunities.

Informal settlements have become a permanent feature in and across Mitchell's Plain. Mitchell's Plain is one of the largest settlements in the Western Cape. According to a 2011 Census, Mitchell's Plain has a population of 310 485 (which has certainly increased in the last decade) with 67 995 households and an average of 4.57 members per household (CoCT, 2013). The sub-sections within Mitchell's Plain are the following: Bay View, Beacon Valley, Colorado, Eastridge, Lenteguur, Mandalay, Mitchells Plain Town Centre, Portland, Rocklands, San Remo, Strandfontein, Strandfontein Village, Tafelsig, Wavecrest, Weltevreden Valley, Westgate, Westridge, Wolfgat Nature Reserve and Woodlands.

The population in Mitchell's Plain identifies predominantly as Coloured (91%). Education levels are not high, with only 35% of people at the age of 20 years and older having completed Grade 12 or higher. 38% of households have a monthly income of R3 200 or less. That said, 95% of households live in formal dwellings, 99% of households have access to piped water in their dwelling or inside their yard, and 96% of households have access to a flush toilet connected to the public sewer system. 99.5% of households have their refuse removed at least once a week. 99% of households use electricity for lighting in their dwelling (CoCT, 2013).

The housing types and distribution is characterized by formal dwellings and council houses occupied by ‘coloureds’, and informal dwellings in backyards and informal settlements predominantly inhabited by black African residents.

The following tables (Tables 1 and 2) represent the labour force and monthly household income in Mitchell’s Plain.

Table 1: Income of Mitchell's Plain residents (CoCT, 2013)

Mitchell’s Plain Monthly Household Income	Black African		Coloured	
	Number	%	Number	%
No income	645	11.6%	6 258	10.2%
R1 – R1 600	633	11.4%	7 977	13.1%
R1 601 – R3 200	720	12.9%	9 225	15.1%
R3 201 – R6 400	831	14.9%	12 573	20.6%
R6 401 – R12 800	1 059	19.0%	12 600	20.6%
R12 801 – R25 600	1 068	19.2%	8 865	14.5%
R25 601 – R51 200	522	9.4%	3 102	5.1%
R51 201 – R102 400	69	1.2%	333	0.5%
R 102 401 or more	30	0.5%	174	0.3%
Unspecified	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Total	5 577	100.0%	61 107	100.0%

Table 2: Mitchell's Plain labour force (CoCT, 2013)

Mitchell's Plain Labour Force Indicators	Black African	Coloured
Population between the ages of 15 and 64 years	15 897	192 006
Labour Force	9 933	116 502
Employed	7 791	87 993
Unemployed	2 142	28 509
Not Economically Active	5 964	75 504
Discouraged Work-seekers	537	6 960
Other not economically active	5427	68 544
Rates %		
Unemployment rate	21.6%	24.47%
Labour absorption rate	49.01%	45.83%
Labour Force participation rate	62.48%	60.68%



3.2. Background of Isiqalo informal settlement

In about November 2011, residents moved onto the land now known as Isiqalo informal settlement, either because they could no longer afford the rent at their previous homes, wanted their own homes, or because they were evicted from their previous homes. The land on which Isiqalo is located was originally portion 20 of Farm 787, Philippi, Cape Road, Western Cape, known as “the Ross property”, as well as portion 5 of Farm 787, Cape Division, Western Cape known as “the Lyton property”. The Lyton property is about eight hectares while the Ross property is over eight hectares in size (Katz & Pillay, 2013).

In the case of the Ross property, the landowner sought an interdict and the eviction of residents through a court order in August 2012. The landowner initially ran a sand mining business that supplied sand to many building contractors in the Western Cape. According to

Ross, the residents started off small in number but grew rapidly in about July 2012 after protests over service delivery.

Ross sought help from the City's Anti-land invasion unit on 6 August 2012 but was told nothing could be done without a court order, which was then given on 22 August 2012 (Katz & Pillay, 2013). Ross notes that the City provided the residents with toilets in June 2012 and the growth rate increased daily since then, with about 10 new structures being erected daily.

The City notes that they initially sought to relocate the residents to housing units in Wolwerivier, considering that it was a small number of structures (about 100). The City argues that both landowners allowed the numbers to increase on their properties, as they did not timeously bring the matter to court. The City was thus limited in the actions it could take, and claims to have warned landowners that the numbers would increase if they did not act timeously.

In terms of the Lyton property, the landowner also sought an interdict and for residents to be evicted through a court order on 16 August 2012. The majority of residents invaded the property from the beginning of August 2012, although some invaded prior to this. The property was initially vacant for 16 years and was never used for sand mining.

In the early stages, residents were asked many times to vacate the property. In 2012, Councilor Brent asked and instructed residents to vacate the property and remove their structures, noting that legal action would be taken against them should they refuse to do so. Numerous attempts were then made by the City to prevent the increase in the number of structures being erected, all of which were unsuccessful. Since then, Isiqalo informal settlement continued to grow.

The City recognizes its responsibility to provide emergency housing in compliance with Chapter 12 of the National Housing Code. Part A of Chapter 12 of the Code notes that:

“South Africa is continuously affected by natural disasters that destroy/and/or damage houses thereby rendering households homeless and destitute;” and “... Current urbanization trends and substantial housing backlog contribute to events that leave households homeless and destitute” (Human settlement, 2009).

The demand for housing, however, particularly in terms of the City’s Emergency Housing Programme is greater than its supply. The City is not in a position to provide emergency housing to all who need it immediately but aims to do so in progression. The City has also not been able to commit to a date of when such housing will be provided because of the large number of residents in Isiqalo who are in need of emergency housing. The City did, however, commit to including the residents in its list of people who are in need of emergency housing in its emergency housing programme (Katz & Pillay, 2013).

Eight years on, the City still does not have emergency land available for the relocation of Isiqalo residents and it will not purchase the Ross and Lyton properties because it does not consider them feasible for housing purposes. The land is unstable and prone to flooding. The City also does not have sufficient funding available as yet to provide alternative accommodation to the residents. Over the years, the City has attempted to provide basic services such as taps and toilet facilities although this has not been sufficient, and has caused residents to protest over services on numerous occasions.

3.3. Background of May 2018 protests

The protests started on Tuesday, 1 May 2018, along the Jakes Gerwel Drive between the R300 and Highlands Drive. These protests allegedly took place because the City did not respond to a letter, submitted by the Isiqalo residents, demanding services (*The Plainsman*, 2018). Violence broke out and spilled onto Highlands Drive as an ATM and petrol station was looted by members of the Isiqalo community. A fruit and vegetable stall was also burnt down and as a result of the continuous protests, traffic was closed off on the Jakes Gerwel

Drive and the connecting roads, on Wednesday, 2 May 2018. This caused severe congestion in Mitchells Plain and sparked the frustration of residents. Mitchell's Plain residents retaliated by throwing stones at the Isiqalo protesters.

The violence continued and progressed on the Wednesday evening. Many residents were injured through clashes with the police. In an attempt to disperse the crowd, police set off stun grenades and opened fire. Multiple residents from both groups were injured, one man was shot in the leg and Mogamat Tauriq Mohamed, a 21-year-old young Bayview resident, tragically died as a taxi drove into the protesters on Wednesday night. Hundreds of Mitchell's Plain residents also formed a human chain along Highlands and Jakes Gerwel Drives to stop protesters from re-entering the community.

Western Cape commissioner from the South African Human Rights Commission, Chris Nissen, and MEC for Community Safety, Dan Plato, stepped onto the scene to talk to residents of both communities in an attempt to stop the protests. They hoped to come up with, and facilitate, an agreement between the two communities. A number of organizations were present at these meetings such as the Muslim Judicial Council and the Mitchell's Plain United Residents' Association. During these discussions, protests continued, but they managed to come to a peaceful agreement between both groups.

Resulting from these incidents, was the emergence of a new civil society organization *Gatvol Cape Town*, a group that has voiced local perspectives in discussions surrounding the protests and related social issues in Mitchell's Plain. The organization was officially formed on 30 April 2018 and sought to give voice to the 'coloured' struggles and experiences of marginalization in Mitchell's Plain and the greater Cape Flats in particular.

The group's spokesperson, Fadiel Adams, from Lentegour, Mitchell's Plain, strongly contends that a key goal of the group has been to secure homes and social services for

“people of the Western Cape” (Kamaldien, 2018). Today *Gatvol* is a registered political party known as the Cape Coloured Congress who continues to voice perspectives of exclusion, territory and belonging in Mitchell’s Plain. These are all key themes in this study and will be discussed at length in later chapters.



CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1. Introduction

Located in the field of Human Geography, this thesis adopts a qualitative methodological approach in investigating these issues of space, place and belonging. The study explores issues concerning space and contestation over space, seeking to understand the idea of ‘territory’ and ‘exclusion’ as held by members of two communities in Mitchell’s Plain. It has been advocated that a qualitative approach allows the researcher to understand the phenomenon in “context-specific settings” (Golafshani, 2003). The issue of land invasions in Cape Town is one that needs to be understood within its specific context in Mitchell’s Plain. It is not a new topic, but what is of interest here is the impacts on local social dynamics. What is also of interest here is the unique perspectives of local residents from the community.

The research design used in this study was selected to address and explore all of the themes identified by this research project. It was used to collect specific data of local perspectives and views. This approach takes into consideration how people have different opinions on different matters, and how, most times, people have different opinions on the same matter. It is a design that is inductive rather than deductive. The perspectives and histories of the Mitchell’s Plain and Isiqalo residents are valued, taken into account and are put at the forefront.

As well as being qualitative, the research design could also be described as ‘exploratory.’ The meaning here is that the researcher travels over a particular space with the intent of discovering the nature of a problem, which enables the researcher to then clarify and define the problem. Stebbins (2001) describes it as “spatial exploration”. Exploratory studies are also used to diagnose the situation, screen for alternatives and discover new ideas (Stebbins, 2001).

4.2. Research aim and objectives

This study seeks to understand participants' connection to land, as well as perceptions and histories of territory and exclusion in Mitchells Plain. These perceptions and histories are emotive and, in some cases, they include feelings of anger or sadness towards the issues that are being discussed.

The aim of this study is to investigate the contestation over space in Mitchell's Plain, Cape Town. It is also to elucidate the feelings and perceptions of belonging and exclusion of the urban marginalised. In order to achieve the aim, the following three objectives have been set to guide this research:

- To investigate and understand both groups' living conditions, experiences and challenges, that is Isiqalo and Mitchell's Plain residents.
- To explore the relationship between the two communities, that is Isiqalo and Mitchell's Plain residents.
- To explore perceptions and histories of territory, belonging and exclusion through the prism of the May 2018 protests.

4.3. Data collection

This study recognizes that methods must be shaped and framed according to the nature of the phenomenon that is being investigated or explored (Altheide & Schneider, 2013). Two key methods of primary data collection have been used to gather data for analysis. First, semi-structured interviews were conducted with respondents (See Appendix E). The collection and review of both mainstream media articles and social media posts pertaining to the events with which the study is concerned was also of great importance.

The interviews focused on the participants' experiences, opinions, feelings and attitudes. The purpose of conducting semi-structured as opposed to unstructured interviews was to use the questions posed as prompts. While enabling me to understand specific themes from the

participants' perspective, this approach also allowed for a measure of standardisation for the interviews.

The strengths of this approach are that some questions were prepared prior to the interview, which allowed for some structure and enabled me to continuously steer the interview. I was also able to ask follow-up questions to gain clarity and more insight, which allowed for a two-way dialogue. Prepared questions have also allowed for the data to be analysed and interpreted more easily. Limitations to this approach are that it is a time-consuming process, particularly in the transcribing of interviews. The wide variety of responses received made the analysis and interpretation challenging.

This study sought to understand both groups' connection to land and space, including Isiqalo residents as well as Mitchell's Plain residents. In the interviews, certain questions were set to address the objectives that have been put forth. The first objective was "*to understand both groups' connection to land and space, that is Isiqalo residents as well as established Mitchell's Plain residents.*" The question "*How would you/ your family be affected if you were no longer allowed to live in Mitchell's Plain?*" enabled me to probe this question.

To address the second objective, "*to explore perceptions and histories of territory*", I asked the question: "*Do you regard Mitchell's Plain as a place that is significant to you and/or your family? Why?*". These questions were accompanied by follow-up questions to gain more insight.

Lastly, to address the third objective "*to explore perceptions and histories of exclusion*", I entered the conversation with the questions: "*Do you feel as though you belong in the community of Mitchell's Plain? Why?*". These questions sought to elicit experiences, feelings, opinions and attitudes from the respondents. My interest was in their view of the space and their relationship to it, as well as their attitudes to 'other' groups (See Appendix E).



Figure 2: Map/aerial view of Isiqalo informal settlement (Prepared by the author from Google Earth)

The second means of data collection was through the mainstream media as well as social media. The conflict in Mitchell's Plain escalated in 2018 as described in Chapter Three, and received quite widespread attention in the press. In addition to mainstream media articles, I also collected data from social media. Media pieces that have been reviewed are in the form of Facebook posts, Youtube videos as well as online news articles.

4.4. Research process: Interviews and Sample

A total of 20 semi-structured interviews were conducted in Mitchell's Plain between 24 February 2020 and 21 August 2020 (see Table 3). The findings of these interviews, along with media pieces, and literature, are used in the analysis presented in Chapter Five.

Purposive sampling was used to identify certain participants in the study. The process of purposive sampling involves identifying and selecting individuals or groups of individuals that are especially knowledgeable about or have experienced the phenomenon that is of interest to the researcher (Palinkas et al, 2015). In the context of this study, participants were

interviewed on the basis of having prior knowledge of the protest action which took place on Jakes Gerwel Drive, Mitchell's Plain in May 2018.

To develop a full understanding of the protest action, the reasons and the effects thereof, I interviewed a few of the prominent community leaders in Mitchell's Plain and Isiqalo. This includes Ben*, former Gatvol Cape Town leader, Mavis*, Isiqalo community leader and Norman, former ward councillor in Portland, Mitchells Plain who is currently chairperson of the Mitchell's Plain Community Police Forum. These leaders were approached because they played key roles during and after the protest action. Norman, for example, formed part of the board of members who convened to negotiate with Isiqalo residents and the local municipal officials to make peace and put forward solutions. Mavis remains a chairperson in Isiqalo, and was in the forefront of the protests over electricity and housing.

Further interviews were secured through snowball sampling. The process of snowball sampling involves allowing individuals to locate other individuals or groups of individuals who would be of assistance to the research project (Biernaki & Waldorf, 1981). This method is very useful when the research topic is on a sensitive issue that could be controversial, and so having insiders' knowledge makes it easier for participants to refer me to other participants for the study.

Interviews conducted in Isiqalo informal settlement and the greater Mitchell's Plain took place over a period of seven months, stretching between March and August 2020 (See Appendix H). Interviews conducted took place in areas such as Isiqalo, Rocklands, Portlands, Eastridge and Colorado Park. All interviews, but two, were conducted face-to-face. Given the COVID-19 lockdown and its restrictions, two interviews took place online, via video call. It was not possible to contact most of the respondents in this way, however, so that on-site visits

were necessary. During these interviews, all precautions were adopted to avoid the possible spreading of the disease (see discussion below).

The profile of participants included both men and women to get perspectives from both genders. There was also a wide age range amongst the participants with the youngest being 21 years of age and the eldest being 69 years of age. There was also a good representation of residents from both population groups, both black African and coloured. Participants also had various forms of housing or dwellings – shacks, wendy houses (backyard dwelling), and government subsidising (RDP) housing.

