

**Urban Contestations for Housing: Reclaiming and Deracialising
Cape Town's Inner City**

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that this mini thesis is my own work and that I have not previously submitted it to any other university for a degree. All the sources that I have quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of references.



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ABSTRACT

On the last weekend of March 2017, members of the Reclaim the City movement occupied two vacant government buildings: The old Woodstock Hospital on Mountain Road, Woodstock and Helen Bowden Nurses Home, located just about five minutes' walk to one of Cape Town's major tourist attractions, the V & A Waterfront. Following protracted contestations against the sale of the Tafelberg site in Sea Point, the Western Cape government committed both sites to address socio-spatial segregation through the development of affordable housing for the low-income families in Cape Town. Reclaim the City then occupied these buildings to put the government to account. Five years later, these occupations are meeting real housing needs. What started out as a symbolic act to lay claims on sites for low-income working classes, has mutated to tangible claims for the right to the city and the socio-spatial transformation of Cape Town's urban space. Reclaim the City has advanced its claims in the core of the city and at the helm of economic, political and social power of Cape Town City. Unlike other movements in South Africa that advanced their contestations and struggles for housing on urban peripheries, Reclaim the City lays its claims for housing in the urban core and at the seat of opportunities.

This study draws on a qualitative research methodological approach in investigating the role that Reclaim the City plays in the transformation of urban space in Cape Town. Two critical urban theory frameworks, viz, Henri Lefebvre's production of space triad and the right to the city leaning on David Harvey's inclination to collective rights and justice informs the analysis of the study and compliments the qualitative design. South Africa and specifically Cape Town, faced a brutal urbanisation process. There was a deliberate process of social engineering of society along racial lines backed by detailed legislation. Spatially, the infamous Group Areas Act ensured the four different races in South Africa resided in areas allocated to each race. The enforcing of the Act had families and communities forcefully removed from their homes to comply with the Act. When South Africa became a democratic republic, the government committed itself to redress the injustices of the apartheid government. On the spatial front, the Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act was put in place to redress the apartheid injustices. This Act was to be implemented at all levels of government (national, provincial and municipal) to redress the racist spatial legacy of South Africa's cities. Nearly three decades since the end of apartheid its spatial legacies endure. The city of Cape Town remains one of the most unequal cities in the globe. The

government has had policy geared towards socio-spatial integration but has fallen short on implementation. Instead, the change from managerial to entrepreneurial urban governance has ensured an urbanisation process that pedestals profits over people with austerity measures applied to needed public goods. The conclusion of this study rests on the understanding that urban movements are necessary for transforming the urbanisation process.

Key Words

Urban terrain, contestations, commodification, urban squatting, Reclaim the City, right to the city, space production, Woodstock, Cape Town.



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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AbM	Abahlali baseMjondolo
AKH	Ahmed Kathrada
ANC	African National Congress
CALS	Centre for Applied Legal Studies
CBD	Central Business District
CGH	Cissie Gool House
CCID	Central City Improvement District
CID	City Improvement District
EFF	Economic Freedom Fighters
EPWP	Expanded Public Works Programme
GAA	Group Areas Act
GEAR	Growth Employment and Redistribution
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LMP	Landless People's Movement
MSDF	Municipal Spatial Development Framework
NDP	National Development Plan
NPC	National Planning Commission
PIE	Prevention of Illegal Eviction
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RLDP	Rapid Land Development Programme
RTC	Reclaim the City
SAHO	South Africa History Online
SDI	Slum Dwellers International
SPLUMA	Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act
TRA	Temporary Relocation Area
UN DESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
VOC	Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (Dutch East India Company)
WB	World Bank
WC	Western Cape

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Chapter 1 Background to the study

1.1 Introduction

Urban social movements are increasingly contesting the unequal distribution of resources, urban renewal projects, and demanding collective consumption goods, amongst other rallying points. The key instigator of these protests is the systemic process of accumulation by dispossession (Harvey, 2010) alongside hyper-commodification of essential goods and services. Though Sinwell (2011) points out a sharp disconnect between academic ideologies and worldviews of the working class and the poor concerning the causes of these contestations, there exists a plethora of authoritative literature attesting urban (and rural) contestations are ultimately against neoliberalism (Dikeç, 2019; Leitner, et al., 2007; Mayer, 2016; Tok & Oğuz, 2011; Karriem, 2009a, 2009b, 2013). Mayer (2007) suggests that different waves of neoliberalization in urban governance have been the core stimulus for the various forms and subtleties of urban contestations. Further, as the neoliberal policy regimes continue to mature with contradictory effects, so do the milieus of urban movements continue to progress in confrontation (Mayer, 2007). In fact, Peck, Theodore, and Brenner (2009) assert that cities are the locus of successive policy failure along with contestation to neoliberal urban restructuring programmes. Capitalist cities are therefore arenas where context specific accumulation strategies are contested (Brenner, et al., 2009). Additionally, Roberts and Mahtani (2010) assert neoliberalism is also an aspect of racist societies and reinforces as well as modifies the process of racialization in race-defined societies.

In South Africa, the hegemony of neoliberal political economic structures enhances systemic uneven urban development instituted from European colonial conquest and apartheid, despite policies geared to redress past injustices and enhance transformative development. Notwithstanding, this unequal development has continually faced contestations through antagonist campaigns, protests, legal processes and even occupations of urban land and buildings. At the inception of South Africa's democratic government, the pro poor policy, the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) was adopted but was abruptly replaced with the Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) framework, a neoliberal policy document in all respects (Karriem & Hoskins, 2016). Oldfield and Stokke (2007) argue that the implementation of GEAR was essentially keeping in step with governance reforms endorsed by international financial

institutions that placed the market as the main agent of economic and social development in developing states. Nevertheless, on the housing front, the 1994 Housing White Paper and the 1997 Housing Act, provided detailed information on the fragmented nature of the land use planning, housing, transport and environment policies. These policy positions reiterated the ANC government's resolve to restructure the apartheid legacy of a racialised socio-spatial urban landscape and, in effect, achieve functional and productive cities and towns (Department of Housing, 1997). Unfortunately, over the years, the political class has admitted to limited progress achieved. The National Development Plan (NDP), for instance, is unequivocal on the details of the poor progress of past commitments and highlights elaborately the teething quandaries of concentrations of poverty and unemployment, constraints on municipal services, strain on transport infrastructure as well as community discontent associated with the spatial disconnect in cities (National Planning Commission (NPC), 2012).

In 2024, South Africa will commemorate three decades since the end of apartheid. However, its built environment – in terms of spatial organisation – continues to endure the racialised imprints of apartheid. At the inception of democracy, a widely shared vision of spatial planning transformation was intensely deliberated with formation of various policy documents across various interest groups (Berrisford, 2011). However, the realisation of this vision has been elusive in redressing deliberately engineered spatial and social reproduction under apartheid (Berrisford, 2011; Todes & Turok, 2018). In retrospect, Todes and Turok (2018) highlight that government's approach has been passive and reactive, and lacked the deliberate rigour in political will and legislation to spatial targeting applied by the apartheid regime, especially concerning urban land. Notably, the colonial legislature was weighty on procedural detail, even to the covering for eventualities, yet the democratic government has not in equal measure countered apartheid spatial formations with well-articulated land-use planning legislature (Berrisford, 2011).

Besides legislature and wanting government deliberate efforts to re-engineer the apartheid spatial formation; land tenure trends, capital availability, technology and land markets are also pertinent to changes in land-use and development (Berrisford, 2011). Where the apartheid regime – through legislation, administration, and politics – racially segregated people, the income sorting process in the housing market in the post-apartheid era is carrying on that role but on the bases of class and

wealth (Maharaj, 2019; Turok, 2013). Presently, spatial engineering, urban transformation and polarisation is heavily dependent on wide income disparities and weak employment growth that ‘sort’ people across the different quality of neighbourhoods and lifestyles depending on the ability to rent or buy (Turok, 2001). Furthermore, the government equally participates in the market as a merchant rather than arbiter, thus enhancing the polarisation through business savvy actions such as selling or auctioning prime urban land in the urban centre to the highest bidder and locating state subsidised houses in urban peripheries, arguing land affordability in such remote locations and thereby reinforcing apartheid era policies of spatially segregating the Black urban poor (Sendin, 2017).

Across South Africa’s five major cities, physical barriers and buffer zones make public transport connectivity difficult for those in the fringes of the city centre while dividing poor and rich neighbourhoods. The City of Cape Town, for instance, suffers inverted densification. The inner city, northern, and southern suburbs are sparsely populated and close to economic opportunities; in sharp contrast, highly dense informal settlements are dispersed around the city’s peripheries away from economic and social opportunities (Turok, 2013). Eighty percent of the jobs in the city are within Cape Town’s city centre which only houses thirty seven percent of the city’s population (Turok, et al., 2021). This implies that majority of the people in the periphery must make long commutes into the city centre to work or find work. Unfortunately, the long distance to places of work from the peripheries inhibits the search for jobs and exacerbates weak employment growth due to high transport costs (Banerjee, et al., 2008), and poor transport connections hence feeding a vicious cycle of poverty and socio-spatial segregation.

Cognisant of the spatial disjuncture, the state which at all levels has the power to systemically redress the spatial injustices of colonisation and apartheid is, instead, in collusion with capital. Bond and Mottiar (2013) aptly note that in 1994, power shifted from direct coercion under apartheid to indirect coercion through finance and law. The implications alluded to in this case concern labour control; however, on the spatial front, finance and law have been used by the state to ensure exclusivity of the well-located land, especially in the urban scene. This mini thesis shows that the Western Cape government and the Cape Town city government have been slow to deliberately re-engineer the spatial disparities instituted by the apartheid regime. On this basis, the

urban movement, Reclaim the City (RTC), has advanced struggles to counter the continuing apartheid legacies now advanced through the hegemony of neoliberal urban governance. In the following sections I focus on a detailed background justifying this study.

1.1.2 Contextualization and background to the research

In 2015, the Western Cape Provincial government advertised four sites (Alfred Street Complex, Helen Bowden Nurses' Home, Top Yard and the former Tafelberg Remedial High School (which is based in the high value and centrally located neighbourhood of Sea Point) that were deemed surplus to the core functions of the city at an investors conference (Gonstana, 2016). The term 'surplus', according to the Government Immovable Asset Management Act 2007 which provides guidelines on a uniform way to manage immovable assets, refers to immovable assets that no longer support the service delivery objective of the user. While it can be appreciated that informed deliberations went into this decision; interjections from non-profit organisations as well as domestic workers in Sea Point proved fruitless as the government proceeded to sell public land to private developers using financial and legislative logics, when such opportunities could be used to achieve spatial integration through affordable inner-city housing (Gonstana, 2016).

During the last weekend of March 2017, members of Reclaim the City (RTC) occupied the Woodstock Hospital and the Helen Bowden Nurses Home (Ground Up, 2017). Abandoned for several years and earmarked for sale by the provincial government, the buildings are strategically located to contribute to the redress of spatial segregation, if developed into affordable housing units for low-income earners. The occupations culminated from a series of deliberations and contests over the sale of the Tafelberg site in Sea Point to a private developer instead of utilising the space to develop affordable housing (Ground Up, 2017). The events leading to these occupations was a protracted litigation process that ensued from 2015 when the government's immovable assets were listed at an investors conference. The decision to sell the Tafelberg site blatantly displayed the audaciousness of the state to entangle itself with the market to the detriment of the excluded and peripheralized masses, some who lobbied to have the state take the onerous of redressing socio-spatial segregation.

The occupations, uprisings and continued contests in cities have taken on various facets that can be coalesced to be against neoliberal urbanisation processes. I focus on the contest for affordable

decent housing for low-income households in prime locations within the city of Cape Town. The Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act 16 of 2013 (SPLUMA) highlights the need to address what is termed as past spatial and regulatory imbalances. In addition, SPLUMA also repeals five apartheid land use laws besides spelling out the formulation of spatial development frameworks in all levels of government that ‘address historical spatial imbalances in development’. The Western Cape provincial government and the City of Cape Town Municipality’s spatial development frameworks echo the SPLUMA in highlighting the need to address socio-spatial segregation. Nonetheless, the political will to actualise these policies has proven wanting. Opportunities for tangible implementation of policy have instead been harnessed into lucrative private development projects sometimes with politicians having vested interests in the property development (Mzantsi & Mtyala, 2016). The necessity to house low-income households on prime urban land is often not taken in weight compared to the purchasing power and the profits that can otherwise be accrued. Critical onlookers have also noted a form of capital and political crystallization that ultimately sets the scene for market hegemony over state power to implement developmental policies. Prime urban land in Cape Town is still under the clutches of the highest bidders mainly who compose the wealthy class synonymous with the White race.

The focus of this research is on the Reclaim the City urban (RTC) movement and their struggle to reclaim and deracialize Cape Town’s inner city through housing struggles. My interest in RTC was initially aroused by their slogan ‘Land for People not for Profit’. Not only is this slogan a counter-hegemonic contestation of neoliberal ideals that pedestal individual property rights and profits over social justice, it also highlights some ideological underpinning in critical urban theory. This research answers the four following questions which are critical in meeting the focus of the research. Firstly, who constitutes RTC members in terms of the demographic composition such as race, gender, income levels among others? Secondly, what are the personal motivations for being engaged in the movement and living as occupiers/squatters? This is significant in understanding their rationale for being engaged in the RTC struggles. Thirdly, what are the organisational and mobilization strategies that the RTC engages in to access inner city housing? Fourthly, do the RTC building occupations serve to deracialize Cape Town’s inner city? This study is anchored on critical urban theory, specifically the production of space triad by Lefebvre (1991) and the right to the city.

1.2 Rationale and Significance of the Study

Globally, protest action and occupation movements have sprouted to contend unequal urban development and to claim the right to the city (Iveson, 2013; Mayer, 2016; Sheppard, et al., 2015). In South Africa, the rise in protest action has been linked to the disappointing performance of the democratic government. In fact, several social movements in South Africa have rallied their discontents around failures of the African National Congress (ANC) on delivery of the 1994 manifesto (Alexander, 2006; Bénit-Gbaffou, 2015; Greenberg, 2004; Pithouse, 2006, 2009). At its inception, the democratic state committed itself to redress past apartheid injustices. Evidence of this commitment is imbued in policy documents as the Reconstruction and Development Programme and the National Development Plan. Particularly, the need for socio-spatial integration is elaborately spelled out in the SPLUMA that flows from the national to the municipal level, including the spatial developmental frameworks. Though the City of Cape Town may not necessarily be an ANC stronghold, it abides by the same policies. Since 1996 the City of Cape Town (2018), in its Municipal Spatial Development Framework (MSDF), reiterates the need for socio-spatial integration with no significant allusions to the progress accomplished since then.

Cape Town remains one of the most unequal cities in the world owing to apartheid planning and neoliberal governance (Lemanski, 2007; McDonald, 2012; Miraftab, 2007; Seekings, 2011; Turok, 2013). The city is as enchanting as it is equally abhorrent. On one spectrum, there exists an inner city that is exquisite and picturesque with natural sceneries complemented by a blend of historic Dutch and Victorian architecture hosting an opulent social class synonymous with the White race. On the other, less thought-out architectural structures, few, or no scenic complements of nature host the disenchanting lives of the low-income working class in ever-increasing squalor that in part was systemically produced and reproduced in the fringes of the enchanting city centre.

In the recent years, South Africa has experienced a series of service delivery protests with housing backlogs being one of the rallying points, but overall, an expression of disappointment in the democratic government failures (Alexander, 2010; Mphole, 2012; Twala, 2014; Chiwarawara, 2021). Most of these protests have been localised, less ideological, and concerned with meeting immediate needs (Paret, 2009). However, I focus on Reclaim the City's (RTC) campaign to reclaim and deracialise Cape Town's inner city. RTC is an urban social movement that contravenes

the caveat of a just a local struggle. The slogan ‘land for people not for profit’ carries with it an ideological underpinning. Other studies have focused on service delivery protests, and occupations of land to agitate for Reconstruction for Development Programme housing (Alexander, 2010; Ngwenya & Cirolia, 2020; Pithouse, 2009; Twala, 2014). This study, on the other hand, focuses on urban squatting (using public buildings as housing) as means of reclaiming a city from the clutches of apartheid planning and the neoliberal governance and consequences like gentrification. Therefore, the study will illustrate how collective action and agency can circumvent hegemonic systemic structures like apartheid legacies, neoliberal governance, and ideology to re-configure urban spaces into more socially just functional spaces rather than abstract spaces of aesthetics and capital accumulation.

Using Lefebvre’s (1991) production of space triad and the right to the city which both form critical urban theory, I argue that urban movements with the support of other non-profit organisations are crucial to transforming apartheid era spatial patterns in Cape Town. The occupation of abandoned government buildings serves not only as a symbolic critique of the lack of affordable decent housing in prime urban land but also fulfils the real housing needs for a majority of the occupiers who would otherwise be homeless. The choice to occupy prime located state-owned urban land is a daring contest for housing against a series of public and private development instigated residential evictions in Woodstock and its environs and continued apartheid living conditions. The occupation of buildings on prime urban land though an act of civil disobedience and a manifestation of urban informality, not only challenges neoliberal urban rationales but are a form of space production for working classes where it would otherwise be impossible.

1.3 Historical Context

To fully grasp why there exists contestations for housing to reclaim and deracialize Cape Town’s inner city, the historical context is significant. The disenfranchisement and systemic disregard of people of colour in South Africa forms the backdrop or foundations for the housing crisis, particularly in Cape Town. This section delves into the historic formation of the city of Cape Town. The historical context is significant to this research as I apply critical urban theory in my analysis. Notably, critical urban theory requires a systemic analysis of history specific interconnections

between the process of urbanisation and capitalism, amongst other factors, that can explain uneven urban development and the contests against it.

Most historical accounts of Cape Town begin with the arrival of the Dutch through the Dutch East India Company known as *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (VOC) (Brodie, 2015; Worden, et al., 1998). However, prior to the arrival of the Dutch, the Khoi and San communities occupied the vast Cape land. The Khoi are documented to be semi-nomadic pastoralists and the San hunters and gatherers (Brodie, 2015). The VOC accounts of their settlement in the Cape highlights their initial purpose was never to settle but rather provide a replenishing point for their East Indies voyages (Worden, et al., 1998). However, in 1672 when a war broke out against the Dutch by the French and British, the Dutch laid claims on the Cape district that comprised of Table Bay, Hout Bay and Saldanha Bay claiming that they bought it for brandy, tobacco, and bread from Osingkhimathe, the leader of the Khoi group Goringhaiqua (South African History Online (SAHO, 2018). Therefore, the VOC committed itself to establishing a permanent settlement in the Cape that eventually grew into a town due to, among other factors, the slave trade that provided labour to build, farm, and exchange goods with passing ships (Brodie, 2015; Worden, et al., 1998).

The present city of Cape Town thus has a strong Dutch legacy owing to the settlement of VOC employees. Though VOC employees are assumed to be only of Dutch origin, the company had an eclectic mix of Europeans; some from Poland, some Germans and other Europeans seeking overseas fortunes (Worden, et al., 1998). The Cape has therefore had a legacy of diversity in terms of the different array of people it has hosted. Apart from the Khoi, San and Europeans, the Cape also became home to slaves from the Ceylon, Madagascar, Batavia, Mozambique, New Guinea and the East Indies (Worden, et al., 1998). The posterity of varied origins of slaves as well as descendants from inter-racial marriages brought forth what the apartheid government termed the coloured race that has been predominant in Cape Town (Western, 1996).

Slavery played a significant role in the growth of the city of Cape Town as their labour was crucial in the establishment of monuments like the Castle of Good Hope that was the administrative headquarters of the Cape colony (Olver, 2019; Worden, et al., 1998). In addition, land annexed from the Khoi and San was developed into permanent structures such as churches, hospitals, prisons, and houses that doubled as trading facilities or lodges, (Worden, et al., 1998). The

residential arrangement of poorer and wealthier residents of the growing town adjoined each other on the same block, owner-occupied and rented houses also stood next to each other along with shops, taverns, and prestigious town houses (Worden, et al., 1998). The smallness of the town made spatial distinctions impractical, but a type of vertical social segregation existed that ensured a type of social distance between slaves, masters, and trading area (Perner, 2019; Worden, et al., 1998). It is highlighted, however, that the toil of slaves built present day Cape Town (Olver, 2019; Worden, et al., 1998). When slavery became illegal, slaves were adopted as servants on minimum wage but hardly ever well enumerated and planned for. The lack of accurate enumeration of people of colour also forms the backdrop for systemic neglect by the government and the consequent housing crisis for this population group.

The urban housing crises for the Black poor in Cape Town is traceable to South Africa's historical accounts of the disenfranchisement of the ¹African, Coloured and Indian races through a mixture of processes that include conquest dispossession, intimidation, speculation, and a build-up of dispossession and segregation laws that culminated in apartheid legislation brutally enforcing forced removals. With the advent of democracy, an estimated 3.5 million had been displaced through apartheid and only 18 percent of the land was occupied by 80 percent of the population (Du Plessis, 2011; Karriem & Hoskins, 2016; SAHO, 2013). Notably, nearly 17000 legislative measures were used to alienate and control land allocation prior to the institution of democracy in South Africa (Du Plessis, 2013). The Natives Land Act (no.27) of 1913 became the tool for African land alienation and dispossession that restricted the majority African population to only 7 percent of land in the entire South Africa (Dooling, 2018; SAHO, 2016). By the time the 1913 Natives Land Act was passed, several events had already taken place particularly in the Cape that was building up into a housing crisis. In 1834, slavery was outlawed, and Dooling (2018) points out that in 1838 the final emancipation of slaves was followed by their mass exodus into the developing Cape Town. Further, unskilled labour required in the Table Bay docks was provided by former slaves, their descendants, refugees from the 1899-1902 South African War, and Africans from inward migration who all lived in the dock surrounding areas of present-day Woodstock, Salt River

¹ In this mini thesis, I use the terms "African", "Coloured", "Indian" and "White" to illustrate how these terms were used to segregate communities in South Africa, not because I agree with this racial categorisation.

and District 6 in overcrowded and deplorable conditions (Brodie, 2015; Dooling, 2018; Mabin, 2003).

In 1901, the outbreak of the bubonic plague served to highlight the presence of a growing Black and Coloured community in the Cape since they were most adversely affected by the plague due to poor living conditions, especially overcrowding (Brodie, 2015; Dooling, 2018). Africans living in the dock areas were then relegated and restricted to N'dabeni as a measure to address the unsanitary crowded conditions. Following the creation of N'dabeni, Ordinance 8 of 1905 was issued to restrict Africans from living outside their designated locations save for registered voters and domestic workers (Dooling, 2018). Despite these restrictions, immigration into the growing town coupled with natural population increase could not contain people in specific locations. In 1918, there was an outbreak of the Spanish flu and again African and Coloured communities living in the densely populated and overcrowded areas in District 6, Woodstock, Salt River and N'dabeni were the most adversely affected (Brodie, 2015). The hotspots of the outbreak became sources of civic indignation and the concerns for unsanitary living conditions, especially the fact that such hazardous areas were allowed next to White suburbs (Brodie, 2015). Thus, a basis for new housing schemes promising cleaner and better living conditions was established as well as an excuse to separate Cape Town's African and Coloured residents from areas with European residents (Brodie, 2015; Dooling, 2018). The fixation on the 'sanitation syndrome' as a justification for segregation and forced removals in Cape Town can thus be traced from these episodes.

