NEGOTIATING URBAN INFORMALITY: NARRATIVES OF POLITICS AND MOBILITY IN AN INFORMAL SETTLEMENT IN CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA

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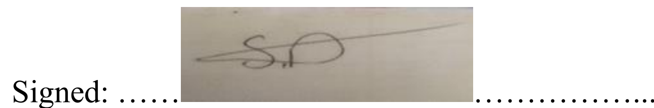
I affirm that this master's mini thesis, "Negotiating urban informality: Narratives of politics and mobility in an informal settlement in Cape Town, South Africa" is my own effort. No other university has ever published this piece of work. The cited sources have been verified as full references.

Signed: …………………...

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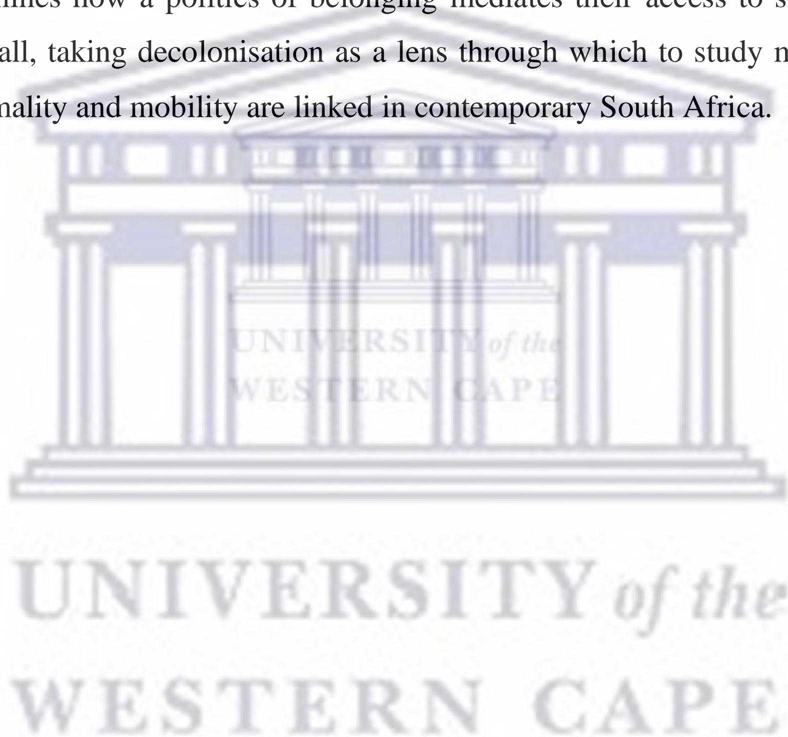
Abstract

Recent work on ‘urban informality’- forms of urbanisation such as the growth of settlements outside the confines of the state and its policies- have begun to emphasise the politics and everyday negotiations of those living in these marginalised spaces. In South Africa, the creation of and the politics around such informal settlements have been largely shaped by the colonial history and legacies of spatial inequalities and racial segregation. This research examined the politics of im/mobility in a particular settlement in Cape Town, called Siqalo in Mitchells Plain. Through qualitative methods including open ended interviews with community leaders and activists in Siqalo, the thesis offers insights of how a group of activists and residents negotiate everyday challenges. It shows how being viewed as “encroachers” shapes their political and social life in the city and examines how a politics of belonging mediates their access to services and better livelihoods. Overall, taking decolonisation as a lens through which to study mobility, the thesis shows how informality and mobility are linked in contemporary South Africa.



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Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my beloved son Mvelo whose existence gave my meaningless life a meaning and his loving mother Sesethu Matiwane who continues to make parenthood a pleasant journey.

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Table of Contents

Statement on Ethical Academic Practices: i

Abstract ii

Dedication iv

Acknowledgements v

Lists of Abbreviations ix

Chapter 1: Introduction 1

1.1 Contextualisation and background 3

1.1.1 Informal settlements in a global context 3

1.1.2 Informal settlements in South Africa 3

1.2 Rationale and significance of the study 4

1.3 Delineation of the case study area 4

1.3.1 Spatial inequality in Cape Town 4

1.3.2 Informal settlement of Siqalo 5

1.3.3 Politics of belonging in Siqalo 6

1.4. Problem statement and aims of the study 8

1.4.1 Statement of the problem 8

1.4.2 Aims of the study 8

1.4.3 Objectives 8

1.5 Research questions 8

1.6 Organisation of thesis 9

Chapter 2: Literature review and theoretical framework 10

2.1 Informal settlements 10

2.2 State intervention programs 12

2.3 Political organising 13

2.4 Urban informality 14

2.5 Insurgent citizenship 15

2.6 Counter-conduct 16

2.7 Urban informality as state of exception 18

2.8 Mobility and immobility: Conflict and negotiation 19

2.8.1 Dynamics internal migration in South Africa 19

2.8.2 Theories of mobility and agency 20

2.8.3 Mobilities and immobilities 21

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE
http://etd.uwc.ac.za

2.8.4 Translocality 22
2.9 Concluding summary: Decoloniality as a framework 23
2.10 Conclusion 25
Chapter 3: Methodology 26
3.1 Introduction 26
3.2 Qualitative research 26
3.3 Purposive sampling 27
3.4 In-depth unstructured interviews 28
3.5 Face to face interviews and participant observation 29
3.6 Research methods during COVID-19 30
3.7 Online interviews 30
3.8 Online participant diaries and photo-elicitation 30
3.9 Decolonising research methodologies 31
3.10 Research Procedure 33
3.11 Ethics and risk 33
3.12 Profile of the participants 34
Chapter 4: Data analysis 36
4.1 Introduction 36
4.2 Urban informality in Siqalo 36
4.2.1 The living conditions of the people of Siqalo 37
4.2.2 Immobility in Siqalo 39
4.3 Political activities: Organising in Siqalo during COVID-19 43
4.4 Informality and the land question in Siqalo 47
4.4.1 Temporal relocation and informality: Qualifiers and non-qualifiers 48
4.5 Protest 49
4.5.1 Protest and a politics of belonging 51
4.6 The politics of Siqalo as counter-conduct 52
4.7 Abakhaya as the translocal ties in Siqalo 53
4.8 Conclusion 57
Chapter 5: Conclusions 59
5.1 Summary 59
5.2 Informality: Insurgency/counter-conduct and state of exception 59
5.3 I/mmobility/Translocality 61

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE
http://etd.uwc.ac.za

5.4 Politics of belonging and the “moralising discourse”...62
5.5 The question of land 62
5.6 Colonial present 63
Reference list 64

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Lists of Abbreviations

DA: Democratic Alliance

EFF: Economic Freedom Fighters

HDA: Housing Development Agency

IEC: International Electoral Commission

NGO: Non-Governmental Organization

SERI: Socio-Economic Rights Institute of South Africa

TRA: Temporary relocation Areas

VPUU: Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Cape Town is South Africa's fastest growing city and is home to numerous informal settlements. As defined by UN Habitat (2015:1), informal settlements are areas where residents have "no security of tenure," and are "cut off from basic services and city infrastructure." Informal settlements also are described as not complying with regulations and are often set up "in geographically and environmentally hazardous areas" (UN Habitat, 2015:1). UN-Habitat attributes the emergence of informal settlements to varying factors such as population growth and rural-urban migration. Urban studies literature has noted the centrality of the state in the emergence of informal settlements.

In South Africa, the emergence of informal settlements is not a recent phenomenon, but a continuation of the past in the present. Informal settlements are traceable to the history of land dispossession that undergirds colonialism and the legacy of apartheid. Levenson (2017) locates this phenomenon from the dispossession of the black peasants who were then forced to labour for white settlers, highlighting the centrality of the migrant labour system in the emergence of informal settlements, as the dispossessed moved to urban peripheries to fend for themselves.

In May 2018, in an informal settlement in Cape Town named Siqalo, residents conducted a protest for service delivery, where they blocked the road with intentions of conveying the message to the government about their needs and grievances. Siqalo, which means the "Beginning" in isiXhosa, came into existence in the year 2012 (Etheridge, 2018) through land occupation, because of lack of housing and forced evictions (Africa, 2020). Siqalo borders the coloured township of Mitchells Plain, and specifically lies across the road from a middle-class section of Mitchells Plain named Colorado. Siqalo is overwhelmingly filled with Xhosa-speaking people, who the residents of Mitchells Plain claim originate from the Eastern Cape. The informal settlement does not have access to basic services such as electricity and has only received portable toilets and standpipes after many years of its existence in the area. A Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading (VPUU, 2018) report provided statistics from a survey of community priorities, which included electricity at 92%, water and sanitation at 90% and housing at 85%. These demands of the community have informed its service delivery protests over the years.

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In 2018, the people of Siqalo demanded basic service delivery from the City through protest. The people of Mitchells Plain claimed that the protest inconvenienced them, leading to a conflict and outbreak of violence, which left many people wounded and claimed one life (Brandt, 2018). Various media outlets reported that the people of Mitchells Plain vocalised their dissatisfaction about Xhosa-speaking migrants invading their land; Mitchells Plain was historically designated for coloured people by the Apartheid regime and has mostly continued as such even decades after South African democracy (SAHO, 2017; Africa, 2020).

Informal settlements such as Siqalo are often viewed as "violent" spaces due to the lack of basic services that exposes residents to health risks and many other social ills. Yet, there is a continued growth of informal settlements in South African cities, which are a visible manifestation of poverty and inequalities (Brown-Luthango, Reyes and Gubevu, 2016:473). Mobility and immobility of black people is largely confined to these marginal spaces, as it was the case under direct colonial rule.

This thesis focuses on the relationship between urban informality and mobility in Siqalo. It begins with the argument that the intersection between mobility and informality in South Africa was/is shaped by colonialism, which has been characterised by Maldonado- Torres (2016:2) as coloniality. Informality is a continuation of the production of the zones of non-being and zones of being (Maldonado-Torres, 2016). This intersection shapes the politics and everyday negotiations of those living in these marginalised spaces, as the state often views informal squatters as encroachers or undeserving migrants in Siqalo. While many residents of Siqalo do stay connected with the Eastern Cape, this also requires a deeper understanding of the relationship between their translocal ties, relationship around urban informality, and a better in depth in person narrative and historical context to precarious life for South African internal migrants. Overall, the thesis employed qualitative methodology to follow up on the work of Levenson (2018, 2019) and other scholars on how life in informal settlements is managed through 1) collective narratives of precarity of everyday life and translocality by community leaders and activists in Siqalo and 2) an engagement with the literature on mobilities, urban informality, and decoloniality.

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1.1 Contextualisation and background

1.1.1 Informal settlements in a global context

Urban informality is a global phenomenon. The UN SDG indicators show that approximately 23.5% of the world's urban population resides in informal settlements (UN, 2019). Despite efforts to curb their expansion, informal settlements continue to grow (Aboulnaga, Badran & Barakat, 2021: 1). Statistically, the rate of people living in informal settlements recently grew to 1 billion, "with 80% attributed to three regions: Eastern Asia (370 million), sub-Saharan Africa (238 million) and central Southern Asia (227 million)" (UN, 2019). The continued growth of informal settlements in the Global South cities is also attributable neo-liberal policies, structural adjustment and agriculture deregulation (Zapata Campos et al., 2022:3). Rising inequality, territorial concentration of poverty and the increase of informal settlements are viewed as shared urban challenges.

1.1.2 Informal settlements in South Africa

According to Statistics South Africa's household survey of 2011, 13.6 per cent of South Africa's population were dwelling in informal settlements (Stats SA, 2011). This is mostly attributed to the rapid rural-urban migration which ushered in massive urbanisation post-1994 (Jiusto & Kenney, 2015:253).

In South Africa, much of the development of informal settlements can be traced back in the history of land dispossession. Kaarsholm and Frederiksen (2018:51) link this with primitive capital accumulation in South Africa, crystallised by the Land Act of 1913, which regulated the acquisition of land. This also shows how the land question is at the centre of this debate; Levenson (2017:475) describes how in the 19th century South Africa intensified land dispossession, taking more land from the black peasants and turning them into exploited labour. These peasants who were turned into the proletariat migrated to the cities to fend for themselves in search of employment. This colonial history and the unresolved land question informs the current patterns of urban informality in South Africa, as urbanisation is still coupled with the rapid rise of informal settlements even after the demise of the Apartheid regime. Informal settlements have grown since the abrogation of influx control in the final decade of the Apartheid era; this enabled mass migration as racialised restriction of mobility fell away (Levenson, 2018). This period was

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characterised by rural-urban migration as Black people who were congested and confined to what was referred to as Bantu-stans in the Eastern Cape moved to the city to look for employment and better their lives. Turok and Saldin (2015:3) write that, “Rapid urban population growth makes it more difficult to provide enough decent housing. The outcome of these factors tends to be extensive informal production of dwellings using makeshift materials (‘shacks’) and located in crowded settlements.” The move to democracy had little impact in terms of dealing with the legacy left by Apartheid, as informal settlements have expanded even in the post-apartheid era.

1.2 Rationale and significance of the study

Urban informality has throughout the years continued to grow, as a huge number of the people who migrate from the rural areas to the urban areas settle or form informal settlements through land occupation. This notion of settlement is entangled with political implications for those who dwell in informal settlements. Stats SA (2016) indicates that 13,6% of South Africans live in informal settlements. Urban informality and internal migration shape the lives of a considerable number of black people in South Africa. Thus, there is a need to contextualise the experience with the historical reality of colonialism, and to apply a decolonial lens to understand the political negotiation of conflicts in informal settlements.

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The case study of Siqalo is important to further research, as activism and community organising fills the gap in state support in informal settlements. Siqalo faced a series of protests that were well publicised. While there has been important work on Siqalo including Levenson (2022), this thesis was developed in 2019, and research was conducted during the COVID-19 pandemic. This thesis builds on this previous research and offers a new perspective, adding the view of mobility and decoloniality as well as current political and community organising in Siqalo.

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1.3 Delineation of the case study area

1.3.1 Spatial inequality in Cape Town

Cape Town is South Africa’s most segregated city with the highest racial inequalities. It depicts Fanon’s (1960) conception of the Manichean society which is divided into two worlds: the black world and the white world within the same country (Fanon, 1960). The city mirrors the harsh legacy of colonialism, in that the overwhelming majority of black and coloured people are

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congested in the townships and informal settlements, while the majority of white people enjoy luxuries of living in the upmarket suburban areas. Miraftab (2012: 292) locates this social arrangement from the 19th century where blacks and coloured people were pushed out of the city through racist sanitation discourse that purported blacks and coloured people as health hazards and a medical menace. This sanitation discourse laid the foundation for the racial ecology of Cape Town. Miraftab (2012) refers to the continuation of these segregated social relations as "colonial presence".

Cape Town is South Africa's oldest city and the second largest, and it is the only city that has a population of coloured people that surpasses that of black people (Turok, Visagie & Scheba 2021). Its geographical patterns are still largely informed by the Group Areas Act, which pushed all non-whites out of the city to the urban peripheries and divided them racially and ethnically. Black people were grouped into their own "ghettos" and coloured people were also placed separately. As Turok et al (2021:73) describe, "The racial hierarchy was entrenched by allocating large central areas to whites, peripheral sites to black Africans and spaces in between to coloureds." The colonial hierarchy sought to divide coloured and black people by attempting to create a buffer zone between coloured and black people through the group areas act and the coloured labour preference, which reserved jobs for coloured people in the absence of whites (Pillay, 2018).