Table 3: Summary of interviews conducted

ID	Age	Sex	Place	Date of interview	Race
1	69	Female	Rocklands, MP	24-02-2020	Coloured
2	65	Female	Rocklands, MP	24-02-2020	Coloured
3	65	Male	Eastridge, MP	27-02-2020	Coloured
4	42	Female	Portlands, MP	28-02-2020	Coloured
5	21	Female	Colorado, MP	10-03-2020	Coloured
6	69	Female	Isiqalo	12-03-2020	Black
7	63	Female	Isiqalo	12-03-2020	Black
8	25	Male	Colorado, MP	12-03-2020	Coloured
9	32	Male	Colorado, MP	12-03-2020	Coloured
10	45	Male	Lentegeur, MP	12-05-2020	Coloured
11	43	Female	Rocklands, MP	21-08-2020	Black
12	24	Female	Isiqalo	19-08-2020	Coloured
13	28	Male	Isiqalo	19-08-2020	Black
14	62	Male	Isiqalo	19-08-2020	Coloured

15	28	Male	Isiqalo	19-08-2020	Coloured
16	23	Male	Isiqalo	19-08-2020	Black
17	56	Female	Isiqalo	19-08-2020	Black
18	38	Female	Isiqalo	19-08-2020	Black
19	43	Female	Isiqalo	19-08-2020	Black
20	43	Male	Isiqalo	19-08-2020	Black

In terms of language, the majority of interviews were conducted in English. A few were conducted in Afrikaans (See Appendix E), which was not a challenge because I am able to interpret and translate Afrikaans as it is my first additional language. However, to ensure that isiXhosa-speaking participants (See Appendix E) were free to participate, an interpreter accompanied me, Siya, who is an isiXhosa-speaking man who is a resident in Mitchell's Plain and quite familiar with Isiqalo and the topics being explored by this study.

4.5. Challenges and limitations experienced in the research process

Several challenges were faced throughout the course of this study and were mainly related to the COVID-19 pandemic and its restrictions. Due to the national lockdown and the social distancing restrictions, the process of data collection was delayed and pushed back by several months. This meant that residents could not be interviewed until restrictions were eased. This also meant that additional data such as photographs could not be collected. Once restrictions were eased, another challenge was getting participants to adhere to health protocols such as wearing a mask at all times. This was a challenge as some participants didn't own a mask because of affordability reasons, particularly in Isiqalo. To combat this, I maintained social distancing at all times, sanitized regularly and wore a mask as well as a facial visor for additional protection.

The process of conducting interviews was also hindered because of a concern for my personal safety as entering the squatter camp alone was a risk. To combat this, I was accompanied by Siya, an interpreter and friend who is familiar with Isiqalo in terms of its geography and residents. The concern for our safety when entering Isiqalo remained though, and limited the amount of time we spent in the community.

Prior to being accompanied by Siya, I found that few people in Isiqalo were willing to participate in the study. Residents were not willing to be interviewed or answer any questions related to the past protests. This may have been partly due to the language barrier, and partly due to trust issues, because when I then re-entered the community with an interpreter who was familiar to people, the interviews were able to proceed.

4.6. Data analysis

In terms of the process of analysing the corpus of data, it has been analysed through the process of coding. Coding requires the researcher to engage with, meditate and reflect on the data. It allows the researcher to, systematically; condense large data sets into smaller units that reflect the newly created categories as well as concepts obtained from the data (Lockyer, 2004). It also allows the researcher to make linkages with different parts of the data that share similar properties.

In order to fully analyse the data, the interview transcripts were read multiple times, including sources found through social media. I then created categories surrounding specific topics related to my study, particularly those closely linked to the literature review. After reading through the interview transcripts many times, I was able to identify themes and to give each theme a code and a highlighted colour. This was done manually.

This was useful in allowing me to draw together data collected with respect to a particular theme or issue. The fact that the interviews were semi-structured was helpful in this regard, as the themes linked closely to the research objectives. This approach made interpreting the

data easier. Assigning codes to relevant quotes helped capture what the responses were about, which in turn, helped me better analyse the responses from the interviews.

4.7. Reflections on the research experience

Conducting this study has been a unique experience. My positionality as a young coloured woman has affected the study in a number of ways. Exploring the histories of the coloured community in Mitchell's Plain has been relatable on different levels. I happened to be an insider in the coloured group and this caused the data collection process to be easier. The ability to fully understand and speak Afrikaans and local slang was also to my advantage. The participants were put at ease and as a result they were encouraged to share more in-depth perspectives on the topics that were discussed during interviews. This is why the interviews conducted with coloured residents are longer and more engaging.

As an 'outsider' to the Isiqalo community, throughout the data collection process I encountered a number of challenges. Prior to entering the area, the fear of being robbed, kidnapped or worse, was overwhelming and initially hindered the data collection process. As a Mitchell's Plain resident, the conversation surrounding Isiqalo was very negative, as the place has essentially been described to me as a 'no-go zone' by family, friends and neighbours. Isiqalo, along with other informal settlements, has a reputation of high crime levels, particularly being targeted at women. As a result of this fear, the first few interviews were conducted on the boundary of Isiqalo where residents who might have been walking or working as hawkers, were approached. As a coloured woman, I was not welcomed and the community was reluctant to talk to me. It was significantly harder to interview Isiqalo residents than Mitchell's Plain residents.

Gaining the trust of Isiqalo residents was a challenge. Many residents were afraid to disclose information for a number of reasons. One reason was the fear of revealing too much information that could potentially reveal their level of involvement during the 2018 protest

action, which could potentially criminalize them or their friends and family members. Another reason could be related to disclosing information that could lead to their eviction.

My interpreter, and friend, Siya was essential in addressing the challenges surrounding fear, reliance of disclosing information, and language barriers. As he is able to speak both English and isiXhosa, Siya assisted in interpreting between certain participants and myself. Siya also played a strong role in making me feel more confident in the spaces of Isiqalo informal settlement and in engaging with the residents.

As explained above, an effort was made to ensure that respondents were able to express themselves in the language in which they felt comfortable. The nature of the study was clearly explained to them as well as what their participation would mean. Participants were given an information letter (See Appendix A) and consent form (See Appendix D), in the appropriate language. It was explained to all participants that their participation was voluntary and that they could withdraw at any time if they desired to do so, and that they were under no obligation to participate in my study. In the process of writing up the findings, pseudonyms were used to ensure the confidentiality and anonymity of participants. The findings are presented and discussed in the following two chapters.

CHAPTER FIVE: SPACE, PLACE AND BELONGING IN MITCHELL'S PLAIN/ISIQALO

5.1. Introduction

The discussions on informal settlements are often to do with service delivery, housing or crime. While this is important, the discussion on the social implications that come with land invasions is often neglected. The constant growth of informal settlements in South Africa places significant pressure on local and national authorities, but more so on local social dynamics. This study focuses in particular on the effect of land invasions on local social dynamics in Mitchell's Plain. In this study, we see two groups pitted against one another in the contested space of Mitchell's Plain. In presenting the research findings, this chapter explores each group's sense of place and belonging within Mitchell's Plain, as well as in the greater Cape Town area.

The May 2018 protest action, which is not the first of its kind and will not be the last, laid bare a stark social divide between the two communities within Mitchell's Plain. The protests initially started off as a demand for service delivery, but quickly developed into an 'us' versus 'them' narrative. In order to place this in context, this chapter presents findings on the first two objectives of the study, which are: to explore perceptions and histories of territory in the context of Mitchell's Plain and Isiqalo; and to understand both groups' connection to land and space, that is Isiqalo residents as well as established Mitchell's Plain residents. It will also explore and discuss the socioeconomic struggles and challenges faced by residents, as well as local aspirations.

5.2. Living in Isiqalo Informal Settlement

Through observations and interviews with respondents, it is clear that the poor living conditions in the informal settlement of Isiqalo are a challenge as residents attempt to build safe, healthy and sustainable lives for themselves and their families. Residents experience various challenges related to infrastructure, health and safety.

In terms of housing, the zinc, metal and wood material used to build their informal dwellings is vulnerable to environmental factors such as wind, and particularly, rain. As a result, and because of how unstable the land is (which is a result of the illegal sand mining), the land is prone to flooding and is, essentially, uninhabitable. As one respondent explained:

“...that land. It’s not 100%, firstly. So if it’s raining, as you see when you come, if it’s raining, it just keeps a lot of water. Because of ... that place was the place to dig the sand. So now they just going deeper...” (John, 12 March 2020)

In an interview with SABC news, mayoral candidate Xanthea Limberg continues to explain:

“...the land is also largely eroded from sand mining that has taken place over a number of years and a portion of the land is on a floodplain area so it makes it incredibly challenging for formal services to be rendered...” (Xanthea Limberg, 4 May 2018)

This flooding poses a challenge to residents as it negatively affects their day-to-day lives. The shacks could be flooded at any time leaving them homeless and without shelter. The flooding negatively affects their housing structures and personal belongings through seepage. It also poses a serious threat to the residents’ health as the flooding water, combined with waste, carries bacteria and the like and so residents are at risk of infections, particularly children who play outside. It also affects the walkways and pathways that are meant for moving through the settlement. It was a personal challenge to walk through the settlement because of flooding.

The following set of photographs taken during fieldwork provides a visual window on the conditions in which informal residents live.



Figure 3: Standing rainwater in Isiqalo informal settlement, making walking and driving difficult (Jacobs, 2020)



Figure 4: Standing rainwater in close proximity to housing structures indicating no drainage system in Isiqalo informal settlement (Jacobs, 2020)



Figure 5: Driveways are in close proximity to housing structures indicating a lack of adequate infrastructural development in Isiqalo informal settlement (Jacobs, 2020)



Figure 6: Residents in Isiqalo walking near unstable, unsafe and illegally installed electricity lines (Jacobs, 2020)

Accessing electricity is also a challenge as residents have none. Participants explained that they need to walk a few kilometers to a store, named Pacific, which offers to charge devices at a price. This is a challenge, particularly for parents who have children at school and university and who need technological devices to assist in that regard. It is also a challenge as residents are not able to preserve their food in a fridge and so they have to make daily trips to the butchery. As one respondent explained:

“...so the Pacific people, they have electricity because they staying in someone’s property. So they [are] paying rent. So now we go to the Pacific for our phones, the phone is R5. To charge full. And the power bank is R10. The laptop is R20. And it’s not 100%, you never ask anyone if your laptop is missing...” (Mavis, 19 August 2020)

Residents also experience concerns for their safety, particularly at night when there is limited lighting in Isiqalo. The local municipality initially installed two large street lamps but residents mentioned that thieves have stolen the wiring and so street lamps are not functional. Isiqalo is characterized by a lack of most of the basic urban services like infrastructure, community services and welfare. Residents lack the basic municipal services, such as water supply, sanitation and waste collection and are exposed to diseases and crimes with no protection especially as there is a lack of access to public toilets.

This is not unexpected, as informal settlements in general are characterized by inadequate access to safe water, inadequate access to sanitation, overcrowding and poor quality of housing. As Mohanty (2020) notes, one of the main characteristics of an informal settlement is the lack of secure tenure to the land on which residents build their houses. Furthermore, informal settlements are characterized by informality, a cramped residential space, inappropriate locations, overcrowding, restricted public utilities and urban basic services,

poverty and vulnerability, social stress, poor health practices, informal economic activities, and environmental hazards and degradation. An unhealthy environment, high unemployment, and a low educational level among the dwellers are the other defining characteristics of squatter settlements and slums.

Isiqalo has a lack of economic opportunities, the issue of unemployment is prevalent in Isiqalo. To illustrate this, an interviewee from Isiqalo explained:

“Nee man, daar’s nie werk nie. It gaan maar dinges. Jy lei honger. En die donkerte hier man, en dis koud. Dit is nie lekker om hier te bly nie. Ek mean ek kry pensioen maar dit hou maar net vir daai paar dae van hoekom my kinders se kinders kom kyk ook waar’s oupa en so an. So as ek daai paar cente het dan kan ek vir so net vir a paar dae. Net na moet ek weer beudel.”

[Translation into English] *“No man, there’s no work. It goes like that. You are hungry. And it’s dark here, and it’s cold. It’s not nice to live here. I mean I do get pension but it doesn’t last long, only for a few days because my children’s children come and look for their grandpa and so on. So if I can give them a few cents then I give it, just for a few days. After that I have to beg again.”*

(Piet, 19 August 2020)

Further challenges faced by residents are to do with social stress, as informal settlements are characterized by social deprivation and stigmatization. Residents are more prone to isolation and exclusion from social interaction within the broader context of Mitchell’s Plain.

The City of Cape Town continues to see an increase in land invasions, especially given the COVID-19 pandemic as unemployment has increased. Land invasions, in turn, contribute to greater problems within the City such as delays in vital housing and infrastructure projects due to land invasions on these properties; pollution of water systems due to uncontrolled

growth of informal settlements; loss of investments and economic potential due to invaded private property; and invasions tend to occur on land that is dangerous for human occupation due to flooding and instability.

The residents of Isiqalo, although they are many in number, are excluded from the formal housing market. They are in need of stable, adequate, and affordable housing. Coupled with that is a need of economic stability and opportunities. The meaning of “Isiqalo” (‘new beginning’) seems ironic against the backdrop of tenure insecurity and the unstable physical condition of the land. People came to this land as a result of backyard evictions in townships like Philippi, Khayelitsha and Gugulethu since the end of 2011 in search for a better future yet Isiqalo is characterized by high unemployment and low income rates and a substantial number of residents are dependent on the welfare system.

Residents generally move to informal settlements for a number of reasons such as the inability to afford rental charges in formal houses, seeking free housing from the government, or wanting a space for themselves and their family that they can call their own. The ‘push’ element to land invasion, essentially, is poverty. The following quotes from some of the interviewees illustrate how much they need their land in Isiqalo after being asked how they would be affected if they were removed from the land:

“...It’s gonna affect us because like now at the moment I’m not working. Who’s gonna pay for rent if we have to move out from here? ...” (Vusi, 19 August 2020)

“...Bad. Very bad. Because so long I don’t have any place to stay...and if they can tell me something like ‘I don’t belong here’ I don’t know where will I go...” (Markie, 19 August 2020)

“...I’ll feel bad obviously. I will rather go back to Eastern Cape...” (Jackson,
19 August 2020)

Living in Isiqalo is challenging for many and there is a desperate need for secure and improved infrastructure, more opportunities for jobs and better health and sanitation. Isiqalo, however, remains a home to many. It is a place where the homeless have found refuge and where communities and relationships have been forged.

The residents in Isiqalo are a prime example of a people who have been denied the ‘*Right to the city*’. The Isiqalo residents experience great challenges daily, but when they voice their concerns they are left with empty promises. They are excluded from the City center and are pushed to the outskirts of the City, yet they are in high demand, and sought after by political parties during election time.

A large portion of government funds and resources are poured into high-and middle-class neighbourhoods yet people in Isiqalo have to risk their lives during protests over basic services and sanitation. Residents also have no sense of security as their homes can be destroyed at any moment which means they cannot peacefully cultivate a sustainable future for themselves and their family. According to the ‘*Right to the City*’, people should have some control over what happens in their community and they should have the right to hold the governing authorities responsible.