The outbreak and spread of illnesses highlighted the need for housing that was further aggravated by the 1913 Natives Land Act which legitimised African land dispossession and alienation while seeking to cramp the dispossessed in African Reserve Lands. Rather than be contained in Reserve Lands, many Africans migrated to growing towns (Dooling, 2018). In Cape Town, the growing population of the Coloureds and Africans increased without plans for housing provision. It was only following the outbreak of diseases that the seemingly oblivious authorities took notice and started to make plans. In 1923 the Urban Areas Act was introduced attempting to contain African urbanization rather than provide housing for the growing population of migrants (Dooling, 2018). At first the Act sought to provide freehold rights to urban areas for the non-European population but was resisted and local authorities were empowered to allocate sites for African 'native villages'

or hostels where Africans working for the Whites would reside in often deplorable conditions (Dooling, 2018). Nevertheless, this legislation was ineffective in controlling African urban settlement in Cape Town. By 1936 nearly 40 percent of Cape Town's residential areas were considered mixed particularly in the Southern suburbs where 60,400 residents were listed as white and 62,100 as non-white (Brodie, 2015).

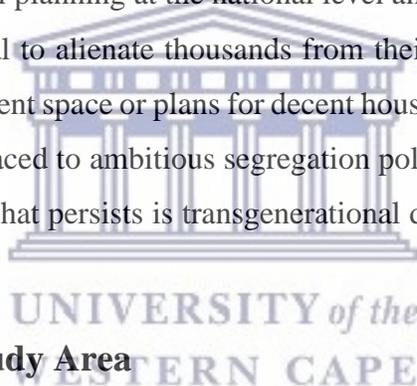
Bickford-Smith (1995) argues that Cape Town segregationist tradition needs to be approached from a nuanced stance. For instance, there existed an unusually good number of inter-racial couples and marriages before apartheid; additionally, there was a Cape liberal tradition that saw the ascendancy of non-whites to political positions and multi-racial interactions in public amenities. Moreover, where segregation did happen such as in prisons, and most churches and mission schools, it only occurred by default than by law and the main purpose was to assert white supremacy than segregate whites from all blacks. Nevertheless, it is exactly this need for class dominance and thus racial segregation that has continued to protect the class position of white people. Western (1996), however, argues that attributing de jure segregation to an organic process facilitated by culture and economy is fallacious since deliberate policy and indirect compulsion were the heavy hand directing segregation. Western (1996) is keen to point out that the Europeans ensured they maintained dominance through ordinances to contain other races. The Africans were designated to native areas after land dispossession, the Asian posed an economic threat hence were contained through limiting their areas of operation (SAHO, 2021). Apartheid only solidified existing segregationist policies in a rather brutal way.

The idea of apartheid and group areas was to secure the dominant position of the white race that was at threat due to being outnumbered by other races (Western, 1996). The major legislation in enforcing apartheid was the Group Areas Act (GAA). Like other colonialist expansion legislation, on paper it promised improved living conditions for all, but it served to restrict and control the rights and movements of non-white races (Western, 1996). The GAA and land control laws made prime locations exclusive only for the white race and the rest for each of the non-white races. In 1950, forced removals were legalised and implemented to control inter-racial immovable property transactions and occupations (SAHO, 2021). Notably some areas did not fall under the GAA hence

referred to as ‘controlled’ areas where property transactions and changes in property occupation were subject to government permits (Garside, 1994; SAHO, 2021).

Woodstock, a neighbourhood adjacent to the Cape Town city centre, was largely a controlled area. Upper Woodstock was resident to mostly affluent white racial groups and Lower Woodstock had more of a racial mix of working classes (Garside, 1994). Following the practice in controlled areas, housing permits were issued to many coloured people passing for white depending on the leaning on their skin pigmentation and the issuing officers’ discretion (Garside, 1994). Likewise, fair coloured children could attend white exclusive schools. Hence, a semblance of racial tolerance could be said to have existed.

Overall, the alienation from well-located urban housing through a build-up of processes culminating in forced removals is significant to understanding the experiences of African and Coloured people in the Cape Town housing crisis. While the housing crisis has multiple causes, at the core of it is the lack of central planning at the national level and neglect at the municipal level (Dooling, 2018). It was irrational to alienate thousands from their native lands and in the urban space and still not provide sufficient space or plans for decent housing. The housing crisis in South Africa and Cape Town can be traced to ambitious segregation policies that never delivered to the non-white race. Consequently, what persists is transgenerational disenfranchisement of people of colour.



1.4 Delineation of Case Study Area

Woodstock is an inner-city suburb in Cape Town. It is located between the slopes of Devils Peak Mountain and the Table Bay docks. It is 2.5 kilometres East of the central business district and 2.4 kilometres Eastward of District 6. It is also 1.5 kilometres West of Salt River. It is one of Cape Town’s oldest neighbourhood with a rich multi-ethnic history that has in recent years undergone significant changes and produced development casualties. During apartheid, it remained a controlled area hence it has had an eclectic racial mix and inter racial residents such as the Greek, Portuguese, French, Jewish people, Malay, as well as African and Coloured residents (Garside, 1994).

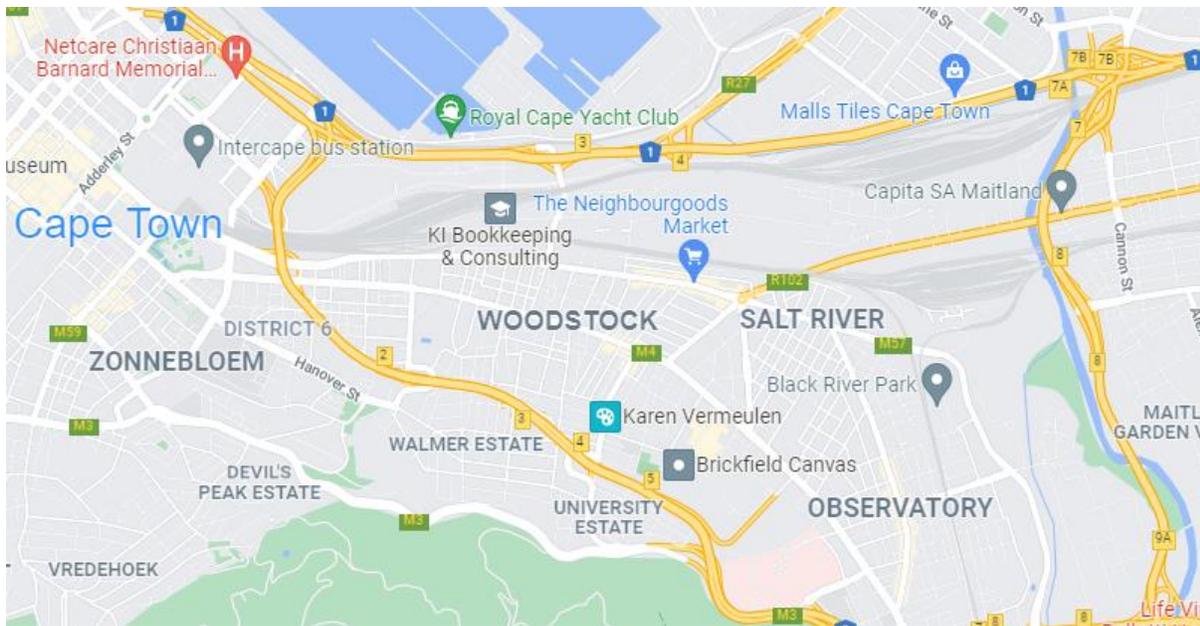


Figure 1.1 Google Map of Woodstock and surrounding areas.

Towards the end of apartheid and beyond, Woodstock has undergone a series of transformations with gentrification being the highlight of its urban reformation (Garside, 1993; Visser & Kotze, 2008). Former residents of Woodstock gentrified areas have relentlessly fought for their right to stay in the inner city pending and following evictions with subsequent resettlement in Wolwerivier and Blikkesdorp, 30 kilometres away from the inner city (Pather, 2016; Strauss, 2017).

The initial occupations by RTC are in two very prime urban locations. The first one and the focus of this study is the former Woodstock Hospital dubbed Cissie Gool House (CGH), which is located along Mountain Road in Woodstock. It is the largest RTC occupation with nearly 1000 occupiers. CGH is named after Zainunnisa “Cissie” Gool, a woman of precedence in her time; an educated woman of colour and at the forefront of opposing segregation policies of apartheid even while serving as the first female black member of the Cape Town city council (SAHO, 2011). The second is the former Helen Bowden Nurses Home dubbed Ahmed Kathrada House (AKH). AKH is located on the corner of Beach Road and Granger Bay Boulevard, Green Point. This location not only borders the V& A Waterfront and the Cape Town stadium, (where 2010 World Cup games were played) it is also near a first world bus terminus offering a first world systemised transport.

1.5 Problem Statement

Despite the passage of over two decades since the end of apartheid, South Africa is still characterized by the imprints of spatial injustices of the past. The City of Cape Town continues to be one of the most polarised cities in the world (Turok, 2013). There exists a blatant dichotomy of an affluent inner city contrasted with a periphery characterized by poverty. The Western Cape government and the City of Cape Town has, for the most part, failed to realise spatial integration in the inner city despite its series of plans and reports towards socio-spatial integration (Turok, 2001; Turok, 2013; City of Cape Town, 2018). The advances towards the status of a world class city, urban regeneration, and the implementation of City Improvement Districts (CIDs) policies exclude the poor majority from affordable housing in the inner-city (Lemanski, 2007; Miraftab, 2007; Turok, 2013). Inner city housing for the working poor is a fundamental prerequisite. This would significantly reduce high transport costs to work as well as enhance the overall proximity to state facilities and social amenities. Unfortunately, living in the inner city is not a viable option for the working poor going by prevailing house market prices and the lack of decent affordable housing in the inner city. Despite these structural barriers into the inner city, RTC occupations pose a significant contestation in a bid to break through political and economic barriers that enhance the exclusivity of housing in the inner city. While several occupations have been done in Brazil as well as in other cities of South Africa, inner-city occupations of derelict public buildings by RTC in Cape Town have broken the convention of occupations that are usually in the fringes of the city. Unlike individuals as well as movements in South Africa that continue to occupy peripheral urban land for housing and advance service delivery protests in the fringes, RTC advances its claim to the city right at the centre of economic, political and social opportunities. This directly contests capitalist urbanisation processes where it is most significant and relevant enough to stir the status quo, The exclusivity of Cape Town's inner city; traditionally for the white middle class is being challenged at its crux in the affluent inner-city neighbourhood through the RTC housing occupations as they agitate for formalisation. The research will thus seek to understand the strategies that RTC employs to transform the inner city to gain access to affordable decent housing in prime urban locations.

1.5.1 Research Questions

Who compose the membership of RTC?

What are the personal motivations of RTC members that drive their participation in struggles for housing?

What mobilization and organisational strategies does the RTC employ to gain access to housing?

How does the RTC's building occupations help to deracialise Cape Town's inner city?

1.5.2 Aims and Objectives of the Study

The overall objective of this study is to understand the role that urban movements play in the transformation of urban spaces. Specifically, this study will:

- Investigate the demographic features of the occupiers
- Understand and explain why individuals would opt to participate in housing occupations
- Evaluate whether the organisational strategies of RTC are useful in making inner city housing accessible to the working class
- Investigate whether RTC occupations counter apartheid racial housing patterns
- Evaluate the Western Cape government measures towards socio-spatial integration

1.6 Research Outline

This study is divided into 6 related chapters. Each chapter builds on the previous one in a coherent flow.

Chapter 1 introduces the study by providing a background and historical contextualisation as well as the specific case study area and the research problem, questions, aim and objectives. Chapter 1 is significant as it provides a blueprint of the entire study by outlining what the research is about, its significance and how it is organised.

Chapter 2 is a presentation of the literature review on urban informality, urban movements and the underlying factors explaining rise in occupation urban movements. The literature review is

wide, delving into urban informality and urban movements across the globe and rounds up at urban informality and urban movements in South Africa.

Chapter 3 delves into the theoretical framework that is pivotal to the data analysis and thus an important basis for the research. Key concepts used in the analysis are explained in detail in this chapter.

Chapter 4 is an outline of the research design and methodology of the study. This chapter outlines how I went about conducting the research. I employ the use of qualitative methods approach and also apply simple descriptive statistics.

Chapter 5 is a presentation of the research findings, the analysis and discussion of the findings. Here, the introduction, literature review and theory chapters coalesce together with the empirical findings.

Chapter 6 is a reflection of the entire study and provides some recommendations and final remarks.



Chapter 2 Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to review literature relevant to urban spaces and its contestations. The urban terrain is pertinent to this review because 68 percent of the world's population is projected to live in urban areas by 2050; and 90 percent of this urbanisation is estimated to take place in Africa and in Asia (UN DESA, 2018). The developing world is thus at the centre stage of global urban expansion. Nevertheless, this urbanisation process occurs in a highly contested terrain whereby urban movements sprout out in contest to the formal urbanisation process. Much of this urban growth is characterised by high levels of informality especially regarding housing. Many people live in informal settlements that are most times illegal, not serviced and even perilous. Rocco and van Ballegooijen (2019) argue that most developing countries are young democracies still grappling to integrate millions of its citizens to the formal political, social, and economic structures. Consequently, many are excluded from these formal systems, and this is reflected in the built environment, particularly in cities where informality is most visible.

The focus of this literature review is the intersection of urban governance and urban informality as a contestation particularly through occupations for housing settlement. Urban governance is reviewed from the neoliberal logics of private property rights and the market as the basis of policy decision. This research applies critical urban theory in the analysis. Hence a historical review of the urbanisation process and its connection to capitalism is drawn in meeting the requirements of critical urban theory. A historical review of this interconnection is also drawn for the specific case study area in the introduction chapter. The contestation through occupations is reviewed as a form of urban informality drawing from the Global North, Global South and my case study country, South Africa. The review of occupation movements focuses on their mobilization strategies and how they counter neoliberal urban governance. Notably a clear distinction is drawn apart from short-term occupations contesting systemic issues, occupations of peripheral urban land and building occupations by urban movements.

Specifically, the underlying logics of neoliberalism continue to inform the urbanisation process in South Africa. In the post-apartheid era, very little has been achieved in integrating South Africa's divided cities. There continues to be a high degree of urban polarities between the wealthy and the

poor. In Cape Town, this polarity besides being defined by wealth is also defined by race (McDonald, 2012). Like other cities in South Africa, the City of Cape Town experienced a brutal urbanisation process through forced removals of Black² people from well-located areas through the Group Areas Act (GAA), a law brutally enforced to socially engineer society along racial lines and spatially segregated races during the apartheid reign (Dooling, 2018; Olver, 2018; Western, 1996). Post-apartheid, when there were great hopes for socio-spatial integration, neoliberal policies continue to marginalise the urban poor thus sparking off contestations for well-located urban areas particularly through urban squatting.

This review shows that neoliberalism is the dominant political economic structure through which societal relations occur. These relations are mostly commodified due to their underlying structure. In urban areas, this commodification has been challenged through squatter movements. In developing countries, urban and rural squatting or occupations continues to be the way for the urban and rural poor to access housing and land. In the South African context, struggles for housing continue to be pursued on the urban fringes. However, Reclaim the City (RTC) in the City of Cape Town has advanced housing struggles right into the city centre's abandoned buildings and not just land. Most studies focus on occupations on the periphery, but this study focuses on occupations in the inner city. This is a novel approach to housing struggles in South Africa and the literature gap that informs this study

In commencing the review, section 2.2 provides a definition of terms critical to this review. Section 2.3 focuses on a historical review of the interconnections of the urbanisation process and capitalism is drawn out as well as the residential arrangements in these historic periods. In section 2.4 the transformation of urban governance from managerial type to entrepreneurial type that operates under neoliberal logic is reviewed. Section 2.5 is tied to section 2.4 and delves into the political economic arrangements of a neoliberal city. The contestations to the formations a neoliberal city are reviewed through the upspring of protest actions in section 2.6. Section 2.7 is a review of squatting as a form of the urban contestation beginning from the developed countries to the developing ones. In section 2.8 the formal urbanisation process in South Africa is reviewed

² Henceforth, the term Black is used to imply all other races except the White. This is necessary as 'non-white' is politically incorrect and implies that other races are defined through the lens of another.

since the inception of the democratic republic as well as the contestations towards it. Finally, section 2.9 provides the concluding remarks for the chapter.

2.2 Definition of terms

2.2.1 Urban Terrain

The urban terrain is a concept ordinarily utilized in military literature to imply built-up areas. This implies the concentration of significant nodes of strategic opportunities, be it economic, infrastructural, political, or social that are perilous owing to their characterization (Gerwehr & Glenn, 2000). This military definition also captures the concept to be discussed in this review. The urban terrain in this review borrows from the military definition only detracting peril and instead replacing this with freedom and accessibility that make it ardently contested between interest groups that seek either to capture or assert themselves amid strategic sites. This concept is used in this study as it is the area of focus for the study. This military definition is suitable just as military troops operate in various terrains for attack or defence, so do urban movements operate in the urban terrain to defend and establish their right to the city and create spaces of counter hegemony through unconventional actions.

2.2.2 Right to the city

This concept is aptly captured by Harvey (2010) who states that the right to the city supersedes, private property rights and the individual rights advanced through neoliberal logics and governance. The right to the city is a collective right to the city requiring collective power in shaping the process of urbanisation (Harvey, 2010). Marcuse (2009) terms the right to the city a demand for social justice that cannot be claimed by individuals or corporations having an upper hand in power. The right to the city is the right to a new city away from state and capitalist dictatorship (Purcell, 2013). The right to the city is significant in this study since urban movements actions of occupying buildings for housing purposes advance this right by circumventing neoliberal logics and capitalist urbanisation processes. The movements reviewed in this study as well as the researched movement are in pursuit of the right to the city whether by design or default.

2.2.3 Neoliberalism

Conventionally, the understanding of neoliberalism is likened to liberty and freedoms. Hence, at face value, the concept carries a positive connotation that is endearing to liberty supporters. However, neoliberalism is a hegemonic political economic ideology that has evolved in a capitalist mode of production. Harvey (2007), Monbiot (2006), and Ong (2006) all agree that the concept encompasses minimal state intervention in the overall management of the economy and all aspects that relate to enabling a free-market economy to thrive. As Moody (1997: 119-120) states, neoliberalism is:

“... a mixture of neoclassical economic fundamentalism, market regulation in place of state guidance, economic redistribution in favour of capital (known as supply-side economics), moral authoritarianism with an idealized family as its centre, international free-trade principles (sometimes inconsistently applied), and a thorough intolerance for trade unionism”.

Neoliberalism is pertinent to this research as it forms the basis for the urbanisation process and urban governance. Ultimately, the rise and struggles of urban movements counter neoliberalism. Campaigns against privatization, struggles for housing and resisting evictions culminate to counter neoliberalism.



2.2.4 Commodification

In simple terms, this concept denotes the conversion of value of any aspect of life from its *use value* (being able to meet the need it is intended for) to *exchange value* (the rate at which it can earn with or without due consideration for its use) (Springer, 2018). In a Marxist perspective, all human interactions are reduced to economic transactions. Life is reduced to what one can afford, implying that inequity becomes an embedded characterization of society. Commodification is tied to this study as most urban movements have sprung up in resistance to this process. In this study, housing/shelter which is a basic human need continues to be commodified and elusive to many working-class people with moderate to low incomes. This process is evidenced in the city of Cape Town where the state has played a role in commodifying property that can be used to provide housing to people that would otherwise not afford to have housing in the city centre.

2.3 Urban terrain and its transformation

It cannot be overemphasised that the future of the globe will be predominantly urban particularly for the developing world whose population was primarily rural in the recent past. The forecast on the developing world is not novel as urban terrains have historically followed a similar growth trajectory though with specific contextual differences. It is therefore important to understand how urban centres came into existence and how they have transformed over time in particular relation to housing.

Cities are the epicentres of urban terrains. The consensus on the debut of urban life or cities rests on the surplus production in the agrarian revolution that enabled a new form of social organisation whereby non-farming classes of people such as the governing class, religious class and merchants were able to appropriate themselves part of the farm produce without having to be in the farm and still be economically productive (Davis, 1955; Thorns, 2017). Thus, settled agricultural production was significant in the rise of pre-industrial cities such as Mesopotamia and Ur that had fertile soils to yield surplus production that could cater not only to subsistence needs but also supply merchants, administrative governors, and the city at large (Davis, 1955; Thorns, 2017). These pre-industrial cities overtime evolved not only to significant centres of trade and fortification but to outstanding economic, cultural, and political centres; on all accounts prior to the ramification of the nation-state, cities were the most significant geopolitical zones (Thorns, 2017).

Sjoberg (1960) and Vance (1971) provide descriptions on urban residential patterns that have often been referenced in providing recent historic reference to urban living. Sjoberg (1960) argues that pre-industrial urban residential patterns were characterised by rigid social segregation whereby the elite lived in the centre of the city for non-materialistic attractions such as ceremonial, religious, educational, administrative, and political activities. On the other hand, those with a lower social class, poor and powerless lived on the periphery of the city and in medieval Europe outside the city gates (Sjoberg 1960). In contrast, Vance (1971) asserts that in the medieval city, land ownership was functional providing a place to practice trade, house family, novices, and help. Given that land was held in guilds and not owned, residence was based on occupation rather than social status; thus, medieval urban residences were characterised not only by social class mix but

also functional mixed use (Langton 1975; Mumford, 1961; Vance, 1971). Essentially, Sjoberg (1960) describes the pre-industrial city as having a horizontal type of social segregation (Perner, 2019) which is based on geographical distancing while Vance (1971) describes a vertical social segregation based on social status where the attics and basements sheltered the help and apprentices and the family quarters tucked in between.

Vance (1971) argues that the morphology of the city was drastically transformed once urban land became a source of income. The move of the urban land assignment from guild holding to ownership implied that the social function of land transformed to an economic one as capitalism and industrialization was being ushered in (Vance 1971). Vance (1971) posits that the maximum economic value that could be gained from urban land meant renting out urban space for commercial purposes. The eventuality of this transformation was that the city centre now hosted commercial entities and less of residents and those who were wealthy moved to the periphery of the city where they could afford to buy and build family property and in between resided the working classes (Vance 1971). Most notably, Sjoberg (1960) and Vance (1971) works are ideal typologies that shade hints into the urban arrangements prior the industrial Revolution. This understanding of residential patterns at the beginning of the urbanisation process is significant in the application of critical urban theory that must evaluate historic interconnections between the urbanisation process and capitalism. Throughout this paper, an examination of history specific interconnections of the urbanisation process and capitalism is drawn out.

Capitalism came into existence prior the industrial revolution and coupled with advancement in technology, was a key ingredient to the industrial take off and the growth of urban centres. The most outstanding spatial process of the nineteenth and early twentieth century was urbanisation at least for the industrializing world (Thorns, 2017). Unfortunately, urban housing, as anchored in Engel's writings on the living conditions of the industrial age paint a grim picture. The residential districts of workers are pointed out to be the closest to the centre while the wealthiest lived in the outskirts of the centre in villa-like houses adorned with gardens (Langton, 1975; Thorn, 2002). The industrial city living conditions had a clear dichotomy of the wealthy who lived in splendour

while the poor lived in squalor; cramped streets, shared toilets with open sewers and contaminated water that often-caused disease (Thorns, 2017).

Marx's work on capitalism provides the foundational ground for the works of Engels in describing the living conditions of the urban masses who were the exploited workers as early as 1845. However, Fordism (between 1940-1960) required that mass produced goods get consumed, thus the pay for workers increased to enable demand for goods and thus profit (Thorns, 2017). In this period of the industrial revolution and modernity, the living conditions for those living in urban areas greatly improved alongside the rise of the public health movement

In the 21st century, urban terrains are centres for the servicing and financing of international trade, investment and headquarter operations (Clark, 1996; Knox & Taylor, 1995; Sassen 1996). This is also reflected in Harvey (1989; 2012) who points out that urban centres are important nodes of surplus capital absorption despite his critique of this formation and its consequences for a just city. Notable, however, is the plurality of urban literature that critiques the formation of global cities, citadels or megacities that expand concurrently with social polarisation characterised by sharp wealth and poverty inequalities (Connolly and Steil, 2009; Brenner, et al., 2012; Lemanski, 2007; McGranahan, et al., 2016; Marcuse, 2009; Mayer, 2012; Roy, 2009). Specifically, Connolly and Steil (2009) note that urbanisation comes with a host of unprecedented consequences for an unjust city. They highlight violence, insecurity, poverty, and the bold physical expressions of unequal access to various types of capital: cultural, economic, political and social that are underpinned in the interwoven divisions of categories of class, race and gender.