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1.3.2 Informal settlement of Siqalo

The tensions in Siqalo reflect this socialisation. As introduced at the opening of the thesis, Siqalo is an informal settlement in Cape Town near Mitchells Plain in an unoccupied private land owned by Robert Ross Demolishers and Lyton Props (Etheridge, 2018). Newsroom's (2018) account of the background to the people residing in Siqalo describes that most "are evicted former backyarders from Philippi, Khayelitsha and Gugulethu, according to court papers filed by the Socio-Economic Rights Institute of South Africa (SERI) and the Legal Resource Centre (LRC) on behalf of the occupiers when the Siqalo land owners went to court to evict them."

Siqalo has been entangled with conflicts ever since its establishment (Jacobs & Levenson, 2018). The city opposed its development and made many attempts to evict Siqalo residents from the area, which was followed by protests for service delivery. This, in turn, sparked the ire of Mitchells Plain residents, who said they were frustrated at having to bear the brunt of the protest. According

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to Africa (2020:ii), "When Siqalo residents organised a protest around issues of electricity and housing they faced violent retaliation by neighbouring community and residents of Colorado, populated mainly by people classified as Coloured, with claims being made by an organisation called Gatvol Capetonians for Siqalo residents to return to Eastern Cape." After a day of the protests in 2018, a 21-year-old man lost his life, and 30 residents were arrested and charged for public violence.

Residents of Siqalo have faced many challenges, which are but not limited to immobility and spatial and social inequality. As Mitchells Plain was designated for coloured people during the Apartheid regime, black Africans were viewed as occupying and disturbing the peace of the coloured middle class of Colorado in Mitchells Plain. The tensions are premised upon the Apartheid politics of belonging and spatial inequality.

VPPU in partnership with the City of Cape town compiled the Siqalo report in the year 2018. The VPUU and the City hired field workers from Siqalo to enumerate the informal settlement. The report states that there are 4134 people in Siqalo, 2248 households and 2222 structures (shacks). The gender composition is recorded as 48% females and 52% males. The report also stated that 21% of the households are "headed" by men between the ages of 26 and 35 years. As far as social grants are concerned, most social grants that are accessed are child support grants, and only 36% has access to these grants. Unemployment is standing at the high rate of 44%, with 8% job seekers and 9% that is economically inactive; only 39% of the residents were recorded as employed (Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading [VPUU], 2018).

1.3.3 Politics of belonging in Siqalo

In articulating the politics of belonging and the colonial continuities, Funjika & Getachew (2022:2) examine the former British and French colonies, focusing on the relationship between an individual's human capital and that of their parents' ethnic group in reading mobility. They posit that ethnicity has been used as a tool to group people for socio-economic purposes, which is still the case even decades after direct colonial rule in French and British colonies. Africa (2020) echoes the same sentiments about South Africa, particularly with the case of Siqalo and Mitchells Plain. When the people of Mitchells Plain complain about "Black people" occupying the space to which they "don't belong," they reference the long-standing legacy of Apartheid socialisation, which

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Pillay (2018) argues is deeply entrenched in the psyche of the colonised and still manifest itself to date. This invokes Bastia's (2015:1811) research in an informal settlement that also shows that "ethnicity plays a key role in how migrants are socially excluded." In Cape Town, the politics of space and belonging are largely informed by race (Africa, 2020). This depicts the interlink between ethnicity, migration and informality. The Democratic Alliance-led Municipality has proven to be unable to defuse these identity or ethnic tensions. The DA has throughout the years played an active role in perpetuating this conflict, and DA leader Helen Zille once labelled black people from the Eastern Cape as economic refugees of the Western Cape (Mannya, 2019). Such sentiments feed into the racial tensions that are yet to be defused, especially in Cape Town where racial inequalities are rife.

Narrow nationalist organisations such as Gatvol Capetonians sought to reproduce these contradictions (Andersen, 2018). Gatvol Capetonians is a pressure group that is constituted by coloured people and claims to fight for the rights of coloured people against what they term as "Black oppression" (Andersen, 2018). "Gatvol," which loosely translated means "fed up," found fame and prominence during the violent protests in Siqalo (Africa, 2020). The movement stood by its unflinching position that "Black" people from the Eastern Cape do not belong in the Western Cape, echoing Zille's racist's sentiments about Black people in the Western Cape.

The attitude of Gatvol Capetonians and Helen Zille towards black internal migrants in the city converges with what Levenson (2018) terms a "moralizing discourse." Levenson argues that the Department of Human Settlements in the Western Cape embodies this moralising discourse in how it deals with informal settlements. Its conception of informal settlements and service delivery protests is based on the flawed analysis that land occupiers, in the case of Siqalo, are undeserving intruders that want to jump the line of the housing provision program, and that this applies to their demand for service delivery. Seen as undeserving encroachers, they are then treated as the reason behind the housing crisis rather than the victims of it. Levenson (2018) argues that this is the misrecognition of this phenomenon, and it displaces the blame from structural forces and places it upon residents of informal settlements.

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1.4. Problem statement and aims of the study

1.4.1 Statement of the problem

After two decades of democratic South Africa, the colonial legacies still linger and remain unresolved. This is evident in how spatial inequalities still shape the current patterns of internal migration and urbanisation and consequently the intersection between mobility and urban informality. The politics and everyday negotiations of those living in these marginalised spaces (informal settlements) mirror these unresolved Apartheid colonial spatial inequalities.

1.4.2 Aims of the study

The aim of the study was to explore how mobility and informality shapes the daily lives of the residents of Siqalo. By interviewing community leaders and activists, the research aimed to uncover some of the ways in which residents access state resources as people who are viewed as "encroachers" and how this shapes their political and social life in the city. The study aimed to explore colonial continuities in these intersections.

1.4.3 Objectives

The objectives of the thesis are:

To offer insights on the challenges of internal migrants in informal settlements in Cape Town.

To explore the ways the "informality" of human settlements in Cape Town is related to not only historical patterns of internal migration, but to add to this conversation by analysing the emergence of a politics of belonging.

1.5 Research questions

This research explored the following questions:

How do residents of Siqalo navigate everyday life? What is their day-to-day movement in and around the settlement? Are they viewed as encroachers and as migrants and how do they respond? Are they openings for forming new alliances and improving relationships with neighbours?

How do community leaders and activists in Siqalo work to create a sense of belonging for residents and themselves? How do they help the residents to access development needs and services?

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Do residents of Siqalo still maintain their translocal ties with their families in other locations and if so, what is their relationship? How do these ties, such as remittance and networks, influence their future prospects and their current aspirations?

1.6 Organisation of thesis

Chapter 1 of the thesis introduces perspectives on informal settlements. It then explains the politics of Siqalo, as well as shows the aims and research questions guiding the thesis.

Chapter 2 provides the literature review of the study and explores varying theoretical conceptions of mobility and informality. This chapter also provides the theoretical framework which will be the optic that the study will use in reading the continuities of colonialism.

Chapter 3 provides the research methodology that the study used in gathering data and how the methods were used. It also highlights the difficulties encountered as well as the need to decolonise research.

Chapter 4 provides the thematic analysis of the data. This is done through merging the literature with the data, highlighting convergences and divergences.

Chapter 5 summarises the conclusions of the findings.

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Chapter 2: Literature review and theoretical framework

The interplay between internal migration/mobility and urban informality in South Africa requires a political and historical understanding as they arose out of its colonial history. As argued in the thesis introduction, the history of land dispossession, spatial and social inequalities still inform recent patterns of mobility. This chapter of the literature review, therefore, explores literature and theories of urban informality as well as link these with related literature on the historical context of internal migration in South Africa during Apartheid. Further, the review explores the role of translocality, citizenship and belonging in studies of human mobility, and theories of decolonisation, which can help to understand the political negotiation of conflicts in informal settlements.

Taking into consideration that there is no homogenous reading of informality and mobility, this section will review conceptions of both informality and mobility. It will do so by firstly reviewing data on informal settlements, state intervention programs and political organising. Secondly it will review literature on varying conceptions/theoretical frameworks of informality, which are insurgency, counter-conduct and urban informality. Thirdly, it will review literature on internal dynamics of mobility in South Africa and proceed to look at literature around varying theoretical conceptions of mobility. Lastly it will provide the overarching theoretical framework of the study which is decoloniality.

2.1 Informal settlements

Informal settlements are often depicted as criminalised spaces, where residents face social ills and health risks due to lack of public services such as access to water, sanitation, electricity and spaces to store and prepare food (Brown-Luthango, Reyes, Gubevu, 2016; Richards, O'Leary & Mutsonziwa 2006). Exclusion and inequality as far as service delivery is concerned seems to be the characteristic features of informal settlements. The Socio-Economic Rights Institute of South Africa (SERI, 2018) report states that "Informal settlements in South Africa are characterized by profound inequalities in access to basic services such as water, sanitation, and electricity." This exclusion in state provision the SERI report goes on to argue that it is due to the state's assumptive logic that "informal settlements are often viewed as criminalized, temporary spaces, which result in informal settlement residents being viewed as marginal and suffering endless prejudices."

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(2018:7). What Mdayi (2019) argues about the township as a site of violence is also true for informal settlements; he writes that "Underdevelopment, lack of infrastructure, violent crimes, lack of proper education and healthcare institutions, lack of electricity and water supply, make life in the township almost impossible" (Mdayi, 2019). This invokes Fanon's (2004) description of the shanty town belonging to the colonised people: "a place without spaciousness, where people live on top of one another, a hungry town, starved of bread, of meat, of shoes, of coal, of light" (Fanon, 2004:39). As reviewed in the introduction, often people living in informal settlements come from outside the city, and thus are viewed as undeserving encroachers who do not belong in the city and therefore not eligible to receive the resource provided by the state in the city. This converges with Appadurai's (2001:28) reading of citizenship in the city of Mumbai, where he argues that "housing is the single most critical site of this city's politics of citizenship."

Informal settlements are excluded from economic and policy delivery systems (Zapata et al, 2022). Informal settlement dwellers are exposed to unimaginable levels of violence and crime; this was noted by (Brown-Luthango et al, 2017: 472) where they highlight vulnerability to violence as one of the main characteristic features of dwelling in informal settlements. Yiftachel's (2009:250) reading of informal settlements as "grey spaces" associates living in informal settlements with the "darkness of eviction, destruction and death".

This goes to highlight the constant tension that exists between the state and informal settlements. Roy (2018) reflects on a South African example of how the state sought to evict illegal traders in Johannesburg through Operation Clean Sweep; this project was ruled out by courts as a violation of the rights of traders. However, the state devised policies that sought to achieve what Operation Clean Sweep failed to achieve.

Two decades ago, in research conducted between 2001 and 2007 and published by the Housing Development Agency (HDA, 2012), 117,000 households in the Western Cape (10% of households in the province) lived in Enumeration areas classified as Informal Settlements. In 2001 the City of Cape Town had the highest number of households living in shacks not in backyards in the Western Cape. The report also discusses overcrowding these informal settlements (HDA, 2012). Bénit-Gbaffou (2018:2150), however, cautions us with relying on information and stats published by state agencies as it is sometimes inaccurate; this highlights the "deliberate resistance to hearing, seeing, counting, and recording certain facts, groups, or areas" (Bénit-Gbaffou, 2018:2142). This

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lack of information about informal settlements leads the state to making conscious ill-informed intervention decisions and to make the living conditions of informal settlements intolerable to discourage poor migrants from joining these settlements, while simultaneously thwarting the efforts of residents to create liveable conditions (Huchzermeyer, 2013). Bénit-Gbaffou (2018) highlights the state manufactured incapacity to govern where it hides behind superficial progressive policies so that it continues with its repression.

2.2 State intervention programs

Literature on life in informal settlements has described how the state directly perpetuates urban informality. The South African government has instituted several policies to engage with the spread of settlements. One of these is the program of Temporary Relocation Areas (TRAs), which were designed specifically to last for roughly six months as a stopgap measure in the emergency situation, which is land invasion/occupation. Through the provision of Temporary Relocation Areas (TRAs) the government can move citizens who have occupied land illegally to alternative locations and also at the same time provide them with temporary housing (Levenson 2017:47). Levenson's (2018) reading of the TRA argues that the government contributed to widening urban informality. Levenson (2018:8) summarises that in Cape Town, "the first TRAs were constructed in the early 2000s for residents of land occupations deemed too overcrowded or located on unsuitable land." The paradox of this temporal housing is that it is not temporal at all (Kerry, 2018; Levenson, 2018). The shacks built by the government as alternative housing for the people who are relocated from informal settlements are permanent, as people remain for longer that the suggested 6-month period. Levenson (2018:9) offers an example of an informal settlement in Delft called Blikkiesdorp that came into existence as the government's program of temporally housing. He shows that the temporal settlement is still there for almost a decade of its existence, and the people who reside in these state-built temporary houses are still vulnerable to the same risks as those who have illegally occupied land and established informal settlements. The occupants of these TRA also do not have security of land tenure; those who resist being relocated to these transit camps voiced their concerns about the standard of living in these camps, and that they are inadequate and reproduce segregation (Kerry, 2018).

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2.3 Political organising

Though informal settlements are criminalised spaces that operate outside the regulations of the state, they however also contest for state inclusion and provision. Bénit-Gbaffou & Katsaura (2014:1809) examine the role of community leadership in the struggles of the people residing in informal settlements, through political capital and "double dealings" of political leadership. Political leaders in informal settlements act as brokers between state officials and the people in this struggle for inclusion/service delivery/recognition (Bénit-Gbaffou & Katsaura, 2014:1810). This, they argue, is entangled with the tensions of legitimacy since informal leaders constantly seek legitimacy from both the state and the people. This is due to the precarious nature of informal political leadership as "community leaders are generally not formally elected, nor do they have a defined, clear, formal mandate. Their term or time as community leader can be ended, but not in predictable and defined ways" (Bénit-Gbaffou & Katsaura, 2014: 1809). Vivier & Sanchez-Betancourt (2020:739) also show that leaders play an intermediary role; they oppose the heroic reading of leadership and instead pay attention to collective agency rather than individual leaders. They similarly highlight the constant tension with legitimacy and how leaders navigate their precarious position in the daily politics of informal settlements and doing their duties that include reporting service issues to the city, interacting with external organisations, and disseminating information to the residents (Vivier & Sanchez-Betancourt, 2020).

Levenson's (2022) recent work notes that in Siqalo, leaders and activists organise themselves into committees in order to articulate their political demands to the state, and that political society and civil society are inseparable in that the political articulations of the people of Siqalo are made through civil society in what Levenson (2022) calls self-organising. Levenson (2022) mentions fused groups as the political strategy; Through a comparative analysis of Siqalo with Kleindorp, Siqalo appears to be more organised compared to Kleinsdorp, and the latter was successfully demolished. Siqalo on another hand survived eviction due to self-organisation/fused groups. With this Levenson (2022) demonstrates the striking differences between serialisation and fused groups and shows how detrimental external organisations are (be it political parties, NGOs or charities) to the political organising of informal settlements. These he argues fuel divisions and thus weakens the settlement. Siqalo with its rejection of serialisation was able to stand the test of time (Levenson 2022).