5.3. Living in Mitchell’s Plain

Feelings of belonging, coupled by feelings of exclusion, is a common theme across residents in Mitchell’s Plain and Isiqalo, as revealed by participants of this study. In some ways, the manner in which residents in Mitchell’s Plain experience their sense of space, place and belonging, is expressed along similar lines to those of Isiqalo residents. However, what is different is that after being displaced and being forced to live on the Cape Flats, Mitchell’s

Plain has become a home to many. The established part of Mitchell's Plain has become a place of belonging, a place of work and a place of hope for many and residents have developed an attachment to Mitchell's Plain.

“...I grew up here like literally all my life. I've never lived anywhere else. So it really feels like home. Like I know the place. And if you live in such an area, I feel like you get street smart. Like you know what I mean, like no I must put my phone away when I'm walking to the bus stop...” (Jane, 10 March 2020)

“...evens if you put me in a big nice area, rich area, I feel this is the... here you see things happen here. People can say what, do what, this is... everything is here in Mitchell's Plain man. The poor people, we for the poor people man. That's what we doing here, we for the poor people. You see we grew here up with this. Now to take out us and put us there is ... no, I don't feel... I like it here, you know what I'm saying. I wanna grow old here. I wanna create my children here...” (Mark, 12 January 2020)

Residents express feelings of belonging in different dimensions of life such as their personal experiences, perceptions, narratives and cultural heritage. Respondents linked their sense of place with their ability to sustain their livelihoods and that of their family. This is crucial to residents as illustrated in the following responses of interviewees:

“Living in Mitchell's Plain is affordable. Uhm, and so if I didn't live in Mitchell's Plain and I had to go live somewhere else I'm not sure how, from a financial point of view, that would affect me. It would have a financial impact on my life. And my family. Because we can afford living here...” (Carry, 28 February 2020)

Many participants have children who attend local schools in the area. They have their local places of worship, their familiar healthcare facilities, and other valued amenities:

“...my kids attend school here and the wonderful thing is that everything is here that we need here. Uhm schools are here. Uhm clinic services, if you wanted to make use of it, uhm, you know. You can go anywhere from Mitchell’s Plain to anywhere in Cape Town in terms of the public transport system, you know, uhm, although it’s not always reliable but you always have it. I don’t know how but it would make a huge difference because I wouldn’t know where do I go put my kids in school? uhm what would the traveling be like?” (Carry, 28 February 2020)

“...like my dad would always say he won’t leave Mitchell’s Plain cause it’s central. He really thinks that. He says it’s close to the bus routes. Or my granny would say ‘no I want to come to Mitchell’s Plain, you guys have everything there’ but okay I don’t agree with the central part because you have to take 10 hours to get to town.” (Jane, 10 March 2020)

As is made clear in the above quote, Mitchells Plain still has the characteristics of a dormitory township, as the majority of its residents continue to make use of transport to travel to employment opportunities elsewhere in the city instead of investing funds in expanding economic development in Mitchell’s Plain. Residents are still treated as off-site labour as they have to commute long distances to the business districts to access employment which enables them to improve their livelihoods. Job opportunities within Mitchell’s Plain are few and are often outsourced. This makes unemployment common, particularly among the youth.

“...I drop my child every day in Beacon Valley, 8 o’clock. Just this morning there’s this one young lady sitting on the street corner uhm I know that she

does drugs because I've seen her on the corner and sitting there with a baby. The wind is blowing. Already sitting there huddling, 'Skarreling' hustling 8 o'clock in the morning because they are unemployed, doing drugs. That's marginalization right there. And when I drive every morning and I see all these people leaving Mitchell's Plain to go work. I see almost double that unemployed people on the street as a result of historic marginalization..."

(Carry, 28 February 2020)

However many of the residents of Mitchell's Plain rely on, and operate within, the informal economy, particularly within the suburb's Town Centre, a business district and transport node. While Town Centre has been identified by residents, as a nodal growth point, not much has been done to address the various challenges that hinder the community from developing their businesses and improving their livelihood in Mitchell's Plain itself. Town Centre continues to deteriorate and is characterized by a lack of law enforcement officials, illegal trading, major safety and security concerns, and a lack of investment and social development.

The images below display the economic activity that takes place in Town Centre, the people who trade informally and the kinds of goods one can expect to see. As shown in Figure 5, people have demanded that the government provide better assistance and support to informal traders in Town Centre. There is a cry for protection and security for informal traders who must deal with issues such as gangsterism, theft, and health hazards in Town Centre.



Figure 7: Informal trading in Town Centre, Mitchell's Plain, Cape Town (Jacobs, 2018)



Figure 8: Protests over issues in Town Centre, Mitchell's Plain (Damons, 2020)

The issues that take place in Town Centre are a reflection of, and are synonymous with the issues that take place in the greater Mitchell's Plain. Mitchell's Plain experiences a lack of investment. There is a lack of economic opportunities for men, women and youth in particular. The City tries to implement programmes to enable social development among youth and other groups; however, the population growth rate supersedes the City's ability to provide more opportunities.

Mitchell's Plain is also infamous for a number of crime-related social ills such as gangsterism, car theft, robbery, break-ins, stabbings, territorial fights and many more issues. Residents have to deal with this on a daily basis.

“...somebody that is living in a more gang infested area, they would have a different view to how I'd feel. Like maybe they would want to feel 'ok I want to leave this place it's terrible, I don't wanna be here', you know what I mean...” (Jane, 10 March 2020)

Crime-related social ills are epidemic in Mitchell's Plain, affecting residents' day-to-day lives. This affects men, women and particularly the youth. It is a form of marginalization and there is a desperate need for gangs to be removed from communities (Ludidi, 2019). The level of crime overwhelms the police force who are struggling to quell gang violence.

Living in Mitchell's Plain is challenging and as a resident myself I am constantly faced with social barriers such as crime and the like. Mitchell's Plain, however, remains a place where there is a strong sense of community and rich cultural ties with the space itself.

5.4. Conversations on housing and service delivery

The need for housing and service delivery has fueled the protest action in Isiqalo. The need for housing in Cape Town and the greater South Africa is great and is constantly growing. One of the main reasons for the protest action is often to do with the need and demand for

housing. Residents such as those in Isiqalo and Mitchell's Plain are in need of secure land and adequate housing. This is seen within and across Mitchell's Plain as well, as there are countless backyard dwellers. This, in turn, places additional pressure on the formal housing system.

The following images are of housing structures in Mitchell's Plain and Isiqalo and aim to provide a view of the living conditions of people in both communities.



Figure 9: Isiqalo community leader in her home. (Jacobs, 2020)

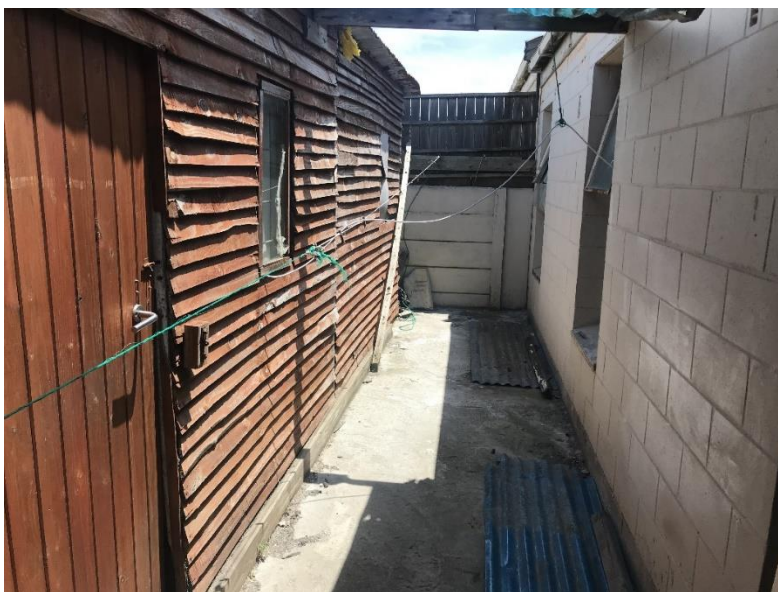


Figure 10: A wendy house behind a formal house in Rocklands, Mitchell's Plain (Jacobs, 2020)

The housing structures provide a view of housing conditions across Mitchell’s Plain and Isiqalo respectively. Both structures are made of informal material such as zinc and wood, although a wendy house is considered to be more aesthetically pleasing and in some cases wendy houses have the basic amenities such as electricity and water. Another key difference is also that wendy house owners in Mitchel’s Plain generally have to pay rent to their landlord while shack owners do not pay rent to anyone. Both structures are of course considered informal housing.

The graphs below illustrate the housing delivery system in South Africa and how the demand exceeded the supply up to 2011, the year Isiqalo emerged.

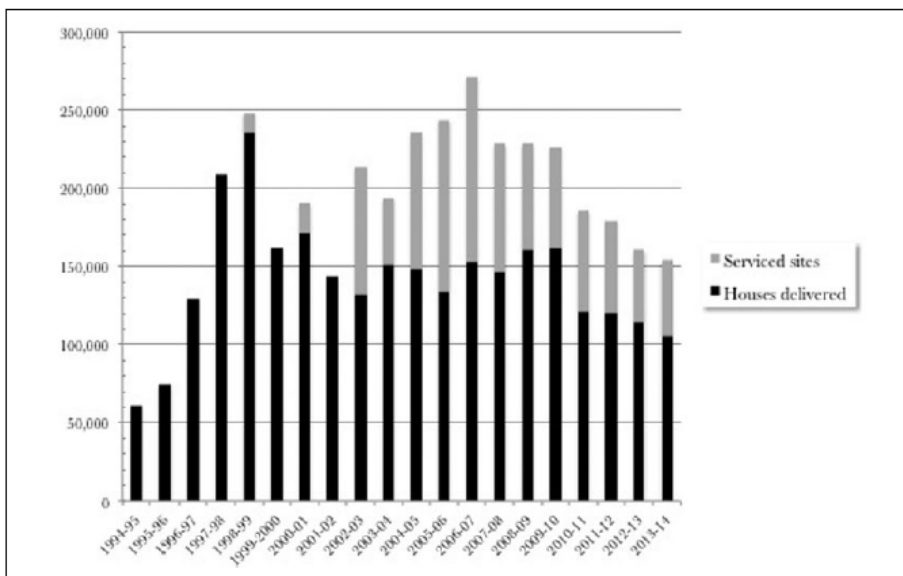


Figure 11: Housing delivery in South Africa, 1994-2014 (Levenson, 2017)

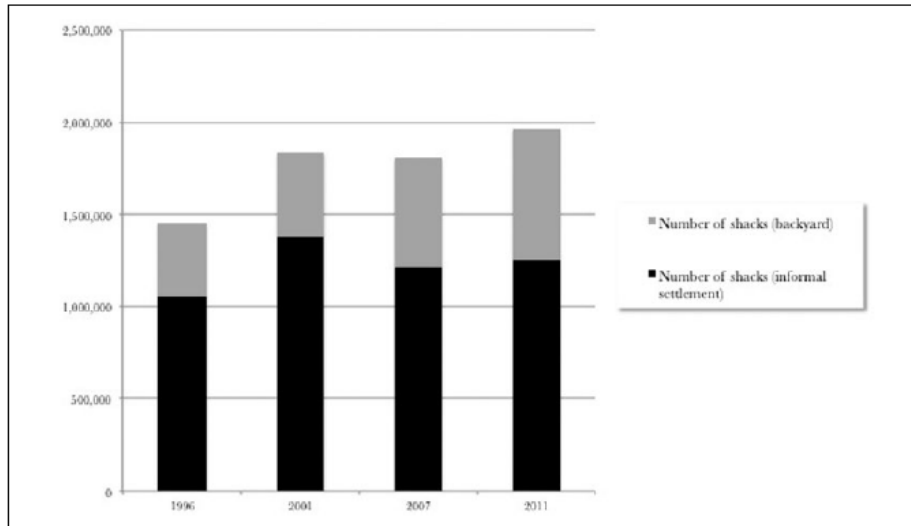


Figure 12: Number of shacks in Cape Town, 1996–2011 (Levenson, 2017)

In the post-apartheid South Africa, municipal governments claim to distribute free, formal housing to people who are registered on waiting lists. The distribution of housing, however, fails to keep up with the growing demand and as a result residents begin to organize mass land occupations as seen in Isiqalo.

Municipalities respond to these land struggles either through repression, as seen through the Cities Anti-Land Invasion Unit (ALIU), making special cases, or by providing transitional housing in Temporary Relocation Areas (TRAs) (Levenson, 2017).

The growth of TRAs is directly a result of land invasions and represents a new form of housing distribution alongside the existing one. People in Isiqalo have been promised, by the municipality, that they might be moved to TRAs. Xanthea Limberg, Mayoral committee member for informal settlements from the City of Cape Town, in an interview with SABC news explained in May 2018 at the height of the protests:

“...The plan that the MEC will be sharing with the Isiqalo residents will look at potentially relocating Isiqalo residents from where they currently reside, uh

to alternative uh pockets of land. But this particular relocation plan will not only be benefitting Isiqalo, but other informal settlements and other residents that have also been waiting uh for longer periods of time for access to better services and housing opportunities...” (Xanthea Limberg, 4 May 2018)

No matter how many homes are delivered, the number of people in need of housing increases annually. One of the responsibilities of the municipal government is to distribute goods in a hierarchical and purposive order. South Africa has a formal housing waiting list which is maintained by the Department of Human Settlements (DHS). Contrastingly, forms of distribution that are on a case-by-case basis has emerged and has caused much contestation in and across South Africa and we see this unfold in Mitchell’s Plain. This contestation has contributed to the tensions and retaliation of the Mitchell’s Plain residents.

Former premiere Hellen Zille, in an interview with eNCA expounds more on this matter:

“...and now that the place is covered in shacks, what you’re going to have to do is move people out first so that you can fix the drainage problem and then move people back in, for example. And if you move people out and put them out then you’re going to get what the people in Mitchell’s Plain say ‘Why are they getting precedence over the people in Mitchell’s Plain’. These things are highly complex, they’re not simple. And these things called just ‘Service delivery protests’, it’s a nice little phrase to cover up so much more...” (Hellen Zille, 2 May 2018)

New informal settlements have typically been targeted by the City’s ALIU but when people occupy land for a long period of time, it becomes more difficult to simply eradicate the settlements. This is the case in Isiqalo as residents have formed representative committees

and are now an organized community. As Isiqalo grows, so does the pressure on the City's housing waiting list.

In a similar case, at an informal settlement called Zille-Raine Heights, also in Cape Town, which was formed in 2006, the City tried on numerous occasions to evict more than 60 families (Levenson, 2017). Residents were evicted and were offered alternative accommodation in a TRA called Happy Valley which was 20km away. In late 2013, nearly half of the Zille-Raine Heights residents were added to a formal housing project. RDP units were provided to residents on this list. Many residents from Zille-Raine Heights were given precedence over people who have been on the housing waiting list for years (Levenson, 2017). The example of Zille-Raine Heights is one that indicates how the housing delivery system has been transformed by informal settlements.

The formal system of housing distribution in Cape Town and the greater South Africa was on a first-come-first serve basis and this determined the hierarchy in terms of who receives housing first. This changed with the emergence and growth of informal settlements as the formal system did not cater for individuals with pressing needs such as those facing eviction, or environmental hazards. Levenson (2017) argues that a new system of housing delivery has been created within South Africa and exists alongside the previous first-come-first served one.

Government has had to decide on which communities/populations to prioritize. They have played a pivotal role in this decision-making process. If any discrepancies take place, this would therefore be the government's fault and not that of the Isiqalo residents nor any informal settlement residents.