On one hand, it is undeniable that capital perpetuates urbanisation and thrives in its own creation (global cities), and on the other hand, there exists what Harvey (2007), drawing on Joseph Schumpeter (1942), terms 'creative destruction' underpinned in neoliberal capital expansion. Schumpeter (1942) describes the capitalist mode of production to be like an organism that incessantly mutates, revolutionising the economic structure from within, incessantly destroying the old one, and incessantly creating a new one powered by new methods of production, new goods, new consumers, and new forms of industrial organisation. Notwithstanding, Sassen (2003)

points to the fact that under the Keynesian national welfare system, the state mediated over the market processes of capital accumulation and social reproduction that occurred primarily in the urban terrain.

In terms of 21st century residential patterns, Davis (2006) states that the North American city can be described as donut shaped where the poor are concentrated in the derelict cores and inner suburbs while in Europe 'saucer' city the immigrants and unemployed are cast ashore in high rise buildings on the urban outskirts while in developing cities the urban poor orbit around different geographies with the most common concentrations being on low-rise peripheries. Thus, the urban terrain has evolved over different periods of time which can be marked by transformations in socio-economic and political structures and ideals (Langton, 1975; Thorn, 2002; also, see Brenner, 2012 on the five stages of capitalism crises). Throughout the evolution of the urban society in general, the means of production, technology involved, and the social structure have been critical determinants of the residential patterns of urban dwellers. The evolution of the society's social structure, economic organisation as well as governance approaches have been key in the organisation of urban living.

In the next section, the governance of the urban terrain enriches further the transformations in the urban sphere. While the pre-industrial as well as industrial urban terrains have been discussed in terms of their coming to being and the residential arrangements of the time, the governance approach of the urban terrain will be discussed from the period of Fordism in which urban life had transitioned from desperation and squalor for majority of the working class. Gaffikin and Warf (1993) show that in the United States and United Kingdom, the welfare state provided urban dwellers with developmental programmes from housing to employment, among others. The social welfare state can thus be seen as one that provided a type of urban space that preferred addressing the material needs of urban populations. Urban spaces were governed to meet the needs of its populations in terms of housing, employment, and collective consumption goods. The current urban terrain has abstract uses of spaces that will be discussed in the section of neoliberal cities. However, it is important to first delve into the transformation of urban governance from managerialism to entrepreneurialism.

2.4 From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism

Urban governance has been reviewed from different perspectives. Healey (2004) has considered the dynamics of urban governance and creativity. Pierre (1999) provides four levels of urban governance: managerial, corporatist, pro-growth, and welfare governance. On the other hand, da Cruz, et al. (2019) point out a consensus in the way urban governance is evaluated in that there's a clear understanding of the move from government to governance and from managerial to entrepreneurial. This section shows a shift in urban governance from managerial that is premised on the local government resolving collective needs and interests through service production and delivery (Pierre,1999) to entrepreneurial governance. The latter leans more towards local development and employment growth through ensuring investment incentives and attractions than service production and delivery (Harvey, 1989).

The wave of urbanisation follows a logical expansion in the aggregate demand for public goods and services such as water, electricity, infrastructure, and housing in proportion to the growing population pressure. Harvey (1989) notes that traditionally, urban governance was concerned with meeting the above stated needs of urban populations, a view also shared by Sassen (2003). Harvey (1989) terms this concern, a managerialism approach to urban governance. The restructuring of the urban terrain away from managerialism coincided with the end of the golden years of Keynesian planning (Harvey 1989; Jessop; 2000). Gaffikin and Warf (1993) demonstrate that a conglomeration of factors from rising oil prices, stagflation, rising interest rates as well as Third World debt, floating exchange rates, recession, among others, meant that the West could no longer support full employment and a welfare state. Managerial governance thus became highly underfunded, opened for scrutiny and critique (Harvey, 1989). Thus, from this perspective, entrepreneurial governance was inevitable with a great shift in governance handled from the national level shifting to local authorities that had to be innovative in the funding of municipal activities (Jessop, 1997).

The economic concerns of the time leading to an entrepreneurial approach have been described by Jessop (1997) as constructs of selective narratives on the most plausible solutions to the governance of cities. However, Brenner and Theodore (2002) highlight that the state and other forms of governance were merely operating under the site of regulation in 'actually existing

neoliberalism' whereby capital operates either in a moment of creation or a moment of destruction. Thus, in the era of managerialism, 'actually existing' neoliberalism operated in the moment of creation rather than destruction.

Entrepreneurial cities are terrains for innovative strategies that enhance its economic competitiveness against other cities; moreover, they have policies formulated to pursue entrepreneurial operations and market themselves as such (Jessop & Sum, 2000). Opportunities to make profit while having a competitive edge over other cities is a pursuit of entrepreneurial cities. Cultural revitalization and creativity led economic and urban development policies are adopted as strategies to enhance the city as an outstanding brand as well as improve the global image (Mayer, 2013). The local dynamic subcultures such as squats, diverse groups of creatives and self-managed social centres function as attractive sites in entrepreneurial cities; cultural capital is transformed into economic capital as economic gains are derived from these sites (Colomb, 2012; Owen, 2008).

Entrepreneurial cities operate from a top-down approach that seek to affirm a consideration for international appeal over local concerns (Davis, 2006; Roy, 2009; Shatkin, 2014). Davis, Roy and Shatkin elaborate and illustrate this through the various urban planning and spatial governance decisions, governments in developing nations apply with deeply entrenched international influences overriding local concerns. Elsewhere, Owen (2002), through an empirical study of Sydney's planning for the 2000 Olympics, highlights that legislation and policy on city development switched to a national posture with local government merely expected to approve what was already established in pursuit of entrepreneurial benefits that were hinged on attracting more capital. Essentially, the evolution of entrepreneurial urbanism has translated to the gradual withdrawal of state expenditure from urban governance, thus relegating this role to private developers and businesses. Thus, the political economy of the urban terrain is characterised by neoliberalism discussed in the next section.

2.5 Neoliberal cities

Political economic contextualization is imperative in highlighting the casting of neoliberalism. The transformation to an entrepreneurial urban governance approach has been captured through the failures of Keynesian economics amongst other factors. However, deeply entrenched postures of neoliberal approaches to governance are well described in the simple terms of Reaganomics and

Thatcherism (Gaffikin & Warf, 1993). Reaganomics and Thatcherism aptly capture how Neoliberalism masquerades as an ideal of free markets free from state interference; yet, in practice, coercive often disciplinary forms of state intervention imposing market rules in all aspects of social life are advanced (Brenner & Theodore, 2002). Essentially, Reaganomics and Thatcherism are synonymous with the restoration of wealth and income back to the upper fraction of the ruling class (Duménil & Lévy, 2011) through state coercion, particularly with the dismantling of collective bargaining power of workers. Piketty (2014) also alludes to this assertion based on empirical data on the market value of tradeable assets in Europe and the United States of America from the 18th century to illustrate the unprecedented concentration of wealth in only 1 percent of the world's population even terming the 21st century as comparable to the Belle Époque. In neoliberalism, trade unions are the basis for market distortions. This then implies that majority of urban dwellers by virtue of transformations of political economic structures are rendered helpless with unemployment no longer being an economic failure but rather the inevitable outcome of the progress of productivity (Gaffikin & Warf, 1993). Inequality is thus “recast as virtuous, a reward for utility and a generator of wealth that trickles down to enrich everyone” (Monbiot, 2016:2).

Brenner and Theodore (2002) argue that neoliberal political practice generates market failures, new forms of social polarization and a conspicuous upsurge of uneven development in all spatial scales. In fact, Chapin (2002) postulates that, urban governance has shifted beyond entrepreneurialism to capitalism. The basis of his argument is anchored on the empirical evidence of San Diego municipality's pursuit of return on investment as opposed to development-oriented approach in city development. Overall, the move to entrepreneurial governance of the urban terrain is well captured in the concept of neoliberal cities. Brenner, et al. (2012) refer to the works of Harvey (1976), Lefebvre (1968) and Castells (1977) in as far as premising urban terrains or cities as sites of commodification where they offer strategic sites for the production, circulation, and consumption of commodities. Moreover, these strategic sites in themselves are also commodified in terms of land use, infrastructural networks, and overall governance.

The hyper commodification of the urban terrain and the various spaces therein is a global phenomenon from the Global North to the Global South. Urban spaces have evolved into industries that thrive on state aided speculative property trade as well tax cuts and fiscal incentives to attract

capital (Harvey, 2012; Smith, 2002). Abstract spaces, “represented by elite social groups as homogeneous, instrumental and ahistorical in order to facilitate the exercise of state power and free flow of capital” (McCann, 1999:164), are continually being reproduced in the urban terrain through state facilitation. Harvey (2012) points to luxurious consumerism in London and Manhattan where the cities are sites of aesthetics only affordable to the extremely wealthy yet laboured on by those who cannot afford to live therein.

The continued reservation of prime locations for specific population groups as well as violent evictions, particularly in the global South, to assert capital is discussed at length by Davis (2006), Harvey (2012), Roy (2009), Shatkin (2014), and Schmid (2012). The terms urban innovation centres are the basis to extend massive tax cuts and incentives to lure in capital or otherwise contain already thriving capitalist ‘innovations’ (Roy, 2009; Smith, 2002). Most states particularly where there is power and wealth crystallization (amalgamation of political power and wealthy capitalist interests), they have persistently asserted their position as a sympathiser of capital interests over the majority usually poor citizens. The austerity measures applied by city governments, especially, significant revising down on subsidised housing, education, health care and social services expenditures following of the global economic crises of 2008 (Peck, 2012; Tonkiss, 2013) serve to reiterate state leaning towards capital over people juxtaposed on the massive bailouts to financial capital. Against such state abandonment and the continued move away from welfare concerns, contestations in the urban terrain have taken various forms that are reviewed in the next section.

2.6 Urban Contestations

The adaptation of neoliberal formulations and organisation in cities make the urban terrain an ardently contested site. In fact, even prior to the consideration of neoliberal cities, Lefebvre (1991) terms the city a site of contestation for shaping and reshaping of spaces. Power struggles are thus unavoidable in such contestations. Sheppard, et al. (2015) describe contestations in urban spaces as taking on three vectors. The first, they describe as revolutions from above which characterise the neoliberal postures that shape cities as sites of capital accumulation and reproduction of surplus commodities particularly in developing countries, thus enforcing colonial planning modes and fashioning cities after the West. The second are revolutions from below which constitute subverting urban spaces for subaltern purposes. And the third encapsulates the conceptual

revolution that takes the form of alternative theory to envisioning arrangement of urban spaces. Iveson (2013) notes that these power struggles involve resource mobilization around capital, property rights, planning codes, spatial designs, law, policing techniques, technologies, education, socialization, and labour.

Evidently the contestations on the urban terrain take on many postures. Nevertheless, the formation of urban terrains as sites of capital accumulation and surplus consumption ultimately condenses the contests as mobilising against neoliberalism or in support of it. In the early 1980s, Castells (1983) observed significant trends in urban protests of the 1960s. He notes that while the contexts varied, the underpinning themes rested on an articulation for urban reform and alternative cities. This is against the backdrop of the new international and inter-regional spatial division of labour and the rising importance for collective consumption goods despite their unprofitability to private capital and a search for spatial meaningfulness. Despite capital having resourceful muscles in contesting for urban space, Castells (1978) shows that urban dwellers remain relevant in the urban terrain contests through majority strength. In this Castells shows that in 1975 Italy as well as in Japan, leftist political parties gained majority seats due to, among other factors, leaning towards urban protests and for prioritising urban concerns of the collective. Shatkin (2014) also shows that in India the contests for urban spaces usually take on a political posture that most times favours poorly resourced majority urban dwellers on basis of numerical strength and the state's rhetoric of grassroots empowerment in a post Marxist and Gandhian political premise. Interestingly, in places like France and the United States, Castells highlights political cleavages of struggles between the business classes operating on speculative land uses and the urban movements pushing for use value of urban land and spaces.

While political cleavages appear inevitable, Asef Bayat (2012) notes that the creation of neoliberal cities births double dialectics of “inside-outing” and “enclosure” and particularly so in Egypt. He expounds that subaltern populations in neoliberal cities are compelled to live, subsist, and operate on public spaces since neoliberal logics actually deepens and expands the informalisation of ‘lifeworlds’ whose key feature is outdoor life. The articulation of subaltern use of urban spaces was demonstrated through the anti-austerity movements following the 2008 economic crises. The Occupy Wall Street movement in New York as well as the Indignados of Spain asserted their

significance in protesting neoliberalism that alienated people for capital gains (Castells, 2012; Hickel, 2013; Sheppard, et al., 2015). In the case of Brazil, Rolnik (2011) highlights that urban reform social movements asserted their dominance through the 1988 Constitution with the insertion of articles 182 and 183 which reaffirmed the social function (or use value) of the city and property as well as the recognition and integration of informal settlements into the city. However, constitutional tenets that thereafter asserted the social function of cities and property management, have over the years been ardently contested by powerful elites, including businesses, family oligarchies, and landowners well represented in congress. Additionally, Caldeira and Holston (2015) reiterate the work of Rolnik in Brazil, particularly in the case of participatory urban planning, with specific reference to the Master Plan that also became captive to elite interests.

Significant contestations in the urban terrain in Sub Saharan Africa as well as in India have mainly been in indirect resistance to top-down approaches flowing from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (WB). The debt crises for the developing nations in the 1970s translated to austerity measures dictated by the IMF and WB. Thus, sporadic waves of protests over consequences on social welfare detractors and imposition of neoliberalism followed (Walton & Ragin, 1990). Following this political economic transformation, the urban terrain posture adopted neoliberal formations. Roy (2009) and Shatkin (2011) have shown that the push for transformation of Indian urban spaces is directly linked to policy recommendation on planning from the IMF and World Bank. Essentially this translates to evictions and expropriations for capital's creative destruction.

More daring contestations for urban spaces has been in the form of converting the use of urban space to meet material needs or to address a cause through squatting. Activists squatting usually seek to pull down political economic structures that deprive the working-class poor of assets like land and housing. In fact, Watts (2017) points out that the squatting of long-standing derelict buildings in the urban space reignite the debate on whether urban development should only be focused on gentrification or be an opportunity to provide housing for the poor.

2.7 Squatting Contestations

Squatting is one of the most audacious contests from below in the urban terrain. It is a term that has often been used to denote a type of urban informality. It involves setting up home/living or

using a dwelling owned by someone else without seeking permission or paying rent (Wates, 1980). It is thus illegal owing to lack of judicial tenure rights (though this is debatable in certain instances), it does not conform to urban norms and may occur in places lacking minimal services and infrastructure (Smolka & Biderman, 2011).

There exists a clear dichotomy of literature on urban squatting in the Global North and that in the Global South. While in both instances squatting is indeed termed a form of urban informality, it appears that the situation in the Global South is dire instigated out of poverty and outright housing deprivation while in the Global North, is an organised activity that seeks to subvert oppressive systemic political economic structures. Notably, squatting in Europe is a practice done as radical resistance to the ever-exclusive neoliberal city (Holm & Kuhn 2011; Lopez, 2013; Martínez, 2007; Pruijt, 2013; Lopez, 2018). On the other hand, squatting in the global South is associated with failures in formal institutions as well as pervasive poverty (Davis, 2006; Lim, 1987; Neuwirth, 2006; Rocco & van Ballegooijen, 2019; Roy, 2009).

Pruijt (2013) makes a distinction between squatting on vacant land and urban squatting to imply intended long-term living in a dwelling without the owner's consent on the latter. He proceeds further to distinguish the various types of urban squatting: deprivation based squatting done by poor people out of severe housing deprivation, political squatting done as an action against systemic politics, squatting as an alternative housing strategy, conservational squatting a tactic to preserve the urbanscape against efficiency driven planned transformations, and entrepreneurial squatting that makes use of opportunity by circumventing difficulties of bureaucracies and high rental and utility costs.

Even though the Global South is usually aligned with deprivation squatting, the Global North debut into squatting was out of housing deprivation. Since the 1960s, Britain has experienced deprivation squatting that was more pronounced between the 1970s and 1980s (Wates, 1980; Milligan, 2016). This type of squatting was not only common in Britain but in Germany, Netherlands, France, Italy, and parts of North America. In the 1960s the profile of squatters mainly composed of homeless families, ex-service men, young students with rising consciousness of the socio economic and political issues (Wates, 1980; Holm & Kuhn, 2011)

In the Global South the antecedents of squatting are usually discussed in the post-colonial state usually highlighting the failures of the state to absorb the majority of its citizens in the formal socio economic and political structures (Rocco & van Ballegooijen, 2019). Urban squatting as defined by Pruijt (2013), features less in the Global South literature. Instead, discussions revolve around squatting on land and setting up makeshift housing (Davis, 2006). Nevertheless, in developing countries, especially in Latin American cities, urban squatting and not just squatting has evolved to great extents with organised urban movements tackling the limits of the ever-exclusive neoliberal urban land market (Earle, 2012; Stevens, 2019). It should also be noted that Brazil has had an enduring organised landless movement (MST) from the rural areas that has set precedent for squatter movements (Karriem, 2005; Karriem, 2009a, 2009b; Karriem 2016; Suffla, Seedat, Karriem, 2010; Karriem and Benjamin, 2016).

The lasting enabling condition for urban squatting has been the existence of unoccupied buildings amid a shortage of affordable decent housing (Holm & Kuhn, 2011; Martínez, 2007; Wates, 1980). Neoliberal cities are often defined by such contradictions and urban squatting movements usually serve to assert a radical affront to these types of systemic malignancies. An outright ideal assertion of this type is in Paris where squatters settled outside an empty building right in front of the presidential palace (Squatting Europe Kollektive, 2013). Another contradiction is evidenced in Berlin where increased housing shortage was further exacerbated by evictions of apartment building which eventually ended up derelict, prompting their eventual occupation and renovation by squatters (Holm & Kuhn, 2011; Pugh, 2010).

Urban squatting movements have often been involved in struggles against gentrification, eviction, and multiple systems of oppression and as discussed above, housing deprivation (Martínez, 2019). Holm and Kuhn (2017) argue that state-led efforts of entrepreneurial urban governance as well as the co-optation of squatting movements and state-enabled market conditions bring about gentrification. On the other hand, the rehabilitation of run-down neighbourhoods by different types of squatters including the creatives and artists enhance the marketability of such areas attracting real estate developers and creative urban policies (Colomb, 2012).

It is also important to note that while urban squatter movements may form coalitions or networks with others, there are times when squatters' associations seek to remain autonomous to distinguish

themselves from others in terms of agenda and operational strategy. Holm and Kuhn (2011) note that the *Rehab Squatters*, composed mostly of students in Berlin, maintained autonomy from anarchist squatters to distinguish their operational strategy; the renovation of run-down buildings to make them liveable, highlight state negligence, and simultaneously legitimise civil disobedience. In fact, the *Rehab Squatters* have played a critical role in influencing the architecture in Berlin through the *International Building Exhibition* where squatters participated in showcasing alternative architecture as well as in countering building policies (Pugh, 2010).

In France, the *Jeudi Noir* (Black Thursday) usually composed of architects, students, artists as well as socio political elites maintain autonomy while pursuing the media logic as their operational strategy (Aguilera, 2013). The media logic seeks to ensure that much is publicised about the precarious living conditions of families and students that pay high rents for flats while at the same time showing living conditions in squats. The political elite form part of the members of these squatters and usually assist in negotiating with local authorities and police in any event. For instance, in an eviction attempt out of the squat, Aguilera (2013) highlights that a member of the National Assembly slept in front of the squat to block the police.

Urban squatting creates platforms for organising collective living arrangements, empowerment, creative expression, counter-cultural and political activity (Grazioli & Caciagli, 2018; López, 2013; Martínez, 2007). Collective living arrangement usually serves to meet housing needs. Empowerment usually involves affirming the choice of civil disobedience. Triumphant the dominant logic of private property rights supremacy involves a cognitive liberation that is attained through squatter collectives whereby people reimagine and live through countering hegemonic norms (Aguilera, 2013; Martínez, 2007; Pruijt, 2013). In terms of creative expression, Aguilera (2013) shows that squatting spaces in Paris, also served as artists' workshops this is juxtaposed with the city council's only six assigned workshops per year where artists must wait for more than thirty years to be assigned one.

Urban squats also serve as community social centres and also view as a type of urban commons that serve to bring together different activists, provide an information hub for anti-eviction and legal information (Grazioli & Caciagli, 2018; Mudu & Rossini, 2018). The urban commons can be linked with the typology of entrepreneurial squatting where Pruijt (2013) shows these types of

squats serve the community by providing a place for several activities such as recruiting activists, band practice, art gallery, day care, book and information shop, shelters for people living in distress, language training for migrants, give away shops, advisory centres among others. In Italy and Spain, Grazioli and Caciagli (2018) and Martínez (2007) show that social centre squats provide a space of exercising alternative politics. Participants and activists forge new alliances, create an autonomous space for non-institutional, horizontal mode of decision making and citizenship participation, protests, and self-management (López, 2013; Martínez, 2020). Further, Mudu & Rossini (2018) highlight that the formation of social centres is highly reliant on collective action and cooperative work style alternate from the regular employment contract.

The multiple functions of urban squats highlight that while they in fact provide the crucial need of shelter, their activities and general make up are highly political (Grazioli & Caciagli, 2018; López, 2013; Milligan, 2016; Mudu & Rossini, 2018; Pruijt, 2013). In the same breath, short-term occupation or squatting is a highly political affair still contesting systemic oppressive structures. Mayer (2016) argues that the recent capitalism crisis was a process that built over time following the devastating effects of the neoliberal policies of the 1980s that fundamentally affected housing benefits through application of austerity measures that privatised social housing stock among other factors.

Inspired by the Arab Spring revolution, several occupy movements rose to contend for destruction of accumulation by dispossession. The lasting effects of these occupations were their political impact. Abellán, et al. (2012) show that the #hotelmadrid occupation that lasted for 50 days was an important political experiment in three ways. First, the occupation significantly increased participatory attitudes in the prevailing framework of democratic rights. Second, it stirred the rise of non-institutional political participation procedures focusing on economic and moral questions. Third, it reconfigured the emergence of new networks that were otherwise fragmented minority groups with counter hegemonic struggles. These outcomes are similar to other political squatting or occupation activities; the horizontal decision-making framework in particular resonates even with the Arab spring uprising as well as the Occupy Wall Street uprising (Bayat, 2013; Bayat, 2017; Calhoun, 2013; Castells, 2012).

Castells (1977) asserts that, even in defeat, social movements leave an enduring impact on countering dominant ideals. This view is ingrained in the outcome of the occupy uprisings that caused citizens who participated across the globe to question the existing dominant political economic systems as well as even attempting an alternative as they carried out their own engagements (Abellán, et al., 2012; Bayat, 2013; Calhoun 2013; Castells, 2012; Hickel, 2012). While this assertion is well supported through the various processes and outcomes that shaped these squatting uprisings, the latter have faced sharp criticism for failing to topple over the status quo.