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Informal settlements are hotbeds of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) that assist local leadership with struggles for inclusion. As Amin and Cirolia (2020) also note, in South Africa the failure of the government, particularly of the City of Cape Town to provide housing as it promised in the constitution, gave rise to NGOs that champion these housing rights. NGOs and groups such as Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading (VPUU) provide assistance to the informal settlements and demands for service delivery and infrastructure, and therefore play an important role in this political tussle between informal settlements and the state. However, after these NGOs critiqued the failures of the government, the state sought to harness its relations with civil society (Amin & Cirolia, 2018).

2.4 Urban informality

Research on informal settlements and urban developments has elaborated the notion of "urban informality." The term was previously associated with the idea of a "poor squatter settlement" (Sandoval, Hoberman & Jerath, 2019:2) and now refers to forms of urbanisation that take place outside the confines of the state and policies (Sandoval, Hoberman & Jerath, 2019; Rubin, 2018; Roy 2005). Urban informality has been described as "a state of exception from the formal order of urbanization" (Roy, 2005:147). In her early work on this topic, Roy (2005) posited that this informality is connected with the urban/rural interface. The role the state plays in creating urban informality can be read through Agamben's (1998) notion of state of exception (Roy, 2007, 2011, 2018).

Informality has been historically associated with modes of trade and human settlement that takes place outside the confines of the State's formal legal structure (Rubin, 2018). Rubin (2018) cites Porter by stating that this has consequently led to informality being viewed as "the 'unregulated, uncontrolled, messy and inefficient settlement and use of land'" (Porter et al., 2011: 116). Informality is opposed to what is regulated, ordered, and deemed as efficient notions of planned land and settlement (Rubin, 2018). Since urban informality falls outside the confines of legality, the migrants who live in these informal settlements are then viewed by the state as encroachers. The relationship between the state and the encroacher is marked by violence, as the state constantly seeks to evict the encroacher (Doshi, 2013:849).

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Informality is an antonym of formality; however, in Kaarsholm & Frederiksen's (2018) analysis, informality and formality historically developed in close interaction. Therefore, no such duality exists. Rather it is a false dichotomy because the former and the latter cannot develop independently, nor can formality replace informality; they are both effects of structural inequality, and ongoing legacies of segregation. This is the extension of Fanon's conception of the nature of a colonised society as a compartmentalised society (Fanon, 2004). Economic marginalisation and inequality compartmentalise society into formality and informality, and it is almost impossible to understand economic marginalisation outside history (Kaarsholm & Frederiksen, 2018).

2.5 Insurgent citizenship

There is no homogenous view on the development of informal settlements. While scholars such as Roy (2005) argued that informality is produced by the state itself, Holston (2008) focuses on the culture of resistance which he terms "insurgent citizenship." He refers to it as a revolt against an oppressive system of exclusion that segregates citizens. It is a situation where the masses of the people decide to take it upon themselves to assert their democratic rights outside the formal process. According to Holston (2008: 18), "it is an insurgence that begins with the struggle to have the right to have a daily life in the city worthy of a citizen's dignity." The people engaged in these insurgent activities against exclusion are therefore called insurgent citizens. Expanding from Holtson's conceptualisation, Campos et al (2022:2) examine strategies of resistance in a self-constructed informal settlement named Villa Rodrigo Bueno in Buenos Aires. A social innovation perspective views urban informality as spaces "whereby citizens construct, create, consolidate, maintain, improve and defend their houses and neighbourhoods, challenge the ideals of modernity incarnated in the formal city (Aparicio & Blaser, 2008, as cited in Campos et al, 2022:5).

Nyawasha (2016) also builds upon the concept of insurgency to detail how South African citizenship is constructed on varying imaginations. He focuses on two: namely South Africa as a rainbow nation, and the "Other" South Africa. The defining features of these two, he argues, are that one is constituted by "explicit nationalism" and the other by insurgent nationalism; Explicit nationalism then refers to those who largely belong and identify with the rainbow nation and its democratic institutions and processes, and on another hand, insurgent nationalism speaks to those who belong to the Other South Africa, defined by insurgency as espoused by Holston. Nyawasha (2016) argues that the poor South Africa that has been excluded in the democratic South Africa

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identifies itself with this political imagination. It is in the latter where he locates informal settlements and grassroots movements. He describes their political character as Holston's insurgent citizenship that challenges structures of modern governmentality. He goes further to posit that insurgent citizenship does not only challenge the governmentality but also morality of the state. With an informal settlement in Khayelitsha called Makhaza as a case study, Nyawasha (2016) argues that the "Other South Africa" and its insurgent politics are disarticulated by dominant political analysis, since these politics take place outside of existing regimes of established authority. Orthodox political analysis seems to lack the rigour and sophistry to read and articulate the political character of insurgent citizenship in South Africa, hence the tendency to always lump the actions of the poor as politics of spectacle. This was evident in Makhaza when residents protested for service delivery by throwing poo in government institutions, courts and Airports; the people of Makhaza had been demanding flushing toilets from the government for a while, and instead the government either gave them buckets or built toilet seats outside without shelter. Nyawasha (2016) examines how the politics of throwing poo to national key points was often viewed as populist politics of spectacle by political analysts; he decries how they completely missed its political articulation thus negating the collective political agency of the poor. It is as if the poor do not have important reasons for throwing the poo on these sites other than seeking attention. Nyawasha (2016) then pushes against this reading and posits that the politics of throwing poo highlighted the intersection between morality and popular politics and most importantly challenged the structures of modern governmentality.

2.6 Counter-conduct

Another reading of this phenomenon is Foucault's conception of counter conduct. In his book titled *Security, Territory and Population,* he defines counter-conduct as "the sense of struggle against the procedures implemented for conducting others" (Foucault, 2007:193), meaning that counter-conduct speaks to the understanding of how one is conducted and how this conducting can be otherwise (Demetriou, 2016:219). Foucault (2007:195) uses a genealogy of how Christianity has moved from pastoral practice to what it is today through an assemblage of counter-conducts. He details these moments that were revolts of counter-conduct but maintains that they are different from political revolts against power exercised by a form of sovereignty, and they are distinct from economic revolts against power. These were, however, not entirely external as they functioned

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within Christianity and not exterior to it; in fact, they modified and transformed Christianity instead of negating it. This shows how these very resistances reproduce and modify relations of power. Foucault (2007:195) also moves away from the heroic reading of this phenomenon; his formulation of the term counter-conduct comes as a result of his refusal to characterise dissidence. To categorise such acts of resistance as dissidence harbours elements of romanticisation and consequently gives way to the reading of such as heroic. In defining counter-conduct, Foucault rejects the term misconduct as it connotes misbehaviour and not conducting oneself properly. He then goes on to explain counter-conduct as an everyday struggle to be conducted differently, or to modify relations (Demetriou, 2016:222).

In a Foucauldian sense, the establishment of informal settlements can be read as counter-conduct in that it transgresses the state's formal policy and procedure of settlement, wherein the people invade and occupy land outside of how the state regulates settlement.

However, though the state's notion of settlement and how it expects people to access land is negated, and the people conduct their way of settlement against the state's conduct of settlement, they do not suggest a different political order, nor do they harbour desires of dismantling the current one. They demand to be conducted differently and be included in the current political setting. It is in this sense that informal settlements fit well into Foucault's (2007) conceptualisation of counter-conduct.

Various researchers have applied Foucault's notion of counter-conduct in the context of South African informal settlements. Massey (2014) also gives a reading of counter-conduct in South Africa, where she presents Makahza in Khayelitsha as a case study to demonstrate her reading of counter conduct. Massey (2014) shows how residents of this settlement organise and navigate their daily lives through the use of counter-conduct. This comes because of their exclusion to state services. Amongst these actions include how residents build backyard shacks to cater to some of their needs. Some have tenants renting as backyarders or extend the tiny houses with shacks, while some use their houses as illegal shebeens to generate income. These microscale activities that go against some of the state rules are therefore understood as counter-conduct, since residents conduct themselves beyond the regulations of the state or contrary to the governability of the state. Similarly, Mottiar (2021) has argued the same about uMlazi in an informal settlement called Emhlabeni, where residents who are without electricity and water took it upon themselves to

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connect their wires illegally to gain electricity and connected their pipes in order to access water. He also reads the illegal connection of electricity and water from already existing state facilities as counter-conduct, arguing "In this sense, self-connections act in relation to existing governmental rationalities as they do not advocate radically different approaches to service delivery" (Mottiar, 2021:96). This coincides with Massey's reading of counter-conduct in Makhaza where the people do not call for a different political or economic system, but rather seek to be included. If the state does not include them in service delivery, they do it themselves with what is available, even though it transgresses some of the policies of the state as far as the state conducts service delivery. The arguments in these articles point to the idea that counter-conduct does not necessarily suggest a radically different system nor different society; it functions mostly as a response to immediate needs, and as Foucault (2007) alluded, it is not necessarily refusing being conducted, but rather it is the desire to be conducted differently.

2.7 Urban informality as state of exception

Although the aforementioned conceptions of urban informality can be interlinked, Roy (2005:147) cautions us to be weary of the tendency to romanticise urban informality as political agency because it downplays the state's central role in the production and regulation of urban informality. Roy (2005:149) critiques Subaltern urbanism which encapsulates the heroic reading of informality and how it has been largely portrayed as political agency (Huchzermeyer, 2013; Bénit-Gbaffou, 2018). Roy's earlier work (2005, 2007, 2008, 2017) applies Agamben's reading of sovereignty and explains at length how informality does not necessarily fall outside of the state regulation; she argues that "informality must be understood not as the object of state regulation but rather as produced by the state itself." She then cites Agamben's notion of state sovereignty as the power to determine exception-- meaning if informality is seen as state exception, it is the very state that determines that exception, and "informality can be seen to be the expression of such sovereignty." To further explain: "It is not, to once again use Agamben's (1998:18) terminology, the "chaos that precedes order, but rather the situation that results from its suspension."

This reading does not, however, do away entirely with the aforementioned readings of informality. Rather it opens our eyes to the broader understanding of the phenomenon and pushes us against the romanticism that tends to give urban informality a heroic character, as she decries how such

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readings celebrate the emergence of informality as either entrepreneurial efforts of the poor or resistance and thus obscure the central role of the state (Roy, 2007, Bénit-Gbaffou, 2018, Huchzermeyer, 2013). Her refusal to locate/confine informality outside of the state is premised upon Agamben's notion of relation of exception where Agamben postulates that the "Jurodico-political order has the structure of an inclusion of what is simultaneously pushed outside" (Agamben, 1998:18). Informality that seems to operate outside of state regulation is in fact not exterior to state sovereignty and that its very emergence that appears as though is exclusion is simultaneously inclusion. The state is central in the creation of urban informality, and therefore informality cannot be necessarily read as though it exists outside the relations of power. Roy propels us to pay attention to the relationship of the post-colonial state and the encroacher, and how the state is able to suspend this exception.

Roy (2018:) discusses four useful categories that can better assist us in reading informality which are: peripheries, urban informality, zones of exception and most importantly in a colonial/settler context like South Africa she mentions "gray spaces." Gray spaces is a concept developed by Yiftachel (2009:250) which "are neither integrated nor eliminated, forming pseudo-permanent margins of today's urban regions, which exist partially outside the gaze of state authorities and city plans." This assertion further sails away from the idea that informal settlements are spaces of possibility and creative resistance that disrupts modern democracy. Rather, they are embedded in modernity as (Roy, cited in Benit-Gbafou, 2018) notes that urban informality is an idiom of urbanisation.

2.8 Mobility and immobility: Conflict and negotiation

2.8.1 Dynamics internal migration in South Africa

There was not much significant change in the patterns of internal migration in South Africa post the Apartheid regime (Bouare, 2002, Posel, 2004, Reed, 2012, Stats SA, 2006). Steinbrink (2009) notes how the abolishment of influx control did not greatly alter internal migration, and instead the patterns reconfigured themselves through an informal system of translocal livelihood organisation. Highlighting the relationship between internal migration and informality, his study is based on socio-spatial linkages between a village in the former Transkei and informal settlement in Cape Town.

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2.8.2 Theories of mobility and agency

There is a plethora of theoretical frameworks that offer a conceptual understanding and a theoretical explanation of migration and mobility trajectories. This section presents some of this work in relation to the debates around agency as a concept that intersects both with the urban informality literature and the mobilities literatures.

Theoretical frameworks that have been applied in migration studies include the "neoclassical approach," where Constant and Massey (2002) explain migration as motivated mainly by wage differences. From this conceptualisation human capital theory sought to advance this logic by arguing that "In human capital models of migration, the focus is on the individual's decision to move and that this decision is conditional upon the return he/she expects to receive from moving in contrast to what is expected from staying" (Korpi & Clark, 2017:3). In contrast to these theoretical standpoints of migration and mobilities, Marxist perspectives critique the romanticisation of migration by neoclassical theories (Kurekova, 2011). As a synthesis to this, the push and pull factors theory sought to reconcile this contradiction by harbouring both pessimistic and optimistic notions of migration, arguing that migrants have different reasons for leaving a country, as well as for seeking a new home (Rosenberg, 2019).

De Haas (2021:1) argues that functionalist and historic theories of migration disarticulate the reasons behind migration by either reducing migration to a set of factors that either push or pull migrants to migrate, or to totally render migration as a negative phenomenon in the sense of historic theories. These miss the role of human agency- the ability of human beings to choose outside of being pulled or pushed by factors or just simply being a victim of capitalism (De Haas 2021:9). De Haas (2021:9) highlights the significant role of aspirations in how they either influence a person's decision to either move or stay; for instance, young people in the rural areas might harbour aspirations of living the city life due to the cultural influence in the media.

The thesis questions how a theory that bases most of its argument on human agency can help us understand the migration of colonial subjects, which are, according to Fanon "overdetermined from without." For example, it does not consider the psychoanalytic reading of colonial subjects that harbour colonial aspirations that function at the level of the unconscious, where coloniality functions even in the collective unconscious of the colonised. What might appear as though they are free choices are influenced by the colonial structure that controls black life.

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Critiquing the economic determinist explanations for mobility, Carling & Collins (2018:965) argues for a focus on how desires and social contexts inform migration, viewing the identity of migrants as always in formation and not predetermined by place of origin. Transnationalism broadens the reading of migration because it "emphasises how processes of migration, incorporation into new contexts and the establishment and maintenance of connections to homeland and other locales occur simultaneously and mutually inform each other" (Carling & Collins, 2018:912). Nyíri & Xiang (2022:202) focus on values and argue that people are more likely to migrate based on their values, as their desires are also based on values. They argue against the notion of limiting migration to singular moments and purely strategically oriented linear progression.

These arguments are interesting for this thesis because of the emphasis on social context and agency. This thesis follows similar critiques of basing migrant aspirations on economic rationality, but also argues for a reassessment of structure in the context of coloniality.