Former Portland, Mitchell's Plain councilor and current chairperson of Mitchell's Plain Community Police Forum illustrates:

“...there might be an element of truth when you say they jumping the gun but then again it’s also not for formal housing and it’s also not their fault that they jumping the gun. Cause the City has been very poor in housing delivery over the many years. I mean it’s a fact that the City and the province had to send hundreds of millions back to National every year because they couldn’t spend it on housing so that’s a fact there...” (Norman Jantjies, 27 February 2020)

The tense relationship between the two communities can be linked to the perceptions around housing and other government-supplied resources. This relationship also reflects the competing interests of both communities. The interviews with research participants show that the interests of the Isiqalo community can be linked to basic infrastructure such as taps, ablution facilities and electricity. The cry for electricity in particular seemed to be a key driver in the May 2018 protest action.

The interests of the Mitchell’s Plain community, on the other hand, can be linked to the provision of housing, the eradication of crime-related social ills and the need for investment into its economy. Perceptions and rumours around housing, and the politicized nature of the issue, are discussed in more detail in the next chapter, in the context of the 2018 conflict. The interests of the two communities are similar in the sense that they are both related to the socioeconomic development of the respective communities.

During the protest action, however, the interests of the two communities varied. The Mitchell’s Plain residents wanted the protest action to cease as it hindered their mobility, preventing many from going to work and other parts of the City, while the Isiqalo community’s prerogative was to grab the attention of government in aid of making their needs known.

Both groups desire to have their narrative of marginalization recognized and addressed. Ultimately, these pleas for inclusion should be directed towards the City as they are responsible for the management and fair distribution of resources.

5.5. Conclusion

This chapter has explored perceptions and histories of territory in the context of Mitchell's Plain and Isiqalo. Both groups' connection to land and space, that is Isiqalo residents as well as established Mitchell's Plain residents, were discussed. It showed that both communities experience their own challenges, socially and economically. These challenges overlap and so whilst they are two separate communities, their aspirations, dreams and goals are much the same. Common challenges, difficulties and hindrances experienced by both groups have been identified and discussed. Both groups express feelings of socioeconomic exclusion in Mitchell's Plain, especially in relation to the greater Cape Town. There is a strong desire on the part of both groups to have their needs and frustrations acknowledged by the local municipal authorities. Both groups seek to claim and exist in the space they live in and want to live in a safe and secure environment that is not harmful to themselves or their loved ones. However the tensions between the groups became evident in the conflict of 2018. Chapter Six explores the tense relationship between residents of Isiqalo and the greater Mitchell's Plain, in greater depth.

CHAPTER SIX: “This is our place” – NARRATIVES OF DESPERATION

6.1. Introduction

The constant growth of informal settlements in South Africa places significant pressure on local social dynamics, as seen in Mitchell’s Plain and Isiqalo. The growth of Isiqalo informal settlement, although it comes with its own challenges, has also impacted the existing Mitchell’s Plain communities.

There are a number of issues that have been brought up by the participants in this study and by those who were a part of the May 2018 protests. These surface-level issues stem from deeper issues and challenges faced by Isiqalo and Mitchell’s Plain residents, challenges that have been, and continue to be faced by residents.

In the May 2018 protests we saw tensions between the two groups spill over into overt contestation over space. The conflict itself developed over time and not only on the actual days of the protest action. This tension continues to exist between the two groups and protests have continued to take place, although not to the degree of the May 2018 protest action.

This chapter will reveal and discuss narratives around the conflict and protest. More importantly, it will go into the struggles in depth, and identify the way people think about their situation, their neighbours, and their own place in the city.

The May 2018 protest action, which again, is not the first of its kind and will not be the last, is a reflection of the social divide in Mitchell’s Plain. In order to place this in context, this chapter presents findings on the final objective of the study, which is to identify narratives of inclusion and exclusion through the prism of the 2018 service delivery protest and its aftermath.

6.2. Protest action: Asserting the presence of the marginalized in the city

For as long I can remember, since Isiqalo informal settlement emerged in 2011, there has been protest action on Jakes Gerwell Drive and it continues to take place on a regular basis, until today. In the post-apartheid city, it seems as though land invasions have become synonymous with protest action. Wherever land is illegally occupied, protest action takes place. This is because informal settlements are characterized by lack of services, and any form of infrastructure even after many years of existence, as seen in Isiqalo.

As the informal settlement grows, so does the need for services. This refers to growth in its population as well as informal housing structures. This comes with more waste, as well as a need for a greater water supply, more jobs and the extension of the settlement onto more land (whether public, or as in the case of Isiqalo, private).

Since the emergence of Isiqalo in 2011, residents have taken to the streets multiple times, in an attempt to voice and demand their needs for formal housing, basic sanitation and electricity. Protesters have continuously targeted infrastructure such as traffic lights and over the years many have been arrested for public violence such as stones being thrown at journalists (Felix, 2014).

While the May 2018 protest was a flash point, protests have not stopped and have been about voicing a number of demands aimed at the local municipal government. The main demand has been over service delivery as seen in the May 2018 protests, however other demands have been voiced such as the need for adequate housing.

According to Cano-Hila (2020), absolute poverty refers to when people do not meet the basic conditions to live a healthy life physically. This is often seen in informal settlements. The Isiqalo residents live in impoverished living conditions and are considered as the urban poor.

Residents in Isiqalo often lack the basic necessities such as food, adequate housing, and clothing. Cano-Hila (2020) continues to describe relative poverty which also often occurs in the urban context. In terms of relative poverty, which is characterized by the standard of living within a society and then also to the particular moment in history, when compared to the more established residents within Mitchell's Plain area, they continue to experience a greater degree of lack and therefore marginalization.

Furthermore, residents of the informal settlement feel betrayed by the local government and political party members whom they hold responsible for many wrongdoings in Isiqalo. At the height of the protests, in an interview with Netwerk24, Monwabisi Futshane, one of the community leaders in Isiqalo, commented on the frustration of the residents who hold local government responsible for the poor living conditions in Isiqalo:

“...uh the reason of the residents to protest is because of the city of Cape Town. City of Cape Town doesn't take us seriously. We invaded this land since 2012 up until now. We are still living in bad conditions. Now it's gonna be winter. We are still living in that condition where we don't have a sanitation, we don't have the houses, we don't have the roads, electricity as well. Our children are suffering. They go to school. They travel from here. We don't have a school. We don't have a library. We don't have anything. When they go to school they travel from here, in the rainy days from here to Samora per foot, you understand. So we've been engaging with City of Cape Town since we invaded this land. But City of Cape do nothing for us. Just do nothing...” (Monwabisi Futshane, 2 May 2018) (Netwerk24, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HvvaYoDhlHI>)

The news headlines say that the protests are over service delivery and although on the surface-level that may be true, but beneath the surface the Isiqalo residents protest over a number of issues. Allan and Heese (2020) note that these protests are generally a result of a lack of communication between the community and the local municipality officials.

The residents of Isiqalo often feel neglected and socially excluded from the greater City of Cape Town. The aim of the protest action was to get the attention of the local government:

“...that’s why we did the protests, it’s because of the municipality. They don’t do their agreements. They just tell us they gonna do something and then after that they stop to do that. So that protest was depend of the City of Cape Town and uh Siqalo Informal Settlement. Because of the councillor, our ward councillor, if you call our ward councillor they didn’t come to us. So if we need their service delivery, they don’t give us...” (Mavis, 19 August 2020)

The residents were tired of the empty promises that were made of being moved to better housing opportunities. An Isiqalo resident explains:

“...and even the counsellor don’t want to come and hear what is our problem here. We wanted to know when we are going where. What is the plan for us, until when are we gonna stay here...” (Gladis, 12 March 2020)

The battle for service delivery in Isiqalo has been an ongoing one. Over the years residents have received some services such as a limited number of public portable toilets, a limited number of taps, and a limited number of street lamps (which have been vandalized). Solid waste collection takes place on the boundaries of Isiqalo.

From the City’s point of view, the provision of services such as electricity and sanitation has been a challenge because the land on which Isiqalo is situated is privately owned, making it

illegal for the City to install bulk infrastructure. Former ward councilor within the Mitchell's Plain area, Norman Jantjies, expounds more on this:

“...They fought for electricity. And the City said ‘No, we not gonna give because it’s not our property.’ And a small part of that property belongs to the City but the other two sections, the big sections belongs to two private people. The one is Ross Demolition and the other one belongs to some other attorney...” (Norman Jantjies, 27 February 2020)

This hinders the City from meeting the residents’ needs and demands. It disallows the municipal government from making changes, and if they take place it is only to a certain extent, resulting in slow progress. This frustrates residents as the need for development grows as does the population in Isiqalo.

Another hindrance is the topography of the land that does not allow for proper development to take place. The land is uninhabitable and prone to flooding as a result of illegal sand mining. Former premier Helen Zille, in an interview with eNCA explains:

“...now this land, according to the City, can’t be built on, because of what the situation is as a result of illegal sand mining, and the topography and the water table. So when people invade a piece of land and it’s allegedly with the help of the land owner, he tried to get the City to buy his land for 30 million rand...”
(Helen Zille, 3 May 2018)

The physical condition of the land is a major challenge that the local government faces in the provision of adequate infrastructure. This is common with informal settlements across the City. Additionally, the relationship between government and the landowner is conflictual. All this contributes to delays in provision being made for residents’ needs.

As residents strive towards unity and inclusivity, which are the promises of a democratic country, the May 2018 protests were an attempt to challenge the local municipal government to address and correct issues that prevent them from receiving better services and other tools needed for a better future. Residents sought and continue to claim their rights to space within the City.

6.3. The relationship between Isiqalo and Mitchell's Plain residents: Two marginalized communities pitted against one another

A slogan written across media pieces and adopted by Mitchell's Plain residents in response to the Isiqalo service delivery protests reads as follows: "Enough is enough". It is an expression of the frustrations of residents who were affected by protests. Employment opportunities in Mitchell's Plain are few and so most of the residents commute to their place of work. One of the main roads used for the protest was the key thoroughfare, Jakes Gerwell Drive. Protests also caused two schools within the community to be temporarily closed. The actions of protestors in barricading one of the main entrance and exit roads from Mitchell's Plain suburb prevented residents from commuting to and from work.

Violent confrontation between the two communities occurred back and forth over the course of two to three days and nights. Threats were made, stones were thrown, many were injured, and one young man died in the crossfire as a taxi forcefully drove into the crowd. The area was quickly filled with news reporters, journalists and armed law enforcement officials. What started off as a protest over service delivery transformed into a battle between two communities. In the interviews, respondents discussed the violence:

"...well I can say this, for the time that I'm here – 35 years – a little bit more than 35 years. Uhm, I've settled this to be my home. But if things run out like

this and go on like this then I'm fearing actually staying here..." (Kate, 24 February 2020)

Participants continue to reflect on the violence as people called on friends from other areas as reinforcements:

"...Uhm I know that day when it was the protests there was people, like coloured people coming from different areas. There was people coming from Bonteheuwel in taxis pulling up because we drove and we couldn't enter the road that night. It looked like war vibes here. It was really crazy..." (Jane, 10 March 2020)

Another participant continues to explain:

"...people burned the road. Put tyres in the road. Then the people of Mitchell's Plain did get upset because their cars was also involved you see. So they decided to come and toyi-toyi. It was a bad toyi-toyi really, from both the people..." (Gladis, 12 March 2020)

The explanations above are a depiction of the volatile nature of the protest action. Elden (2010) notes that territory is not limited to its physical dimension, but instead includes its social dimension. Through the protest action we see the manifestation and expression of territory. This occurs through the hostile engagement between both communities. Territory is social, as humans are inherently social beings, and the expression thereof is evident in the period of the Isiqalo protests.

According to an Isiqalo resident, Mavis, who was a part of the protests, the problem was not related to the residents of Mitchell's Plain:

“...Okay the problem is neh, we are not having a problem with the Mitchell’s Plain people. So that’s why we did the protests, it’s because of the municipality. They don’t do their agreements. They just tell us they gonna do something and then after that they stop to do that...” (Mavis, 19 August 2020)

The protests revealed feelings of Isiqalo and Mitchell’s Plain residents that were previously not spoken about. A Mitchell’s Plain resident reflected sympathetically on the protests and the reaction from Coloured residents:

“...to a large extent many people have felt marginalized, they still feel marginalized and so when the Isiqalo protests happened I think those from the other side of the fence, who felt but they have also been suffering, they are also not getting - maybe it’s not as basic service as the residents of the informal settlement but they also have their issues and they also have their struggles and perhaps they felt, you know, now that the spotlight is being turned on Isiqalo but yet their pain has never been seen either. And so what happened was that their frustration boiled over. It’s actually taking their frustration out on Isiqalo, that’s how I see it but actually their frustration should be directed at, for me, the governing authorities, the people who are actually responsible for why people in Mitchell’s Plain sit where they sit...”

(Carry, 28 February 2020)

Carry continues to reflect on the tensions between the two communities and describes it as a ticking time bomb:

“...there’s such a high buildup of frustrations. For many reasons. Like the lack of service delivery, the lack of economic development. The lack of job opportunities. The lack of you know uhm quality education and for me that

situation what happened with Isiqalo residents and Mitchell's Plain residents, it's a ticking time bomb..." (Carry, 28 February 2020)

The violence between the two communities was perhaps unsurprising, as frustrations have built up over a period of time. This frustration has existed for many years. This was perhaps not the start of an 'us' versus 'them' narrative, but certainly this narrative became more overt and exposed during the protests. Through the protests, the relationship between the two communities was placed under severe strain.

According to Cresswell (2004) it is possible for people and things to be strongly linked to particular places through particular histories. He notes the connection between people and place. This can lead to conflict and tensions that surround place. Both communities have individual connections with the space and place of Isiqalo and Mitchell's Plain. Both groups also have their own histories and experiences. All of which are complex but are crucial to explore as we attempt to understand the violence and conflict that has taken place.

Many feel as though these frustrations have built up over a long time, since the end of the apartheid era. Coloured residents of Mitchell's Plain object to the notion that black African people were the only ones disadvantaged by the system of apartheid:

"...and I think it also streams into apartheid. Like you know certain people were disadvantaged - but it wasn't only them, you know what I mean. Ja I feel like it was more like there's people who feel like they were disadvantaged alone, and there was other people that was [also] disadvantaged and today I feel like they also living in dire circumstances similar to them. But it's not being seen..." (Jane, 10 March 2020)

Mitchell's Plain residents feel as though the government favours the Isiqalo residents in terms of the provision of resources. This is a common narrative among Mitchell's Plain residents.

For example, in an interview, former member of Gatvol Cape Town, Ben reflected on the conflict as follows:

“...Uhm there is a lot of tensions and negativity towards the people of Isiqalo because why, and that negativity is sparked by potential danger, infringing or taking up space illegally. Because why that negativity is also there is because people of Mitchell’s Plain now also wanted to occupy land.

Interviewer: “Members of Isiqalo?”

“The coloured community and the backyard dwellers in Mitchell’s Plain. Backyard dwellers now also decided that they now also wanted to take land and occupy land illegally, same like how the people of Siqalo. Like they did, like others like them did. But they were met by the powers of the municipality, law enforcement and they were rubber bulletted and booted from the settlements they tried to establish illegally, where the same action did not really happen in Siqalo. Or there was some type of resistance from the City but not in the same manner it came to the coloured community. So how do the coloured community feel uhm against the people of Siqalo? I would say a lot of resentment and anger and they feel they are treated unjustly and uhm excluded from the resources that the City has...” (Ben, 12 May 2020)

Another Mitchell’s Plain resident continues to explain how she feels that the government favours Isiqalo residents more than it favours Mitchell’s Plain residents:

“...so I feel like ja they have to make do, but if they were gonna go put up houses somewhere [else] they’d be removed, do you get what I’m saying. Whereas I know about the court case they have with Isiqalo, them not wanting

to go. The City actually wanting to buy the plot for them...” (Jane, 10 March 2020)

The protest action has clearly had a negative effect on the relationship between the Mitchell’s Plain and Isiqalo residents. Through many discussions between community leaders and government officials, however, they were able to come to agreements and make peace through discussions.