Elsewhere, the occupy activities have been viewed to lean towards a moment rather than a movement due to their short-lived lifespan and the lack of concatenation of its networks (Gitlin, 2013). The quick winding up of the Occupy Wall Street squat, without having tangible institutional change nor a continuity, is attributed to the in-fighting of a leaderless network with variant approaches to tackling the diverse crises of diverse groups of people some of whom even choose not to recognise the existing institutions they were agitating against (Roberts, 2012; Gitlin, 2013). In essence, enduring squatting activities counter existing systemic structures through the stayed counter logic while simultaneously raising consciousness of alternatives. On the other hand, sporadic short-lived squats serve to draw attention to failings of systems only when the failures are at optimum. Unfortunately, the brief reaction through short-lived occupations cannot topple over long existing systems through only a moment in time.

Informality in the Global North particularly through urban squatting is not unique to that space only. Developing nations have also risen to contend the polarising effects of neoliberal urbanism through various avenues, even urban squatting (following Pruijt, 2013) particularly in Latin America. Though urban squatting as earlier discussed may not be as prominent, other forms of squatting and urban organisations continue to advance the contest from below. Often this type of squatting involves land occupation, self-constructed housing and unavailable or sub-standard servicing (Lombard, 2014). The literature on squatting in the developing world is often approached from an economic perspective (Brueckner & Selod, 2009; Jimenez, 1984; Shrestha, 2013) usually offering solutions to this urban anomaly through neoliberal inclined structures of securing private land ownership and tenure as would give incentive to build lasting desirable housing structures.

On the other hand, there exists literature that romanticises the life of squatters highlighting their resilience, adoption of diverse survival strategy and the sense of community usually absent in gated communities (Lombard, 2014; Neuwirth, 2006). The other strand of literature investigates the organisation and limitations of squatting communities in a bid to either negotiate or use radical approaches to seek recognition, legitimation and access to formal systems (De Wit, 1989; van de Linden, 1989)

Basu (1988) argues that the increased demand in urban housing has not been matched with housing investment; in fact, in India the proportion of the national income spent in housing investment has been on a steady decline. Mpofu (2012) opines that the national government and the Bulawayo city council's in failure to provide low-income housing or serviced land and raw materials for low-income housing hence their shortage has been the basis for squatting. The various explanations around shortage or unavailability of housing for the low-income population group usually revolves around lack of deliberate planning and investment for this population group. The underlying logic can in part be attributed to austerity measures particularly enforced in developing countries shortly after independence through international financial institutions that have served to enforce poverty than avert it (Davis, 2006; Walton & Ragin, 1990). Thus, squatting continues to be a defining feature of cities in the Global South.

Archetypal squatting in the Global South has been in the periphery of low value urban centres or marginal locations like marshland, hillsides, floodplains, or contaminated brown fields (Davis, 2006; Neuwirth, 2006). Often, the state has dealt brutally with squatters through bulldozing off their tenements no sooner than when built and often leaving squatters worse off (Pithouse, 1996; Tekin, 1993). Thus, most of these peripheral urban lands are squatted on overnight and by dawn, a new urban community is established only until state machinery oust them or so-called owners come demanding for rent ruthlessly (Davis, 2006). While fundamentally squatting is done out of housing deprivation, Bayat (1997) argues that it is also engaged as an offensive attack on the state, capitalising on prospective legitimation in times of political elections, revolution, or natural disaster. Thus, the life of the squatter oscillates between precarious living pending sudden eviction or legitimation pending political patronage or lack of alternative in the case of a natural disasters.

The resilience of Third World squatters is undeterred. These communities contend to stay afloat despite harsh circumstances. While van de Linden (1989) highlights the internal struggles of squatter organisations coupled with external co-optation, there has been a remarkable effort to organise squatter communities in the Global South. Shack Dwellers International (SDI) is a formidable organisation for informal urban dwellers of developing countries. The organisation primarily supports local struggles of the urban poor through capacity building, seeding precedent setting projects as well as engaging the formal state and market institutions to stir up changes (Bolnick, 2016). An outstanding methodology to assert the significance of the urban poor as well as prevent eviction and state abandonment has been the community led enumeration of themselves (Farouk & Owusu, 2012; Patel, et al., 2012). The usual practice has been to under report on the poor particularly in Asia and Latin America (Davis, 2006) hence making them insignificant and lost in obscurity. In Old Fadama, an informal settlement in Accra, Ghana, the community conducted consecutive enumerations providing robust data of the community in the settlement highlighting among others economic livelihoods. This activity was not only an avenue of community empowerment but also an effective tool to engage the city government and a leverage for negotiating participatory relocations as opposed to evictions (Farouk & Owusu, 2012). Unlike sporadic squatter moments like Occupy Wall Street or anarchist urban squatting, squatters in developing countries affiliated with SDI form part of the grassroots communities that have member representation at the SDI board. SDI has a hierarchical structure that applies both reformist and radical approaches in validating the right to the city for the poor (Patel, et al., 2012).

In all major Latin American cities, organised contestations for housing have prevailed since the 1970s (Gilbert, 1994). Organised urban squatting, following Pruijt (2013), is still an enduring feature of the Brazilian cityscape. Earle (2012) applies the term transgressive citizenship in highlighting the Alliance for Housing Movements seeking state legitimising the constitutional right to housing through the occupation of abandoned inner city buildings. Stevens (2019) shows that in the 1970s, occupation of buildings was triggered by exorbitant rents in less than miserable tenements termed *Cortiços* (literally translated to mean beehives). Women were at the forefront of these occupation activities backed by the popular liberation theology and the rising consciousness over oppression through education. The city of Sao Paulo alone as of 2017 had a total of 80 organised squats (Watts, 2017). In the Brazilian case, there currently exists a number of inner-city

occupation movements most of whom have borrowed their tactical operations from the Landless Movement (MST) (Stevens, 2019).

While context varies, there exists a great similarity of the Brazilian squatter organisations with those in Europe. Many squatting organisations in Brazil are political, avidly pursuing the right to the city. Stevens (2019) highlights that it is not out of practice for housing movements to form alliances with more politically inclined outfits then employ revolutionist and reformist tactics simultaneously through rudimentary division of labour to have their pursuits met. Adaptation of collaboration-contestation strategies are seen through negotiation with the state or through coercion of the state by making squatters omnipresent in the city (Earle, 2009; Stevens, 2019). Ultimately, Brazil inner city squatters not only provide themselves with shelter but serve to bring to light the existence and plight of low-income households ever obscured by more profit-making ventures of urban regeneration and world class city pursuits (Levy, 2010). The scale of urban contestations has been reviewed from a western perspective as well as in the developing states perspective. It will now be of importance to delve especially into South Africa's urban terrain and the contestations therein.

2.8 South Africa Urban Configurations

Global events in the transformation of political economic structures to neoliberal formations have also impacted on South Africa. Bond (2005) notes that the African National Congress (ANC) transitioned into an already highly neoliberal state apparatus that was democratised to commercial deregulation, trade and financial liberalisation and the demobilisation of mass movements that coincided with the Thatcherist wave. Bond (2005) further notes that this translated to interurban entrepreneurial competition aimed at investment attraction at the cost of budget cutbacks of up to 85%, thus impacting negatively on service delivery to low-income residents. Additionally, the South African reform process on housing rights was directed towards the expansion of private land ownership without racial reconciliation and development of suitable land use rights (van der Walt, 1992).

Despite an entrenched neoliberal operation logic, the government has been committed to providing housing as a corrective measure to the injustices of apartheid under the Reconstruction and

Development Programme (RDP). However, Crankshaw and Parnell (1996) argue that the RDP focused primarily on redressing racial injustices of apartheid without countering its underlying logic, thus implementing the redress within the blueprint of apartheid. They show that the apartheid regime aimed to curb African urbanisation and perpetuate migrant labour. Hence the ANC plans to build houses under the RDP framework for Africans who mostly lived in rural slums, informal remote settlement camps, displaced urban settlements and hostels in colonially framed spaces, ultimately enhanced state funded imprints of apartheid. This view is also shared by Turok (2013) who acknowledges that RDP implementation contradicts the 1994 Housing White Paper and the 1997 Housing Act reiteration of government commitment to the establishment of economically and socially viable integrated cities with unrestrained access to the urban terrain.

Even when the state has endeavoured to integrate urban populations as in the case of Gauteng through the Rapid Land Development Programme (RLDP) in the late 1990s (Bremner, 2000) as well as in Ethebalethu where Berrisford, et al. (2008) show the effort was defeated through a multiplicity of neoliberal contestations against a community with little capital muscle. While the state has pursued integrated urbanism at least in policy documents, Berrisford (2011) points to the constitutional protection of private property rights that restricts the state from informing the terms of property utility. Turok (2013) also shows that an overhaul on the spatial planning in South Africa is a rather arduous task that is held back by what he calls inertia; the inherent inbuilt setting whereby the durability of fixed capital investment and high cost of property transaction inhibits the rapid transformation of the legacy of apartheid spatial planning.

Lemanski (2009) shows that government efforts to make low-income households homeowners instead creates a class of cash poor homeowners who have to subsist from backyard dwellers. In addition, the RDP houses are too small to house extended families of poor households who resort to constructing backyard shelters. Thus, another type of housing informality is created in formal settlements. Further, Pithouse (2009) highlights the state-built houses are also sites where informality is advanced even more as the houses are too small, built with cheap material and have substandard infrastructure. Although the RDP, as a broad development guide, was not underlined by neoliberal logics, the implementation frameworks have taken on fiscal discipline logics. Bond

and Tait (1997) show that the RDP housing infrastructure framework overemphasized the high capital costs of providing higher quality service and infrastructure and neglected the additional benefits; public health, environmental and macro-economic multipliers that would accrue from greater investment. Thus, considerations for recurring operational and maintenance costs of electricity, water and sanitation were not factored in (Bond & Tait, 1997). The RDP housing policy has metamorphosed over time particularly on the implementation procedure that has seen an influx of market-oriented ideas watering down the intents of the ANC promises. While the critique of RDP housing continues, the fact persists that the South African government has distributed the largest number of housings to the poor.

However, the distribution of housing by the state has not been at pace with the growing demand neither is it projected that the state will ever be able to supply all poor urban dwellers with housing through this approach. Huchzermeyer (2003) highlights that following the end of apartheid, majority of South African citizens have had an entitlement to the right to housing at least as stipulated by the constitution. However, she also notes how the judiciary has manoeuvred around ensuring investor confidence is maintained on highs at the stake of the poor when these rights are demanded through judicial processes. In addition, the right to prime located urban housing is also tied to land rights that are constitutionally protected through private property laws (Huchzermeyer, 2003; van der Walt, 1992). South Africa being a developing state where much of the urbanisation process is expected to keep on growing, the pace of policy and delivery is yet to catch up with the growing urban population. The great bulk of this urban population are poor masses who have resorted to mass land occupations to gain access to urban dwelling. In response, municipalities use repression, political patronage relations or moving people to temporary relocation areas (TRAs) thus instituting a new form of housing distribution with the latter (Levenson, 2017; Ahmed, et al., 2022).

Notably, the concerns of the urban poor had been expressed prior to the failures of “*A Better Life for All*”. An uprising of the urban poor began during the apartheid’s regime in the form of rent and rates boycotts as a response to the under-resourced and underserviced overcrowded deplorable living quarters of the poor Black communities (Goodland, 1996; Royston, 1998; Naidoo, 2007). Other forms of resistance were against forced removals from neighbourhoods such as Cato Manor

in Durban as well as urban land invasions in white designated areas as Hillbrow on the edge of Johannesburg core (Goodlad, 1996). In fact, the rise of the apartheid liberation movement is in part traced to urban uprisings against the apartheid state's failure to deliver services to the urban poor (Goodlad, 1996; Mitlin & Molagadi, 2013; Naidoo, 2007). Unfortunately, the government that came to power with full support of the poor masses soon adopted to neoliberal logics of business in service delivery warranting the poor to be the state's clients or business consumers through payment for public consumption goods and services and applying the bare minimum standards in supply when it was evident the poor could not afford it (Naidoo, 2007).

It should be noted that the urban housing crisis was orchestrated in the apartheid regime. The lack of affordable decent housing for the urban poor of South Africa has its antiquity in apartheid urban containment policies that resulted in overcrowded and sub-serviced townships and informal settlements in the urban fringes (Brodie, 2015; Dooling, 2018; Lemanski, 2009). Lauren Royston (1998) shows that often Black communities were allocated limited land. She points to a spatial plan in Witwatersrand that projected the need for a total 14, 200 hectares of urban land to house Black communities in 1986 yet only 3500 hectares was procured. The outcome of sparing land allocation to the Black people made land occupations inevitable. However, the apartheid state pulled down shacks no sooner than when they were erected and proceeded to evict the land invaders before they could make their occupation a home (Goodlad, 1996; Royston, 1998). Urbanisation for Black people thus took place under brutal containment that eventually busted out uncontained in democratic South Africa. Notwithstanding, in democratic South Africa, state and private owners have also dealt brutally with the urban poor through violent evictions of land occupiers and shack dwellers (Ramutsindela, 2002). The apartheid trend of settling Black communities in the fringes of the city centre in less valuable land that is rudimentary serviced continues even decades after apartheid. The land identified for building townships is usually insufficient leading to excessive overcrowding in the formal housing stock and thus births backyard dwellers (Royston, 1998). These conditions coupled with the waiting on government to deliver housing instigates urban land invasions. In essence, the government inadequacies in meeting housing needs of the growing urban population as well as the inability for the poor to house themselves through the formal housing market has been at the heart of urban land invasions.

The quiet encroachment of urban land by non-organised individuals or households in search of shelter like in other developing states is a defining feature of South Africa urbanisation. The context, however, is based on slow delivery of formal housing, natural population growth, rural to urban migration, rising land value, limited upward mobility for poor households as well as a sense of entitlement to urban land and housing with the end of apartheid and according to constitutional provision (Huchzermeyer, 2003; Ngwenya & Cirolia, 2020; Royston, 1998). Despite state promises to deliver housing and the sense of entitlement to have a house through the state, the majority of the urban poor in South Africa live precariously either in backyard shacks or makeshift housing on occupied land. Many of the informal urban settlers are usually in the government data base awaiting a *better life* to be delivered through a concrete structure (Huchzermeyer, 2003; Ndinda, 2009). Oldfield and Greyling (2015) explain that being on the government waiting list highlights the politics of finding shelter in the meanwhile as well as the contentious politics between state and citizen and the validation of citizenship after apartheid. Citing Bayat (2010), Oldfield and Greyling (2015) highlight that this type of waiting creates a non-movement politics of quiet encroachment that has functional as well as numerical significance. In essence, the urban poor can meet shelter needs in larger numbers through occupying land and at the same time display glaringly the exclusivity of the formal housing market.

On the other hand, informal settlements are also sites for movement organisation. Being on the waiting list while passively continuing with urban life is sometimes not an option. Land occupiers have often been accused by the state of seeking to jump the house waiting list or queue (Goodlad, 1996; Royston, 1998). Nevertheless, the waiting list creates a space for activism through organised land occupations that agitate for formalisation (Ngwenya & Cirolia, 2020). Several movements have sprung up from the informal settlements and others have sought membership from shack dwellers. The Landless Peoples' Movement of South Africa (LPM), for example, sprang out the failures of the willing buyer, willing seller land redistribution model and austerity policies on the poor (Greenberg, 2004). In addition, the movement seeks a reviewed model of land redistribution process that is not fundamentally tied to the market as well as secure tenure for all (Alexander, 2006; Greenberg, 2004;). Other South African urban movements include the Anti-Privatisation Movement, Coalition Against Water Privatisation, the Western Cape Anti-Eviction Campaign, and Abahlali baseMjondolo, amongst others. These movements articulations are ultimately tied to the

failures of ANC promises as stipulated in their 1994 manifesto for transformation (Alexander, 2006; Bénit-Gbaffou, 2015; Greenberg, 2004; Pithouse, 2006, 2009).

Resistance to forced removals and evictions, water and electricity cut-offs, call for sanitation services such as toilets, sewerage, regular garbage collection, amongst other demands, have been the rallying points for South Africa's urban movements. Underlying these resistances is the political betrayal from a government that promised 'a better life for all' that has involved into an antagonistic relationship with its citizens. Abahlali baseMjondolo (AbM) has been an important movement in the urban struggles. Apart from agitating against the state failures on the poor as well standing with members to resist evictions, the operations have been informed by black consciousness ideologies that has seen the movement also stand to condemn xenophobic attacks (Gibson, 2008; Gill, 2014). In addition, the horizontal structure of AbM has been central to escaping political patronage and have strong networks throughout the country. In contrast, other urban movements, while equally instigated by the state's failure, have been pursuant of specific courses such as land and tenure security, resisting payment for social services and evictions. Elsewhere, Mottiar (2013) and Paret (2018) have discussed public service delivery protests in the urban terrain as localised, immediate needs based, without ideology and tenacity as they pop-up and subside (Chiharawara, 2021).

Within the city of Cape Town, Ngwenya and Cirolia (2020) highlight the rationality conflict in the housing struggles between the state and urban land and building occupiers. They show that the government's approach to meeting housing deficits is often sabotaged and setback through land and building occupations. On the other hand, occupiers view their actions as bottom-up approaches to grasp their right to housing, basic services and as circumventing market failures. Notwithstanding, the history of social homogeneity in Cape Town's inner city that favours a privileged social class cannot be overlooked. The bleak history of apartheid that enforced the forceful removal of Black people from the inner city provided a structural foundation for the spatial contours in the city that perpetrate occupations. Miraftab (2012) argues that the present neoliberal governance of Cape Town municipality must be traced to the colonial era. In this, she highlights that three scopes of colonial governance and development of Cape Town that are closely resonated by the current City Improvement Districts: the "uneven urban development/redevelopment to

privilege the interest of the elite and global capital; political citizenship made contingent on property ownership and wealth to secure an exclusive urban development and governance; and use of discourse of sanitation and/or public safety to justify elitist urban development and governance” (Miraftab, 2012:298).

Ultimately, the peripheralization of squalor continues to be perpetuated by the state that has failed to integrate the growing urban population into strategic urban terrains while in rhetoric advocates for socio-spatially integrated cities. The establishment of City Improvement Districts (CID) in the 1990s through public private partnerships continue to place a tight grip of neoliberal configures of urban entrepreneurialism in South African cities which have been highly unintegrated since colonialism (Didier, et al., 2012; Samara, 2010) In fact, Samara (2010) argues that Cape Town’s Central City Improvement District (CCID), while entrenching neoliberal configures in the city, also advances post-apartheid segregation by securing the interests of property owners and affluent consumers thereby perpetuating racial segregation through its private security policing advances. Further, the sanitisation syndrome in the city of Cape Town persists with government daring efforts such as fining the homeless for sleeping on the city’s pavement (Evans, 2019).

Despite the concerted efforts by finance and real estate capital in the City of Cape Town to secure its space, agitations contesting for prime locations in the city of Cape Town have also been persistent in the form of occupations and public protests on the failure of the city to deliver an integrated city. While government action as evicting city residents from prime urban locations to auction its properties to the highest bidders or providing incentives to private developers continue to segregate its citizens, a concerted effort from the citizenry to assert itself in spaces that are well located for ease of access to jobs and overall use value of space has been relentless. Reclaim the City’s (RTC) slogan, ‘Land for people not for profit’, has boldly contested for the urban terrain through building occupations or urban squatting as Pruijt (2013) would put it. This type of urban squatting is novel in the city of Cape Town and South Africa. Urban occupations have usually been active on the peripheries of South Africa’s cities where shacks are constructed to provide homes. The urban movement occupied two abandoned public buildings situated in the heart of the

city following the sale of the Tafelberg school site which they anticipated to be developed into housing for low-income segregated citizens (Collins, 2017; GroundUp, 2017).

South Africa's urban literature is rich with the history of social spatial segregation, its present state sponsored persistence, and the interlocking gridlock of neoliberalism over redress to spatial injustices (Bond & Tait, 1997; Lemanski, 2007; Pithouse, 2009; Royston, 1998; Turok, 2013). There is also literature highlighting the efforts of the urban masses to pursuing their right to housing and decent living post-apartheid (Bénit-Gbaffou, 2015; Gibson, 2008; Huchzermeyer, 2003; Mottiar, 2013; Paret, 2018). Urban contests for housing have taken place in the fringes of the cities' core. However, the entrance of RTC into the urban contestation from below, through urban squatting in heart of Cape Town's city prime locations, introduces a novel approach to urban contestations for housing in Cape Town, South Africa. Further, urban squatting in prime locations of a city pursuant of global status confronts neoliberal urbanisation in its crux. These occupations also open room for reimagining urban spaces and its dwellers. Informed by this novel contestation approach, my study on RTC follows.

2.9 Conclusion

This chapter has commenced by highlighting the massive urban expansion expected in another three decades. Notably, this expansion will be based in Africa and in Asia. Unfortunately, the urbanisation process for the developing countries is characterised by high levels of informality. The urbanisation process has been seen to have advanced from capitalist expansion that had ideal types of residential patterns as elaborated through Sjoberg (1960) and Vance (1971). The formal urbanisation process has been reviewed highlighting neoliberal logics that advance commodification, profit making, private property rights and the market as the main actor in arbitrating the urbanisation process. This type of urban governance perpetuates high levels of inequality and social injustices across the globe. Subsequently, this urbanisation process has faced sharp criticism that have been expressed through protest action and urban movements of various types.

The concern of this study has focused on squatting movements that have occupied buildings in the city for housing purposes. There exist various motivations for squatting, but the key underlying factor has been the need for housing contrasted with empty unoccupied buildings. The review ends with the urbanisation process in South Africa since the end of apartheid. Like elsewhere in the world, the urbanisation process in South Africa has neoliberal imprints. Moreover, in South Africa, urbanisation is highly racialized such that Black communities have experienced systemic disenfranchisement that continues to be advanced through market logics. Notwithstanding, in the South African context, the state has played a significant role in meeting housing needs for low-income households through the provision of ready-made housing. Despite that, these houses continue to be built on the outskirts of the city centre further perpetuating social spatial segregation as an apartheid legacy.

Many of the urban contestations that have taken place in South Africa have been in the urban periphery of cities and usually involve the occupation of land. While the South African government has reiterated pursuits for social spatial integration through policy documents, it has not been realised in practise. Systemic neoliberal policies have ensured that decent housing for low-income households continues to be in the urban periphery. Given that many contestations against various facets of the urbanisation process have pursued short-term immediate needs, a glimpse into the RTC movement highlights that this urban movement is peculiar. Its slogan ‘Land for people not for profit’ connotes an ideological underlining. Further, movement members have occupied public building in prime urban locations in the centre of this city in pursuit of affordable decent housing. The lack of such kind of an urban movement in South Africa forms the basis for further study of urban contestations through RTC and in their pursuit to reclaim and deracialize Cape Town’s inner city.

Chapter 3. Theoretical Framework

3.1 Introduction

This study will utilise both the spatial triad and right to the city theoretical frameworks. This choice is informed by the interlinking of the production of space triad and the right to city theory that have basis in critical urban theory. A theoretical framework is a “structure that summarizes concepts and theories, which you develop from previously tested and published knowledge which you synthesize to help you have a theoretical background, or basis for your data analysis and interpretation of the meaning contained in your research data” (Kivunja, 2018: 46). A theoretical framework is important because it provides a scholarly basis for data analysis as well as a lens that magnifies the content in the data (Kivunja, 2018; Neuman, 2000). Essentially, a theoretical framework is pivotal to making the connections between the abstract and concrete elements evident in the data and is key in substantiating the arguments raised in the analysis (Kivunja, 2018). Notably this study utilizes the qualitative research method and some simple descriptive statistics. In a qualitative study, the theoretical framework enhances the credibility, transferability, confirmability, and dependability of the data (Kivunja, 2018).