2.8.3 Mobilities and immobilities

Recent critical contributions to the mobility debate require a politically informed and historically situated approach to mobility and immobility. Numan & Greiner (2016:875) argue that "mobility is not a new phenomenon in human history and that there is often a 'continuation of the past in the present." Therefore, an understanding of new movement patterns always requires an understanding of mobilities in the past; or as Mimi Sheller (2016:17) stipulated: we need a deeper 'historicizing of mobility research.'"

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The analysis of the research attends to the history of "spatial segregation" in South Africa along racial lines (Abdullah, 2017). Spatial inequalities are part of the remarkable continuities between the apartheid and the democratic dispensation (Maharaj, 2019). Crush's (2018) report shows the persistence of racialised migration: the vast majority of migrant workers (98%) are black, while there are very few people from other racial groups who classify themselves as migrant workers. The racialised nature of migration and mobility undergirds the current notions of mobilities and the political situation of migrants, explaining not only the conflict between the migrant and the state but the disputes between migrants and residents of the city.

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Sheller (2016:17) enunciates that though mobility may be a universal human right, in practice, it exists in relation to race, class and gender. These barriers to access mobility are implemented via formal and informal policing. Sheller (2016:17) applies a Foucauldian approach in understanding uneven mobilities and immobility, arguing that "the unevenness of mobility may take the form of uneven qualities of experience, uneven access to infrastructure, uneven materialities, uneven subjects of mobility, and uneven events of stopping, going, passing, pausing, and waiting" (Sheller 2016: 17). This research will also argue in similar ways that mobility itself is not immune to inequalities. Kaufmann and Montulet's (2008:38) assertion that if "mobility" can be defined as "how an individual or group appropriates the field of possibilities relative to movement and uses them" then one can begin to imagine how the bourgeoisie/elite's appropriation of Capital and land extends to possibilities for movement to places with clean air, water, and food. Creswell (2010:19) makes an interesting argument about mobility through a comparison of the rich experiences mobility as opposed to the poor. He postulates that "The globetrotter sits in plush velvet seats and chooses from extensive wine lists while the hobo travels close to death on a wooden plank precariously balanced on the same carriage's axels" (Creswell, 2010: 19). This is in line with his argument that mobility is political, and he centres mobility on the body as he also posits that it is at the level of the body that human mobility is produced. The assertion that mobility is political and experienced through the body converges with Foucault's argument that the body also becomes directly involved in the political field and that the power relations have immediate hold upon it (Foucault,1979).

2.8.4 Translocality

Within theoretical perspectives on mobility, the concept of translocality has been applied to describe the interplay between migration, mobility and circulation, often and even within national borders (Greiner & Sakdapolrak, 2013). Translocality emerges in the everyday lived practices of migrants as they make their place or home in a new homeland; this conceptual area will, therefore, aid this paper in terms of explaining the urban/rural interface and the experiences of internal migrants in different local spaces. Naumann & Greiner (2016:877) describe "translocality" as expanding "the analytical focus on socio-spatial formations and mobilities beyond the narrowing concept of the nation-state." It also enhances a reading of how different spaces within the same borders are inhabited by local or internal migrants and the political implications they pose.

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The thesis will apply this conceptually through the *Abakhaya* reading of translocal ties. The isiXhosa term "Abakahya" is derived from "ikhaya" which can be directly translated to mean home. This concept helps describe the extent that translocal ties inform the mobility and informality nexus. Steinbrink's research (2009:2020) has described Abakhaya group as a translocal tie or network that enables urban-rural migration, specifically a social network of migrants in the urban areas, which is developed in the process of chain migration and is based on a common local origin. His study focuses on a translocal community of the migrants who come from the Eastern Cape, in a village called Nomahala. These migrants settled in an informal settlement called Site 5 in Cape Town, and the settlement was made possible by chain migration through the Abakhaya network (Steinbrink, 2009:222) Translocality is interestingly applied to the patterns of migration and mobility in post-Apartheid South Africa, a country that is yet to resolve the apartheid geographies (Mabogo, 2019).

2.9 Concluding summary: Decoloniality as a framework

Roy (2007: 147) writes that "much of the urban growth of the 21st century is taking place in the developing world, but many of the theories of how cities function remain rooted in the developed world." While the literature has reviewed concepts tied to "Western" theories, these ideas cannot be cut and pasted in a different context, as by so doing, they may disarticulate what is happening.

The literature review describes how the interface between mobility and urban informality in South Africa is largely shaped by the colonial history of this country or it is an ongoing legacy of Apartheid/colonialism. This thesis considers a decolonial approach to understanding how these continuities shape the lives of the residents of Siqalo. Maldonaldo-Torres (2018:3) refers to these continuities as coloniality: "a logic, metaphysics, ontology, and a matrix of power that can continue existing after formal independence and desegregation" (Maldonaldo-Torres, 2018:8).

One critique of coloniality is the regurgitation and reproduction of colonial thought by African leaders who uncritically inherited the colonial state (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2017: 31), persisting because of the inability to imagine the state outside of what they inherited. Fanon (2004) cautioned us about the national bourgeoisie that assumed power post-independence in the colonies. He charged them for being bereft of ideas and critiqued their incapacity to usher in a distinct social arrangement with economic systems that would benefit the people.

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The post-colonial era is marked by the continuation of the draconian governance of colonialism and the continuation of the Manichean society that Fanon wrote about: “The zone where the natives live is not complementary to the zone inhabited by the settlers. The two zones are opposed, but not in the service of a higher unity” (Fanon, 2004:38). A zone of non-being does not necessarily refer to a geographical location, but to a mode of existence of the colonised; as explained by Maldonaldo-Torres (2018:5), that it is how blacks/colonised continue to inhabit the world.

This final section on decoloniality therefore brings together the various conceptual literature reviewed, in that informal settlements are conceptualised in the thesis as spaces of confinement that those who are in the zone of non-being continue to occupy. Mdayi (2019) asserts that in such spaces, life is made to be almost impossible and to follow. Yiftachel (2009) writes that living in informal settlements is associated with destruction and death, vulnerability to violence. Maldonaldo-Torres (2018:13) describes:

> “Metaphysical catastrophe can therefore be understood as the production of zones of being human and zones of not-being human or not being human enough. Living in the zone of being human means finding oneself, others, and the institutions of one’s society affirming one’s status as a full human being with a broad range of potentials and possibilities even in precarious conditions of poverty. Living in the zone of sub-humanity means, not only that one is not meant to have easy access to basic means of existence, but also that it is normal for everything and everyone, including oneself, to question one’s humanity.”

Such has been depicted in how informal settlements or urban informality has continued to exist even decades after the demise of the Apartheid regime. As Mbembe (2011:1) highlights “In each instance, to be African and to be black has meant to be consigned to one or the other of the many spaces of confinement modernity has invented.”

The move to democracy in as far as this phenomenon is concerned can be understood through Hartman’s notion of non-event (Cervenak & Carter, 2017:46), where emancipation in the sense of the move to democracy did not translate to the end of coloniality and consequently continued the oppression of black people. What then happened in 1994 seems to fit Tuk & Yang’s (2012) metaphorisation of decolonisation, where decolonisation was simply turned into a metaphor and thus had meaningless outcomes in the lives of the colonised.

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2.10 Conclusion

This literature review has explored literature and theories of urban informality and linked these with related literature on the historical context of internal migration in South Africa during apartheid. The role of translocality, citizenship and belonging in studies of human mobility have been discussed. The thesis takes an approach toward theories of decolonisation, which will help to understand the role of community leaders and precarious lives of residents in informal settlements.

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Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The research focused on the politics of im/mobility in a particular informal settlement called Siqalo in Mitchells Plain, Cape Town. The study used qualitative methods to enable the researcher to extract deeper information behind the phenomenon and to document in depth narratives. Research was conducted through unstructured interviews with community leaders, activists, and residents, who were allowed to express themselves and offer an insider's view. The assertion by Babbie (2004) that qualitative research has a subjective element was important for this study as the methodology allowed for broader reflections through observation and interviews.

The study was, however, limited due to the COVID-19 lockdown. While interviews could have also been conducted via WhatsApp due to lockdown regulations discouraging physical and social interaction, the President of South Africa lifted the restrictions during the research period. Therefore, face-to-face interviews were conducted at Siqalo using social distancing and other safety measures. During this research, online interviews were almost impossible to conduct in an informal settlement consisting of vulnerable people who do not own smartphones or have data.

3.2 Qualitative research

This study employed qualitative methods to offer deeper insights into how a group of residents manage conflicts with neighbouring communities and the state, reflect on their mobility/immobility, and maintain translocal ties with their families in other locations. Qualitative researchers rely on the participants "to offer in-depth responses to questions about how they have constructed or understood their experience" (Jackson II, Drummond & Kamara (2007:23). They refer to this as a "humanistic, interpretive approach" and "thick descriptive" due to "the richness and detail to the discussion" (Jackson II, Drummond & Kamara 2007:23). Although the researcher gains in-depth information through this method, the results are often not to be generalisable to a broader population since fewer participants are involved.

In this study, the unstructured interviews were lengthy and time consuming. However, qualitative research is used to describe "the meaning of the people's experiences, the meaning of people's culture, and how the people view a particular issue or case" (Elkatawneh, 2016:2). In a qualitative

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study the researcher does not rely on instruments such as surveys and questionnaires, and instead the researcher becomes the "instrument" (Elkatawneh 2016:3).

3.3 Purposive sampling

This research was conducted for a mini-thesis, and hence the research is designed to complement a literature review on urban informality. The study used purposive sampling in that it explicitly focused on leaders and activists. Purposive sampling is a type of "non-probability" sampling in which participants are selected based on certain characteristics and study objectives (Crossman 2020: 1). This was a highly selective sampling, also known as subjective sampling. This type of sampling assisted me in locating participants. This was not to represent all of those in Siqalo or informal settlements, but rather to build and share some narratives of how residents, activists and leaders have managed their life circumstances and shed light on the narratives and realities of their being seen as "migrants" and hence outsiders.

Due to time constraints and limited accessibility during the pandemic, the research was limited to eight participants. The main participants interviewed were leaders and activists who have been interacting and organising in Siqalo. I also conducted two interviews with residents who provided some personal narratives in the form of oral histories of the development of Siqalo. The goal of resident interviews was to offer some stories of how residents came to Siqalo and to hear about their possible ties with the Eastern Cape or elsewhere. Overall, I engaged with eight people: two leaders, four activists, and two residents.

Previous to the research, I have had interactions with activists who are involved in community programs of Siqalo and discussed the situation of Siqalo through their social media accounts. I started by building links with potential participants through social media interaction. This plan did not work out well as I lost contact with some of the activists who were mostly affiliated to the Economic Freedom Fighters due to their internal factional battles; I then changed my strategy and contacted a community leader who works at VPUU, which stands for Violence Prevention, an organisation that is based in Siqalo and many other informal settlements. VPUU is, according to the community leader Sakhiwo, "An organisation that was contracted by the city to do enumeration and gather all the necessary information about the informal settlement to the government so that they can plan. Among other things, the organisation also does organisational development and

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leadership training in Siqalo." In this organisation I met most of my participants who are leaders and activists. Some activists do not necessarily reside in Siqalo. The community leaders with whom I have had previous interactions were mainly men; however, the community leadership consists of men and women, so the sample also reflected the gender composition of the leaders and activists.

3.4 In-depth unstructured interviews

The participant narratives were collected through unstructured interviews to provide insight to some of the narratives and experiences in Siqalo. The method allowed flexibility in the interview or conversation to flow without restrictions and rigidity. The interviews uncovered the mobility stories of those now settled in Siqalo, as well as social, political, and economic information and the nature of the conflicts that also involved residents from Mitchells Plain.

Open-ended or unstructured interviews allow a researcher to get a better understanding of the study site and "build understanding and positive relationships between the interviewer and the person being interviewed" (Schensul & LeCompte, 2012:135). The study followed these methodological recommendations to focus on how the topic relates to the main study questions (Schensul & LeCompte, 2012). Unstructured interviews gave participants the ability to also lead the conversation on topics that were meaningful to their experience.

Furthermore, the research procedure involved a list of "probes" that were used to guide the interviews. Schensul and LeCompte (2012: 142) describe a probe as "a neutral question that encourages the interviewee to think more deeply, clearly, or broadly about an issue." Below is a list of open-ended questions or probes that were addressed during the unstructured interviews:

For community leaders:
Where do you live? What is your connection Siqalo? Where did you live before coming to Siqalo?
What is your role in organising the community?
How long have you been involved in community activities?
What you feel the key problems facing residents?
Do you have family or other social ties in other parts of the country?
What conflicts have arisen with neighbours and how do you think these can be best resolved?

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For residents:

Where do you live? What is your connection Siqalo? Where did you live before coming to Siqalo?

Do you have ties to your previous residence?

Are you able to travel around the city?

Do you have employment?

Although the documents were prepared in English, and these were understood by participants, the conversations and interviews were mainly carried out in IsiXhosa. The responses were quite lengthy and required alternative listening when they were transcribed because transcribing went hand in hand with translation. The major challenge was to ensure that the meaning would not be lost in translation. This is important in decolonisation of research methods. The data presentation will additionally refer to isiXhosa words and terms where needed.

3.5 Face to face interviews and participant observation

As alluded to above, COVID-19 restrictions were eased and face-to-face interviews were allowed; Through this method, I could interact with the participants and observe the environment. I could also observe the manner in which participants were responding to the questions, which allowed me to strategically change the topic if I perceived discomfort in the participants' response. For instance, some participants were not as open and comfortable as others when they spoke about the illegal connection of wires to access electricity. Being present at Siqalo to conduct interviews also allowed me to access data beyond the interviews. For instance, walking around the informal settlement I could experience what Creswell (2010) described in walking in marginal spaces, and how movement could be experienced as a drudgery. Such insights in research are attributable to observation, since a researcher spends time engaging in daily activities of the participants under the study. Participant-observation research encapsulates all the activities that the researcher performs when on site, including listening, observing and recording (Jackson, Drummond & Kamara, 2010:23). Another example would be the first-hand experience of poor service delivery where in using the portable toilets that the municipality gave to the residents of Siqalo, I observed the appalling condition of water and sanitation in Siqalo.

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3.6 Research methods during COVID-19

The COVID-19 regulations that limited social interaction had tremendous implications for qualitative researchers. It complicated field work as researchers had to rework their methods to adhere to the strict regulations put in place to curve the spread of the pandemic. This involved using mediated forms (digital or non-digital) to avoid face to face interactions (Lupton 2020:2). The stringent bureaucratic process that came with the new regulations in as far as ethical clearance required reworking, editing and reconceptualisation. Another challenge emerged in applying these research methods, which required digital development in the marginalised and under-resourced community of Siqalo informal settlement. Online data collection according to Lefever, Dal & Matthiasdotir (2007: 581) "provide researchers with unique opportunities" for a range of data collection (Lefever, Dal & Matthiasdotir, 2007: 581).