While hundreds of residents gathered on Jakes Gerwell drive on the morning of 5 May 2018 to express their concerns over service delivery peacefully, some demonstrations were followed by vandalism. This exacerbated social tensions. The vandalism of the local food stall and ATM was not the intent of the group of protestors. However a few took advantage and used the protests as opportunity to steal and loot. An Isiqalo resident explains:

“...The people of Isiqalo wanted to talk. The skollies [criminals] did take over, you see. The skollies who want to take food and money there. They did take over. So when that place of the guy did burn so they start now...” (Gladis, 12 March 2020)

An Isiqalo community leader continues to explain:

“...So actually we don’t have a problem with the Mitchell’s Plain people. So then you know mos if a protest has happened, so you never control all the people. So the people they just go to destroy the ATM, and they go to burn the fruit stall. But it’s not our ... uh, it’s not what we wanted to do...” (Mavis, 19 August 2020)

The following images, which appeared in the media, were taken during the May 2018 protests (See also Appendix F).



Figure 13: Community leader and members during protest (Smith, 2018)



Figure 14: The aftermath of the damage to the fruit and veg stall, which was burned down by looters (Smith, 2018)



Figure 15: Isiqalo and Mitchell's Plain community members in dialogue during protest

(Smith, 2018)



Figure 16: Police as they try to prevent Isiqalo residents from protesting (Kohlstock, 2018)

The residents believed they could make a difference by acting collectively. The May 2018 protests stemmed from a deep sense of hopelessness that things would ever change. It stemmed from a desperate need for things to change and a hope for a better future in the city.

6.4. Rumours and allegations: The politicized nature of land invasions

As mentioned in Chapter Three, Mitchell's Plain is predominantly a coloured township. Unemployment rates are high across all ethnicities. High unemployment levels directly impact the land invasions and the growth thereof. With no income, people are unable to afford the basic necessities and are thus tempted into occupying land illegally. This is a key driving force in unlawful land occupations, but it is believed that the catalyst for an actual land invasion to occur is organization by certain parties.

The belief that land invasions are deliberately orchestrated is a common theme that arises across discussions about informal settlements and land invasions in Cape Town, particularly in the media. Many have claimed that the emergence of informal settlements such as Isiqalo is a direct result of politicians wanting to increase their chances of receiving votes.

In an interview with eNCA, former premiere Helen Zille of the Democratic Alliance stated:

“..so when people invade a piece of land and it's allegedly with the help of the landowner, he tried to get the City to buy his land for 30 million rand ... Now clearly land that can't be used for housing, to spend 30 million rand on it, is a major expenditure of public resources. So we felt as though that was abuse, of a private landowner, facilitating a land invasion allegedly and then demanding that the City buy his land for 30 million rand.” (Helen Zille, 3 May 2018)

In an interview with eNCA, a community leader from Isiqalo tried to rebut this. (Note that Patricia de Lille is a South African politician who is currently the Minister of Public Works

and Infrastructure and leader of the political party *Good*. She was previously Mayor of Cape Town from 2011 to 2018):

“We had several meetings with Patricia de Lille ... (s)he [Patricia de Lille] just want to know what political party you are affiliating to. Because (s)he came here at Colorado, then (s)he told the people of Colorado that we were brought by the political party here. Of which we were never brought by the political party here. We were brought here because we wanted a place to stay. We don't have houses. We used to rent from where we used to stay but unfortunately we don't have the money to pay, you understand? That's the reason why we came here. (Monwabisi Futshane, Community leader from Isiqalo, Cape Town, 2 May 2018)

Conversations surrounding informal settlements are often coupled with political dynamics and similarly controversial and divisive issues. They often seem to involve a particular group blaming another. As we see with Isiqalo, the City appears to be blaming the landowners for their illegal sand mining operation and to accuse them of encouraging residents to invade the land. We also see the Isiqalo residents blaming the City of Cape Town municipality for the harsh conditions in which they reside. We then see the local Mitchell's Plain residents blaming the Isiqalo residents for causing chaos and disorder in Mitchell's Plain. These discussions may take away our attention from the real problems both communities face, distracting us from addressing the marginalization and injustices experienced by both groups although these are important and relevant.

The urban poor are often the most vulnerable and marginalized in society. Settlements across and within the City, such as Isiqalo and Mitchell's Plain, are often occupied by individuals who are unemployed, have the lowest levels of education, food insecurity and poor health

conditions (de Swart et. Al., 2015). This is evident in Isiqalo and Mitchell's Plain. Apart from those mentioned above, Cano-Hila (2020) notes that there are a number of variables that can also affect different situations of poverty such as family structure, illness, a lack of professional skills, and marital separations. The most vulnerable social groups, however, are children, women and the elderly.

The issue of housing featured prominently in the protests and in conversations about the situation in Mitchell's Plain/Isiqalo. Housing is a very important aspect and one that attracts many rumours and allegations. The case-by-case system of distribution described in the previous chapter has caused much conflict and contestation between Mitchell's Plain and Isiqalo residents. This has been the topic of debate and was the spark, which led to the emergence of local organization Gatvol Cape Town (GCT). Gatvol Cape Town has been very vocal on matters concerning the coloured community in Mitchell's Plain in response to the May 2018 protest action. They have expressed resentment at being, in their view, excluded from the housing delivery system and more economic opportunities within the City.

In an interview with SABC news about the housing waiting list, leader of Gatvol Cape Town, Fadiel Adams explains:

“...there is a community living, paying rent, for the indignity of living in a backyard. Not being able to use the toilet because your landlord is not in the mood. You know where five, six, seven families are sharing one property, sharing one toilet. This is inhumane. Our demands are very very simple. That the housing waiting list must be respected. That the people with twenty and thirty years must be considered first...” (Fadiel Adams, 8 August 2019)

Members of the organization and other residents have placed demands on government to prioritize backyard dwellers within Mitchell's Plain in terms of housing delivery. They argue

that those forced to live in other people's backyards and pay rent should be considered first for housing delivery, as opposed to residents of the informal settlement Isiqalo. They feel as though it is unfair that residents within informal settlements are prioritized for housing opportunities. They are also not extremely upset about the damage of infrastructure when protests over service delivery take place. While Isiqalo residents are blamed, this is not really logical as they have no control over the housing delivery decision-making process.

Conversations surrounding housing delivery, and the May 2018 protests, have opened the flood gates to Mitchell's Plain residents expressing their feelings of exclusion from other economic opportunities within the City. A participant illustrates:

“...to a large extent people still feel marginalized because of the historic uhm background of how they came here. And so many people still have, you know, they're unemployed. Lack of job opportunities, right. Many people uhm, the lack of housing, people being on the waiting list for years still waiting for housing. Although there is some progress made but it's not enough...” (Carry, 28 February 2020)

Mitchell's Plain residents continue to express that they still feel marginalized as a group in many ways. Many have not dealt with the trauma of having to leave areas like District Six as a result of the forced removals during the apartheid period.

“...So when families moved here, they moved here because they were forcibly removed from other areas and when they came here they were traumatized because they lost everything. They lost, you know, families, their sense of community...” (Carry, 28 February 2020)

“...I feel like that people were on waiting lists for many years. And if you drive through, you know like not the poorer communities in Mitchell's Plain

but you know like where there's often houses, and then there's like another piece of like sixteen living in there, like a wendy house...[conditions are bad]"

(Jane, 10 March 2020)

As revealed in the quotes, the historical marginalization of Mitchell's Plain residents is now coupled with the lack of housing opportunities, employment opportunities in the area and (to some extent) services. Employment opportunities are mostly located outside of Mitchell's Plain and residents often have to commute a long distance to their places of work on a daily basis. They must leave their homes in the early hours of the morning, often in the dark and then returning in the evening when it is dark as well.

The above, combined with the desperation for adequate housing, has become fuel for protest action. This is what has fueled the Mitchell's Plain residents' retaliation in the May 2018 protests. It was not only a result of tensions that started in May of 2018 but reflects feelings of anger and hurt that go back to the emergence of the Isiqalo informal settlement in Mitchell's Plain.

The two communities continue to live alongside one another, however the relationship remains extremely tense. Protest action takes place on a regular basis although the conflict has not flared up again to the degree it did in May 2018.

6.5. Blaming "the other" – "Us versus them" in Mitchell's Plain

"There was always tension," one Mitchell's Plain resident said. "But this is the worst it has ever been." (Payne, 2018) (Daily Maverick,

<https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2018-05-03-83011/>)

Since Isiqalo informal settlement emerged, there have been tensions between the Isiqalo community, largely isiXhosa speaking, and the Mitchell's Plain community that is predominantly coloured. The protest action did not start as a battle between the two 'races' although it quickly became polarized as 'insiders' and 'outsiders' were created. In other words, what emerged was an "us" versus "them" situation along the lines of race.

For as long as I can remember, and up until today, the relationship between the two communities has always been strained. The coloured community of Mitchell's Plain has not accepted Isiqalo as part of Mitchell's Plain. There remains a social divide and there is no sense of unity.

"On one side of Jakes Gerwel Drive in Philippi stood Mitchells Plain residents with golf clubs, baseball bats and axes. Across the road were residents from Isiqalo informal settlement holding rocks and golf clubs. In the middle were police in full riot gear." (Cebulski, 2018)

The "us" versus "them" narrative has existed since the beginning of Isiqalo but was only brought to the surface at the start of the May 2018 protests. There have been several protests that have taken place over the years; however, this protest action is the most significant in how it set off a social movement that spread across the City of Cape Town and on the Cape Flats in particular. The May 2018 protests caused a domino effect that caused much chaos and uproar in areas such as Ocean View, Hanover Park, Delft, Parkwood and Kensington, to name a few.

The predominantly coloured group, "Gatvol Captonians" took the lead in representing a 'coloured' viewpoint. The group's message is to express the coloured people's struggles and experiences of marginalization. Their enemy is the government as well as those who live in informal settlements across the City. The Gatvol Cape Town group held informal settlement

residents responsible for negatively affecting the distribution of the City's resources such as housing, jobs and services; while they held the government responsible for neglecting the needs of the coloured people on the Cape Flats. One of the main points has been the need for housing.

In an interview with the Mail & Guardian, Fadiel Adams, leader of Gatvol Cape Town, states explicitly that the residents of Isiqalo do not belong in the area:

“We've been here since before the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck and these people arrive here from the Eastern Cape...”

He continues...

“...They have no claim to this land. They should be happy that we welcome them and have always welcomed them. But they don't wanna share; they want it all...” (Fadiel Adams, 1 June 2018) (Mail & Guardian, <https://mg.co.za/article/2018-06-01-00-gatvol-capetonians-stir-up-tensions/>)

Jane, a respondent and Mitchell's Plain resident is in agreement:

“...let's say someone's coming from the Eastern Cape, outside of Western Cape. We already have challenges within the Western Cape. So to give somebody a house etc that's coming from outside, it's not fair to the people that's actually waiting on the housing list for a very long time. Like sometimes people even die before they get their houses or they'll be like you know 85 and then they only get the house which isn't fair obviously...” (Jane, 10 March 2020)

The housing protests in particular spread throughout the Cape Flats, in places such as Parkwood, Vrygrond and Ocean View (Pather & Whittles, 2018). All of the protests turned

violent and the group has had success in recruiting coloured people in the respective communities. The group sought, and continues to try to create, a “coloured revolution” for coloured people’s struggles and land occupation. As they enter the communities, there has always been a common narrative of feeling marginalized by the local government while “black people from the Eastern Cape” are favoured. They would then encourage coloured people in communities such as Parkwood and Ocean View to occupy spaces illegally.

In Mitchell’s Plain, the ‘Gatvol’ group encouraged backyard residents in Mitchell’s Plain to occupy land shortly after the May 2018 protests. Jane explained to me why ‘Gatvol’ encouraged coloured people to occupy land illegally:

“...So it was almost like the coloured people was saying, ‘if they can stay there, so we want to be here’. So then law enforcement removed them and not the people at Isiqalo. And so it wasn’t just about land it went deeper into ‘you guys get everything, we don’t’ - those arguments...” (Jane, 10 March 2020)

Ben, a Mitchell’s Plain resident, and former member of Gatvol Cape Town explains:

“...Backyard dwellers [Mitchell’s Plain residents] now also decided that they now also wanted to take land and occupy land illegally, same like how the people of Siqualo ... like others like them did. But they were met by the powers of the municipality law enforcement and they were rubber bulleted and booted from the settlements they tried to establish illegally. Where the same action did not really happen in Siqualo! Or there was some type of resistance from the City, but not in the same manner it came to the coloured community. So how do the coloured community feel uhm against the people of Siqualo? I would say a lot of resentment and anger and they feel they are treated unjustly and uhm excluded from the resources that the City has...” (Ben, 12 May 2020)

Even though there is no law that causes any physical separation, Isiqalo and Mitchell's Plain are socially divided. This is evident in the "they" and "them" language used in responses from participants. Some examples of this language are shown below:

"...We've been waiting all these years for houses and then the people from the Eastern Cape arrive and protest, and they are given houses. How fair is this? Is it because they are black? Are we not black enough?" (Fadiel Adams, 1 June 2018)

"...these people have taken land now and uhm but the City didn't really do anything about it, just a slap on the hand and stuff like that you know. They just invaded private land. The Isiqalo settlement happened overnight, like literally overnight that settlement happened and these people came in from Eastern Cape..." (Ben, 12 May 2020)

Gatvol, and many coloured people in Mitchell's Plain, have also felt that people from the black community are favoured in terms of employment opportunities in Mitchell's Plain.

Jane reflects:

"...I heard a lot of coloured people say 'ja they getting all the jobs'. Like once I was standing in a line at Clicks in Promenade and then this man just starts ranting and saying that uhm 'look at all the black people at the till'. He's like 'where's our people' and so ja I feel like okay, that's obviously a wrong way of going about it but I get where he's coming from..." (Jane, 10 March 2020)

In Mitchell's Plain, the Isiqalo residents are considered and are regarded as 'outsiders', as Creswell notes. Creswell (2004) notes that people and things are strongly linked to particular places through particular histories. Despite the difficult history of Mitchell's Plain (linked to forced removals), people identify with the area and feel aggrieved when other competitors for

the scarce resources emerged. This has led to the conflict and tensions that surround Mitchell's Plain and the greater Cape Flats.