The use of the production of space triad and the right to the city as the theoretical framework for this study brings to light the research topic that is based on urban contestations. These theoretical frameworks are premised on critical urban theory that disputes the condition of cities as the “expression of transhistorical laws of social organisation and economic efficiency” (Brenner, 2009: 198). Instead, critical urban theory views urban space as a highly pliable terrain; it is the means and outcome of specific relations of social power that is politically and ideologically negotiated as well as socially contested (Brenner, 2009). Critical urban theory is therefore antagonistic to existing urbanisation processes and maintains a more socially just and sustainable urbanisation is feasible. It is a critique of power, inequality, injustice, and exploitation within and among cities.

This chapter will provide elaborate details on the theoretical framework applied in this study and how Reclaim the City (RTC) actualize the praxis of this framework. Section 3.2 introduces the spatial triad following Henri Lefebvre’s (1991) production of space. The subsections in this section

give details of the three types of space (lived, conceived, and perceived) following Lefebvre (1991). Sub-section 3.2.4 shows how this triad has been applied across various studies and 3.2.5 shows how the triad is applicable in this research in terms of inner-city space contestation in Cape Town. In section 3.3 the right to the city theory is elaborated as postulated by several scholars. Subsection 3.3.1 highlights the application of the right to the city across various studies and 3.3.2 shows how the right to the city is applicable to this study. Finally, Section 3.4 offers the concluding remarks of the chapter.

3.2 The Production of space

The production of space is premised on Lefebvre's (1991) understanding that space cannot be merely interpreted as a physical natural state; rather, space is intricately tied up with social realities. He proceeds further to state that even nature is reduced to just a raw material out of which productive forces of a variety of social systems forge out their particular spaces (Lefebvre, 1991:31). Schmid (2008) notes that, according to Lefebvre, space and time do not exist universally, they are socially produced and can only be understood in the context of a specific society. "In this sense, space and time are not only relational but fundamentally historical. This calls for an analysis that would include the social constellations, power relations, and conflicts relevant in each situation" (Schmid 2008:29). Space is a contextual product of relations and history, on this basis, the conceptualisation of space in Cape Town and how it informs the contestations for urban spaces informs this study.

To decode the production of space, Schmid (2008:29) points to the triad of space in reference to Lefebvre's work which he describes as "three dialectically interconnected dimensions or processes" of production of space. These three dimensions are 'spatial practice' (perceived space), 'representations of space' (conceived space), and 'representational spaces' (lived space) (Lefebvre, 1991:33). Figure 3.1 depicts a diagrammatical illustration of these three dimensions.

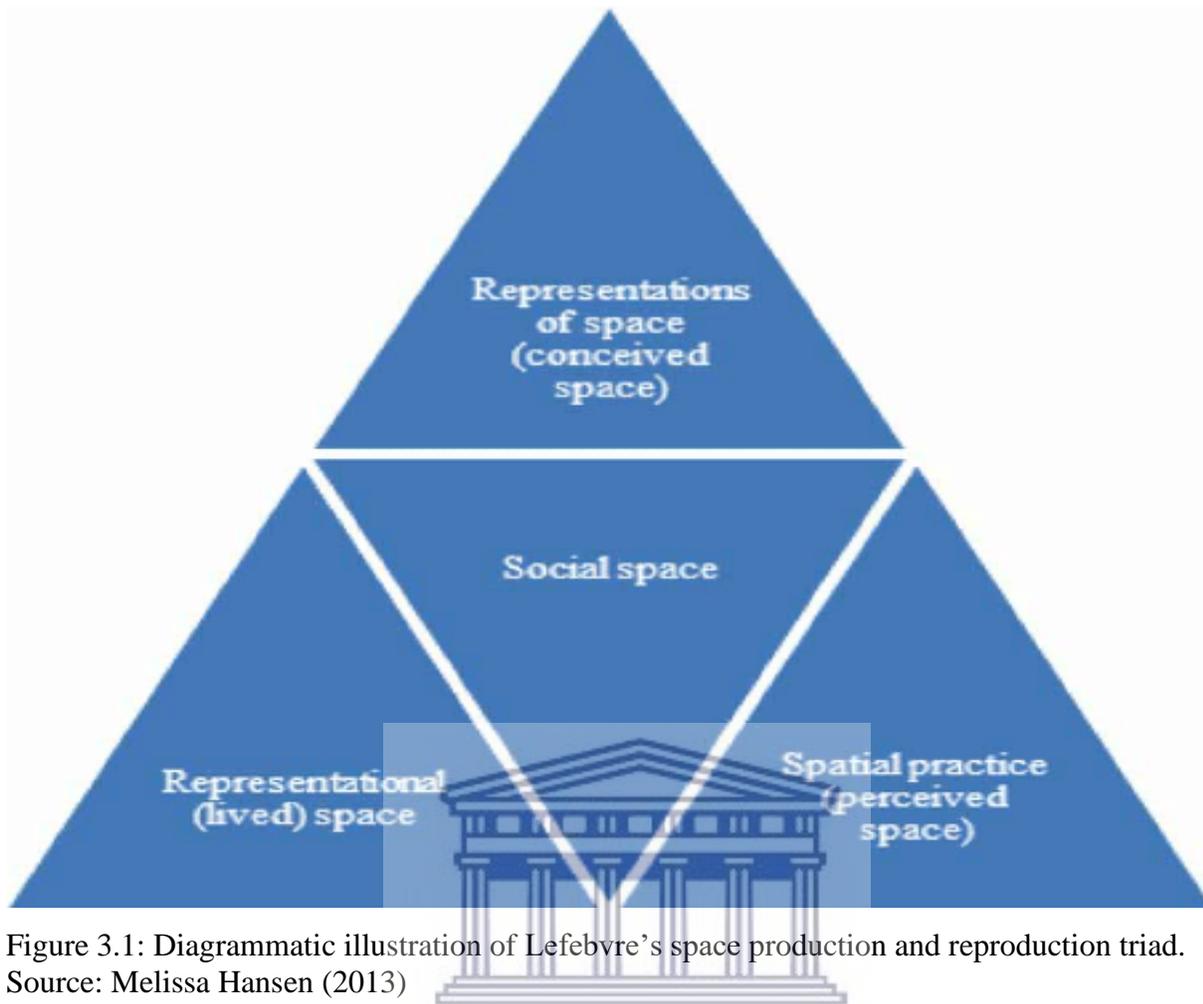


Figure 3.1: Diagrammatic illustration of Lefebvre's space production and reproduction triad.
Source: Melissa Hansen (2013)

Figure 3.1 illustrates a dialectical interaction between a society and that society's space. It shows how Lefebvre conceptualized three levels of social space analysis: the conceived space, the perceived space, and the lived space. First, Lefebvre argues that space is produced socially as a physical network of things and actions, perceived through the human senses, and then converted into practice (perceived space). For Lefebvre, space can also be created as mental constructions which are coded in concepts (conceived space). Finally, space can be constructed as a lived world of experiences (lived space). In his view, every society produces its own space, and the social production of space is fundamental to the reproduction of society. This concept suggests that space is a material product and the knowledge of it must be expected to reproduce and expand the process of production.

3.2.1 Spatial Practice/ Perceived space

This concept captures the idea of everyday life. In this sense, spatial practice encompasses the “production and reproduction and the particular location and the spatial sets characteristic of each social formation” (Lefebvre, 1991:33). The material spaces for occurrence of daily life which constitutes production and reproduction best describes spatial practice. It essentially captures the tangible aspects of life such as the shops, the workplaces, the streets and fences that provide the continuity and cohesion to the contextual social formations (Martin & Miller, 2003). Lefebvre (1991) notes that spatial practice requires a level of competence and performance on the individual as it constitutes each member of society’s relationship to the social space and hence the cohesion guarantees are dependent on the competence and performance of society’s members. The social space of every society is a product of spatial practice. Even though spatial practice has to have cohesion, it does not necessarily mean that it is coherent in terms of being intellectually worked out and logically conceived (Lefebvre, 1991).

3.2.2 Representations of Space/ Conceived space

Lefebvre (1991:33) highlights that representations of space “are tied to the relations of production and the ‘order’ which those relations impose and hence to knowledge, to signs, to codes and to ‘frontal’ relations”. According to Lefebvre (1991), it is the most dominant space in any society. It is the space through which social control and regulation is advanced (Merrifield, 1993). However, Martin and Miller (2003) argue that social control and regulation are applicable only when the production of space is guided by instrumental reasons; otherwise, conceived space may also be a utopian realm for different types of creativity when guided by emancipatory reasons. Overall, conceived space, according to Lefebvre (1991), is a space for urbanists, planners, social engineers and artists who identify the perceived and lived with what is conceived.

3.2.3 Representational Spaces/Lived space

This is space that captures the coexistence and interconnection of perceived and conceived space (Martin & Miller, 2003). It is the space of both inhabitants and users and is lived through its associated symbols and images (Lefebvre, 1991). Soja (1996:68 cited in Martin and Miller, 2003) asserts that lived spaces, given their material and symbolic experience, can be the “terrain for the generation of counter spaces, spaces of resistance to the dominant order”. In essence, lived spaces

give provision for alternative orders of tangible and symbolic space to be imagined and struggled over.

3.2.4 Application of the spatial triad across various studies

A large body of evidence exists to demonstrate the usefulness of Henri Lefebvre's theory of space production and reproduction to understand the history of settlement, urban planning and social movements (Bahauddin & Darmayanti, 2020; Ergin 2014; Ramalakshmi & Arulselvan 2020; Sarkar & Bardhan 2020). For example, Nezihe Başak Ergin (2014) applied the theory to analyse the post-2010 urban social movements in Turkey while examining the ways resistance occurred, their associated patterns, and dynamics with respect to urban transformation projects in the country. Ramalakshmi and Arulselvan (2020) also applied Lefebvre's theory of space production and reproduction to document spatial and communication practices of Chettiar women in India belonging to three different generations from three families and how their use of space in their ancestral homes have changed with time. Their study revealed that women who live in the ancestral home were able to relate to spatial norms within the domestic space whereas the younger generations women experience alienation. In Indonesia, Bahauddin and Darmayanti (2020) relied on Lefebvre's spatial triad to understand the concept of rebuilding space in Peranakan house in Lasem. The researchers discovered that the reproduction of space was created together with the production of social space which originated from changes in private to public activities.

Moreover, by exploring the efficacy of socio-spatiality and its linkages with socio-physical liveability using Lefebvre's theory, Sarkar and Bardhan (2020) were able to demonstrate the significance of socio-spatiality and suggested that environmentally sustainable rehabilitation of slums in India could help enhance the wellbeing and liveability among low-income group. Lefebvre's theory of the production and reproduction of space has also been used to understand the relation between rural community settlement and rural education. For instance, in the United States, Jason Cervone (2017) relied on Henri Lefebvre's concept of abstract space, to understand how rural communities are shaped and the role education plays in reproducing neoliberal ideology specifically through rural school consolidation. McCann (1999) applies the triad in the city of Lexington, Kentucky in the United States of America to highlight the racialized geographies of its cities that shape urban socio-spatial processes. Notably the production and preservation of

conceived safe public spaces in American cities is tied not only to the material urban space but fundamentally to racial identity (McCann, 1999).

The production of space following Lefebvre has also been applied across various studies that highlight the centrality of urban movements in the production of new urban spaces with varying political imaginaries (Asara & Kallis, 2022; Halvorsen, 2017; Halvorsen, et al., 2019; Kaika and Karaliotas, 2016). Asara and Kallis, 2022 use the production of space theory to understand why particular types of spaces were produced by the Indignados movement. For instance, they highlight the occupation of the Puerta del Sol square created counter spaces (micro-cosmos of imagination and creativity as termed by movement participants) that transformed everyday life.

Halvorsen (2017) on the other hand, while focusing on the Occupy London movement highlights the spatial dialects that shifted across conceived space, perceived and lived space both historically and geographically in the course of the movement's spatial praxis. Overall, the contradictions or spatial dialectics that emerged during the movement's spatial strategies, served to further develop new spatial strategies sometimes veering off the original goals. Kaika and Karaliotas (2016) allude to the works of Lefebvre by highlighting that occupy movements across Europe modified perceived space through staging dissent in these spaces and thus creating political spaces. Notably, they highlight the centrality of space in the process of questioning pre-existing hegemonic structures and how movements themselves provide these spaces for staging the alternatives.

All these studies point to the direction that Lefebvre's theory of space production and reproduction is suitable for analysing and understanding social movements as well as urban planning and settlement. Against this backdrop, this study relies on the theory to examine Cape Town's urban contestations.

3.2.5 Application of the spatial triad to Cape Town's Urban Contestations

The spatial triad has been expounded to the extent that it is useful to this study. Lefebvre (1991) notes that, if treated as an abstract model, perceived, conceived and lived triad loses all its force. The logical necessity of the triad rests on its interconnectedness such that an individual in a given social group may be able to move from the perceived, conceived and lived without confusion (Lefebvre, 1991). Thus, the conceptual triad provides a coherent whole of what an urban space ought to be and experienced. Given this assertion, and the current configuration of Cape Town's

inner city, this study seeks to uncover whether the coherent whole is lived in the inner city. If so, to what extent and if not, to what limitations.

While the idea of everyday life (spatial practice) must have a cohesion, Lefebvre (1991) points out that the ultimate foundation of social space is prohibition. Martin and Miller (2003) build on this by illustrating how the exclusion from occupation and use of property not owned is hinged on the effectiveness of private property as the basis for allocating and controlling resources. Given that space is produced and reproduced with the social context, the history and power relation of this conceptualisation is most relevant in the Global South given the contextual and historical frame of spatial relations. Strauss (2017) highlights the systemic actions undertaken during South Africa's colonialization to advance spatial segregation which became institutionalised through legislation. In the wake of a democratic regime, the opportunity and avenue for transformation of conceived space was opened. In fact, henceforth, policy documents as concern spatial configurations have been advanced towards inclusive spatial planning (City of Cape Town, 2018). The end of apartheid can be termed a kind of reproduction of society through change of social relations from segregation towards integration. Therefore, social space has had to be reconceived. As pertains to this study, Merrifield (1993) notes that conceived space relates to social control and regulation. Given instrumental motivations (Martin & Miller, 2003) under neoliberal configurations, the actualisation of conceived spaces as integrated spaces is highly undermined by the pursuit of profit and fashioning Cape Town to a world class city. The poor cannot afford to live in places where property values are high. The government is also hard pressed to actualise integrative policies into reality given how it conceives space.

However, the occupation of inner-city buildings in prime locations, sets the tone of reconceiving or reproducing space. Such spaces have been exclusive to only a certain class and lived through its associated images and symbols and passively (Lefebvre, 1991). Ideally, using this triad, Reclaim the City claims on the inner city are in certain ways transforming Cape Town's spatial triad. Should the occupations be formalised, Cape Town's conceptual triad would be fundamentally altered. Nonetheless, even if these occupations are not formalised, this triad will form a basis to interpret the spatial reconfigurations that would have been achieved or even tilted. The conceived space, when transformed, should likewise transform the perceived and lived space.

This triad is useful for the analysis of contentious policies as it recognises the material spatial dimensions of social life, the symbolic meaning of space and the imposition and resistance to dominant social spatial orders (Martin & Miller, 2003). In the case of Cape Town, inequality is inscribed in its landscape from palatial mountainside homes to downstream dilapidated temporary relocation areas and informal settlements. Martin and Miller (2003:147) further note that the triad, “recognises simultaneous yet potentially contradictory experiences of space” such as, for example, the landscape differences and inequalities, “in ways that abstract aspatial approaches cannot”. In summary, the dominant mode of production shapes spatial experience and space cannot be conceptualised outside social production and reproduction. Conclusively, Lefebvre (1991:365) notes that:

Socio-political contradictions are realised spatially. The contradictions of space thus make the contradictions of social relations operative. In other words, spatial contradictions 'express' conflicts between socio-political interests and forces; it is only in space that such conflicts come effectively into play, and in so doing they become contradictions of space.

This, then, informs the contestations for the urban terrain in the inner city of Cape Town. Lefebvre (1991) is clear that this contestation rests on space. In view of space as territory, Halvorsen, et al. (2019) assert that social movements create new institutions through territorialisation, deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation which is essentially the appropriation and control of space even when ardently contested. Additionally, the organisational praxis of a movement that sets up a squat plays a pivotal role in the territorialisation of the given space be it through political socialization, having a base for solidarity and the collective decisions and activities that take place in the given space (Karriem, 2009a; Karriem, 2013). Thus, RTC in Cape Town is challenging the production and reproduction of space through taking up territories. Hence this study will focus on how conceived space is being redefined and how perceived and lived spaces are reshaped through RTC housing occupations.

3.3 The Right to the City Theory

The right to the city theory is hinged on critical urban theory. Critical urban theory is antagonistic of exploitative, marginalising, unequal, unjust urban configurations. Brenner, et al. (2012: 179) provide the parameters that critical urban theory covers:

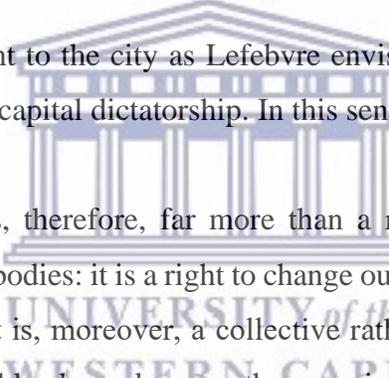
(a) to analyze the systemic, yet historically specific, intersections between capitalism and urbanization processes; (b) to examine the changing balance of social forces, power relations, sociospatial inequalities and political–institutional arrangements that shape, and are in turn shaped by, the evolution of capitalist urbanization; (c) to expose the marginalizations, exclusions and injustices (whether of class, ethnicity, ‘race’, gender, sexuality, nationality or otherwise) that are inscribed and naturalized within existing urban configurations; (d) to decipher the contradictions, crisis tendencies and lines of potential or actual conflict within contemporary cities, and on this basis, (e) to demarcate and to politicize the strategically essential possibilities for more progressive, socially just, emancipatory and sustainable formations of urban life.

Ultimately, the right to the city is a theory of resistance and revolution.

Critical urban theory has antecedents in Marx’s criticism of capitalism, Engels critique of the living conditions of the working class in Manchester, as well as the writings of Henri Lefebvre, Manuel Castells and David Harvey. These works highlight the centrality of the city as a site for production, circulation and consumption of commodities; its changing socio-spatial arrangements, governance systems and forms of socio-political conflict as well as the city itself being commodified in terms of land use, the built environment and overall infrastructural settings being aligned towards profit and further capital accumulation (Castells, 1978; Brenner, et al., 2012; Harvey, 2003; Lefebvre, 1991). Notably, these capital accumulation and profit-making arrangements are ardently contested amongst the ascendant, subordinate and marginalised social forces with unpredictable outcomes (Brenner, et al., 2012). Thus, urban space is a site of contestation, continually being shaped and reshaped by opposing social forces, one pursuant of exchange value (profit-making) and the other use value that is centred on everyday life (Brenner, et al., 2012).

Therefore, the right to the city encompasses pursuits towards the use-value of urban space in the most simplistic terms. Following Lefebvre, the human being is seen as the main protagonist of the city he has built, as such, the significance of the city should be to serve its inhabitants as opposed to further capital accumulation ventures (Mathivet, 2010). The right to the city encompasses having access and influence over the multiplicity of processes within the urban terrain. It is a demand and a cry to systemic changes that transforms the urban terrain from a site of commodification or exchange value to a site for use value (Harvey, 2003; Marcuse, 2009). Marcuse (2009:193) notes that it is “the right to a totality, a complexity in which each of the parts is part of a single whole to which the right is demanded”. Parts of this right may include the right to decent housing, clean air, sanitation, mobility, education and more. Marcuse (2009) further highlights that the right to the city far exceeds individual rights as it is a demand for social justice and, in the practical sense, corporations and individuals that have had the upper hand in power cannot claim this right.

Purcell (2013) notes that the right to the city as Lefebvre envisioned is a right to a new city as opposed to inclusion to state and capital dictatorship. In this sense, Harvey (2008:2) notes that:



[T]he right to the city is, therefore, far more than a right of individual access to the resources that the city embodies: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city more after our heart's desire. It is, moreover, a collective rather than an individual right since changing the city inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective power over the processes of urbanization. The freedom to make and remake ourselves and our cities is, I want to argue, one of the most precious yet most neglected of our human rights.

Within critical urban theory, the right to the city theory may be said to be a theory of revolution as it is critical of existing socio-political and economic arrangements of production and reproduction and thus seeks an overhaul in the production and reproduction of the city. Interestingly, the right to the city has been utilized across dissonant organisations in pursuit of divergent ends as though it is the needed panacea in the turn of rapid global urbanisation. The term is thus nebulous when scrutinized from a critical perspective as parallel ends (radical and reformist) are pursued using

the same slogan. On one end of the spectrum there exists pursuits that clamour for a revolution to arrive at social justice underlined by the right to the city while on the other end, the same concept is used to enhance and perpetuate the status quo.

3.3.1 Application of the Right to the City Across Studies

Within critical urban literature, the right to city is viewed as a theory of revolution and resistance as well as that of aspiration (Marcuse, 2009). The right to the city is a demand and cry by excluded social groups such as the poor, homeless, and persecuted and an aspiration for social groups that though integrated into the existing system, cannot realise their full potential such as the working class, small business people, the gentry, political aspirants and the intelligentsia (Marcuse, 2009). Domaradzka (2018) analyses the right to the city as a rally slogan for various types of grassroots activism in addressing the effects of globalisation and the neoliberal paradigm. In Central East Europe, various movements have employed the right to the city in contention to the deteriorating quality of life against thriving urban development based on hard infrastructure investment over social infrastructure (Domaradzka, 2018).

In Brazil, the right to the city has been an underpinning slogan for urban occupation mobilisations, participatory urban planning and as well as a legal frame adopted in the Brazilian 2001 City Statute following urban movements influences (Earle, 2012; Friendly, 2017; Freitas, 2019; Holston, 2009). In the case of north-eastern Brazilian city of Fortaleza, Freitas (2019) highlights the right to the city planning policies alongside neoliberal ideologies diffuses political gains of urban social movements. Nonetheless, the right to the city provides a platform for political confrontation particularly in blurry boundaries between the state and corporation interests even when urban development continues to marginalise informal urban settlers and those in the periphery (Freitas, 2019). Holston (2009) highlights the city as a site of forces in collision where exploitative and dispossession forces are combated through insurgent urban citizenship in laying claims to citizen power and social justice. In another instance, Earle (2012) analyses União de Movimentos de Moradia (Alliance of Housing Movements) drawing parallels from insurgent to transgressive citizenship as she views the challenges the housing movement poses to the state by calling on the state to legitimate occupations of abandoned buildings in the city centre to uphold the constitutional right to housing.

While the right to the city is traced within critical urban literature, it is also gaining momentum among the non-radical circuits like international organisations and non-radical urban movements. Domaradzka (2019) points to the Congress of Urban movements in Poland that is concerned with involving residents in decision making processes and addressing the quality of life of urban residents. In the international scene, various United Nations conferences on housing and urban development have invoked on the right to the city as a new paradigm through which to tackle the challenges associated with the rapid urbanisation (United Nations, 2017). The right to the city in this study is viewed as a different paradigm in addressing social exclusion, urban poverty, rapid urbanisation and challenges of human settlement and calls for action from all levels of government.

Notably, the right to the city's ascendancy to international ratification is traced to the 2005 World Charter on the Right to the City in Porto Alegre. The World Charter for the Right to the City is an instrument through which the public, social and private actors can coalesce to promote the legal recognition, regulation and practice of what the Charter terms a new human right (International Alliance of Inhabitants, 2005). The Charter highlights the right to the city to encompass the right to housing, access to food and water, association, leisure, culture, decent standard of living, information, privacy, security, health, education, participation and expression, among others. The idea of the World Charter is to provide a frame for lobbying of the adoption of the right to the city into policies and legislation that promote development of cities with social justice (Brown & Kristiansen, 2009).