3.7 Online interviews

The research proposal included online interviews. Mertler (2002) argues that this interview form is a convenient and efficient alternative to the traditional way of getting information from participants. Only two interviews were carried out via WhatsApp. Online interviews were either synchronous (real-time) or asynchronous (where the participant replied when they were able). The in-depth online interviews were carried out by sending WhatsApp questions electronically to the participants, and they responded in detailed answers to the questions and send them back. The participant could either respond to the probe immediately or when they had time, so unlike face to face interviews the online interviews could continue for more than one day. For instance, one of the participants could only respond to the texts after work with either voice notes or texts. The interview was flexible enough to give participants enough time to think and respond to the questions at length and give in depth responses about their lived realities and experiences.

3.8 Online participant diaries and photo-elicitation

Due to social distancing in the context of the COVID- 19 pandemic, the researcher also intended to request participants to write their own narrative "diary" entries explaining some of their circumstances and perspectives as an additional way to gather more information, or when participants found it easier or more convenient to share information in pieces. The aim of the study was not to provide an analysis of diary-entry making, but rather to add to any gaps in the info due

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to the challenges of COVID-19 as the research is highly qualitative and based on narratives and experiences. This method is not an actual daily diary; the term "online diary" refers to a method to have participants write their responses and share with you in their own time in a variety of ways. As Lupton (2020) wrote in a discussion of methods that was compiled during the pandemic, such "diaries" can also be used alongside interviews and other methods. They can "act as a prompt for further discussion" and also "can take many different forms including visual, collage, photo-based as well as written or spoken."

This method took part of the research proposal plan but was not used as intended. I mention this because such complex modes of online research proved challenging to employ as people in the marginal spaces had no or little access to smartphones and data that would allow them to participate. Siqalo is an informal settlement that does not even have electricity. Some households illegally connect from the traffic lights, and others remain without electricity entirely and thus do not own any electrical appliances. This shows how online research is almost an impossibility due to being digitally underdeveloped. Therefore, I requested a participant to facilitate the taking of photographs with my own phone. I followed their guidance on the photographs they wanted to share, and did so following ethical protocols, making sure they did not identify faces in any way. The images are used anonymously and did not intrude on anyone's privacy nor drew negative attention to me. The thesis thus includes 2 photographs of Siqalo.

3.9 Decolonising research methodologies

Research and academia at large are dominated by Eurocentric methodologies/epistemology. The assumption that "Western" methods of research are universal, and that research is an innocent pursuit of knowledge has had tremendous implications for those who are victims of Western domination qua colonialism. It has in many ways maintained and reproduced the objectification and dehumanisation of colonised people. It is for these reasons that Thambinathan and Kinsella (2021:1) posit that "for those who have been oppressed by colonization research is a dirty word." In response, oppressed people have become more reluctant in participating in research that reduces them into mere research subjects/objects and inaccurate representations (Thambinathan & Kinsella, 2021). This arises in the earlier quote by Maldonado-Torres on coloniality as "a logic, metaphysics, ontology, and a matrix of power that can continue existing after formal independence

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and desegregation." This may be expanded to argue that research can also become one among many tools that perpetuate coloniality. Bendix, Muller and Ziai (2020) have noted how we see coloniality on the level of knowledge orders, which is to say epistemologically "whose experience and knowledge count as valid and scientific?" (Bendix, Muller & Ziai, 2020:6). They further question the links between this universally valid theory and the destruction of other knowledges including ontology.

It is against this background that decolonial methodologies are not just a viable alternative but an important antithesis to dismantle coloniality within research and academia at large. This research relied largely on narratives of the residents of Siqalo as valid sources of theoretical reflection. Contrary to colonial epistemologies, the people from Siqalo have been treated as people who are endowed with reasoning and rationality. This converges with Thambinathan and Kinsela's (2021:2) assertion that "Decolonizing research means centering concerns and world views of non-Western individuals, and respectfully knowing and understanding theory and research from previously "Other(ed)" perspectives." The use of the narratives of the people of Siqalo and the decolonial theoretical frameworks (previously othered perspective) in this study aims to incorporate this decolonial element.

This research was conducted in a highly racialised society where the power dynamics are skewed along racial lines, and where according to Achuime (2019:1514), "Freedom of movement is, in effect, politically determined and racially differentiated." Critical reflexivity as espoused by Thambinathan and Kinsela (2021:3) becomes an essential tool "for examining researchers' epistemological assumptions, their situatedness with respect to the research, and crucial in addressing power dynamics in research." This is very important to consider when conducting research in areas such Siqalo where the settlement is peopled by vulnerable individuals who continue to experience colonial oppression even under the so called "democratic dispensation." This study therefore recognised residents of Siqalo as valuable and legitimate experts who were/are knowledgeable about their lived reality. The interviews uncovered mobility stories of residents who settled in Siqalo, and it gathered social, political, and economic information and the nature of the conflicts from these residents. The importance of decolonial methods in conducting research on colonised bodies also assists in many ways not to reproduce or enhance coloniality and the dehumanisation of the research participants.

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It is imperative to note the limits and delimits of the decolonial approach. The main challenge facing decolonial research is that it is yet to produce its own distinct methodologies; according to Bendix et al (2020:7) "the post-/decolonial challenge has not yet fully reached the realm of methodological design and empirical research." This opens more room to critique, conceptualise and redesign research tools such as research interviews (Bendix et al, 2020).

3.10 Research Procedure

The study was carried out through phases. Phase one was based on media analysis and online material. This was coupled with secondary information on the research question, such as journals, newspapers, books, reports, and legislation. Then after receiving HSSREC clearance (HSSREC Reference Number: HS 20/9/60), participants were initially recruited for online engagement. This was carried out through WhatsApp. The importance of the online engagement was due to the fact that the pandemic and lockdown regulations discouraged physical social interaction, so the research aimed initially to rely heavily on these. However, the lock down restrictions were lessened and online research was not feasible due to lack of access in Siqalo, so face-to-face interviews were conducted using social distancing and other safety measures.

3.11 Ethics and risk

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This research involved participants who may have faced traumatic circumstances and unique vulnerabilities. This study offers insights into how community leaders and residents manage everyday life, and this includes conflicts with neighbouring communities and the state. As a researcher, I remained aware that this may evoke traumatic memories. The participants were made aware that the study is voluntarily and that they may choose not to continue with study should they feel uncomfortable. If the study triggered traumatic experiences, I encouraged participants to consider relevant counselling. They were guided in the information sheet to Families South Africa, which offers free counselling sessions and has community programs, with their nearest office in Mitchells Plain.

However, I tried to avoid sensitive questions that would have evoked traumatic experiences. I have experience conducting research and political work in the Cape Flats; I worked with Development Works, doing research for the UN in Mitchells Plain, Khayelitsha and Nyanga East. In addition to

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that, I worked in various community programs as an activist in the Cape Flats, and these activities include organising marches, handing out pamphlets, and doing door to door campaigns. With this experience I could navigate around sensitive issues. In as far as possible risks were concerned, I anticipated that participants may have to discuss challenges and potential conflicts in an informal settlement, which may have been stressful for them. Although I am familiar with various community leaders, I made sure to be aware of my reflexivity and to listen carefully to their narratives. The advantage of conducting face to face interviews enabled me to be able to read or observe when the participant was becoming uncomfortable and strategically change the topic. In as far as confidentiality is concerned, the information sheets that were handed out to the participants stipulated clearly that: "All participation will be treated with confidentiality and integrity. All personal information will be kept confidential and will remain anonymous. You will be required to sign a consent form before partaking in the study to protect your privacy and confidentiality. The researcher shall not reveal the identity of the participants and will safeguard the confidential information obtained in the course of the study."

3.12 Profile of the participants

The names provided for participants are pseudonyms.

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Sakhiwo is a 45-year-old man who came to Siqalo through an organisation called Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading (VPUU). He does not live in Siqalo but is actively involved in the leadership structures, and he facilitates a lot of meetings with the people of Siqalo and the Councilor from Lentageer in Mitchells Plain.

Nomfundo is a 32-year-old woman who came to Siqalo right after its establishment with her sister and their kids from the neighbouring township of Philippi. She is unemployed and depends on her sister's income, as she is the only one that is employed. Their household also depends on a government child support grant. She was classified as a qualifier for housing, meaning she will benefit or be part of the people who will be relocated to Temporally Relocation Areas, since the City will not buy nor upgrade the land where Siqalo is situated.

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Lubabalo is a 27-year-old man who is a student at the University of the Western Cape. He was doing his third year during the interviews and was unemployed. Lubabalo used to live in Samora with his parents and only moved to Siqalo in 2018 after his completion of matric. He is an activist affiliated to the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF).

Lwando is a 45-year-old man who moved to Siqalo after losing his job. Before coming to Siqalo he was a backyarder in Delft not too far from Siqalo. He was also unemployed but did piece jobs in Mitchells Plain. He is originally from the Eastern Cape in Centane, and he still maintains translocal ties with Centane.

Kwanele is a 32-year-old man. He works as a security guard. He arrived in Siqalo in 2016 with his girlfriend through his relative from the Eastern Cape who occupied in Siqalo before him. He is a community member and is not affiliated to any structure.

Mfundo is a 35-year-old activist from Siqalo who is involved in the politics of the community. He is also a committee member of Siqalo and a founding member of the community as he arrived during its establishment in 2012.

Busisiwe is a 29-year-old woman and activist who is also a member of VPUU. She became an activist after she was recruited in VPUU when the organisation was conducting enumeration. She currently works for VPUU. Before coming to Siqalo she stayed at one of the Northlink college student residents. She moved to Siqalo after hearing that people were occupying there and that there was still space.

Mzwandile is a 40-year-old man who does not live in Siqalo. He is a community leader who also serves in the committee that facilitates meetings with the Mayor and conducts other political activities in the community.

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Chapter 4: Data analysis

4.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses data that was collected from the interviews with residents, activists and leaders of Siqalo informal settlement. As it has been outlined in the introduction, this study offers insights into how a group of residents negotiate everyday challenges in an informal settlement. It examines how being viewed as "encroachers" shapes their political and social life in the city. The interviews covered the main themes of this study which are: informality, mobility/immobility, translocality and the land question. The chapter will then present the data by firstly analysing urban informality in Siqalo which relates to the living conditions of the residents. It will then discuss and analyse the data thematically and merge it with the literature.

4.2 Urban informality in Siqalo

In August of 2021 I had my first interview scheduled with Lubabalo, a community activist from Siqalo. He instructed me to wait for him in what looked like an entrance to the settlement next to the main road. I arrived at the destination a couple of minutes before him, so I took refuge in a braaied meat-selling stall located right at the entrance of the informal settlement. The stall, owned by a mother who looked as though she was in her 50s, had a little traffic of local customers who waited patiently under her shelter as she prepared the meat in her braaiing stand. Such stalls are a common feature in most townships and informal settlements. Lubabalo arrived after about 5 minutes, and at the time I had already blended into the small crowd of waiting customers to avoid appearing as a lost stranger. I was already smelling like the smoke that oozed from the braaiing stand when we made our way to Lubabalo's place. The pathway from the entrance that separates the informal settlement from lush vegetation of the uncharted land was a bit wider as opposed to those that cut between the shacks. We walked down this path chatting while carefully avoiding the puddles as it was during the rainy season. As we walked down the path, we drew closer to a car that was stuck in the mud with about four men, one wearing gumboots, trying to push it out of the mud while the driver pressed on the accelerator. We took a turn to a tiny path to avoid the smoke coming out of the stuck car.

The path we took between the shacks was so tiny that the neighbours could easily eavesdrop on conversations happening next-door. Lubabalo navigated us through this path that almost felt like

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a tunnel to the other side that was much more open and wider. We decided to tour around the settlement before heading to his place so I could get the full picture of the settlement. A friend of his joined us but not for the whole journey as he was carrying an empty 5 litre bottle, making his way to the shop to buy paraffin that was just down the path in the direction we were headed. At the shop we left him whining about the long paraffin line. This was because in Siqalo most households depend on paraffin since there is no electricity and that not all households afford connecting their wires illegally to get electricity.

4.2.1 The living conditions of the people of Siqalo

As reviewed, informal settlements have poor service delivery and infrastructure, since informal settlements emerge outside of the state regulations, and often illegally, so they are then deprived of any recognition by the state and consequently excluded from state provision. The state justifies its reasons behind this exclusion by the fact that the very emergence of informal settlement is seen as an act of criminality. The illegal occupation of public and private land transgresses the order of the state and thus the state adopts an antagonistic position to informal settlements. However, through political tussle the state does provide minimum services, which the interviews revealed were totally inadequate and dysfunctional, Nomfundo, one of the residents, described service delivery in Siqalo as follows:

> *"I don't want to lie-- there are no basic services that we are provided for by the government except for Mshengu (portable toilets) and water. Even these taps and toilets are at outskirts of the informal settlement, of which those who are in the middle of Siqalo struggle to access them. This is why they introduced the bucket system. Each and every household has its bucket (pota pota). But we do not have other essential services like electricity.*
>
> *The reason behind these protests each and every year is because we don't have electricity. This is why we decided to connect our wires to the traffic lights. We are aware that it's illegal, but we have no alternative, because every time we ask for electricity from the state, we are told that we are in a private land. We have access to absolutely nothing."*

This is in line with the SERI (Socio-Economic Rights Institute of South Africa, 2018) report, which describes how informal settlements are deprived of essential services such as electricity, water and sanitation. The report shows that even the minimum provision of the state through the municipality

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is insufficient, as Nomfundo highlighted, that the taps are located in the outskirts of the settlement. There are several court cases that suggest the provision is insufficient (SERI, 2018). For instance, the provision of water through standpipes is entangled with so many contradictions. First and foremost, these taps are installed in the peripheries of the informal settlement, and the City of Cape Town provides one water tap for every 25 families within a 200m radius. Busisiwe from Siqalo also voiced her complaints about these taps and said:

"*There are few functioning taps of running water, most of them are damaged.*"

This is the case even with sanitation. As cited above, Nomfundo spoke of the lack of basic services and that the government only provided portable toilets and taps that are installed in the outskirts of the informal settlement. This exposes residents to more risks, especially women and children who could be violated on their way to and from the tap or toilet. The SERI report (2018) also indicates how this duty of fetching water from the tap is in many instances a responsibility and a burden for women and children. These health risks that emanate from the lack of access to basic services have been noted by Brown-Luthango, Reyes, Gubevu (2016) and Richards, O'Leary & Mutsonziwa (2006) and others as part of the social ills that the residents of informal settlements live under, especially when Luthango et al (2016) highlighted vulnerability to violence as a characteristic feature of living in informal settlements.