There has been much controversy over whether or not the tensions between the two groups have been a battle of the two races. Jane reflects:

“...I don't think it's necessarily 'I don't like you because you a different colour'. Obviously I feel like it's more like 'I don't like you because of resources'. It just goes deeper than just the surface...” (Jane, 10 March 2020)

Not everyone in Mitchell's Plain feels as though the issues surrounding Isiqalo and the greater Mitchell's Plain community are along the lines of race. One participant spoke out against the polarization:

“...You know him [Fadiel Adams, leader of Gatvol Cape Town]; he makes everything a race issue. I know him personally, but I think he makes everything a race issue. He's talking like whatever happens, in different communities he does this, whatever, he capitalize any every situation. Maybe they shot someone here then it's 'ja our coloured got shot, what are you doing about it'. Or whatever, then he brings race in. So I don't agree anything with Gatvol, with the whole movement. I'm not for it, at all...” (Mark, 12 January 2020)

Norman is also opposed to the Gatvol approach:

“...Number one I don't think that they represent the coloured people. They don't represent Mitchell's Plain. They must show me, 'where's your members or something?' Cause the average person in Mitchells Plain don't support that type of stance. There might be racism in us. But we don't necessarily believe that an organization such as Gatvol... We not radical people you see.

Mitchell's Plain people are conservative people. So we don't support that radical action. So uhm as much as much as I feel there's a need for an organization such as Gatvol, I don't think they can say they represent Mitchell's Plain. There might be an element of truth when you say they [Isiqalo residents are] jumping the gun but then again it's also not for formal housing and it's also not their fault that they jumping the gun. Cause the City has been very poor in housing delivery over the many years. I mean it's a fact that the City and the province had to send hundreds of millions back to National every year because they couldn't spend it on housing, so that's a fact there. So we mustn't exploit the fact that yes maybe they jumping the queue and they happen to be blacks and then exploit that thing man..." (Norman, 27 February 2020)

On the surface, it might seem like a battle along the lines of race but this continues to be debated within the space of Mitchell's Plain. There is a degree of empathy for the plight of residents in informal settlements. Some respondents emphasized that these challenges are real and continue to be experienced by Isiqalo residents on a daily basis:

"...So I always try to put myself in the position of 'What would I do as a mother or as ja as a mother living in conditions like that' and to what extent would I go to get access to services? Because it's not just about the services it's about having water so that you can bath your children. Having electricity so that you can boil water for your child's bottle, you know..." (Carry, 28 February 2020)

The tensions between the two groups have been building for a long time. This is evident in the language and attitudes of residents. The social division in Mitchell's Plain and Isiqalo

continues to exist today while residents continue to live in the same conditions. Isiqalo residents still do not have access to electricity and are not rendered adequate services while Mitchell's Plain continues to have a high rate of backyard dwellers.

6.6. Conclusion

Land invasions place significant pressure on the formal housing system in Mitchell's Plain and the broader Cape Flats. Land invasions also place significant pressure on the local social dynamics within and across communities. Furthermore, the protest action in Mitchell's Plain has been synonymous with the start of Isiqalo informal settlement and the social implications that come with it affects all parties, including the existing communities. Both communities share narratives of desperation and marginalization and experience feelings of social exclusion from and within the broader City of Cape Town. There remains a need for these implications to come to the forefront in discussions surrounding land invasions. The relationship between the Isiqalo and Mitchell's Plain residents remains tense and this is reflected in the identification of 'insiders' and 'outsiders' in this space.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION

This study has explored the way land invasions have impacted local social dynamics in Mitchell's Plain, Cape Town. The constant growth of informal settlements places significant pressure on local and national authorities, but more so on local social dynamics. Land invasions resulting in informal settlements such as Isiqalo in an already marginalized part of the city, has been a breeding ground for spatial and territorial contestation, while the individual challenges faced by residents from both communities continue to exist and are exacerbated over time. In terms of progress and development, there is a great need for housing delivery, job opportunities and services. There is a strong presence of vulnerable unemployed and/or homeless individuals visible in both Isiqalo and Mitchell's Plain.

The relationship between the two communities has not been repaired since the 2018 protests although there have been discussions among the community representatives and a fragile peace is maintained. The overall aim of this study was to investigate the contestation over space in Mitchell's Plain, Cape Town. The study sought to understand participants' connection to land, as well as perceptions and histories of territory and exclusion in Mitchells Plain. These perceptions and histories are emotive and, in some cases, they included feelings of anger and blame towards particular groups, especially those viewed as 'outsiders' to the space but also significant anger against the city authorities. The study also aimed to elucidate the feelings and perceptions of belonging and exclusion of the urban marginalised.

In order to achieve the aim, the following three objectives were set to guide this research:

1. To investigate and understand both groups' living conditions, experiences and challenges, that is Isiqalo and Mitchell's Plain residents.
2. To explore the relationship between the two communities, that is Isiqalo and Mitchell's Plain residents.

3. To explore perceptions and histories of territory, belonging and exclusion through the prism of the May 2018 protests.

The findings are summarised here under the relevant themes.

7.1. Belonging or not belonging in Mitchell's Plain/Isiqalo

In this study, it was important to understand belonging or 'not belonging' in Mitchell's Plain and Isiqalo and who belongs and who does not, or rather who feels as though they belong, and who does not. It was also important to understand how these feelings impacted the manner in which residents responded and acted out during the May 2018 protests. Understanding this has been crucial as it helps contextualize the social dynamics in both areas. The perspectives of belonging or not belonging prior to the May 2018 protest action were complex and remain that way today. Belonging or not belonging in Mitchell's Plain and Isiqalo has been a key theme and a key driver of protest action, as anger has been directed at 'incomers'.

Understanding belonging and territory is a key theme in political geography, including topics such as power and contestation over space, place and territory. The contestations in Mitchell's Plain and Isiqalo have been over ownership or belonging in the space and place of Mitchell's Plain. Both communities expressed this in different ways. The Isiqalo residents initiated the protests in the hopes that the City would in the short-term provide them with better infrastructure in Isiqalo informal settlement and in the long-term with adequate housing.

Multiple community leaders and representatives from Isiqalo have expressed the frustrations of Isiqalo residents who are tired of the poor living conditions. As discussed in Chapter Six, residents have clearly stated their specific reasons for protesting. Their frustrations have been directed to the local municipal government and their demands are for sanitation, adequate

infrastructure, electricity, and housing opportunities. Their cry is also for bulk infrastructure such as a school and library facility for the children as they walk far distances to reach the nearest school.

As discussed in Chapter Six, the news headlines say that the protests have been over service delivery and although on the surface-level that may be true, but beneath the surface the Isiqalo residents protested over a number of issues. The residents of Isiqalo often feel neglected and socially excluded from the greater City of Cape Town. From their perspective, the aim of the protest action was to get the attention of the local government, and it was not aimed at the Mitchell's Plain residents. The protest action was an expression of the Isiqalo residents' need, desire and demand to be socially and economically included in the greater City of Cape Town. It was the Isiqalo residents' cry to no longer be 'outsiders', not just in Mitchell's Plain, but in the greater Cape Town. It was an expression of the marginalized position in Isiqalo informal settlement as their place and home and their cry to belong in Mitchell's Plain and again, in the greater Cape Town.

An important word and theme here and in this study is 'territory', a term often coupled with land contestation. This study included the social dimension of territory that is evident in people's daily lives and social patterns. Elden (2010) notes that territory needs to be analysed historically and philosophically because the notion encompasses questions of identity, integrity, sovereignty and spatial coherence. Territory is social, and humans are inherently social beings. It is therefore very likely that most, if not all groups of people experience and express forms of territoriality in their daily lives. This is done in various forms, one being through protests.

Similarly, the Mitchell's Plain residents want their experiences of marginalization to be heard. The protests revealed feelings of Mitchell's Plain residents that were previously not

spoken about. The history of marginalization of the coloured community in Mitchell's Plain stems back to the forced removals during the apartheid era. Many of the residents have had to overcome the trauma of being forcibly displaced from places such as District Six to the Cape Flats, but not everyone has dealt with the trauma of being displaced. Many have had to forge new lives for themselves and their family in Mitchell's Plain. So for many residents, Mitchell's Plain is a place that is now entrenched in their identity. To a large extent, residents have felt marginalized for a long time and so the Isiqalo protests (which impacted on them directly through road closures) triggered the underlying wounds of Mitchell's Plain residents where they wanted their needs and struggles to be acknowledged as well. Their frustrations reached a tipping point and Isiqalo was in the firing line when their frustrations should actually have been directed at the governing authorities.

Amidst the individual histories, struggles and challenges experienced by both groups, the social climate remains tense. No law enforces any physical separation but Isiqalo and Mitchell's Plain have been, and continue to be, socially divided. This is evident in the "they" and "them" language used:

"...We've been waiting all these years for houses and then the people from the Eastern Cape arrive and protest, and they are given houses. How fair is this? Is it because they are black? Are we not black enough?" (Fadiel Adams, 1 June 2018) (Mail & Guardian, <https://mg.co.za/article/2018-06-01-00-gatvol-capetonians-stir-up-tensions/>)

"...these people have taken land now and uhm but the City didn't really do anything about it, just a slap on the hand and stuff like that you know. They just invaded private land. The Isiqalo settlement happened overnight, like

literally overnight that settlement happened and these people came in from Eastern Cape...” (Ben, 12 May 2020)

As discussed in Chapter Six, in Mitchell’s Plain, the overall attitude towards Isiqalo residents is negative, this is evident in the language used by respondents of this study and also quoted in media pieces. The negativity is directed towards Isiqalo residents as well as the local municipal government. It is directed at Isiqalo residents because of how they occupied the specific land and are the ones responsible for the protest action. The negativity is then directed to the government as they have control over, and the responsibility to equally and fairly distribute the City’s resources and opportunities. Many respondents felt as though the government has not delivered in this regard.

A key finding in this study is that housing or the lack thereof is a major source of tension. It is perceived that new incomers to the area are accommodated before residents, with perceptions of “jumping the queue” creating a great deal of tension. The perceptions of unfair housing allocation are strong, although some recognize that this is not the fault of informal settlement residents, but of those who are a part of the housing delivery decision-making process. The already marginalized situation of residents of Mitchell’s Plain exacerbates the anger, as there is a shortage of affordable land close to where job opportunities are located. Clearly land invasions also are encouraged by certain actors for political and financial gain.

There is a clear need for housing delivery within Isiqalo, and the greater Cape Flats. “Isiqalo”, significantly meaning “*new beginning*”, is home to thousands who seek adequate housing and an opportunity to improve their livelihood. Providing people with secure and sufficient housing would enable them to have a sense of belonging, which is currently lacking. It also enables people to strive towards success in all other endeavours in life, such as health, social, cultural and economic security.

For the landless and urban poor in Isiqalo and Mitchell's Plain, the issue of housing delivery is still problematic and unresolved and this is revealed in the high growth rate of land invasions. This reveals a gap in the planning for housing delivery in both the inner city and less central areas of the city such as Mitchell's Plain.

Land invasions in and across the City are a result of a number of reasons and have a number of unintended impacts on surrounding communities. The reasons for their prevalence in and across the City include poverty and unemployment, among others, which is particularly prevalent in Isiqalo. It is also a result of past policies that excluded Africans from the city, coupled with the shortage of housing opportunities provided by the government. This is because the process of urbanization and natural growth is faster than the development of housing.

7.2. The making of insiders and outsiders in the protests

The relationship between Isiqalo and Mitchell's Plain residents can be described as two marginalized communities that are pitted against one another. As mentioned in Chapter Six, for as long as I can remember, and up until today, the relationship between the two communities has always been strained. Despite the existence of Isiqalo for just over a decade, the coloured community of Mitchell's Plain has not accepted Isiqalo as part of Mitchell's Plain. There remains a social divide and there is no sense of unity.

Through these conflicts, there has been a creation of 'insiders' and 'outsiders' – those who are regarded as belonging versus those who are seen as not belonging in a particular space or place. The coloured community of Mitchell's Plain regard the Isiqalo community as outsiders and this was brought to the surface through the protest action.

According to Relph (1976), it is possible for two communities or groups of individuals to co-habit in the same place yet simultaneously have different experiences in terms of their lived

reality. Relph, as discussed in Seamon & Jacob (2008) continues and explains the different ways these groups can feel and experience the very same place. 'Insiders' generally feel safer, more secure and more stable, while outsiders tend to feel unsafe, insecure and stressed (Seamon & Jacob, 2008). The more people feel like insiders in a place, the stronger their identity is with that place. On the contrary, it is possible for people to feel completely isolated and separated from place, this is called 'outsiderness' (Seamon & Jacob, 2008).

According to Cresswell (2004), people and things are strongly linked to particular places through particular histories. He notes the connection between people and place. This can lead to conflict and tensions that surround place. As seen in this study, the connection between the Isiqalo residents, the place of Isiqalo informal settlement and the history of the residents leaving their previous homes as a result of evictions, extreme poverty and seeking a place of refuge, has contributed to the conflict and tensions surrounding Isiqalo. Furthermore, the connection between Mitchell's Plain residents, the place and the long history of marginalization and forced removals has contributed to the conflict and tensions surrounding the protests.

Cresswell (2004) notes that people's sense of identification with place is the reason that people who live in a certain area are more likely to be opposed to developments in their local communities, as opposed to being bothered by developments occurring outside of their community – this is what is known as the NIMBY syndrome ('not in my backyard'). In this study a large proportion of Mitchell's Plain residents are opposed to protests initiated by Isiqalo residents, but are also opposed to their illegal occupation of land.

For incomers to the area, this sense of exclusion and not being wanted is painful. Isiqalo resident responded to a question about how they felt as follows:

“...Bad. Very bad. Because so long I don't have any place to stay...and if they can tell me something like 'I don't belong here' I don't know where will I go...” (Markie, 19 August 2020)

This and similar expressions of exclusion by Isiqalo residents were presented in Chapter Five.

A key point that emerged from the findings is that the making of insiders and outsiders took place and hardened through the protests, remaining evident in Isiqalo and Mitchell's Plain today. Being an 'insider' in Mitchell's Plain is linked to 'belonging' in the space and place. The notion of 'belonging' has been especially revealed through the patterns of behaviour of individuals and groups such as Gatvol Cape Town which emerged in response to the protests.

A slogan written across media pieces and adopted by Mitchell's Plain residents in response to the Isiqalo service delivery protests reads as follows: “Enough is enough”. It is an expression of the frustrations of residents who were affected by protests. The civil society movement (and now political party known as the Cape Coloured Congress), is the predominantly coloured group, “Gatvol Cape Town”, which took the lead in representing a 'coloured' standpoint. The group's message was to express the coloured people's struggles and experiences of marginalization. Their enemy is the government as well as those who live in informal settlements across the City. In this instance their enemy is the Isiqalo residents, particularly those who engaged in the protests.

The Gatvol Cape Town group held informal settlement residents responsible for negatively affecting the distribution of the City's resources such as housing, jobs and services; while they held the government responsible for neglecting the needs of the coloured people on the Cape Flats. As discussed in Chapter Six, one of the main flash points has been the need for housing.

The “us” versus “them” narrative has existed since the beginning of Isiqalo but was only brought to the surface at the start of the May 2018 protests. There have been several protests that have taken place over the years; however, this protest action is the most significant in how it set off a social movement that spread across the Cape Flats and the broader City of Cape Town. The May 2018 protests caused a domino effect that caused much chaos and uproar in areas such as Ocean View, Hanover Park, Delft, Parkwood and Kensington, to name a few. This narrative is continually expressed today.

Since Isiqalo informal settlement emerged, there have been tensions between the Isiqalo community, largely isiXhosa speaking, and the Mitchell’s Plain community that is predominantly coloured. The protest action did not start as a battle between the two races although it quickly became polarized as ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders’ were created. In other words, what emerged was essentially an “us” versus “them” situation along the lines of race. It appeared as though it was Isiqalo’s black community versus Mitchell’s Plain’s coloured community, even though there are coloured residents within Isiqalo informal settlement and there are black residents within and across Mitchell’s Plain.