3.3.2 Application of the Right to the City

The eclectic collection of 21st century social movements are converging at the articulation of denied rights. Specifically, the right to the city whether explicitly or implicitly has informed the basis for the organisation of urban social movements. The clamour for social justice in cities may be attributable to how cities are gradually reconfiguring into exclusive hubs for the wealthy, gentry and adventurous tourist (Marcuse, 2009) juxtaposed with squalor and precarious livelihoods in the fringes of the city. Notably, the right to the city embodies broader issues revolving around ideology, alienation and everyday life (Lefebvre, 2003). However, different urban movements across the globe have used the slogan to pursue social justice that encompasses a part of what the right to the city entails. In this case, RTC is pursuant of housing with the slogan 'Land for People

not for Profit'. The slogan alone falls within the broader antagonism that the right to the city theory underlines.

In essence, the right to the city – in theory – attacks systemic issues and supposes the desired end of a socially just city. However, it does not chart an equally systemic formula to arrive at it. It is thus no wonder that urban movements are pursuant of specific strands of social justice. The right to decent affordable housing in the city of Cape Town is one such pursuit. Urban land in the city of Cape Town has over time become highly exclusive for the wealthy. Turok and Scheba (2019) argue that the demand for well-located land in Cape Town by affluent businesses and households increases the market value of property prompting displacement of poorer households from the urban centre and adds the cost for state-subsidised housing in the core. This is against a historic context of systemic racial spatial segregation that even involved forced removals from prime urban locations and the historic pattern continues to be reproduced even through government spatial plans and policies (Turok, 2013).

The capitalist production system in the form of neoliberal market logics underlie the socio-political, economic and spatial arrangements in the city of Cape Town. Profit oriented logics guide state decision making despite policy documents reiterating redress of spatial apartheid. In this case, the sale of the Tafelberg site to finance budget shortfalls as opposed to using the site for low-income household housing development (Stent, 2020) despite great opposition from RTC and civil society organisations, highlights how space is reproduced in the context of opposed socio-political forces. Further, the subsequent occupation of empty abandoned state buildings as a reaction to state actions and meeting housing needs for those deprived highlights the use of strategic opportunities to advance for social justice.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter began by introducing the definition of a theoretical framework. Basically, a theoretical framework is a structural summary of theories and concepts that form the basis for interpreting and analysing data. This study utilizes the spatial triad as well as the right to the city to evaluate 'urban contestations for housing: reclaiming and deracializing Cape Town's inner city. Both the frameworks are discussed in detail as well as their application across various studies and how it is useful for this study. The spatial triad and the right to the city are traceable to critical

urban theory that has been defined in the introduction. The operations of Reclaim the City urban movement will be evaluated through this theoretical lens.

Having stated the bounds of critical urban theory and traced the right to the city within it and combined with the spatial triad, the operations of RTC will be evaluated through these theoretical lenses while taking on the Western Cape government views and dealings with RTC.



Chapter 4. Research Design and Methodology

4.1 Introduction

To undertake a journey, a clear road map must be available. In the same breath, conducting the research journey requires a research roadmap. Thus, this chapter outlines the roadmap that was used to conduct the field research. In section 4.2 the research design is defined. Section 4.3 provides the research methodology and the justification for it. Section 4.4 focuses on the data collection methods for this research. The section has 4 sub-sections explaining each of the data collection methods. Section 4.5 outlines how the data will be analysed and presented. Section 4.6 outlines the research ethics considerations for this study and section 4.7 explains the limitations of the study.

4.2 Research Design

“A research design is the arrangement of conditions for collection and analysis of data in a manner that aims to combine relevance to the research purpose with economy in procedure” (Kothari, 2004:31). A research design is a plan that answers the how of the research journey with details of the rationale and justification behind the plan (Kumar, 2014). A research design is a scheme to effectively obtain the data needed to answer the research questions and points out to which method is most appropriate (Abrahamson, 1983; Walliman, 2006). Essentially, a research design refers to a blueprint or plan that has details explaining how a researcher will carry out her/his research project in a way that coherently addresses the research problem and aims, with cost and time considerations. The plan provides a general layout meant to answer the research questions (Bordens & Abbott, 2002). Thus, logic as well as logistical considerations are of importance. The research design serves to provide a conceptualisation of the operational plan as well as ensure that the procedures are suitable to obtain accurate, objective and valid answers (Kumar, 2014).

Research design has been classified variously across different research scholars. Specifically, Akhtar (2016) notes that there are four types of research designs: exploratory, descriptive, explanatory and experimental designs dependent on the purpose of the research. Neuman (2000) notes that the line between exploratory and descriptive studies is often blurry but descriptive studies usually end up providing more detailed information compared to exploratory studies. A descriptive design serves to provide information on the specific details of a situation, social setting

or relationship as it exists such that the who, what, how much or less type of questions are answered (Akhtar, 2016; Neuman, 2000). The descriptive design, while rich in providing details on the phenomenon of study, is limited in giving the reasons and the causes. The explanatory design seeks to find out the causation factor and usually answers the why questions (Akhtar, 2016). Explanatory designs often compliment exploratory and descriptive designs since it goes beyond providing details of the picture to explain the reasons and causes of the why the what and the who (Neuman, 2000). This research leans towards an explanatory design and will apply some elements of a descriptive design.

4.3 Research Methodology

Kothari (2004:25) states that research methodology “is a way to systematically solve the research problem. It may be understood as a science of studying how research is done scientifically”. The link between theory and research methods is conveyed through the methodology. The sampling design, data collection and analysis techniques are described in the methodology. The broad categories of research methods are either qualitative or quantitative; in recent times the use of both methods termed as mixed methods has come to gain popularity (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004).

Qualitative methods are under the interpretivist paradigm that views reality to be socially constructed and subjectively understood (Neuman, 2000). Quantitative research methods fall under the positivist paradigm whereby the world is viewed in terms of concrete unchangeable reality that can be objectively quantified (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Neuman, 2000). Notably, the mixed methods approach recognises a limitation in each of the two paradigms and incorporates both to maximize on the advantages of each (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Leech, et al., 2010). Additionally, another paradigm underpinning research is the advocacy/participatory paradigm. This paradigm is postulated by Creswell (2009). He states that under this paradigm, research has an aspect of action agenda for reform that may transform the lives of participants or even institutions. Further, current social issues as inequality, domination, alienation, empowerment and so forth are addressed in this paradigm (Creswell, 2009). In this paradigm, theoretical perspectives as critical theory, disability theory, queer theory, racialized discourses, feminine perspectives may be key in the construction of the social realities being examined and the changes that are needed (Creswell, 2009).

This research acknowledges the suppositions of the stated paradigms and seeks to present the objective quantifiable data as well as the socially constructed and subjectively understood realities. In addition, this study is critical of existent social issues on socio-spatial segregation, inequality and apartheid racialized legacies in Cape Town city centre. Notably, under qualitative research methods, Creswell (2009) identifies 5 ways to conduct qualitative studies: ethnographic research, grounded theory research, case studies, phenomenological research, and narrative research. Under phenomenological research, the essence of human experiences concerning phenomenon is identified through participants descriptions and involves studying a small number of subjects extensively to develop patterns and connections of meanings (Creswell, 2009). While recognising the 3 stated paradigms, this study leans more towards an explanatory design, the interpretivist paradigm and the advocacy paradigm. Thus, qualitative methods will best serve to meet the objectives of this research with some incorporation of simple descriptive statistics.

4.3.1 Justification of Methodology

This study applies the qualitative research methods. Simple descriptive data in terms of demographic details of purposely selected urban movement occupants will complement the overwhelming qualitative methods of the research. Notably, purposive sampling is a qualitative sampling technique, but it will be employed to collect simple descriptive data. The descriptive data on its own is not sufficient to provide a complete picture of the study subject. Therefore, it will be supplemented through in-depth explanations from qualitative data. Hence the qualitative data will enhance the simple descriptive data.

Focusing on the qualitative aspect of the study will be useful in gaining an in-depth understanding of the inner workings and motivations of members of Reclaim the City and the non-governmental organisation that plays a legal supportive role to it. Blaxter (2001) notes that qualitative research is concern more with achieving depth than breadth. Thus, to have an in-depth understanding, qualitative methods are most suitable. Further, the data analysis will involve an inductive approach that draws, themes and patterns from specific cases (Creswell, 2009). Themes that are triangulated to the literature review are generated from a sample size of only 12 participants. In addition, the application of critical urban theory in the data analysis is in line with the advocacy research paradigm that underpins qualitative methods (Creswell, 2009). The understanding of space

particularly by the movement members and the government officials will require allowance for interpretations of social realities from the subject's own perspectives that will have to undergo an in-depth analysis than wide descriptive study.

Qualitative studies provide 'insider perspective' (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). Further, Blaxter (2001) explains that actors and their actions are best understood within their own context. Therefore, meeting members of Reclaim the City in their own setting for interviews is expected to elicit insider perspective in line with qualitative studies. The quantitative aspect of the study is based on collecting demographic data. Herein, data on race, gender, level of education, employment status, income levels, education level and so forth will be collected and related to the in-depth data provided through qualitative methods. While quantitative research makes use of numeric data to provide generalizations, the sample size for this study is not large enough for such an endeavour though the numeric data will play an important role in complimenting the in-depth information from the small sample size.

4.4 Data Collection Methods

Data composes of 'disembodied information' (Olsen, 2012). Raw information that speaks directly to the research topic is found in primary sources of data in form of the research participants; members of the urban movement RTC, members of Ndifuna Ukwazi non-profit organisation and relevant government officials. Further, secondary sources comprise data not collected by the researcher but already in existence prior to the research (Jackson, 2009). I refer to online government publications in the national, provincial, and municipal departments. Further, since this research delves into historical contextual analysis and reference, part of the secondary research delved into archival research including a guided historical tour of the city of Cape Town and the Cape Peninsula at large. Archival research can be direct or indirect (Howell & Prevenier, 2001). Direct sources are usable in their original form while indirect comprises collections and inventories some of which are held as digital archives (Howell & Prevenier, 2001; Sinn & Soares, 2014). Most archival data used in this research is indirect sourced online and from guided tours. Most data from secondary sources were processed in the literature review and triangulated in the data analysis.

4.4.1 Sampling

Babbie and Mouton (2001) define sampling as a process of selecting cases out of a larger population for study. Sampling can either be through probability approach or non-probability approach. The primary purpose of sampling is to have a small collection of units that the researcher can study to produce generalizations about a larger population specifically in the case of probability random sampling. The main types of sampling include purposive sampling, simple random sampling, stratified sampling, cluster sampling, multistage sampling, and systematic random sampling. These sampling methods have their own strength and weakness and a selection of each depends on its suitability to the research purpose. In this study, purposive and snowball sampling will be adopted. Purposive sampling is a non-probability sampling or qualitative technique in which the selection of cases is done with a specific purpose in mind such as having knowledge on a particular subject (e.g., information on the occupation of the Woodstock Hospital) as well as how it relates to a given specific population type (Neuman, 2000; Babbie & Mouton, 2001). Snowball sampling technique is a type of non-probability sampling whereby existing participants of the study provide referrals for other participants (Babbie & Mouton, 2001).

Purposive sampling is selected for this research project because the nature of the study is overwhelmingly qualitative, and the sample size is small. The total sample size for this study is 25 cases. These includes a total of 20 RTC occupiers and their leaders, 1 Ndifuna Ukwazi official, and 4 government officials. The RTC leaders are purposively selected as they have first-hand knowledge of the origins, history and current situation regarding the movement. Ideally the leaders of the movement act as key informants as concerns the details of the movement. An official from Ndifuna Ukwazi, the non-profit organisation assisting RTC through legal support is also a participant in the research recruited through purposive sampling due to the role played in providing operational support to RTC. In addition, government officials from the Western Cape province Department of Public Works and Transport, Department of Human Settlement and Department of Environmental Affairs and Development Planning were selected to participate in this research. The Department of Public Works and Transport is significant to this study as it was directly involved in litigation with Ndifuna Ukwazi and RTC concerning the sale of the Tafelberg site and because they were the custodians of the occupied buildings in 2017. The Department of Human Settlement is selected as it has been central in state housing delivery. The Department of

Environmental Affairs and Developmental Planning is also selected as it is central to employing policy on socio-spatial integration.

4.4.2 Interview

An interview is a type of dyadic conversation that is planned with the purpose of obtaining research data based on the research objectives (Luo & Wildemuth, 2009). Usually, an interview is a qualitative research technique (if not structured) underpinned by non-probability sampling methods (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). Interviews can be structured, unstructured or semi-structured. This study makes use of the semi-structured interview. Semi-structured interview has pre-set questions whose order can be adjusted depending on the interviewer's discernment on what is most suitable at that moment (Luo & Wildemuth, 2009). Semi-structured interviews are flexible as the wording or questions can be omitted or changed and explanations provided (Robson, 2002).

In-depth interviews allow the researcher to elicit comprehensive information and gain deeper insights from participants responses. For this study, leaders of Reclaim the City were engaged using a semi-structured check list of questions. These questions elicited responses regarding motivations for participating in the occupation, the mobilization strategies, and their relationship with the government. Besides the leaders of the RTC movement, government officials and civil society organisation were equally engaged in the in-depth interviews to understand their conceptualisations on topical concerns of the research.

4.4.3 Participant Observation

Participant observation is a qualitative research tool. Spradley (2016) notes that in various social situations human beings act as ordinary participants. However, he notes that a participant observer immerses themselves into a situation with explicit awareness to pay attention to events and circumstances that appear ordinary hence ignored. Kothari (2004) notes that the techniques applied in this method include interactional recording, use of tape recorders and photographic techniques. Fortunately, at the time of my data collection, Reclaim the City was having a significant workshop to build capacity for engagement with plans to convert the hospital to formal housing. I attended some of the workshops on formalising the occupation as well as meetings on strengthening activism capacity.

4.4.4 Questionnaire

A questionnaire is quantitative research instrument that is used as a tool for collecting data and recording information about a particular issue of interest (Oppenheim, 1992). With regards to this study, closed and open-ended questions were adopted to generate demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the participants living the occupation. The demographic information includes age, gender, race and education status while the socioeconomic characteristics focus on employment and income level. This small sample survey will also seek to obtain data on participant's general perceptions on their living conditions as well as their access to facilities such as schools, hospitals and recreational centres. The purpose of using a survey instrument in this study is to understand the distribution of variables across the participants. This information is further supplemented by a survey data of the entire occupation population by Centre for Applied Legal Studies conducted in August 2021.

4.5 Data analysis and presentation

Qualitative data are derived through conversations in form of interviews, focus group discussions and participant observation amongst others. These data are thus usually in written words, phrases or symbols representing or describing people, actions and events in social life (Neuman, 2000:417). Data is inductively processed from particulars to general themes of the interpretations of the meaning of the data (Creswell, 2007). Thus, the analysis of qualitative data focuses on word analysis and interpretation. Except in few instances of content analysis, statistical content may be inferred otherwise, qualitative studies focus on the texts (Neuman, 2009). Quantitative data analysis centres on descriptive statistics such as measures of central tendency, regression analysis, correlation indicators and so forth (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2006).

Kothari (2004) notes that data analysis involves, editing, coding, classification and tabulation of collected data so that it is pliable to analysis. This study makes use of thick description from the interviews and the participant observation. These descriptions are then be categorised into themes which were analysed. The presentation is a synthesis of the data with the theoretical framework based on critical urban theory. The clear explanations of findings are elaborated while maintaining the contextual framing by participants in this way, direct quotations are provided. The quantitative/descriptive data only covers a sample size of 20 participants, and this is presented through tables

that are simple to read. In addition, an unpublished survey data by the Centre of Applied Legal Studies (CALs) conducted in 2021, is presented to supplement the descriptive data of the sample of size of 20 RTC members.

4.6 Research Ethics

This study will take concerted pre-caution to ensure that no threat, harm, or any other ethically related concern will be raised as result of this research. Guilleman and Gillam (2004) note that there are two approaches to research ethics: procedural ethics and ethics in practice. Procedural ethics involve seeking the required approvals from the ethics committee to conduct research involving human beings. Ethics in practice involves the actions that the researcher in the field will undertake and whether the actions will abide by the signed code of conduct expected of the researcher. Ethics in practice involves issues such as gaining official consent from research participants, abiding by consent conditionalities such as maintaining confidentiality and anonymity of research participants, that no harm is done on the participants and that participants are not deceived (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). This research has followed the appropriate procedures in securing an ethical clearance. Only when the ethical clearance was obtained from the university senate higher degree committee did the research commence. In addition, ethics in practice was maintained. The research focused on adults only and no children participated in this research. Only participants that volunteered for the research were engaged to be part of this research. A consent form was provided to the research participants before interviews or answering questionnaires hence informed consent to participate in the research was obtained prior participation. In some cases, some volunteers decided to pull out of the study, they were allowed to do so freely, as this was made clear from the onset. Given that this research involved face to face interviews, anonymity was not attainable. Nonetheless, confidentiality was maintained through using pseudo names of participants as opposed to their actual names. This research had no intention of any forms of deception but sought to find out information that is truthful hence the researcher in similar breath did not use deception at any stage of this research. All participants to the research were thus duly informed of the purpose for the study which is for academic purposes in pursuit of a master's degree in development studies.

4.7 Limitations of the study

This research mainly focuses on RTC movement and their housing struggles in the city of Cape Town. The sample group has been purposively selected on non-probability basis. Therefore, the findings of the study cannot be generalised across all housing movements in Cape Town, South Africa and elsewhere. Another limitation of the study is the language barrier. Many of the respondents do not usually communicate in English as a first language hence some responses seemed incomplete or incongruent while others used Afrikaans and isiZulu expressions to fill in where English seemed to fall short in their responses. The Covid-19 pandemic restrictions delayed my data collection approval, and, in the process, I was unable to reach some key respondents.



Chapter 5: Results, Discussion and Analysis

5.1 Introduction

The struggle for housing in the inner city of Cape Town requires reflection of the historical and the contemporary contexts. The forced removal of people of colour from well-located inner-city areas such as De Waterkant and District Six and suburbs like Harfield, Claremont, Mowbray, and Constantia forms part of the recent history defining this contest (O'Connell, 2020; Olver, 2019). In the prevailing time, the market 'sorting' process based on income underlines this contest. Beyond income sorting, the state's participation in the market as a merchant through the sale of prime urban land despite pleas against it further informs this contest (Gonstana, 2017). Additionally, the peripheralization of low-income households and by default people of colour through RDP state housing projects also advances this contest for the inner city. Further, the casualties that arise from development advanced through gentrification are also central in the contest for housing, particularly in downtown inner-city Woodstock (Visser & Kotze, 2008). The South African government's policy statements geared towards socio-spatial integration have not been realized on the ground. In fact, socio-spatial segregation continues to define South African cities and especially the city of Cape Town. Reclaim the City (RTC) has advanced contestations against the apartheid socio-spatial legacy through occupations of inner-city public buildings.

I restate that the main aim of this study is to understand the role that social movements play in the transformation of urban spaces. Under this aim, I set to answer the following questions: a) Who compose the membership of RTC?; b) What are the personal motivations of RTC members that drive their participation in struggles for housing?; c) What mobilization and organisational strategies does the RTC employ to gain access to housing?; and d) How does the RTC's building occupations help to deracialise Cape Town's inner city? To answer these questions, I define key terms of the spatial triad theoretical framework through a synopsis of how the Old Woodstock occupation came to be in section 5.1.1. Section 5.2 provides an elaborate analysis of how the occupation was produced. Section 5.3 answers who composes the occupiers. Section 5.4 discusses the personal motivations for occupying. Section 5.5 is a discussion on the mobilization strategies of RTC. Section 5.6 a discussion of how RTC is reclaiming and deracializing Cape Town. Finally, section 5.7 provides a conclusion to the chapter.

5.1.1 Background to discussions

The occupation of government buildings, namely, Helen Bowden Nurses Home near the Waterfront and the old Woodstock Hospital in 2017 persist on, since the symbolic act to critique the provincial government's decision to proceed with the sale of the Tafelberg site in Sea Point. The recent history leading to the occupation is significant to understand how the intersection of “perceived”, “conceived” and “lived space” produces social space (Lefebvre, 1991). Conceived space, otherwise termed representation of space, is the most dominant space in any society as it is tied to relations of production and the order that those relations impose (Lefebvre, 1991). In the case of the Tafelberg site, the representation of this space evolved in accordance with the imposition of relations of production. A site that the state developed plans for affordable residential units, turned surplus to the state that owned it and sold it off. Spatial practice or perceived space involves the space where everyday life is lived. It is produced and reproduced in context specific social formations and requires a level of competence and performance by the individual in relation to the social space (Lefebvre, 1991). Lived space, or representational space, captures the intersection of conceived space and spatial practice. Lefebvre (1991:39) states that ‘lived space’ is the “space directly lived through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of ‘inhabitants’ and ‘users’”. It is also a dominant space hence passively experienced and the space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate.

The former Helen Bowden Nurses Home and the former Woodstock Hospital have become homes to hundreds of households. At the time of this analysis, the Old Woodstock Hospital dubbed Cissie Gool House (CGH) is engaged in workshops to work out the modalities of formalising the occupation through the City of Cape Town. One of the findings from the data collection is that the Western Cape (WC) provincial government handed over the Woodstock Hospital site to the City of Cape Town municipality. Since then, the city government received survey data of the CGH occupiers as well as a viability study on whether the site can be formalised with the occupiers still in the building. The Stodoney report is widely mentioned in the workshops as well as by RTC leaders citing the viability of renovations to formalise the site with occupiers on site. Notably, the Stodoney report is a result of a study investigating the viability of formalising the former Woodstock Hospital into a resident building through renovations with occupiers still living in the building.

While the possibility of formalising CGH is still a pipeline project, the site continues to house households that have no alternative housing. This chapter infuses the spatial triad and the right to the city (discussed in chapter 3) to analyse the data collected and explain how the occupations came to be produced, what the personal motivations for living in the occupation and the mobilization and organisational strategies of RTC are, and how they contribute towards the deracialization of Cape Town's inner city. Throughout this chapter, when discussing the research participants responses, pseudo names are used to maintain anonymity of the participants and for coherent flow of the discussion.

5.2 The Production of Cissie Gool House

In 2014, the Tafelberg site, owned by the province's Department of Public Works and Transport, was earmarked for development that included residential units through the call for proposals from private developers to partner with the WC provincial government (McCain, 2016). At that time, this space represented or was conceived as a possible urban development project. Later in 2015, the conception of this space was coded surplus by the province (Gonstana, 2017) in that it could no longer meet its service delivery needs. Thus, the Tafelberg site continued to be produced as was conceived by urban developers. Simultaneously, while urban developers' representation of the space changed, the spatial practice was also being transformed. Lefebvre (1991:38) states that "the spatial practice of a society secretes that society's space it propounds and presupposes it, in a dialectical interaction; it produces it slowly and surely as it masters and appropriates it". Members of the Sea Point Domestic Workers Union held a rally for residential housing units on the same site, thus dialectically producing the 'spatial practice' in countering the 'conceived space' of the urban developers. The sale of the property meant the space was conceived and represented as surplus, but the contestation of this sale was a dialectic one played out in the spatial practice of the space. Over time the site has come to bear a lot of symbolism following the court's decision to rescind the sale of the site (Stent, 2020). Even though the government has not provided a way forward on the site, the long court judgment further made the representational space of the site to be a counter space to the dominant neoliberal capitalist mode of production. Prior to the court's decision to rescind the sale, a respondent from Ndifuna Ukwazi states that Reclaim the City's (RTC) campaign had gained momentum, leading to an increase in the membership of RTC. The disappointing sale of the site, despite over 4000 public comments accompanied by feasibility

studies that sought the re-development of the site into affordable housing, served to build the RTC. The decision to sell the property is tied to the relations of production which are central in producing conceived space and the order they impose (Lefebvre, 1991). This is aptly captured by the respondent from the provincial government who explains the logic to sell the property:

Now if we look or argue from a financial perspective from a government point of view, money is tight and certainly when you need to go and invest in building other stuff or maintaining infrastructure that you have, you need cash in the bank. You need ... you know, financial flow. Now, clearly if you are just sitting with assets that are surplus, whether they are buildings or just vacant land, as you would in your normal course. If you sit with an asset that you don't require, no longer use, you'd look to dispose of it, you'd look to sell it so that you can get that money to then invest [in] something that you require or that you need to do.