The people of Siqalo navigate their daily lives under these conditions, and without any viable alternative they have adopted strategies that would assist them in preserving the bare minimum that is provided by the government. For instance, there are internal rules and regulations they formulated in how to use the public portable toilets. Lwando's shack is facing the portable Mshengu toilets; however, he complains about how difficult it is for him to access the toilet especially at midnight and in the wee hours when nature calls. I asked him about how he accesses this "*Mshengu.*" His response was:

> "*In terms of portable toilets, the manner in which they are controlled: immediately when they arrive a person would close it with a padlock so that they can control who access the toilet because there is no clear ownership over the portable toilets. So, it is wise for one to put in their padlock so that they can have some sort of control over the Mshengu. But the issue for me is that I don't have a key, I lost the one that was given to me by my neighbour after he bought the padlock.*"

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Without his key for the padlock Lwando struggles to access the toilets and he seems to be at the receiving end of this micro-system to manage access to these mobile toilets. He also complains these shared toilets are often filled to capacity with faeces and often go for many days without being emptied and cleaned. Sitting inside his shack while conducting the interview I could smell the unpleasant stench stemming out of the Mshengu. I try without success concealing my discomfort with the smell, it seems Lwando noticed, and as he narrates his struggles about sanitation he also remarks, *"I know it's hard for visitors to handle the stench, but I've lived here for years, so I got used to it."*

The micromanagement strategies of the people of Siqalo in how they use the limited services and the rules point to what Huchzemeyer (2011) highlights about the efforts to make liveable conditions in the informal settlements despite the appalling conditions. However, the state discourages this kind living as we see with its provision of poor services that hardly ever satisfy the basic needs of the people. This state sanctioned violence in as far as basic service delivery is concerned exposes the community to an array of health risks. This invokes Huchzemeyer's (2011) argument that the state purposely does this in order to discourage poor migrants from joining the settlement. Inequality in as far as access to public services is concerned reveals how the social exclusion of poor black people in the city reconfigured itself in the post-Apartheid dispensation in this country. This in turn reproduces the Apartheid social imagination, which is marked by exclusion, inequality and marginalisation.

4.2.2 Immobility in Siqalo

Mobility is not immune to the political factors. In a country like South Africa that has a violent history of racial oppression and continued legacy of racial inequality, mobility is still shaped by such factors. In August of 2021, I took a taxi from Delft, heading to Siqalo informal settlement, which is located right next to Mitchells Plain (Colorado). As I hopped off the mini-taxi heading to Siqalo I observed that the community is constituted by shacks built with corrugated iron sheets and wood. These congested shacks are separated by tiny pathways to allow movement in between them-- what would have been streets in a formal settlement-- and this is where the residents move in between the shacks and around the settlement. As I cruised and walked around the settlement observing, the first challenge that I encountered was the very movement. As shown in the photographs in figure 1 and 2, these pathways which allow movement between the shacks were

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flooded and muddy as it was the rainy season. This required tiptoeing around the floods and mud, stepping on stones that were placed on the ground in order to allow residents to avoid falling in the mess. The need for tarred roads is a priority on the list of the community's needs. This was evident in Busisiwe's response when I asked about their daily challenges:

> *"Mmmh ja there is no road, okay, we don't have land-- let me put it that way. Therefore, our basic needs cannot be provided for, like electricity, running water including roads, simply because we do not have land, that land is private land."*

Busiswe centres the basic needs of the settlement around the issue of land. While this will be further analysed in the following sections, here the statement reflects on how movement is stifled by the lack of infrastructure. The lack of tarred roads and streets makes movement in this space a drudgery.

Physical movement is "the raw material for the production of mobility" (Creswell, 2010: 19), and movement-- in this case walking --is experienced differently in so far as it relates to class, identity and space. In Siqalo, following Creswell (2010:20), the landless poor do not experience movement and walking in a positive way compared to how it is experienced in Suburban areas where there are spacious streets with functioning drain systems that keep them from being flooded. Indeed, in Siqalo, movement is not entirely experienced as freedom or luxury. This also invokes Sheller's (2016) discussion of uneven mobilities and immobility where she highlights how unevenness of mobility is expressed in the form of uneven access to infrastructure, qualities of experience and materialities. Apart from the difficulty of moving in and around the informal settlement, mobility is to a large extent commodified; therefore, participants explained how moving in and out of the settlement requires taxi/bus fare, which tends to be a challenge for most of those who are without any means.

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For example, Lwando recalls how his children had to drop out of school due to him not being able to afford transportation for his kids to attend school. They settled in Siqalo around June, coming from Delft, a township that is a couple of kilometers away from Siqalo. When asked about the challenges that he encountered in Siqalo, Lwando responded with:

> *"You know when I left Delft, I never calculated any possible risks, just extracted my shack and packed my bags and left. I couldn't stand my landlord nagging me about rent any longer.*

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I just needed to get out of there and get a little peace of mind. It was only after settling here that I realised there were so many challenges; for instance, my kids had to drop out of school that year because it was mid-year when I settled in Siqalo and unfortunately for them we couldn't get any schools nearby and I was unemployed so I couldn't afford transportation."

The children attended school in Delft, but because the father lost his job and could not afford rent where they stayed, he decided to move and settled in Siqalo rent free. What he did not calculate before relocating was the affordability of transport for his kids to attend school as there were no nearby schools that would accept them at that time. This inability to travel to school cost them an academic year, and as a result they had to repeat the same grades in the following year.

Another similar account was described by two sisters who relocated from Philippi to settle in Siqalo. During their relocation, Nomfundo and her sister lost valuable documents that hindered them from receiving social grants for their children. The process of moving around to get these documents was worsened by the fact that mobility requires finances. This is how she narrated her struggles with mobility:

One thing I like about this place is that it is not too far from Mitchells Plain, so it is easier to travel to Mitchells Plain, but then again if you need something somewhere else outside of Mitchells Plain, you need taxi fare to travel, which is the real struggle for me because I've been without a job for the longest of time, and my sister is the only one that provides for this family. Sometimes the father of my children does send some money, but that also depends when he is in the mood, so we raise these kids on our own.

You know this thing of moving, sometimes you lose important documents. I remember when we moved here, I was in the process of registering my two daughters for social grants. I had to travel all over for some documents that I had before but were lost when we moved to this place. Part of those documents were my ID and their certificates, so it was really difficult. It's even hard to secure a loan when you stay here because we have no legitimate residential address, but I'm happy that I can't make loans otherwise I would be swimming in debts. So traveling needs money, that's why we only travel to the Eastern Cape only when there's an important event like funerals. Last year I missed my nephew's Mgidi I was so sad I couldn't go there, but then again, the bus ticket is too expensive.

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The struggles experienced by Nomfundo and her sister in as far as mobility is concerned coincide with Sheller's (2016) argument, that although mobility may be a universal human right, in practice, it exists concerning race, class and gender. Creswell's (2010) assertion "we do experience mobility as freedom" could not be extended to the people of Siqalo. This data also shows how structural factors stifles the movement of black people who are pushed out of economic participation and how this marginalisation shapes their movement/immobility.

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While I was taking a mini tour in Siqalo with Lubabalo, he pointed out how he had trouble moving around. He suggested I take a photo of the main road, which showed the water which had turned to oily mud, and the debris and rubbish strewn about. The above two photographs were taken together with Lubabalo, in order to show the scene of where they live.

4.3 Political activities: Organising in Siqalo during COVID-19

Though Siqalo and many other informal settlements emerge outside of legality, they however wrestle politically with the state to be recognised and to be included in State provision. Such political contestation is also made possible by "civil society." Siqalo is politically organised with committees and structures that facilitate the engagements and general political organising of the community. This study has through in-depth interviews engaged with leaders and activists of Siqalo about the politics of Siqalo. Community leader Mfundo explained the political activities in Siqalo:

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"People do vote; there is a hall here where political parties deliver their manifestos during election campaigns. This hall is the central meeting point of the community. We vote there, and we seat meetings where important decisions are taken."

The hall that houses most of this political activity in Siqalo is also built with corrugated iron sheets. Community leader, Sakhiwo, who came into contact with Siqalo through the VPUU, explained that Siqalo has a leadership committee, and he is part of this leadership that facilitates engagements with the state and the city. He briefly narrated:

"I started being in involved in Siqalo years back--, I think it was about four years ago at the time where the conflict was rife, so as a representative of VPUU which stands for Violence Prevention Through Urban Upgrade. We were contracted by the City to do enumeration and gather all the necessary information about the informal settlement to the government so that they can plan. Among other things, the organisation also does organisational development and leadership training in Siqalo. We are working very closely with the leadership committee. We have an ongoing presence there in terms of supporting ECD centers and we offer support in strengthening leadership structures."

He stated that the councilor of Lentegeur does interact with the people of Siqalo:

"The ward councilor of that area is interacting with the community. Just recently the ward councilor had a meeting and he informed me that he met with the premier and the Mayor to discuss Siqalo.

In as far as representation of the community in these meetings with the Mayor, Sakhiwo added that:

"The leadership is represented, so there is a leadership structure called Siqalo Committee that represents the community, so they are represented, and I think they were in the process of forming a project steering committee which will include residence of Siqalo."

What we get from Sakhiwo is what Levenson (2022) termed "self-organizing" through committees and how people of Siqalo have their own internal and political dynamisms to respond to their necessities, though it is not formal or follow the logics of formal political organisations. What is also highlighted here is Vivier & Sanchez-Betancourt's (2020) reading of leaders as intermediaries

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who have the duty to mediate between government and residents of informal settlements. As Sakhiwo mentions, he engages with the councillor and reports back to the committee. This kind of transparency is important as far as the legitimacy of the leader is concerned.

This political organising in Siqalo is not without its challenges. When the global COVID-19 pandemic arrived it also effected the political dynamics. In South Africa political gatherings were banned as they were deemed dangerous and quick spreaders of the virus, so to hinder social interaction the state banned political gatherings. This has had serious implications for informal settlements and grass roots movements as they had to re-imagine alternative ways of organising that might still have the same political impact as political gatherings before the pandemic. In many instances this banning of political gathering simultaneously hindered political action and organising. Even state officials would use it as a scapegoat when running away from accounting to the masses. Busisiwe in Siqalo argued:

> *"For now, there are no meetings. We communicate with the councillor through the emails, and he responds by saying he can't have meetings with us due to COVID-19 and lockdown regulations."*

The participants of the study alluded that the city has used the regulations of COVID-19 to its advantage in terms of avoiding responding to the demands of the people. In this way, the pandemic has in itself sort of thwarted the political efforts of the leaders and activists of Siqalo.

Levenson (2022) argues that in Siqalo, civil society and political society are inseparable and that they inform each other, meaning that political articulations came as a consequence of civil society. Siqalo residents made their political demands through civil society, and the political struggle for state recognition and provision was carried out through state civil society. This he attributes to what he refers to as fused groups and self-organising; the people of Siqalo operate as fused groups as opposed to other informal settlements that are led by external organisations. With the recent development of Siqalo's politics, we can see how the fused groups/committee became tolerant or open to forming relations with NGOs, as it is the case with VPUU. Even when the leaders of Siqalo formed relations with organisations such as VPUU, they still operated as a committee of leaders that took part in discussions and negotiations with the city. Sakhiwo alluded that the leaders (committee) of Siqalo have full representation in these discussions about relocation, qualifiers and land allocation. Here we can see that this development of working with NGO did not result in the

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negation of fused groups or a replacement of fused groups with serialisation; rather, it became a bit more diverse allowing the committee members of Siqalo to utilise the resources and platforms offered by VPUU to the advancement of their demands.

For instance, VPUU also facilitates engagements with the councillors and played a significant role in defusing the tensions between the people of Siqalo and the people of Mitchells Plain. Advancing the committee's non-racial principles, as Levenson (2022) writes regarding the fused groups in Siqalo, helped the community to counter the racial aggression from the middle-class coloured community of Colorado. The people of Siqalo organised themselves into a fused group that refused confining its identity to "Africans", they chose to categorise themselves as occupiers against the anti-black characterisation they were given by their neighbours. As alluded by Sakhiwo, Siqalo is overwhelmingly black, although the coloured population within the settlement increased as time went by. The people of Siqalo had no qualms with coloured people in the settlement though the coloured community across the road racialised the residents of Siqalo (Levenson, 2022). The rate payers of Mitchells Plain allied with the Democratic Alliance, a right-wing party that is notorious for its anti-black racism.

Another development in the politics of Siqalo that was noted in this study was the tolerance of external political parties and generally the electoral politics. In his work, Levenson (2022) speaks of how the residents would oppose voting, and that community members would actively disrupt and physically remove the stalls of IEC. In the previous elections, political organisations would even campaign in the community hall where most political activities in the settlement take place; however, things seem to have changed. Mfundo in this research shared that the people of Siqalo do vote, and that the community hall does host such political activities.

These organisations such as VPUU are helpful in assisting the community leaders with their struggles for recognition and inclusion in state provision (Amin & Cirolia, 2018). This also depicts how the state sort of compromises strategically in order to win popular legitimacy and appear as though it is in charge and in control of the people. Compromising strategy by the government is when the Councilor representing Lentegeur engages with the people of Siqalo. The minimum services then follow, which includes numbering of shacks, portable toilets and standpipe taps. These concessions have however proven to have less material impact in the lives of the people who dwell in informal settlements as compared to how they advance the state's idea to maintain a

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semblance of peace and stability. This also invokes Foucault's (2007) argument that documentation and adhering to stringent bureaucracy reflects the state imposing its power over the citizens, so that it maintains its authoritative role, and so that people should always be reminded of this power.

4.4 Informality and the land question in Siqalo

The residents of Siqalo established the settlement outside of the state policies through land occupation. The settlement started out small with a few shacks on private land owned by Robert Ross Demolishers and Lyton Props (Etheridge, 2018). The question of land ownership or lack thereof seems to centre the debate around service delivery and infrastructure in Siqalo. Busisiwe previously emphasised that the reason behind this lack of service delivery is the question of land ownership. Community leader Sakhiwo also alluded that:

> *"The main thing that the people are facing there is that the land which they occupied is private land. It doesn't belong to the government, so in terms of upgrading, the government cannot do anything there. So, the people who own that land want to charge the government an exuberant amount of money because they are fully aware that the State is stuck with Siqalo residents, but the City doesn't want to buy the land with that price. So, this whole situation means that there is nothing that can be done for the people who live in Siqalo. And besides that, even if the City was to buy the land, that land is not suitable for housing; it is a seasonal wet land. As you can see that the place is flooded-- there's water even inside the houses."*

Community leader Sakhiwo and community member Busiswe similarly argued that at the centre of this marginalisation and exclusion is the long-standing question of land. The people living in Siqalo do not own the land on which they settled. The land is privately owned, and the government refuses to purchase it although the private owners offered to sell it, so that the government could be able to upgrade and improve the living conditions of the people living in Siqalo. This is in line with state manufactured incapacity as noted by Benit-Gbaffou (2021), where the state chooses to hide behind policies of relocation, not to resolve the central land question but to further its repression. This thesis argues that this is a depiction of coloniality, where the lives of black people are characterised by landlessness.

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4.4.1 Temporal relocation and informality: Qualifiers and non-qualifiers

In light of the previous section, a discussion on the allocation of land in Siqalo was happening between Leaders Sakhiwo, committee members and the Municipality. The interviews reveal how complicated and fruitless the government solutions are to the people of Siqalo. Community leader Sakhiwo said about the ongoing discussions:

> *"I was talking with the leaders of Siqalo yesterday, so they are aware that discussions are happening in terms of allocation of land. Of course, it deals precisely with the issue of qualifiers and non-qualifiers-- the process is slow but it's happening*."