Race identities were strongly expressed during the protests. Gatvol has been a key driver and instigator of conflicts and violent protests across the Cape Flats. All of this, while Isiqalo residents continue to face challenges such as storm water flooding and lack of electricity. At the same time, Mitchell’s Plain residents continue to experience high rates of unemployment, crime, and many have become backyard dwellers.

As this study shows, however, issues of race continue to be debated within the space of Mitchell’s Plain. It is important to note that in the findings of this study, not all respondents and/or Mitchell’s Plain residents, hold the same position as Gatvol toward the black

community in Isiqalo. There is a degree of empathy for the plight of residents in informal settlements.

Little has changed since the protests documented in this thesis. The social division in Mitchell's Plain and Isiqalo continues to exist today while residents continue to live in the same conditions. Isiqalo residents still do not have access to electricity and are not rendered adequate services, while Mitchell's Plain continues to have a high rate of backyard dwellers.

7.3. Recommendations

7.3.1 Housing and development

Progress has been made in the democratic South Africa in terms of the provision of housing, however, there is still much progress that needs to be made. While effort has gone into various development frameworks, such as the Spatial Development Framework (SDF), there is a need for implementation and delivery to be accelerated because too many people still reside in informal settlements and backyards, and this negatively affects people and the environment.

The Isiqalo protests are an indication that there is an urgent need for implementation and delivery to be accelerated. The upgrading of informal settlements is a highly complex issue but the delivery of formal housing must be accelerated to respond to this rapidly growing problem. The growth of informal settlements impacts on housing provision projects and opportunities. It also places additional pressure on development frameworks that seek to upgrade existing informal settlements.

The South African constitution indicates that every citizen is equally "entitled to the rights, privileges and benefits of citizenship" (RSA: 11: 1996). This means that every citizen has the right to adequate housing. The constitution also indicates that every citizen is equally "subject to the duties and responsibility of citizenship" (RSA: 11: 1996).

The Isiqalo residents, other citizens within informal settlements, and residents in communities such as those in Mitchell's Plain have desperate and crucial needs and so government must accelerate their attempts at implementation and delivery. Simultaneously, law and order must be ensured and maintained and land invasions must be controlled and prevented. Government has a responsibility to be accountable, follow due process, and act in the long-term interest of the public.

In order to be more prepared and respond better to informal settlements, better planning is essential. SDFs and other development strategies must include the existing disadvantaged areas and informal settlements and include them into the objectives. It must also address historical inequality and identify potential long-term risks. Relevant policies and strategies must be identified to address such risks. This will, in turn, direct infrastructure developments and will lead to efficient and sustainable development.

SDFs must also include vision statements that are longer term and that include spatial growth patterns for longer periods of time e.g. 10 to 20 years. It should also include, and therefore, prepare for population growth estimation for the next five years. It should also include the foreseeable demand for housing and identify areas within a specific municipality where gradual upgrading will be necessary. Also, it should identify the location of where engineering infrastructure and services will be needed, now and for future developments (SALGA, 2020).

Land invasions can be avoided and can be prevented from occurring by putting a few measures in place. The identification and prevention of land invasions is key. One way is to build a database of existing informal settlements within Mitchell's Plain as well as the greater Cape Town Municipal area. This database should include information on the inhabitants' identities and age and the overall population size.

In terms of the structures within the settlement, each one should be marked and numbered. Extensions to structures should not be authorized because this encourages growth in informal settlements. Taking photographs over time would help create a timeline and help identify whether unauthorized extensions do take place. In terms of further prevention, open land should be identified early on (not only municipal land but all open land within the municipality) and if possible, it should be fenced off. Signage could also be erected to warn prospective people from invading land.

7.3.2. Communication and transparency

The power of communication is crucial and should never be overlooked. In order to regain the trust of surrounding communities affected by land invasions, including those who are on housing waiting lists and those who are occupying said land, communication and transparency is needed. It is important for the government to be open, honest and transparent about services, implications, funding expenditures, and the like. Government should be purposeful, timely and deliver appropriate and necessary information to the relevant parties. Such information should be in everyday English for everyone to understand. It should also be translated into the local languages such as Afrikaans and isiXhosa. This information should also be inclusive and easily accessible.

In terms of further communication, it is important for government to establish a good relationship with ward committee members in the community to assist in curbing the growth of informal settlements. Landowners should be informed about their rights and responsibilities in terms of protecting their properties.

Good communication between government and residents is important and the power thereof should never be underestimated. Two-way communication is crucial as it is central to anything government tries to achieve. Better communication would empower Isiqalo

residents to become more involved in the decisions that affect them. The lack thereof prevents them from having a shared vision with government.

In this study, a lack of communication and a sense of isolation and marginalization was observed in the case of residents of both Isiqalo and Mitchell's. Effective communication is needed, as it would create a culture of hope for the future, where change is embraced and where residents are aware of strategic objectives. The lack of clear communication is fuel for protest action, especially violent protests that often include vandalism and damage to infrastructure as seen in May of 2018.

Both communities need to be recognized by the government as both feel marginalized and excluded from the broader City of Cape Town. There is therefore a need for the challenges faced by both communities to be addressed in a more efficient and speedy manner. Government has a responsibility to see to the needs of the people, maintain law and order, and make decisions that are fair, equal, just and sustainable. There is an urgent need for service delivery and particularly housing delivery to be improved, in Isiqalo, and the greater Mitchell's Plain area, as well as similar communities in and across the City.

In conclusion, there is a great need for unity and peace in Mitchell's Plain. The relationship between the Isiqalo and Mitchell's Plain community needs to be repaired because both communities will continue to live alongside one another for many years to come. Without attention to the underlying issues, identities are likely to harden with future explosions of violence and the strengthening of groups such as Gatvol Cape Town, which articulates a narrow territorial view based on coloured identity and belonging. That this narrative is rejected by many residents of Mitchell's Plain is a hopeful sign for the future, when it is hoped that new initiatives focusing on common struggles and problems may emerge.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: INFORMATION SHEETS

ENGLISH INFORMATION SHEET



INFORMATION SHEET

Title:

Territory and exclusion: Contestations over Space in Mitchell's Plain

Researcher: Zina Jacobs

Research description:

This research project seeks to investigate the social issues in Mitchell's Plain, Cape Town that relate to land and space. It will look at the histories, perceptions and emotions of people in Mitchell's Plain. This includes IsiQalo informal settlement residents as well as the established Mitchell's Plain residents.

Risk Statement

You have been selected as a participant based on your prior knowledge of the protest action which took place in Mitchell's Plain on Jakes Gerwell Drive. To prevent social stigmatisation and/or secondary victimization this research will ensure confidentiality, ensure anonymity (e.g. coded/ disguised names of participants/ respondents), ensure you are aware that you may withdraw your participation at any time, and inform you that there will be limited access to identifiable information. Furthermore, to prevent stress/harm please note that you may withdraw your participation at any time. Additionally, all data will securely be stored within locked and encrypted locations.

<p>Researcher: Zina Jacobs</p> <p>Email: 3517074@uwc.ac.za</p> <p>Contact number: 084 89 69 048</p>	<p>Supervisor: Professor Shirley Brooks</p> <p>Email: sbrooks@uwc.ac.za</p> <p>Tel: +27 21 959 2425</p>	<p>Head of Department (HOD): Dr Mark Bookstein</p> <p>Email: mbookstein@uwc.ac.za</p> <p>Tel: +27 21 959 2329</p>
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For further information or queries, you may
Contact the Humanities and Social Sciences
Research Ethics Committee, Research Development,

Tel: 021 959 4111,
Email: research-ethics@uwc.ac.za

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This research project seeks to ensure that participants are comfortable with discussing potentially emotive issues, such as notions of territory and exclusion. In such an event please refer to the following organizations that are capable and able to provide assistance in terms of coping:

FAMSA (Families South Africa Western Cape)
Provides counselling services for families. Also providing bereavement, divorce, domestic violence and marriage counselling:
Alliance Francaise Building, Wall Street, Portlands, Mitchell's Plain
Tel & Fax: +27 21 391 6015
Cell: +27 73 184 3623
Email: famsamp@gmail.com

Mitchell's Plain Network: Opposing Abuse
Counselling provided for victims who experience trauma and grief as a result of domestic violence, gangsterism and natural disasters:
Beaconvale Frail Care Centre: 2 Rambler St, Beacon Valley, Mitchell's Plain
Tel: +27 21 376 4788 or
Email: mpnetwork@vodamail.co.za

Researcher:
Zina Jacobs
Email:
3517074@uwc.ac.za
Contact number:
084 89 69 048

Supervisor:
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Acting Dean: Prof L. Cloves, lclowes@uwc.ac.za
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Dean's administrator: Ms JS Flusik, jflusik@uwc.ac.za
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AFRIKAANS INFORMATION SHEET



INLIGTINGSBLAD

Titel:

Territory en Uitsluiting: Wedstryde oor die ruimte in Mitchell's Plain
(Territory and Exclusion: Contestations over Space in Mitchell's Plain)

Navorsers: Zina Jacobs

Navorsingsbeskrywing:

Met hierdie navorsingsprojekte word die sosiale kwessies in Mitchells Plain, Kaapstad, wat met grond en ruimte verband hou, ondersoek. Daar sal gekyk word na die geskiedenis, persepsie en emosies van mense in Mitchells Plain. Dit sluit inwoners van informele nedersettings van IsiQalo sowel as die gevestigde inwoners van Mitchells Plain in.

U is doelgerig gekies as 'n Mitchells Plain-inwoner op grond van u voorkennis van die protesoptrede wat gedurende 2018 op Jakes Gerwelrylaan, Mitchells Plain plaasgevind het. As deelnemer sal u verwag word om u persoonlike persepsie oor sosiale kwessies in Mitchells Plain te deel, wat almal verband hou met grond.

Risikoverklaring

Om sosiale stigmatisering en / of sekondêre viktimisasie te voorkom, sal hierdie navorsing vertroulikheid, anonimiteit verseker (bv. Gekodeerde / verbloemde name van deelnemers / respondente), verseker dat u bewus is dat u u deelname te eniger tyd kan omtrek en u in kennis stel dat daar beperk sal wees toegang tot identifiseerbare inligting.

Waarnemende Dekaan: Prof L. Clowen, lclowen@uwc.ac.za
Fakulteitsbestaander: Ms S Mswobu, mswobu@uwc.ac.za
Dekaan se Administrateur: Ms JS Flank, jflank@uwc.ac.za
Privaatbak X17 Bellville 7535 Suid-Afrika

Vir verdere inligting of raaipe kan u die
Komitee vir Oorskerwerswetenskappe en Sosiale Wetenskappe,
Navorsingsontwikkeling

Tel: 021 959 4111
E-pos: research-ethics@uwc.ac.za

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Let daarop dat u u deelname te eniger tyd kan onttrek om spanning / skade te voorkom.
Boonop sal alle data veilig op geslote en geënkripteerde plekke geberg word.

Hierdie navorsingsprojek wil verseker dat deelnemers gemaklik is met die bespreking van moontlik emosionele kwessies, soos idees van grondgebied en uitsluiting. In so 'n geval, verwys asseblief na die volgende organisasies wat in staat is om hulp te verleen in terme van hantering:

FAMSA (Families South Africa Western Cape)
Bied beradingsdienste vir gesinne. Verleen ook rou, egskeiding, huishoudelike geweld en huweliksberading.
Alliance Francaise Building, Wall Street, Portlands, Mitchell's Plain
Tel & Faks: +27 21 391 6015
Sel: +27 73 184 3623
E-pos: famsamp@gmail.com

Mitchell's Plain Network: Opposing Abuse
Berading word voorsien vir slagoffers wat trauma en hartseer ervaar as gevolg van gesinsgeweld, gangsterisme en natuurrampe: Beaconvale Frail Care Centre: 2 Rambler St, Beacon Valley, Mitchells Plain
Tel: +27 21 376 4788 or
E-pos: mpnetwork@vodamail.co.za

Navorsers:
Zina Jacobs

E-pos:
3517074@uwc.ac.za

Kontak nommer:
084 89 69 048

Promotor:
Professor Shirley Brooks

E-pos: sbrooks@uwc.ac.za

Tel: +27 21 959 2425

Departementshoof (HOD):
Dr Mark Bookstein

E-pos:
mbookstein@uwc.ac.za

Tel: +27 21 959 2329

Waarnemende Dekan: Prof L. Cloves, lclaves@uwc.ac.za
Fakulteitsbestaander: Ms S Mewata, smewata@uwc.ac.za
Dekaan se Administratör: Ms JS Flank, jflank@uwc.ac.za
Privaatstok X17 Bellville 7535 Suid-Afrika

Vir verdere inligting of raaiwe kan u die
Komitee vir Oostenwoertenskappe en Sosiale Wetenskappe,
Navorsingsontwikkeling

Tel: 021 959 4111
E-pos: manush-c@uwc.ac.za

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ISIXHOSA INFORMATION SHEET



INKKUKACHA ZENGCACISO

Isibloko:

Indawo kunye nokukhutshwa: Imincintiswano ngaphezu kweNdawo eMitchell's Plain
(Territory and exclusion: Contestations over Space in Mitchell's Plain)

Umphandi: Zina Jacobs

Inkcazo yophando:

Ezi projekthi zophando zifuna ukuphanda imiba yentlalo eMitchell's Plain, eKapa enzulumene nomhlaba kunye nendawo. Siza kujonga imbali, ukuqonda kunye neenvakalelo zabantu abaseMitchell's Plain. Oku kubandakanya abahlali basematyotyombeni base-IsiQalo kunye nabahlali baseMitchell's Plain.

Ukhethwe ngabom njengomhlali wase-IsiQalo ongumhlali ngokusekwe kulwazi lwakho lwangaphambili lwesenzo sokuqungqalaza esenzeke kuJakes Gerwell Drive, eMitchell's Plain ngo-2018. Njengomthathi-ncwabe kuya kulindeleka ukuba wabelane ngombono wakho malunga nemiba yentlalo e-IsiQalo Ukuhlaliswa ngokungekho sikweni, eMitchell's Plain, yonke enzulumene nomhlaba.