A financially feasible logic, as well as other claims made by the then Premier of the Western Cape Province, Helen Zille, played a central role in producing the social spaces that have become housing occupations. Then, Premier Zille faced sharp criticisms for the logic behind not developing the site for affordable housing (RTC, 2017) and in the process, she committed other prime located urban sites as the Old Woodstock Hospital for social housing. Given the changing tune of political leadership from a property earmarked for mixed use development to the same property termed surplus, RTC decided to occupy the two abandoned government buildings (the former Helen Bowden Nurses Home and the former Woodstock Hospital) as a symbolic act to force the government to meet its commitments. A member of Ndifuna Ukwazi explains the logic to occupy as follows:

These two spaces that were occupied had been promised or as part of the province's decision to sell, they simultaneously committed that other land would be made available including among others these two sites and part of what activists wanted was a kind of action to say OK lets sort of symbolically take occupation of these spaces to put the government to account.

Progressively, the intersection of conceived space, perceived space and lived space in the Tafelberg site resulted in the social space now called Cissie Gool House. The symbolic act of occupying evolved into meeting real housing needs for the occupiers and five years later, a hospital building is a home to nearly 1000 people including children that do not understand what an occupation is but know they are living in their homes.

5.3 Woodstock Hospital Occupiers' Demographics

While in attendance of workshops at the CGH, I came across unpublished survey data (conducted in August 2021) by the Centre for Applied Legal Studies (CALS) of the occupation that provided discussion points for the workshops. The survey data is yet to be published; however, following discussions with the CGH leadership, I was given permission to refer to some of the findings from the survey since I was present during the presentation of the data. According to the unpublished data by CALS (2021), the Cissie Gool House at the time had a total of 341 households of which 118 are single person households. Revealing that many of the occupiers are single person households. The number of occupiers, including children, tallied 855 people: 540 adults and 315 children. There are 10% more females than males and most of the households are female headed. I also collected some demographic data through administering questionnaires to a sample size of 20 participants, 11 (55%) of whom were female and 9 (45%) males This also reflects the male female household representation of the entire occupation as presented by CALS (2021). The tables below represent some of the demographic information of the respondents. It is, however, not possible to generalize information from this sample size but I also refer to the survey data by CALS. Nonetheless, the data compliments the qualitative discussions that follow in the other sections.

I administered 20 questionnaires where I asked several questions relating to the demographic profile of the respondents. Though the unpublished survey data refrains from racial categorisation, from my observation, the highest racial representation in the occupation is from the Coloured community. Table 5.3.1 reveals that there were more Coloured people totalling 12 out 20 that responded to the questionnaire. These questionnaires were randomly distributed to occupiers that had come to participate in one of the workshops seeking modalities of formalising the occupation.

Table 5.1 Racial Composition of Respondents

BLACK	COLOURED	INDIAN	WHITE
6	12	1	1

Source: Author's data computation

The unpublished CALS data reveals that adults between the ages of 18-59 are the majority at 58% of all the people including children. Notably, during the workshops I attended, there was a greater representation of elderly persons from about 50 years and above. This is also reflected in Table 5.2 that shows 10 respondents out of 20 were between the ages of 50 and 60.

Table 5.2 Age Groups of Respondents

30-40YEARS OLD	41-50 YEARS OLD	51-60 YEARS OLD	ABOVE 60
6	3	10	1

Source: Author's data computation

Table 5.3 shows household income brackets of the 20 respondents notably, government grants are also considered income and are represented in the income brackets. A total of 8 respondents out of the 20 receive some type of government grant. 45% of households represented through the respondents have an income of less than R3500, 35% of 20 households have an income between R3500-5000, 10% of 20 households between R5000- 8000 and only 1 out of 20 or 5% of the 20 respondents and a single person household has an income R8000. The survey by CALS shows that the majority (182 or 54%) of households earn R3500 or less. Moreover, 91 households (27%) earn more than R3500 but less than R5500. Only 26 households (11%) earn more than R5500 and less than R7500 while 26 (8%) households earn more than R7500.

Table 5.3 Monthly Household Income Brackets of Respondents (In Rands)

Less than 3500	3500-5000	5000-8000	Over 8000	Not Stated
9	7	2	1	1

Source: Author's data computation

Table 5.4 Level of Education and Employment Status

	Elementary	High School	Matric	College	Degree
Employed		4		2	1
Unemployed	1	4	1	3	2
Retired		1			1

Source: Author’s own data computation

Table 5.4 shows that all expect one respondent have passed through high school. 50% of the respondents managed to get to high school and one finished up to matric. A total of 20% of the respondents have attained a university degree and 25% of the respondents have had some college training after high school. 35% of the respondents are employed 10% retired and 55% of the respondents are unemployed. Notably the unpublished survey data (CALSA, 2021) show that 34% of household heads were unemployed and this roughly reflects the national unemployment rate. Another 7% of household heads are unemployed but involved in some informal or seasonal job. The other 45% of household heads are employed either in full-time or part-time basis or in self-employment. The rest 14% are either pensioners or students.

5.4 Reasons for Squatting in a Hospital

One of the dominant themes that arise from the in-depth interviews with the occupiers is homelessness. While I administered 20 questionnaires, I conducted a total of 12 in depth interviews out of the 20 respondents to the questionnaires. Being homeless is reiterated by 50% of the respondents as either a reason behind moving into the occupation or the threat of being evicted from their previous homes. Pruijt (2013) classifies the logic for urban squatting into five categories as discussed in chapter two. In this analysis, deprivation-based squatting appears most dominant. In addition, squatting as a housing alternative and political squatting also feature as key motivations for squatting. Notably, the CALS (2021) survey data highlight that nearly 50 percent of the occupiers had been evicted from their previous homes. Remarkably, 9 out of the 12 in-depth interview respondents from the occupation had uncertain housing terms (either squatting in relatives’ and friends’ homes or living in the streets or car) prior to moving into the occupation.

5.4.1 Deprivation based squatting

This type of squatting occurs under severe housing need. Such that if one were not in an occupation, they would be homeless on the streets or in a shelter (Davis, 2006; Neuwirth, 2006; Pruijt, 2013; Vasudevan, 2015). The respondents from the occupation were at the brink of homelessness or had experienced homelessness by sleeping in the streets and even at a shelter. Some were hosted under uncomfortable circumstances by friends or relatives before finally making the decision to seek refuge in the occupation.

Bob, a black male of 31 years and a recent graduate of Computer Science from Cape Peninsula University of Technology, faced real housing deprivation following the end of his lease that coincided with the collapse of his business. Bob could no longer on his own meet the terms of the lease agreement of a duplex in Mowbray that he previously shared with a housemate. Before the renewal of his lease, he began to spread out his household assets among friends. While living in Mowbray, his office was at the recently established Woodstock Exchange building. When his lease finally expired, he started living in the office and when this was no longer tenable, he squatted with his friends. Meanwhile, Bob had heard about the CGH occupation and even met with the leaders to explain his situation and find a home. Initially Bob could not bring himself to live in what he termed a hospital. Furthermore, he describes the area he was allocated as being an abandoned bush as the previously operational side of the hospital was already occupied. Squatting with friends eventually proved implausible, and he finally mustered the courage to move into a what is now his home. He describes his circumstances as follows when asked when he moved into the occupation:

2019, I think it was the beginning, I think it was around March. Cause after like, you know, sleeping at the office became hard and then I had this other friend of mine that I would go squat at his place, but it also became a problem on that side. I think we reached a point where we argued between me and him and I knew that ok, cause when they first brought me here, I thought I wasn't gonna stay here. So, I continued trying my other ways but then I got to a point whereby I'm like nah, there's no other way, that's when I came here, I spoke to the leaders again, I moved in. So, I think it was around March, April 2019.

Ken, another black male and recent graduate from Cape Peninsula University of Technology and 30 years of age, faced housing deprivation through eviction. Ken is from a humble background in KwaZulu Natal province, where his family lives in a shack. His progress to the University was a

big break in his life. While in Cape Town to pursue his studies, he struggled to find student accommodation and finally from his second year managed to be allocated student accommodation. Being from a humble background, Ken primarily depended on a government bursary to meet his living expenses. Once he graduated, he managed to find an apartment in the city centre close to where he found a job. However, as his bursary fees became fully consumed, and having lost his job, he was evicted from his apartment in the city centre for failing to pay rent. Ken points out that:

So, if you're unemployed you don't have anyone supporting you, and you are all alone, so you end up being here. Cause I doubt anyone with a proper mind or proper background will come and live here, with a good job with the proper housing, you know what I mean. Cause even home, it's not like a big house, no, we live in an informal settlement so going back there I'm just gonna make it worse for myself.

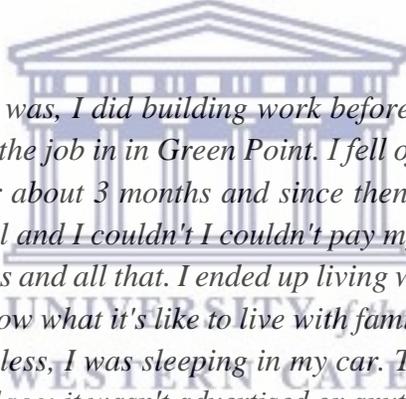
Lisa, a coloured single mother of 52 years, was living in Cornwall Street in Woodstock and renting a room for R3000 a month. Lisa works as a machinist in the few remaining clothing factories in Salt River. Her steady income from her salary is R3400 monthly. Besides her rent, she must pay for utilities such as water and electricity apart from providing for her household in which she is the head. Lisa laments that she would receive her salary which would all go to pay her rent. Moreover, water and electricity, were not in steady supply yet she was required to pay for those utilities. Water was a teething problem that she sometimes begged from neighbours. Lisa's struggle with keeping up with the rent and utilities eventually earned her an eviction notice. However, because she had been conversant with the RTC campaigns she took her eviction notice to the RTC advice assembly where she learnt of her rights as a tenant that she could not just be evicted so easily. However, overtime due to tussles with her landlord and the unreliable supply of utilities, she decided to move to the occupation as she was struggling to meet her rent obligation. This is how Lisa outlines her experience:

When I stayed, where I pay rent, I couldn't buy anything. Cause it was just rent, rent. Now since I stay here, I can buy me like a stove, something like that. Whereas I stayed not here I couldn't buy anything, it was just food and rent. Wow! my friend let me tell you, it comes with the end of the month I could cry, cause I work for that man so I had to give all my money that I work for went to him. It was very sad for me.

The experiences of Bob, Ken and Lisa as well as of other respondents prior to moving to the occupation were characterized by strife regarding their housing situation. At times, following

eviction or never having a place to call one's own home, some of the respondents had to squat with relatives and could only be tolerated for so long and having no other choice had to move into the occupation. The in-depth interviews reveal that unexpected circumstances sometimes put people in precarious positions in life. Markedly, many of the respondents had lost their source of livelihood and while they tried to find ways to have a roof over their heads, it became impossible and as a last resort ended up in the occupation.

Saheed, a 52-year-old coloured man, lives in the occupation with his wife. Saheed had a thriving business as a contractor before the unfortunate turn of events in his life. He highlights that he was born and raised in Salt River. He owned a house that the bank repossessed alongside his cars as he was yet to complete payment on these properties. Since he married his wife, she had always been a housewife as her pregnancies were delicate. He was therefore the sole bread winner of his family of five, including his 3 children who are now adults fending for themselves. Saheed explains how his severe housing deprivation circumstances forced him to join the occupation of the old Woodstock Hospital:



OK, how I ended up here was, I did building work before [as a] building contractor and then I had an accident on the job in in Green Point. I fell off the wall that's really high and I ended up in hospital for about 3 months and since then after that happened everything just seemed to go downhill and I couldn't I couldn't pay my bond, I couldn't pay my cars, I couldn't pay my ... vehicles and all that. I ended up living with my auntie. I appreciate what she did for me, but you know what it's like to live with family. That was just before I moved here. I was actually homeless, I was sleeping in my car. Then people were talking, that is how we knew about this place; it wasn't advertised or anything, it's just word of mouth and then my wife said to me, come let's go and have a look, you never know and since that day I don't look back.

Squatting out of severe housing need continues to engrain the capitalist society (Martínez and Cattaneo, 2014). However, it is not the only motivation to squat. Below are other motivations besides housing needs.

5.4.2 Squatting as a housing alternative

Unlike deprivation-based squatting, this type of squatting does not require one to be in dire need of housing or at the brink of homelessness (Pruijt, 2013). In fact, squatting as an alternative housing strategy occurs amongst persons able to rent but choose to squat as they are dedicated to activities

that bring few financial rewards, especially the creative industry like music and visual arts (Pruijt, 2013). Though I did not encounter a squatter that engaged in the creative industry, one of the respondents noted that they did not have a problem paying rent where they lived but choose to move to the occupation as a personal choice and to have alternative housing.

Dan, a 41-year-old coloured male, lived in York Street, Woodstock with his young daughter who is now a teenager in high school. Dan's daughter attended Mountain Road Primary School just a stone's throw from CGH. Dan has been the sole custodian of his daughter since she was an infant as the mother struggled with drug abuse. While in York Street, children relatives living with Dan caused a fire that left the house damaged. Henceforth, children in the neighbourhood would tease Dan's daughter about where she lived. Dan highlights that he had on his own fought his eviction without receiving an eviction notice. While he had heard about the RTC campaigns and the advice assemblies, he felt it was not necessary for him to attend the assemblies because he was well informed concerning eviction matters and did not need help with preventing eviction. Dan, however, notes that personal concerns around his daughter caused him to seek alternative housing from the house in York Street, which he explains as follows:

OK, what led to me living at the CGH, the old Woodstock Hospital, was not because I was evicted but it came that I had a personal issue which I had to dealt with, which was with my daughter. My daughter became very depressed; she couldn't live there anymore. It was very sad at that time because kids was starting to make fun of where she lived and she couldn't take that anymore and I had to do something. That's probably four years ago.

Ali, a 52-year-old widower working with a security company in Woodstock, now lives in CGH. Ali's family was affected by the Group Areas Act (GAA) of the 1960s and was forcefully removed from District 6. Since then, he has lived in various places around Woodstock. Before moving into the occupation, Ali lived along Essex Street. Ali chose CGH as an alternative housing due to security threats where he lived. He explains that his landlord, an old man is pleasant. However, his son is involved with gangsters and drug use. Due to this type of lifestyle, the landlord's son has often had altercations with the tenants to the extent of using gangsters to threaten the tenants. Ali notes that the threat by gangsters was the last straw leading to his move into CGH.

Lefebvre (1991) emphasizes that space is tied to social realities thus the production of space is intricately connected to social constructions of values and their reproduction. The idea of

conceived space during the Group Areas Act was based on social realities of separating the different races in South Africa. The GAA was brutally enforced through forced removals. District 6 is an ideal urban location due to its centrality and proximity to the Central Business District (CBD) as well as other essential amenities like hospitals and schools. Forced removals is a social reality that explains the production of space in a place like Woodstock that was termed a control area because the GAA was not enforced there, at least not forcefully. Ali is still waiting for restitution into District 6.

Besides the landlord's son posing a security threat, Ali rationalized that that the government has had an empty building for years and rather than being on the street, occupying the empty building is a better option. He argues as follows:

Like I didn't have an option you know, where do I go? I had to go stay on the streets? Because here is government vacant building standing vacant, nobody is using it. It just stands there. So, there's people out there who must rather sleep on the streets when your empty building there, you know.

The capitalist city is a market of various commodities including its built environment (Brenner, et al., 2012; Harvey, 2003; Lefebvre, 1991). However, squatting serves to decommodify housing and buildings in the city (Martínez and Cattaneo, 2014). Living in abandoned empty buildings brings forth the praxis of use value in critical urban theory. Squatters take on logical actions to occupy empty buildings to meet real housing needs. Otherwise, these buildings may belong to individuals or institutions wealthy enough not to have urgent need for such spaces; instead, the wealthy owners of such spaces may opt to have the building empty for speculative purposes (Martínez & Cattaneo, 2014). Either, way, this capitalist mode of urbanisation process is what squatters like Ali resist. The occupation of CGH with this logic, seeks to reshape the capitalist urbanisation process in the broad sense. In essence, this logic is what Harvey (2010) describes as the right to the city, where collective power is applied to reshape how urbanisation takes place.

5.4.3 Political Squatting

The lasting enabling condition for urban squatting, as noted in chapter 2, is the existence of empty buildings amidst affordable housing shortage (Holm & Kuhn, 2011; Martínez, 2007). Political squatting is described as anti-systemic or revolutionary to counter the state. The occupation of

buildings by RTC was triggered by the Western Cape (WC) provincial government's sale of the Tafelberg site. The sale was successfully interdicted in April 2016 as the WC government failed to abide by the Western Cape Land Administration Act that requires the publication of notice of proposed sale and provision of 21 days for public comment (Kelly, 2016). Despite 4260 petition signatures and 930 written submissions opposing the sale, the WC government proceeded to sell the property. According to the former Premier of the Western Cape Government, Helen Zille (2016), the Tafelberg site has 2000 square meters of heritage footprint located near the centre of the site making it impractical to achieve mixed use development. The other argument against using the site for affordable housing is that the remaining 1.1 hectares, does not fit into a financially affordable and viable model (Zille, 2016). While the state may have possibly plausible justifications for their actions, the reality on the ground is that people are experiencing real housing shortages of well-located, affordable, decent quality urban housing. Sea Point domestic workers, for instance, have been living in the basements of high luxurious apartment buildings just as it were during apartheid. Furthermore, the Western Cape government earlier proposed practical visibility studies for mixed use affordable housing on the site but later went back on their proposal citing the impracticability of using the site (Furlong, 2016).

The sale of the Tafelberg site exposes political complacency amid serious agitation for affordable decent housing in the inner city. These dialectical socio-political relations between, the state and RTC and affiliate organisations were key in the production of urban squatting space in the occupations that followed. In justifying the sale of the Tafelberg site, the WC government issued a press release on its commitment to availing decent affordable housing in the inner city (Western Cape government, 2017). The Helen Bowden Nurses Home and the Woodstock Hospital were among the properties committed towards mixed use development for affordable housing. The initial act to occupy these building was to make a practical statement that these sites should indeed be used for the mentioned purpose as well as hold to account political leadership to fulfilling their commitment. It however emerged that there was a real pressing need for housing and the occupations evolved to meeting people's housing needs. Nevertheless, within the occupation, there are squatters whose main motivation for living in the occupation is activism.

Zack is a 60-year-old man who describes himself politically as black but fits within the coloured race category. He is an articulate well read and educated man with a degree in History, Museums and Heritage. Zack has been a social activist for as long as he remembers and refers to himself as a comrade. In explaining how he came to live in the occupation, his motives stem from activism. Zack has several grandchildren and a house which his former wife lives in. Prior to honoring the request to live in the occupation, Zack lived in Grassy Park with his twin sister. The passion for activism ensured he would participate in RTC in Woodstock all the way from Grassy Park before he finally moved into the occupation. He describes how he came to live in the occupation:

I saw a poster advertising a public meeting at the centre called Community House, ... a center where social movements are housed and have public protests planning meetings and all kinds of social movement meetings and I liked the title Reclaim the City. And so I went to listen to what the meeting was all about, and having been active in housing development in Johannesburg I was keen to see what Reclaim the City was proposing in Cape Town, and that attracted me to the movement. From there I just decided to participate in the activities of Reclaim the City to the point where they asked me, would I consider moving into the occupation, because of my experience and how I contribute to the meetings that we started having in the occupation. I come from a background of social activism. So, any sort of form of protest or popular uprising by people with a particular set of objectives, ... that I came to be supportive of, I thought it's a good idea to join Reclaim the City to reclaim this site for the purposes of housing people. I didn't know all the intricacies of how it's organized and everything but just that notion that people were prepared to occupy and that occupation meant to be able to fight for a place to live; it's what I came to support.

Zack is a respected leader in CGH. Having been an anti-apartheid activist, he reflects the RTC campaigns in the context of post-apartheid activism where he views the RTC as having the opportunity to advance participatory democracy and claim a right to the (inner) city where, unlike in the periphery, poor working families could access work opportunities, recreational facilities for their children, and hospitals as the following section illustrates.

5.4.4 Spatial Proximity to economic and social opportunities

Apart from logics that can be traced in broad literature, the other motivation for squatting at CGH, is the ideal location where it is situated. The other motivation for most of the respondents is that the place is familiar and close to communities that people have grown around and in proximity to work. The right to the city critical urban theory fits well in describing this motivation to live in

CGH. Critical urban literature requires a reflection of the historic contexts that expose capitalist urbanisation, marginalisation, socio-spatial inequalities, and social exclusions that have been normalised and the counter-hegemonic forces that pursue social justice, social inclusion, and a redefinition of capitalist urbanism (Brenner, et al., 2012). The theoretical and practical exposition of the right to the city are expounded on in chapter 3; however, in this discussion, the respondents' statements on why they live in CGH are echoed using the framework of the right to the city.

Cities ought to be unifying centres where national belonging, social cohesion and a sense of public space is lived out (Simone, 2005). However, the city of Cape Town lacks this cohesive unity and is characterised by extreme socio-economic inequalities. Cape Town's inner-city housing remains elusive to low income working classes. The majority of the respondents in this research are low-income working-class persons on low wages who are sometimes on seasonal or temporary employment. The proximity to work is a key motivation for living within the city centre and not seeking alternative housing on the fringes of the city where access to employment opportunities is limited. While it may be cheaper to live in the city's periphery, there exists the real concern of lack of employment opportunities far from the core and the high transport costs to the centre for work opportunities.

The respondents from CGH exhibit a real need to live in the city centre as making a living is dependent on where they live. Two respondents work in one of the clothing factories still operating in Woodstock albeit on low wages. Others may get short term contracts with the Expanded Public Works Programmes (EPWP). Another respondent works in the catering industry whenever there is an opening usually within walking distance from the occupation. The proximity to work or the possibility to access work opportunities is an important motivation for nearly all the respondents who live in CGH.

Ken, a respondent previously mentioned for facing housing deprivation, lived in the city centre before he was evicted and moved to CGH. During the interview, Ken was not in any formal employment but mentions that, on order, he prepares and sells food to clients who live near CGH. Given he used to school around the Woodstock environs he has few community ties that support his food business. Recently, his friends bought him a car washing machine to help him diversify his stream of income. During the interview, a young man with a two-seater convertible Mercedes

drove in and parked his car outside Ken's door to have his car washed. Besides these income generating initiatives, Ken also gets food catering job offers from restaurants and hotels within the surrounding area. Apart from housing deprivation, Ken's other motivation for living in CGH is explained as follows:

WE INVADED (response with emphasis) this place which is closer to looking for a job. Cause now I'm unemployed right now, but it's easy for me to walk to town, you see to try and look for something, you know what I mean. but if you gonna remove me from here, ... I'm gonna be on the street with no other form of income except the government grant (short-term covid 19 Pandemic grant R 350) which is also on and off, which doesn't make any more difference. So yeah that's why we, .. that's why I live here. At least here I'm able to find those little piece job sometimes, if I'm lucky. Like now it's festive [season] we might be finding something new for 1 month or 2 months. Maybe during November and December [2021] then January [2022] we are back on the same life. On the same miserable life. So, it's those type of things.