The community Sakhiwo leader described the process of qualifier and non-qualifier as follows:

> *"At some point they will be relocated, but it will only be the qualifiers that will be relocated, so if some people at Siqalo once got houses at some stage and then came to settle in Siqalo, they won't be catered for. Quite a number of them are actually non-qualifiers, which means that even if a certain number of people are allocated land to build, non-qualifiers will not get land."*

Qualifiers are those who have never received houses from the state, and non-qualifiers are those who have received houses before and are in the records. The programs of intervention like relocation would only apply to qualifiers through the program of TRA (Temporary Relocation Areas).

Levenson (2022) has dissected the program of TRAs as the government's active contribution in widening urban informality. The program of the TRA was designed specifically to last for roughly six months as a stopgap measure in the emergency situation, which is land invasion/occupation. Through the provision of Temporary Relocation Areas (TRAs) the government is able to move citizens who have occupied land illegally to alternative locations and also at the same time provide them with temporally housing. Apart from Siqalo being private land, it is also a seasonal wet land, and it is therefore regarded as land that is unsuitable for housing, and hence there is a possibility for relocation. This process of moving people to temporary housing in Siqalo will only apply to those who are classified as qualifiers. The non-qualifiers will be excluded from this process even though Sakhiwo says that quite a number of the residents are non-qualifiers.

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Referring back to the discussion of informality and formality, the move to TRAs is what Saidiya Hartman refers to as a "non-event" (Cervenak & Carter, 2017:46). It does not translate to social upward mobility; rather, the people are just moved from one informal settlement to another while an overwhelming number will be left in Siqalo since they are non-qualifiers. The myth behind these TRAs is that they are temporary and that residents will only dwell in them for only 6 months. In reality, they become permanent residents of these areas. The living conditions of the people dwelling in the government's TRAs is not different from those who are still in illegally occupied informal settlements. They are all vulnerable to horrible weather conditions, urban fires, unemployment, and their poverty status remains unchanged.

Against this background, urban informality and its continued existence can be read as the extension of colonial legacies, which Maldonado-Torres (2016) describes as coloniality: where the state actively reproduces "zones of being and zones of non-being." In this sense, informal settlements are these zones of non-being.

4.5 Protest

Poor service delivery in South Africa is paralleled with service delivery protests, where people insurgently demand what the government either deprives them of or is unable to deliver. Service delivery protests have become a characteristic feature of this country, and almost on a daily basis there are headlines covering the violent clashes between the state and the people. Such clashes are mostly prevalent in marginal spaces such as informal settlements.

Siqalo is one example among many other informal settlements and marginal spaces that made the headlines for service delivery protests. As aforementioned, Siqalo was established outside of legality and state policies, and its very emergence was a protest action in a form of land occupation. Protest then became its basic feature and its way of communicating with the state that refuses to recognise Siqalo as a legitimate settlement deserving of service delivery. Interviews touched on this being the reason behind many conflicts that stemmed out of the settlement. Community leader Mzwandile shared his thoughts on the emergence of the informal settlement and the conflicts that ensued thereafter:

> *".. Siqalo has been there now for 12/13 years, and it started small and obviously when it started small it didn't cause any threat. As it began to grow the problem started. I think what*

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irritates the people of Mitchells Plain is that when the people of Siqalo want to be heard they block the road, which is one of the main roads to Mitchells Plain from town, and once that happens it irritates everybody. They have weaponised that road. If they want to be heard, so that's where the conflict stems from. The tensions and conflicts are around the protest in Siqalo."

Lubabalo recalls the gruesome experience of state violence in Siqalo where the people were protesting for basic services. He said that the state does not respond to their demands; instead, it inflicts wanton violence on the entire community without mercy. In his own words he said:

"*There was a process where people were being given forms to fill out so that they could get houses, but I don't know where did it end-- it's also one of the reasons people protested. They called the police to stop the protest. The way I see it is that the state responded by sending the police instead of responding to the demands. The police were so violent in how they handled the people-- they teargassed us, shot us with rubber bullets. Even when people retreated, the teargas would be sprayed in their houses, and you know there are old people here, so this was really violent. A lot of people were badly injured, and they were rushed to the hospital.*"

The peaceful means that were exhausted by the people of Siqalo fell on deaf ears. Instead, the state decided to respond violently. This violence inflicted on the residents of Siqalo points to how the neocolonial state reproduces the relations black people had with the Apartheid government, where black people are only engaged through violence. Another point that can be taken out from this is the state's refusal to recognise, listen and respond to the grievances of the residents of Siqalo as argued by Huchzemeyer (2016). Further, there has been a deliberate misreading of the situation in Siqalo, where the political articulation of blocking the road has often been criminalised and labeled as an opportunistic politics of spectacle. To follow Nyawasha (2016), this narrative has had direct impact on the lives of the people of Siqalo as the people of Mitchells Plain retaliated to these politics of "spectacle," and as a result one resident of Siqalo lost his life during the conflict and others were injured and arrested.

What we see here is Yiftachel's (2009) association of informal settlements with the darkness of distraction and death as we see with state sanctioned violence, and Fanon's (1960) assertion that

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“Colonialism is not a thinking machine, nor a body endowed with reasoning faculties. It is violence in its natural state.”

4.5.1 Protest and a politics of belonging

Service delivery protests can unearth the Apartheid identity politics of belonging. When asked about these conflicts and relations with the people of Mitchells Plain, Busisiwe said:

> *“There is no relationship, because they claim we are damaging and it is illegal for us to steal electricity from their traffic lights, so we don’t have good relations with them. I think they are nice people; it’s just that we are the ones who steal their electricity, but we are doing this because we are in desperate need of electricity.”*

Community leader Mzwandile argued:

> *“The informal settlement is overwhelmingly black, so the tensions obviously spill over and become racial tensions, and it’s not about the inconvenience-- it becomes about ‘why are the black people here, why do they choose to come near Mitchells Plain’ and all those sorts of things. So the racial dynamics do surface. But to a larger extent they are being managed by the leadership.”*

Two aspects of this assertion can be analysed further. Firstly, deprivation and exclusion from basic services galvanises insurgency (Holston, 2009; Nyawasha, 2016; Campos et al, 2022). Secondly, the unresolved Apartheid socialisation or the legacy of colonial geographies continues to shape the landscape of South Africa. Taking both interrelated points into consideration, service delivery protests in Siqalo spark or revive these unresolved colonial legacies of spatial inequality, identity and segregation.

Interviews described that these tensions between the people of Siqalo and Mitchells Plain were however defused by leadership of both communities. As Mzwandile asserted, the only time where these resurface is during the protests that inconvenience the people of Mitchells Plain. What revives these contradictions are the protest actions and the inconvenience caused by the tapping of traffic lights by illegally connecting their wires for electricity.

It then emerges that the rage of deprivation and exclusion from service delivery is communicated through violent protest by the people of Siqalo, which consequently inconveniences the people of

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Mitchells Plain. This is easily swayed towards the direction of racial tension due to the unresolved colonial/Apartheid socialisation of the City of Cape Town. While this signals the need to provide basic services for the people of Siqalo, it equally necessitates a program that would resolve these long-standing colonial tensions.

Apart from forming part of these strategic meetings, Sakhiwo of VPUU also mentioned their pivotal role in defusing the ethnic tensions between the people of Siqalo and Mitchells Plain. They organised meetings with leaders of both communities to sit down and peacefully iron out their contradictions, and as a result ethnic tensions in Siqalo are no longer a dominant factor. Lubabalo attested to this by saying:

> "*I don't think there are any conflicts between the people of Siqalo and those in Colorado. I've never heard of a situation where people of Siqalo were barred from entering Mitchells Plain.*"

This was the result of this political intervention. Community member Lwando also spoke of how he does piece jobs over the road in Mitchells Plain. During the interviews I would also walk with the participants to Mitchells Plain for shopping and to use some services without any hindrance. The easing of these tensions might also be the result of the absence of protests as it has been a while since the people of Siqalo blocked the road.

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4.6 The politics of Siqalo as counter-conduct

This politics invokes Michel Foucault's concept of counter-conduct, which was summarised in the literature review chapter of this thesis. Counter-conduct describes how the people go against the manner in which they are governed or conducted and conduct themselves differently. The daily lives of the people of Siqalo and the foundation of Siqalo recall Foucault's conceptualisation of counter-conduct in that Siqalo was established outside of the city's policies and social imagination. Counter-conduct can also be seen in how the people of Siqalo navigate their daily lives; for instance, Lwando accounted for how they access electricity informally, and when I asked about electricity he said:

> *"Okay, last year I think there was something promising because they installed poles. There were long poles which were lights because this place is really dark at night, but because the residents of Siqalo do not have electricity, they dug in those poles and connected their cables*

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so they could have electricity. The wire connections then damaged the poles. After that I've heard nothing from the state."

Instead of providing electricity, the state installed these poles that were supposed to be street lights, but then the people of Siqalo were not really concerned about having lights that would only illuminate the community outside, and what they needed was electricity inside their tiny shacks. This highlights again the state's deliberate resistance to listening and hearing informal settlement dwellers, which lead to the state's ill-informed but conscious interventions (Huchzemeyer, 2016)

During our mini tour around the informal settlement, Lubabalo also showed me wires that were connected to the traffic lights so that the residents of residents of Siqalo could have electricity. Through these actions the people of Siqalo were doing what Massey (2014) says about the people of Makhaza: Manipulating what is available in order to take care of their basic necessities. This is similar to Mottiar's (2021) analysis of that the people of Umlazi in an informal settlement called Emhlabeni access water and electricity through similar actions of counter-conduct. Finally, we get to see how these actions do not suggest a radically different political order nor exterior to modern democratic order but responses to immediate needs with what is available.

4.7 Abakhaya as the translocal ties in Siqalo

The spatial planning of Cape Town still mirrors colonial geographies, and this ultimately shapes migration patterns and the politics of belonging. Movement, where to move, and where to reside, is highly influenced by the unresolved Apartheid geographies. For instance, how black dispossessed people navigate their way around this highly racialised country still follows these colonial patterns. In Siqalo black people are often reminded that they do not belong in that space. As explained earlier, this is usually explained by the fact that Mitchells Plain was designated for Coloured people by the Apartheid regime. The settlement of mostly Xhosa people in Siqalo transgresses this spatial planning and thus generates an array of concerns relating to, but not limited to, politics of belonging, exclusion, and ethnic tensions. This necessitates a translocal reading of internal migration/mobilities since different spaces in the same country expose people to different subjectivities/create different subjectivities. One may be regarded a citizen in one space and an undeserving encroacher in the other. In this analysis I draw from Fanon's (1960) discussion of how citizenship of black people can be inverted and lost.

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According to Greiner & Sakdapolrak (2013:8) the term “translocality” helps understand “the tension between mobility and locality.” This has been mostly described in positive or neutral terms in literature; However, in this context translocal ties are created under such structural factors; since South Africa’s social imagination was premised upon the exclusion of black people, black people are still forced, as they were during the Apartheid regime, to organise translocal networks that will assist them in navigating their way around.

The intersection between mobility and urban informality has been depicted in this study when participants testified how they moved from other provinces or around the province to settle in Siqalo. For instance, Lubabalo spoke of how he moved from Johannesburg after completing his secondary education to look for better opportunities in Cape Town. He then settled in Siqalo. Kwanele similarly narrated how they moved from the Eastern Cape in search for better opportunities in the city.

Busisiwe explained:

> *Before I moved into Siqalo I used to stay on campus at Northlink college. I then dropped out and then I heard that there was space in Siqalo, so I ended up coming to settle here. I do have a family around the province, but then you see there are family issues with the parents- that’s why I decided to be independent.”*

With Busisiwe we can see the reading of desires and values in mobility (Carling & Collins, 2018; Nyiri & Xiang, 2022), where Busisiwe’s movement to Siqalo can be read as her pursuit of her desires to be free and independent. These are amongst many other reasons behind mobility, and in as far as internal migration is concerned in South Africa, this pattern is not a new phenomenon. Black people have historically moved from the deep rural areas in search for better opportunities and settle in the urban peripheries.

Community leader Mfundo asserted:

> “*You know how migration happens, is that when someone who is about to settle in Siqalo coming from another area, locally-- they would have friends and relatives who are in the Eastern Cape-- they’d invite those relatives to come and live with them and then negotiate with the committee about space. So in Siqalo you do have people who are from both locally and other provinces, mostly from the Eastern Cape*.”

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Such translocal networks have been in existence way before the democratic dispensation. This form of "chain migration" has been examined by Steinbrink (2009:220) in his reading of *Abakhaya* as a social network of migrants in the urban areas. This network is developed in the process of chain migration, and it is based on a common local origin. Such a network of *Abakhaya* also exists in Siqalo, and although it does not necessarily apply to the whole community, it is a constituent element of the community. Some of the members joined Siqalo through totally different networks, and unlike Steinbrink's example of Site 5, Siqalo is not an entirely translocal community. People who settled in Siqalo do not all share the same rural origins --meaning that Siqalo is constituted by different networks of *Abakhaya* and other networks.

For instance, Lubabalo says he had relatives or *Abakhaya* who settled before him in Siqalo while he was still residing in Delft, so when he could not afford rent any more in Delft where he stayed as a backyarder, he found refuge in his *Abakhaya* network from his village. He explained that they are the ones who facilitated his process of getting a plot in Siqalo. As we walked to his wooden shack roofed with corrugated iron sheets, a frail man sitting on a crate outside his shack not too far from Lubabalo's shack waved at us and said to Lubabalo "Mkhaya!" He responded, "Molo Khay!" A few steps away from the frail man, we met another woman who did not appear much older than Lubabalo, hanging her laundry in her wooden yard. Lubabalo passed his greetings to her by calling out "Mkhaya!" She appeared rather confused as I am the first person she sees when looking for the person greeting her. She cast her investigative gaze at me until Lubabalo shouts again signaling that he's the one greeting. The woman sees Lubabalo and suddenly lightens up; she grins cheerfully as she greets back to Lubabalo "Tyhin molo mkhaya". What can be observed from these two incidents is firstly how Lubabalo greets his neighbours and how they relate to one another. They call one another "mkhaya" which denotes that they belong to the same network of Abakhaya and obviously share the same rural origin. This kind of relation could not be extended to me as I am stranger that does not belong to this network. Lubabalo's neighbour's astonishment at seeing me after hearing someone call out "mKhaya" shows how these neighbours have created a sense of belonging that cannot be easily extended to strangers and outsiders like myself. When I asked him of how he came to Siqalo, his answer was:

> "*Abakhaya were very helpful and when I settled in Siqalo. I felt welcome as I met many people that came from my village and neighbouring villages in the Eastern Cape*."

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These translocal ties depict how one can assume different "identities" in different spaces that are in the same country. The *Abakhaya* network for instance is made up of people who are members of the same village, and citizens of the rural areas with all its symbolic "integrity". However, when they reach the city, they assume a different category/identity/subjectivity, and they become squatters and "illegal" occupants who are viewed as encroachers in the city. Their identity loses its symbolic integrity as they are lumped into a category of criminality. The *Abakhaya* network is therefore developed under such circumstances as means to organise internal migrants who share the same rural origins, and it is a form of identity formation as we have seen with Lubabalo and his neighbours. The rural relations reconfigure themselves in the city and it infuses a sense of belonging and sense of community.