Ingxelo yomngcipheko

Ukuthintela ukubekwa ibala kwezintlalo kunye / okanye ukuphatywa gadalala kwesibini, olu phando luya kuqinisekisa ubumfihlo, ukungaziwa (umzekelo, amagama abhalwe ngokufihlakeleyo / abathathi-ncwabe), uqiniseke ukuba uyazi ukuba ungakuyekisa ukuthatha kwakho incwabe nangaliphi na ivesha, kwaye ukwazise ukuba kuya kubakho umda ukufikelela kulwazi oluchongiweyo. Ngapha koko, ukuthintela uxinzelelo / ukwenzakala nceda uqaphele ukuba unokulirhovisa incwabe yakho nangaliphi na ivesha. Ukongeza, yonke idatha iya kugcinwa ngokukhuselekileyo kwindawo evaliweyo nefihliweyo.

eThabisa likaDean: Prof L. Clower, lclower@uwc.ac.za
Umphathi ongekho: Ms S Mwatte, smwatte@uwc.ac.za
Dean's Unlawful: Mr JS Fluck, jfluck@uwc.ac.za
I-Private Bag X17 Bellville 7535 yaseNtantsi Afrika

Ukufumana ulwazi oluthe kratya okanye isibuzo,
Ungaphagamshelelana neKomiti yeeNqobo zokuzipatha
redayenel yoluntu, uPhuhliso loPhando,

Kule nombolo: 021 959 4111
i-imeyili: Research-ethics@uwc.ac.za

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Le projekthi yophando ifuna ukuqinisekisa ukuba abafathhi-uxazheba bakhululekile xa bezoza ngezinto ezinokubangela invakalelo, ezinje ngemibono yommandla kunye nokungabandakanywa. Kwimeko enjalo nceda ubhekise kule mibutho ilandelayo inakho ukunika uncedo malunga nokuhlangabezana:

FAMSA (Families South Africa Western Cape)
Ibonelela ngeenkondo zeengcebiso kwiintsapho. Ukubonelela ngokufelwa, uqhawulo-mtshato, ubundlobongela basekhaya kunye nengcebiso yomtshato:
Alliance Francaise Building, Wall Street, Portlands, Mitchell's Plain
Inombolo yomseba nefeksi: +27 21 391 6015
Iseli: +27 73 184 3623
Imeyile: famsamp@gmail.com

Mitchell's Plain Network: Opposing Abuse
Ingcebiso ezinikiweyo kumaxhoba ahlelwe ziintlungu nosizi ngenxa yobundlobongela basekhaya, iqela lemigulakudu kunye neentlekele zemvelo:
Beaconvale Frail Care Centre: 2 Rambler St, Beacon Valley, Mitchell's Plain
Ummseba: +27 21 376 4788 or
Imeyile: mppnetwork@vodamail.co.za

<p>Umphandi: Zina Jacobs</p> <p>Imeyili: 3517074@uwc.ac.za</p> <p>Inombolo Yochagamshelwano: 084 89 69 048</p>	<p>Umphathi: Professor Shirley Brooks</p> <p>Imeyili: sbrooks@uwc.ac.za</p> <p>Ifowuni: +27 21 959 2425</p>	<p>INtloko yeSebe (HOD): Dr Mark Bookstein</p> <p>Imeyili: mbookstein@uwc.ac.za</p> <p>Ifowuni: +27 21 959 2329</p>
--	---	--

eThabisa IikaDean: Prof L. Cloves, lclowes@uwc.ac.za
Umphathi ongekho: Ms S Mvatta, smvatta@uwc.ac.za
Dean's Unlawuli: Mr JB Plunk, jplunk@uwc.ac.za
I-Private Bag X17 Bellville 7535 yaseMzantsi Afrika

Ukufumana ulwazi oluthe kratya okanye imbuzo,
Ungachagamshelana neKomiti yeeNqobo zokuzipatha
zeDayenel yoluntu, uPhuhliso loPhando,

Kule nombolo: 021 959 4111
i-imeyile: Research-ethics@uwc.ac.za

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Territory and Exclusion: Contestations over space in Mitchell’s Plain

Researcher: Zina Jacobs

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and have understood the information sheet explaining the above research project and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences. In addition, should I not wish to answer any particular question or questions, I am free to decline. (If I wish to withdraw I may contact the lead researcher at anytime)
3. I understand my responses and personal data will be kept strictly confidential. I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymised responses. I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials, and I will not be identified or identifiable in the reports or publications that result for the research.
4. I understand that I may decline to be audio-recorded at any point.
5. I agree that the data collected from me may be used in future research.
6. I agree to take part in the above research project.

Name of Participant <i>(or legal representative)</i>	Date	Signature
N/A		
Name of person taking consent <i>(If different from lead researcher)</i>	Date	Signature
Lead Researcher <i>(To be signed and dated in presence of the participant)</i>	Date	Signature

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APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

English open-ended Interview Questions for the study Territory and Exclusion: Contestations over space in Mitchell's Plain

Open-ended interviews do not have formal structures, but instead seek to attain the uninterrupted and value-free perception of the participant. Participants may answer open-ended questions in any way. Core questions, however, have been identified:

- What is your perception of the protests that took place on Jakes Gerwell Drive, Mitchell's Plain in 2018?
- How do you feel about the tensions between Isiqalo and established Mitchell's Plain residents?
- Why do you think these tensions exist?
- Are you aware of the civil society organization '*Gatvol Cape Town*'? If yes, do you agree with their views on matters within Mitchell's Plain?
- Do you feel as though you belong in the community of Mitchell's Plain? Why?
- Do you regard Mitchell's Plain as a place that is significant to you and/or your family? Why?
- How would you/ your family be affected if you were no longer allowed to live in Mitchell's Plain?

Afrikaanse ope-ondervragingsvrae vir die studie Territory and Exclusion: Contestations over space in Mitchells Plain

- Wat is jou persepsie van die protes wat in 2018 op Jakes Gerwell Drive, Mitchells Plain plaasgevind het?
- Hoe voel jy oor die spanning tussen Isiqalo en gevestigde Mitchells Plain-inwoners?
- Hoekom dink jy is hierdie spanning?
- Is jy bewus van die burgerlike gemeenskapsorganisasie 'Gatvol Kaapstad'? Indien ja, stem jy saam met hul siening oor sake binne Mitchell's Plain?
- Voel jy asof jy in die gemeenskap van Mitchell's Plain behoort? Hoekom?
- Beskou jy Mitchell's Plain as 'n plek wat vir jou en / of jou familie belangrik is? Hoekom?
- Hoe sal u / u familie geraak word as u nie meer in Mitchell's Plain mag woon nie?

IsiXhosa imibuzo yoPhulo oluPhezulu oluvaliweyo lokufunda Territory and Exclusion: Contestations over space in Mitchells Plain

- Yintoni oyijonga ngayo imibhikisho eyenziwa kwiJakes Gerwell Drive, eMitchell's Plain ngo-2018?
- Uvakalelwa njani ngeengxabano phakathi kweSiqalo kunye nabemi baseMitchell's Plain?
- Kutheni ucinga ukuba le ntlupheko ikhona?
- Ngaba uyazi ukuba intlangano yoluntu 'yaseGagvol eKapa'? Ukuba kunjalo, ngaba uyavumelana nemibono yabo kwimicimbi ngaphakathi kweMitchell's Plain?
- Ngaba uzive ngathi ungowommandla waseMitchell's Plain? Ngoba?
- Ngaba uyayibheka iMitchell's Plain njengendawo ebalulekileyo kuwe kunye / okanye intsapho yakho? Ngoba?
- Unokuchaphazeleka njani / usapho lwakho ukuba awusayi kuvunyelwa ukuba uhlale eMitchell's Plain?

APPENDIX D: MAY 2018 PROTEST ACTION



Isiqalo residents protest over electricity and houses (Jikelo, 2018)

Figure source: <https://www.iol.co.za/capetimes/news/siqaloprotest-philippi-settlement-remains-on-knife-edge-14750356>



Police presence to contain and control the damaging of infrastructure (Jikelo, 2018)

Source: <https://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/western-cape/police-identify-victim-of-fatal-hit-and-run-during-siqaloprotest-14759883>



Police patrolling in Isiqalo (Hendricks, 2018)



Mitchells Plain residents assist the police by pushing container into the road (Hendricks, 2018)



Approximately 30 were arrested during the protest action (Hendricks, 2018)



Isiqalo residents were forced back into the settlement (Hendricks, 2018)

Images are available at <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2018-05-03-83011/>

NATIONAL

'Gatvol' Capetonians stir up tensions

Raeesa Pather Govan Whittles 1 Jun 2018



Over the M7 from Mitchells Plain is Sigalo informal settlement. Residents of Woodlands in Mitchells Plain have attempted to claim plots of land on open ground in the community.

Land-related protests in Cape Town continued this week despite a zero-tolerance approach from the city — and racial tensions between coloured and black people were being stoked by disaffected Mitchells Plain residents.

“We’ve been here since before the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck and these people arrive here from the Eastern Cape,” Fadiel Adams proclaims from a piece of vacant land in Woodlands, Mitchells Plain, which residents occupied this week. “They have no claim to this land. They should be happy that we welcome them and have always welcomed them. But they don’t wanna share; they want it all.”

READ MORE: City of Cape Town pushes for “zero tolerance” on land protests

It’s Tuesday and the land is scattered with people hammering in wooden pegs and picking up rubber bullets — remnants of their clashes with the police on Monday afternoon.

A crowd forms around Adams as he speaks about an apparent government conspiracy against coloured people. “Coloured people are being told to shut up and sit down. We refuse to shut up and sit down. This government is waging a housing, employment and

<http://etd.uwc.ac.za/>

economic war on us. They won't give it to us ... So we will get as physical as they can, and this government knows nobody can wage a war like the Cape Flats [can].”

Adams is the administrator of the Facebook group Gatvol Capetonian, which has about 6 500 followers. He has been traversing Cape Town during May to advocate for coloured people to seize vacant land illegally.

He has found support for his views on black people since a video of his rant against residents of the nearby Siqalo informal settlement went viral on social media.

Adams helped to organise a protest by Mitchells Plain residents against Siqalo residents in which black and coloured people faced off at the beginning of May. Siqalo residents agitating for better services blocked the M7 highway, but were pelted with stones and shot at by Mitchells Plain residents unhappy that they were being prevented from going to work.

On Monday, shots were fired at the police as the anti-land invasion unit moved in to clear the patch of land. In the chaos that followed, at least five spaza shops, a petrol station and a car parts retailer were looted.

The following day, Adams arrived to give his support to Woodlands residents in a “Gatvol Capetonian” T-shirt, bearing the group’s slogan: “The only good politician is a dead politician.”

Woodlands is almost entirely made up of flats and semidetached houses, “and it’s rare to find a backyard without a wendy [shack]”, says resident Latifah Meyer. The area has a mostly coloured population and an unemployment rate of close to 50%.

The Gatvol Capetonian message resonated with many protesters this week, and some have even reached out to Adams’s team to secure land.

“I’m in contact with them. I sent a message last night to the admin of Gatvol Capetonian and asked: ‘Can I also put up a shack on the land, because we’re waiting for years?’ And he said yes, but we must protest,” says Gabieba Rademeyer.

Woodlands resident Sulaiman Johannes was hit in the leg by rubber bullets during the protests on Monday but the next day he hobbled back to the land to dig a hole to anchor his shack, his crutches lying next to him.

Johannes says the land occupation is based on legitimate demands and Gatvol Capetonian is merely trying to gain traction during a tense period in the area's coloured suburbs.

“It's not about being told to protest; we are really gatvol, my brother. You can see coloured people in other areas doing the same thing and it's all because of Siqalo. There's no way they can get houses and they are not even Kapenaars,” he says.

Rademeyer says the Siqalo situation may have been the tipping point, but the Cape Flats housing crisis has long threatened to ignite a full-scale revolution among coloured people.

Johannes believes the Woodlands protest started because of the perceived success of the Siqalo demonstration, which ignited anger against people from the Eastern Cape who have moved to Cape Town to find houses and jobs.



[Race clash: Residents (above) return to the land they occupied in Woodlands, Mitchells Plain, after clashes with the police. (David Harrison/M&G)]

“They came here [Woodlands] to mark off plots for themselves. Then we saw it and said we will take this land, not people from the Eastern Cape,” Johannes says.

Adams adds: “The ANC should have industrialised the Eastern Cape and cultivated business there, so people don’t have to migrate at the rate of 40 000 every month and ... after six months, demand a house,” Longtime Woodlands resident Fareed Hendricks says the land occupations have turned racist because of the influx of people from other provinces.

“We’ve been waiting all these years for houses and then the people from the Eastern Cape arrive and protest, and they are given houses. How fair is this? Is it because they are black? Are we not black enough?” he asks.

About his controversial remarks, Adams says: “Then let it come across as racist. I’m telling you the truth. The fact that these people live like this is because the government is more interested in giving black people jobs and black people housing.”

He admits to preaching the same message to residents in Parkwood, Vrygrond and Ocean View — the scenes of violent protests over the past two weeks — and says he will continue to agitate for a “coloured revolution” and land occupation.



[Fadiel Adams (above), administrator of Gatvol Capetonians, organised the protest against the residents of Siqalo informal settlement who blocked the M7 in protest for better services but they were attacked by the Mitchells Plain residents. (David Harrison/M&G)]

“We are going countrywide to show support. Wherever there is a coloured person not getting a house or a job, Gatvol Capetonian will be there,” Adams says.

In Parkwood, residents occupied vacant land next to the highway in protest against overpopulation in the suburb’s backyards. In Vrygrond, protests erupted after people living in a cluster of shacks were evicted for building on private property. In Ocean View, people took to the streets after being evicted for not paying rent, despite claiming otherwise.

The Gatvol Capetonian group has also caught the attention of Cape Town officials. This week, JP Smith, the mayoral committee member for safety and security, ignited outrage when he alleged that there was a “third force” involved in the protests.

Smith told the *Mail & Guardian* the city had “been informed” that cash had been paid to “specific persons” to spur protests. The city is adamant that suspicious activity is behind the protests rather than legitimate concerns for basic housing. Divisive rhetoric has been a common thread in all the protests, Smith said.

“Listen to the hate messages being circulated. They are very similar and are designed to inflame conflict between communities in conflict. We can’t prove who is driving it ... We are told that specific persons are being paid to drive conflict but there is also a devious social media campaign to spread hate and division.”

[Waging war: Residents of Siqalo informal settlement blocked the M7 in protest for better services but they were attacked by backyard dwellers from Mitchells Plain. (David Harrison/M&G)]

He said the city was still investigating who was stoking the protests but accused Adams of sowing conflict and of spreading “continuous misinformation about the respective roles of different spheres of government to try and blame the city for failures of national government”.

Although some residents of Woodlands, Parkwood and Vrygrond said they agreed with Gatvol Capetonian’s rhetoric, none of them had been paid to occupy land or protest.

Adams also claims his group is not behind the protests: “We simply support them.”

But the group is viewed by some as a threat and an anti-Gatvol Capetonian online forum has emerged, started by the Bishop Lavis Action Committee (Blac).

“It was Gatvol Capetonian that made a public call for land occupation by coloured people,” Blac’s Abdul Matthews says. “It comes from individuals that make outright calls for incitement to violence. And we need to dispel the notion that coloured people agree with them.”

Meanwhile in Sigalo, the recent rains have flooded the main gravel road between the shacks and the row of mobile toilets.

Timothy Nkosana (70) says the racism from Mitchells Plain residents caught him off guard.

“They undermined us. And they still do it. But we are also just like them. We suffer just like them. For instance, backyarders, they suffer as we suffer. I don’t know what is the difference. Is it because they are mostly white or what? I don’t know,” Nkosana said.

“Eastern Cape and Western Cape, we are one country ... We are South African people, all of us. It’s our country.”

Mail & Guardian, <https://mg.co.za/article/2018-06-01-00-gatvol-capetonians-stir-up-tensions/>

APPENDIX F: ETHICAL CLEARANCE LETTER



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04 September 2019

Ms Z Jacobs
Geography, Environmental Studies and Tourism
Faculty of Arts

Ethics Reference Number: HS19/7/10

Project Title: Territory and exclusion: Contestations over space in Mitchell's Plain

Approval Period: 04 September 2019 – 04 September 2020

I hereby certify that the Humanities and Social Science Research Ethics Committee of the University of the Western Cape approved the methodology and ethics of the above mentioned research project.

Any amendments, extension or other modifications to the protocol must be submitted to the Ethics Committee for approval.

Please remember to submit a progress report in good time for annual renewal.

The Committee must be informed of any serious adverse event and/or termination of the study.

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads 'Josias'.

*Ms Patricia Josias
Research Ethics Committee Officer
University of the Western Cape*

HSSREC REGISTRATION NUMBER - 130616-049

FROM HOPE TO ACTION THROUGH KNOWLEDGE