As Lubabalo asserted, when he came to Siqalo he met his relatives and neighbours from the rural areas, and he felt "welcomed." Steinbrink (2009:220) argues that these translocal networks were also used to resist marginalisation. What can be analysed from this is how these very translocal ties are a by-product of exclusion and spatial inequality, and hence many internal migrants feel the need to be in these networks in order to move around the country. At the same time, spatial inequality/violence begets the creation of these networks.

Also, translocal ties do not really have material benefits for the marginalised. Such networks happen under conditions of exclusion for blacks in all spaces with different manifestations. For instance, rural areas are "underdeveloped," and informal settlements are marked by lack of basic services and infrastructure, so these translocal ties do not bring many material benefits and also do not guarantee upward social mobility. This means therefore that rural-urban migration for black people is an oscillation between marginal spaces and the translocal ties enable migrants to navigate life/movement under these existential risks.

On another hand there are people in Siqalo with no translocal ties. For instance, Nomfundo and her sister fled their previous community, which was also an informal settlement around Cape Town due to structural factors that include crime and violence which again emphasises mobility as a pursuit of freedom:

> *"The reason we wanted to move away from Phillipi was that our area was getting increasingly violent, and being two women with only our kids and without a male figure, we felt so vulnerable and our shack was not far away from the shebeen, so drunk men would*

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often come and knock at night in our shack and sometimes harass us by touching us inappropriately. So it was better to get away from that situation than to wait for the worst to happen. At first we were happy there, but after the opening of the shebeen things got worse. The place was a hotspot of all the criminals we knew."

They maintain no translocal relations with Philippi and have a very distant relationship with their rural areas. She even narrated why she no longer visits her home in the Eastern Cape- precisely because of the inability to afford transportation. This in turn shows how structural factors can disrupt and negate translocal ties. During the Apartheid regime, black people would be forcibly removed from their homes and fled to different directions, displaced, looking for new homes to settle without any possibility whatsoever of returning to the place they once called home. This then shuttered down any possibility of maintaining translocal ties. This phenomenon of moving from one place to another, sometimes squatting as a backyarder like Lubabalo and ending up in the informal settlement, living as though one is displaced, or what Sol Platjie referred to as pharia in the land of origin, is still prevalent although it reconfigured itself through different economic factors. The landless black people still oscillate between these marginal spaces more than decades after the demise of the Apartheid regime.

4.8 Conclusion

This qualitative study has been able to explore, through unstructured interviews and observation, the narratives of the residents of Siqalo in relation to mobility, and informality. The mini-thesis has described how a group of residents and activists linked to Siqalo negotiate their daily lives in a city that views them as encroachers. The thesis also excavated the politics surrounding the informal settlement. In as far as the conflict is concerned, the data shows that there are deep unresolved politics of belonging in the City. We see this through the conflict that ensued between Mitchells Plain and Siqalo.

Based on the narratives collected and other literature reviewed, the thesis argues that the circumstances of Siqalo were made possible by *exclusion.* The thesis has shown how the people of Siqalo navigate their lives under the existential risks of being excluded from state provision. The internal political dynamism to negotiate lives is seen through the way in which they have organised themselves into committees that constantly interact with the Councillor and Mayor to

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negotiate matters related to service delivery and relocation. We have also seen the role of leaders who act as intermediaries in as far as these negotiations are concerned (Vivier & Sanchez-Betancourt, 2020:739). The people also have created their own micro systems to make liveable conditions, as we have seen with the rules in how the Mshengu toilets are used.

This is to say, if counter-conduct, insurgent citizenship, and governability are to be read as resistance or the assertion of denied rights to land, and shelter etc, then it means urban informality is a direct result of exclusion. People revolt because they are oppressed or excluded. This is not to romanticise urban informality by branding it as some form of revolution; what the data represents is that urban informality-- in this case Siqalo-- is a byproduct of racial exclusion and that this society structurally reproduces urban informality as we have seen how the people of Siqalo are overwhelmingly black.

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Chapter 5: Conclusions

5.1 Summary

This thesis has argued that the intersection between mobility and informality is a function of coloniality and that coloniality largely shapes the everyday politics and navigation of internal migrants in the city.

The thesis has introduced informal settlements globally and in South Africa. It then explains the specific case of the informal settlement of Siqalo, bordering Mitchells Plain in Cape Town. Siqalo faced a series of protests relating to service delivery that spilled over to Mitchells Plain and invoked ethnic tensions. These are attributable to the ongoing legacy of colonialism.

The thesis has gathered various literature to make sense of the politics and informality in Siqalo. These themes intersect in the below sections.

5.2 Informality: Insurgency/counter-conduct and state of exception

Urban informality is entangled with so much complexity. Scholars like Nyawasha (2016:230) propel us to pay attention to the political nuances of informal settlements and how the political articulations and activities of the people residing in informal settlements are often distorted and disarticulated. I have applied this viewpoint as well to Siqalo with how the protest has been termed politics of spectacle, and with such stories such as the criminalisation of the connection of the wires in the traffic lights.

While it assists us in reading how the poor articulate their moral demands for recognition and dignity (Nywasha, 2016:229) it misses completely the very reason behind this exclusion and violation. This then makes this entire analysis to be a sanitised version of what is actually taking place; it is an ahistorical reading of this phenomenon that dislocates the entire ordeal from the continued legacy of colonialism or coloniality. What is most likely to come out of this analysis is the romanticisation of the poor's political agency and the tendency to read these (informal settlements) as heroic struggles rather than effects of structural inequality or as structurally produced form of settlement. This is not to entirely dismiss political agency and the radical/ resistance edge of these politics; however, what I aim to demonstrate is how Nywasha (2016:229) completely negates the role of the state in the production of informality. Taking into consideration

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Roy's (2005, 2017) reading of informality, this study is then inclined to move beyond Nywasha's notion of insurgency as it displaces urban informality from the state and tends to celebrate it as the result of imaginations that exist in the country.

In Roy's earlier work (2005:147) she levels a scathing critique on two conceptions of informality that appear to be at odds with one another, but when one zooms in one realises that they have close similarities. These two conceptions are those who read informality as a crisis and those who see it as heroism; she charges them for separating informality from formality, and by doing so they apply a false dichotomy between the informal sector and the formal sector. Her rebuttal of this converges with Kaarsholm and Frederiksen's (2018) analysis that informality and formality historically developed in close interaction. Roy then invokes Agamben's notion of sovereignty where the state's sovereignty is the power to determine the state of exception. This can be seen for instance in how the state has its own serviced informal settlements and TRAs that it declared legal, and then those that the state suspends its governmentality and deems illegal. Roy (2005: 150) argues, "State power is reproduced through the capacity to construct and reconstruct categories of legitimacy and illegitimacy." Roy (2005:149) gives us a broad reading of informality as the creation of the state.

The everyday politics of these spaces can therefore be read as counter-conduct as opposed to insurgent citizenship as espoused by Nywasha. Informality does not exist outside of state sovereignty, and in this sense is not even resistance to governmentality as such. It attempts to be included in state provision and to be recognised by the state, rather than to call for a completely different order or its total defiance. What emerges from this reading is that though informality appears to be challenging governmentality and consequently exists outside of it, it is in fact very internal to the state and that it is of the making of the state. Counter-conduct therefore gives a better nuanced reading of the politics that characterises informal settlements, as Massey (2014:292) argues that it is rarely based on suggesting radically different approaches. This is what insurgency misses and what counter-conduct explains; it assists us with the articulation of the daily negotiations of the people of Siqalo, the everyday life of illegal connections and the struggles to be recognised by the city and access basic service delivery. It seems then, with insurgency, that the people of Siqalo are engaged in the political revolt against sovereignty, which is to say, they are struggling not only against modernity but to introduce a different regime.

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However, with counter-conduct we get to see how the actions of the people of Siqalo are not as Nyawasha suggests but rather daily negotiations of the people, either to make liveable conditions (Huchzermeyer, 2020) or to be included in state provision/recognition, which points to the desire to be conducted otherwise. The people of Siqalo through the interviews have indicated their desires to be included in state provision, recognised and maybe formalised. This also dovetails with Huchzermeyer's observation that this struggle is to a large extent predictable-- how the people operate within the orbits of what is available to them (Massey, 2014; Mottiar, 2021) and not necessarily struggling to introduce a different political order.

5.3 I/mmobility/Translocality

Through Busisiwe and Nomfundo, we could see how mobility was a desire to be otherwise or to be free. This pursuit of desires or freedom signals a deeper need for freedom, but as we see with Siqalo that this flew at the face of freedom, since Siqalo is not a space of possibility. If we invoke Sheller (2015:16) then we can see how even this expression of desire is confined to marginal spaces. It seems, after two decades of democracy in South Africa, black people continue to pursue freedom, signaling this desire to be free in a country that structurally reproduces their oppression/suffering. In Siqalo mobility is not experienced as freedom, rather as a drudgery, which speaks to the politics of space in as far as Creswell (2010:18) is concerned. This was evident through walking in oily mud paths, cars stuck in the mud, and we could see how lack of infrastructure stifled basic movement within the settlement. In addition, the data also noted how mobility was stifled by lack of funds when Lubabalo's kids could not attend school for the rest of the year and the two sisters were forced to cut ties with their homelands as they could not afford to travel back home, and thus cut relations with their home. This also depicts how structural factors are able to destruct translocal connections.

However, these translocal ties are important in assisting internal migrants to navigate their way around the country and settlement, as the data shows about Lwando who, through Abakhaya, was able not only to secure a plot to erect his shack but to get a sense of belonging in a City that views him as an encroacher/criminal. What is also deductible about the Abakhaya translocal network in this study is that the conditions that necessitated its existence during the colonial era still exist though the patterns reconfigured themselves differently, as Steinbrink (2009:220) argued in his

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reading of socio-spatial linkages between a village in the former Transkei and an informal settlement in Cape Town. These informal systems of translocal livelihood are what assisted Lwando to navigate his life after he fled Delft, pointing also to the intersection between mobility and informality. Finally, this shows us blacks are still largely confined to marginal spaces and how their mobility is but an oscillation in these marginal spaces, under-developed rural areas and hazardous urban peripheries/informal settlements. Though the Abakhaya translocal tie assists blacks with moving around, it does not result nor guarantee upward social mobility, but rather a way of navigating mobility and belonging under the existential risks that have shaped black life since the advent of colonialism. In this sense we are able to see the continuities even in the most mundane daily activities of moving around, walking and settling.

5.4 Politics of belonging and the "moralising discourse"

The Apartheid politics of belonging are yet to be resolved in the city, we have seen with how conflicts with coloured people of Mitchells Plain. Although these seem to have been resolved by leadership, there is no guarantee that these tensions will not happen again as the needs of the people of Siqalo are not resolved. Since these are revived by the protests, it seems there are still going to be more protests in Siqalo and the structure that conditions such tensions remains unchanged.

5.5 The question of land

Looking at the land question, the central course of the contradictions in Siqalo are centred around the question of land ownership. The settlement in Siqalo by the residents is the result of landlessness and eviction; the land they occupied is privately owned and the state refuses to purchase it. As a result, the state cannot do anything, due to the fact that it does not own the land. The only viable option that it offers to the people of Siqalo is relocation, which further entrenches the question of dispossession (Levenson 2022) and the resistance to deal with the "elephant in the room," which is landlessness-- a long standing question that has characterised black life before the enactment of the land act. The relocation also speaks to the question of qualifiers and non-qualifiers, of which majority of the people in Siqalo are non-qualifiers, according to leadership. Showing how this strategy will not deal with the question of landlessness and how this relocation to temporal housing is a continuation of informality.

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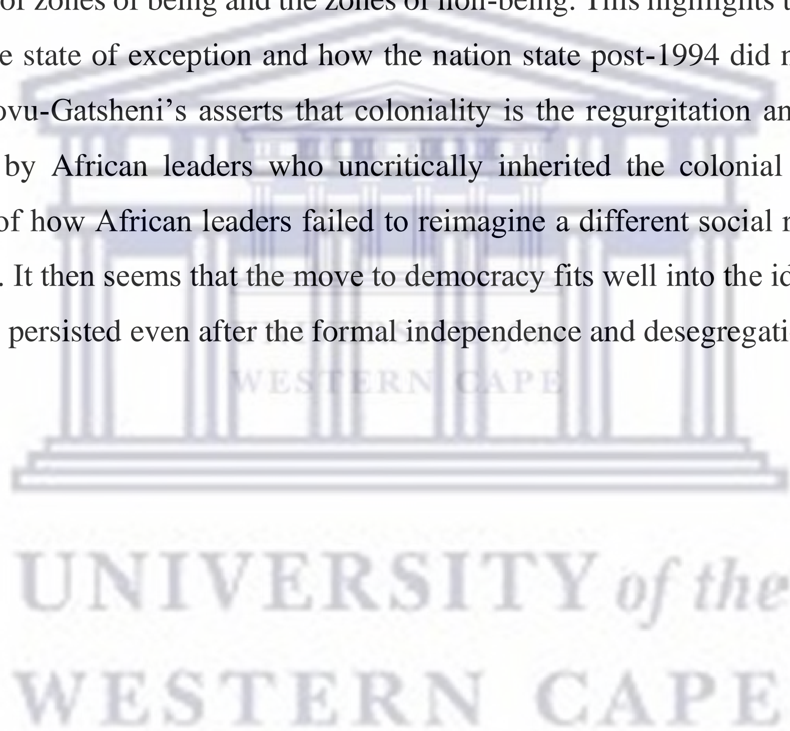
5.6 Colonial present

Taking the above information into consideration, the common similitude that these different themes share is coloniality. They appear to be continuities of the past in the present, as we see with the intersection between mobility and informality. Translocality assists us in reading urban-rural migration and this shows us how this follows the colonial patterns. With translocality we could also see how the movement of black people is confined to marginal spaces, which is in line with Mbembe's argument that to be African is to be consigned to spaces of confinement.

Roy's work, as described in the thesis, draws us even closer to the reading of this phenomenon in the colonies, particularly with her reading of Yitchfelt's "gray spaces" that are premised upon the production of colonial difference. This coincides with Maldonado-Torres's Fanonian application of the production of zones of being and the zones of non-being. This highlights the role of the state in the sense of the state of exception and how the nation state post-1994 did not part ways with colonialism. Ndlovu-Gatsheni's asserts that coloniality is the regurgitation and reproduction of colonial thought by African leaders who uncritically inherited the colonial state, and recalls Fanon's critique of how African leaders failed to reimagine a different social reality due to their short-sightedness. It then seems that the move to democracy fits well into the idea of "non-event" in that coloniality persisted even after the formal independence and desegregation.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08 February 2021

Mr S Ndwayi
Institute for Social Development
Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences

Ethics Reference Number: HS20/9/60

Project Title: Negotiating urban informality: Narratives of politics and mobility in an informal settlement in Cape Town, South Africa.

Approval Period: 05 February 2021 – 05 February 2024

I hereby certify that the Humanities and Social Science Research Ethics Committee of the 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 by 30 November each year for the duration of the project.

The permission to conduct the study must be submitted to HSSREC for record keeping purposes.

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

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

NHREC Registration Number: HSSREC-130416-049

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