Ken is a fiery young man and an avid supporter of the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) political party. His mode of expression reflects similitude to EFF political outburst expressions. He believes the government subsidized housing such as the RDP houses should be in the city centre. I also sought to find out whether the occupation is used in documents as an official address when searching for employment. I found out that for people in and out of jobs the central location of the CGH is crucial as an employer can rely on such staff to access work easily. Ken explains why he uses the CGH address:

Most companies want someone close by, to work, someone they can call if they are short of staff and say, are you home? Yes, I'm home. Can you please just come to work quickly. I've worked in a hotel. I used to live in Sea Point, I was working close by to work. I was a big contributor to a company because I was always close by. So, most companies most business, they need that. Imagine now, there's toyi toyi there in township, they closed the road, taxi drivers, I can't get to work. But if I live close to work it's much easier. And then they wanna remove same people who work for them from there.

Apart from being close to work and like opportunities that arise, most of the occupiers have been residents of Woodstock and its surrounding areas like Salt River. Living in CGH is like a continuation of life as when in the rented home. Many respondents stated that they were born in Woodstock and grew up there, besides having other family members still living in Woodstock.

Additionally, having neighbours in the occupation who are familiar and previously acquainted prior moving to the occupation is an important reason for living in CGH. For example, Ali, who squats as a housing alternative and whose family was evicted from District 6 notes that he has community ties in Woodstock. Ali has lived in Woodstock and even though he did not experience eviction prior to moving to CGH, he associates his family's eviction from District 6 as a common struggle with other occupiers who may have faced eviction. He explains the ideal location of CGH as well as sense of shared struggle with other occupiers:

Because it was like in the range, because I am used to the area because I am from the area, I stay in the area, so that's why I moved into the occupation here.... because of where we come from, the background. We all face evictions, we all like to encourage each other when we had the meetings, we meet here, and we help each other.

Having a sense of community is a significant motivation for living in CGH especially in the city center that has usually been exclusive for a particular race and social class. Questioning on the threat of eviction from the occupation elicited responses that asserted an awareness of the right to the city as well as the struggle to remain in the city centre and not moving to the periphery. Kate is a 54-year-old coloured female. She has five children. Four are all grown-ups and live in the CGH too. She lives in a room that is about 17 square meters with her teenage son. She has portioned the room in two halves to have a living area and a sleeping area. She works as a machinist in a textile factory in Salt River. She also has small scale retail business in which she sells household consumables like sweets, snacks milk powder, toilet paper and the like. She notes that she even carries some of the stock with her to sell either at work or during meetings in CGH or even during protest action. Kate is one of the CGH leadership. She seems zealous of her role as a leader and of the struggle for the right to the city. Kate lived in her former partner's maternal home. Her children's paternal grandmother had been threatening to have her out of the house. She states that one day she just came home and found her belongings outside. Unfortunately, the father of her children had no opposition. She thus made her way to CGH together with her 3 children since her friend had been telling her about the occupation and the Reclaim the City campaigns. Kate explains why she's comfortable at CGH and why it's unlikely to be evicted from there:

For me, it feel like home now. I won't go out of this place. I won't go to Blikkiesdorp number one, I won't go to Wolverivier. I'd rather staying together here and fight for this place.

Because for me, we got our lawyers, they also on board with us there also gonna help us if we win the case, [we] will win the case. If we lose the case, we lose the case, but for me, I believe we gonna win this case.

Sam, a 33-year-old-coloured male lives in CGH with the girlfriend and their daughter. Prior to moving into CGH, he was squatting at his cousin's house who eventually required him to pay rent. Sam usually gets employment through the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP). He therefore does not have a steady source of income as these jobs are temporary. As at the time of the interview Sam was dependent on the girlfriend who at the time was on part-time employment and receiving the child support grant. Sam's motivation for being in CGH resonate with the right to the city theory as well as need for a sense of belonging and community. The right to the city requires a reshaping of the capitalist urbanization process that is exploitative and that perpetuates social injustices. The exercise of collective power to resist moving from the occupation and to be explicit on not accepting alternatives away from the city centre is asserting this right. This also reconfigures the inner city of Cape Town from being exclusive to a specific social class and race. The right to reshape the city as people are themselves being reshaped (Harvey, 2010) is what the occupiers live out. Sam explains as follows:

The main reason I'm here, I want to secure a place for my family, not far there by Wolwerivier, Blikkiesdorp and stuff like that. I'm from Woodstock, I'm born and bred here in Cape Town, so why must I move out far, you take almost an hour and half to come to town, to come work.

Blikkiesdorp is an Afrikaans term meaning 'Tin Can Town' coined so by the residents who were moved from Symphony Way since 2007 by the city of Cape Town government (Ahmed, Karriem, & Mohammed, 2022; Bohatch & Hendricks, 2017). Blikkiesdorp was established as an emergency accommodation in what the City termed Symphony Way Temporary Relocation Area (TRA). The Tin Can Town is 25 kilometres away from the city centre and away from meaningful socio-economic opportunities. More than a decade since its establishment, residents of Blikkiesdorp continue to endure in squalor (Ahmed, Karriem, & Mohammed, 2022). Over the years, exponential population growth has continued to worsen the living conditions particularly in terms the shared toilets. Residents have reported having to defecate in buckets inside the iron sheet rooms and retain the waste until it is safe to dispose as the shared toilets are few and there exists a real security risk in carrying out the call of nature as one would normally do (Serra, 2021). Moreover, grotesque

incidents of murders as well as other crimes that innocent children have unfortunately witnessed make life a living hell for many of the residents (Serra, 2021).

Wolwerivier, on the other hand, is 30 kilometres from the city centre. It was established as an Incremental Development Area in 2015 to resettle squatters of Skandaalkamp settlement (Hendricks, 2021). The idea of an incremental area is to have people temporarily settled as the state develops permanent decent housing. The state has not been able to keep up with the increase in population let alone availing decent permanent houses. Instead, the city government continues to offer Blikkiesdorp and Wolwerivier as alternative accommodation to victims of state evictions and homelessness as in the case of Kenneth Blaine, the 80-year-old man the city evicted from his property to have it auctioned (Kretzmann, 2019). Instead of providing relief to persons with housing needs, these alternatives on fringes of the city are points of convergence for compounded poverty, crime, and deny many the right to the City of Cape Town with its various opportunities. It is these types of settlements that strongly justify the occupations by RTC and the struggle for the right to the city. The right to the city is a demand even if radical to make collective claim to the city, how it is shaped and who shapes it. To be adamant about relocating to the periphery is a direct claim to the right to the city further expounded on later in the chapter.

5.5 Organization and Mobilization Strategies

The organization and mobilization strategies of RTC are captured through the themes that develop from descriptions of the outstanding milestones that individual respondents have participated in. Protest action is one of the mobilization strategies that stand out for most of the respondents. Pieterse (1997) highlights that social movements are locus of resistance by poor communities against hegemonic political economic structures. There exists an intricate history of strategic mobilization against discriminatory and exclusionary government practices at the local level in South Africa (Williams, 2006). The collective organization of people to lay collective claim to urban space and express their grievances and demands crystallize urban movement (Uitermark, et al., 2012). Prior to the official promulgation of RTC urban movement through a congress, campaigns termed ‘Reclaim the City’ formed the basis for mobilization meetings and collective action even before building occupations. The campaigns, meetings, advice assemblies and other mobilization actions crystallized into the urban movement that makes collective claims for

affordable housing in the city centre. Notably, the campaign to ‘reclaim the city’ was initiated by social activists in non-profit organizations. Notwithstanding, members of RTC breathed life into the movement through articulation of real-life struggles to remain in the city and avoid relocations to Blikkiesdorp and Wolwerivier. Additionally, several protest actions advancing for the right to the city as the protest to the eviction of the 80-year-old man Kenneth Blaine from the City’s property on Plein Street which had been his home (Wayland, 2019). The capacity of the movement has developed over time due to various workshops, meetings, advice assemblies, disciplinary committees, committed leadership and the support of various nonprofit organizations. The urban movement has advanced its campaign for a socially just city in many ways that shall be outlined later in this chapter.

In the initial stages, as the occupation was settling in the neighborhood, one of the initiatives by the movements was to have an open house whereby the occupation would be open for viewing by members of the public. This was a strategic move to integrate in the neighborhood as some neighbors associated the new evolving space with crime and grime. Unfortunately, the Western Cape government through the City of Cape Town municipality applied for a court interdict against the open house, citing it as grounds for recruiting more occupiers (Reynolds, 2018). The interdict was granted but the open house proceeded in the name of an interfaith meeting. This can be interpreted as a strategy to subvert, or counter oppose institutional forces against the movement.

There is a clear political consciousness of raising an opposition against institutional powers that seek to sanitize the city of the homeless. One of the respondents is a chapter leader involved in the anti-eviction task force that has been central in preventing evictions. During my data collection period, the occupiers were organizing a protest march at the Civic Centre following the tabling of a city by-law that RTC leaders noted would be in contravention of the Prevention of Illegal Evictions (PIE) Act. Even though the by-law was passed, RTC raised awareness on the illegality of the by-law and stood out in protest. Reclaim the City has a few task forces that handle various issues. Dan, a respondent mentioned earlier for moving into the occupation as housing alternative, is a chapter leader in RTC. Unlike a house leader involved in internal matters of the occupation, he is involved in external activities relating to the urban movement. He serves the movement in various capacities one of which he is passionate about is court monitoring. This involves sitting in

court and noting down eviction cases where the City is the plaintiff seeking eviction of people out of its properties. As a member of the anti-eviction task force, he describes his experience as follows:

I've been doing court monitoring on my own as well, where I sit in court and I take data of what is actually happening [of] people that is being evicted, what the city's response' is, where the city in each and every eviction they are respondents [Cases in which the City government has given eviction notices] which makes the city liable for alternative accommodation. And I have done that for three years sitting in one court. I've been thinking, I'm the magistrate myself. I've been using the magistrates' handbook and I have become accustomed to the lawyers and they would always have conversation with me, ask me, how do you know this? And I would say I've just realized that I sat in this court for three years each day, from Monday to Thursday. That is when the eviction court sits down and I've grown I've grown, just yesterday I have assisted 2 people [against] the evictions as well.

The RTC has been strategic in installing committed, passionate, and involved leaders who play a key role in mobilizing for a socially just Cape Town. Harvey (2010) notes that the era we live in is one in which human rights are pedestalled and pursued for their political and ethical value. However, he acknowledges that ultimately this pursuit reinforces the hegemonic liberal and neoliberal market logics and neoliberal modes of legality and state action. The right to the city on the other hand, is a neglected human right that surpasses the right of individual access to resources of the city; it is a collective right than individual one as changing the city is dependent on the exercise of collective power over the urbanization processes (Harvey, 2010). Therefore, Harvey (2010) notes that to claim the right to the city is to lay claim over the power shaping the urbanization process. RTC occupations are now significant in shaping the urbanization process not only through living in public owned buildings, but through placing a demand on the state to provide affordable decent housing in the inner city. By illustration, RTC has a land and housing task force specifically tasked to keep the city government on its toes on delivering on commitments to develop affordable inner-city housing for the low-income working class. The City's mayoral committee pledged to develop 10 sites in the inner city into affordable housing as part of their justification to the sale of the Tafelberg site (Pather, 2017).

Strategic mobilizations to contend for the city are the enduring features defining critical urban theory as the right to the city. There exists an ardent contest between the dominant and subordinate

marginalized social forces whose results are unpredictable (Brenner, et al., 2012). Kate, a respondent mentioned earlier for being adamant about relocating to Blikkiesdorp or Wolwerivier, is also a house leader in CGH. She remains positive that the government cannot evict them from the old Woodstock Hospital because of the series of victories they've had in court cases. In explaining how they go about their strategic planning and activities to advance the right to the city, her face lights up as she recalls a memorable event where they stormed to the house of a mayoral committee member to make demands on promises not delivered. She describes this action as follows:

But we always plan first and all the leaders then we sit on one round table, and everybody gives their views. What are we gonna do next. One day we went to Brett Herron's house at five o'clock in the morning we was knocking and he was eating Koeksisters outside. And he did come. He didn't want to come out, he lock[ed] his door and we didn't move ...until he came out and give us some answers for these 11 sites.

The city is a site for the production, circulation, and consumption of commodities; its changing socio-spatial configurations, governance, socio-political conflict, and the city itself are commodified and aligned towards profit making and more capital accumulation (Castells, 1978; Brenner, et al., 2012; Harvey, 2003; Lefebvre, 1991). Therefore, living in CGH is a statement in resistance to the government's pursuit of transforming land and buildings into a commodity or for exchange as in the Tafelberg case. To refuse peripheral alternatives to the inner city also places a demand in shaping the urbanization process especially for the working-class poor. Storming the home of a politician to place demands on delivery of pledges to the poor is classic of critical urban theory as the right to the city, advancing counter-hegemonic alternatives to the shaping of the city.

The 'Zombie March' remains engrained in the memories of the respondents I interviewed as an outstanding event that illustrates the movement's mobilization strategy. In this event, RTC members dressed up as zombies in the National Party regalia carrying PW Botha's coffin through the streets of Cape Town as illustrated in Figure 5.1. This march was specifically organized to criticize the City's government lip service on inclusionary housing. According to RTC members who participated in the march, inclusionary housing implies public housing development for the black and coloured communities in former white suburbs (Washinyira, et al., 2019). The right to the city as a critical urban theory delves into the analysis of systemic, history specific inter-

connections between the urbanisation process and capitalism; examination of the shifting balance of power relations, social forces, socio-spatial inequalities and political- institutional arrangements that form and are formed by the evolution of capitalist urbanisation (Brenner, et al., 2012:4-5). The violent political economic history of South Africa is central to the advances for the right to the city. This grim history had a well thought out socially engineering spatial arrangement that disenfranchised black and coloured communities.





Figure 5.1 Satire of current politicians as a reflection of the National Party Leaders. Source: GroundUp (2019).



Figure 5.2 PW Botha awakens from the coffin. Source: Groundup (2019)

The choice to be dressed up as zombies represents the walking dead. The implication is that even though apartheid may be termed dead with the advent of democracy, it lives on with the injustices

if the government evicting people of its well-located properties to auction them for profits (Kretzmann, 2019). The National Party implemented apartheid injustices with legitimacy secured in the laws created to be oppressive to Black people. In Figure 5.1 the satire is displayed in the placards reading ‘fine the homeless lot’. In essence, the National Party ideas never die, and the inequality sequel continues. The climax of the march was the resurrection of the late apartheid president, PW Botha, as shown in Figure 5.2.

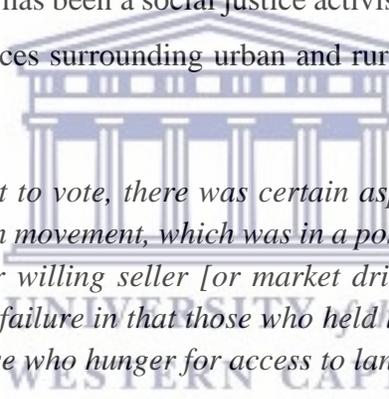
The organizational strategies of RTC are varied and include forming networks with similar organizations across the globe. The ‘Zombie March’ for instance was co-organized with the internationally acclaimed guerilla activists known as ‘The Yes Men’ (Washinyira, et al., 2019). Similarly, in 2018, some RTC members had the privilege of going to Spain to learn from the Barcelona en Comú (Barcelona in Common), an urban movement tackling inequality and corruption. During this learning trip, RTC members had the privilege to campaign for one of the movement’s leaders that was vying for a mayoral seat. The Barcelona en Comú candidate won, and this victory served to strengthen RTC’s resolve to continue the struggle for a socially just Cape Town. Detailed information on the RTC’s interaction with Barcelona in Common are explained in the words of respondent Zack below:

I've been able to participate in an international exchange with the group in Barcelona Spain called Barcelona en Comú. It's a makeup of different social movements in the city of Barcelona, who campaigned for the election of a housing activist as a city mayor but also again campaigned for a second term for the same candidate. So, we went on campaigning with our Spanish campaneros/comrades in the city of Barcelona and we shared our experiences as housing activists in Cape Town, in Barcelona, in Brazil, in other parts of the world where comrades came together to meet in Barcelona. That was a real interesting experience about the possibilities of housing activists coming together but also a very important lesson about getting into institutionalized arms of the state.

5.6 Reclaiming and Deracializing Cape Town

The idea behind reclaiming and deracializing the city of Cape Town has antecedents from the democratic transition period. Notably, the apartheid government was highly deliberate in playing an active role in the socio-economic and political engineering of the South African state and

particularly through the law (Berrisford, 2011; Todes & Turok, 2018; Western, 1996). The implications on the spatial arrangements meant that land, whether rural or urban, was under the tight grip of the state that redistributed it in favour of the white race through an unjust legal system. Harvey (2010) notes that cities arise out of geographical and social concentrations of a surplus product that is extracted from places or from people but only disbursed by a few. This implies an accumulation by dispossession classic of capitalism, defined the urbanization process through apartheid in what Pillay (2007) terms as racial capitalism. The transition to a democratic state only translated the modus operandi to a non-racial capitalism (Pillay, 2007). Thus, the democratic government did not apply the similar legislative rigour as the apartheid government as it concern land redistribution. In the apartheid state, capitalism thrived aided by the heavy hand of the state through laws (Natives Land Act, Group Areas Act) that ensured dispossession of many and accumulation by few. The democratic state perpetuates the same only without legal heavy handedness but rather letting market logics define the land redistribution process. Zack, who is a formidable house leader in CGH, has been a social justice activist for as long as he can remember. He aptly captures the circumstances surrounding urban and rural land redistribution in the post-apartheid state:



Whilst there was the right to vote, there was certain aspects that was kept intact. It was agreed to by the liberation movement, which was in a post-apartheid society, would be the principle of willing buyer willing seller [or market driven land reform]. However, that principle was a complete failure in that those who held land as a political power weapon was holding on to it. Those who hunger for access to land for use value purposes came to engage in a big struggle.

The failures of the liberation movement to establish systems and definite processes to redress systemically engineered accumulation by dispossession through evictions, forced removals and the entire social engineering of society along racial lines have served to justify the potency of urban movements like RTC in advancing this redress. The Group Areas Act (GAA) ensured prime government property could only be sold or occupied by the white race through a process of declaring government property surplus with restriction on inter-racial immovable property transactions (SAHO, 2021). The process in the sale of the Tafelberg site to a private developer of the Jewish community is reminiscent of the apartheid government tactics of ensuring prime property is only offset to a specific race instead of redressing land redistribution injustices. In this

analysis the conceptual triad as expounded on in the beginning of this chapter and the right to the city are employed in discussing how RTC is advancing reclamation and the deracializing the city of Cape Town.

Whereas the urban planners, architects and the state conceived the currently occupied space as a hospital and developed it as such, once the building was abandoned, the representation of this space/conceived space was left open to reimagination. While ‘conceived space’ may be used for control and regulation, it can also be a realm for different types of creativity (Martin & Miller, 2003). One of the respondents living in the occupation noted that it was difficult to imagine living in what used to be a hospital. She had been treated in that hospital and had also brought her children for treatment, so the thought of living there was unimaginable. However, out of necessity many respondents were left with no choice but to move into a hospital. The adjustment period by respondents’ accounts required renovating the rooms to make them habitable. Conceived space is thus adjustable, which though imposed by elites, can be transformed out of necessity, reimagination and creativity. The idea of use value of space thus becomes evident when government buildings just lay empty when real housing needs exists. The occupations serve not only to provide housing needs but also put a stumbling block to the sale or auction of such buildings for profit. It is interesting to note that when I entered some of the rooms, I could hardly believe the building was a hospital. The reimagination of space is evident in how people have made their rooms homes and are experiencing comfort.

Elites’ (urban planners) conception of the space now termed CGH manifested in form of a hospital building. Spatial practice which involves everyday life was initially defined through tensions between the occupiers and the surrounding neighbours. The illegal entrance of a new group of people to a neighbourhood that was perhaps quiet with close knit relations destabilized the pre-existing spatial practice. Many of the comments from the respondents highlight that the surrounding neighbours associated the new evolving space and its dwellers with crime. Ali, who works in a security company and is part of the neighbourhood watch in the Mountain Road area, is highly conscious of the neighbours’ negative perceptions of the occupation. He, however, doesn’t seem to take it to heart since he views them to be the ones taking issue with the occupation:

The community outside, we don't really have issues with them. Most of the time they have issues with us. Because the music is too loud, because there's drinking activities, they always looking for something to accuse us, make us look bad.

Ken, who is always eager to answer the interview questions based on strong opinions mostly founded on his political affiliations, notes that the neighbours have been quite hostile. He is of the opinion that many of the white neighbours feel threatened by the presence of black people in that neighbourhood as they seem to associate black people with crime.

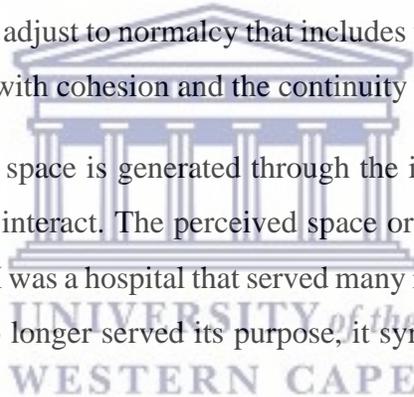
The neighbors, yeah they treat us so bad, they look us like criminals. There's a guy here next door, white guy, he reports us everyday. Making a noise, we are fighting, we are doing this, even if I say, you know I had a very small speaker here, imagine the guy lives far away, but he will come here and stop here it right behind me and phone metro police, they're making noise, they're making noise and try to harass us.

The CGH occupation in the old Woodstock Hospital along Mountain Road served to bring forth a type of social transformation. The everyday life on Mountain Road, Woodstock was no longer one of continuity and cohesion as a new social space was in the process of production. I contend that the pre-existing neighbours' harsh reaction to the occupation was expected in a bid to maintain the cohesiveness and continuity of their everyday life. On the other hand, while the occupiers were settling in, their everyday life was consistently having to adjust to frequent reporting from pre-existing neighbours. Some respondents remember horrific experiences when army officers invaded the occupation at 2am, vandalised property and sent people into a frenzy stating that they were in search of gangsters and illegal immigrants in 2017 when the occupiers were settling in. The spatial practice of the occupiers required consistent adjustment and readjustment to settle into an experience of everyday life. Martin and Miller (2003) state that the experience of spatial practice or everyday life requires competence and performance from individuals as it establishes each member of society relationship to social space. The establishment of CGH brought with it tensions in the neighbourhood. Similarly, occupiers had to adjust to a new environment and make it their home. While this adjustment period was taking place, a new social space was being created. Lefebvre (1991) notes that spatial practice secretes social space, through a dialectical interaction that produces it slowly as it masters it and appropriates it. This mastery and appropriation are what requires competence and performance of the subjects in the space for the social space to have

cohesion. To thrive in the newly formed social space, spatial practice for RTC occupiers has had to be shaped and reshaped so that they may form a cohesive social space.

Thus, the occupation as a space has had to evolve in terms of conceived space where occupiers have had to reimagine and put work into the space to the point that they identify the place as home. Even though this new home for people may be termed a hospital; by others, it is now a former hospital and the Cissie Gool House (CGH) for RTC occupiers. The spatial practice or everyday life in the occupation and for the surrounding neighbours has had to be shaped and reshaped through competence and performance from both parties so that a cohesive co-existence can be maintained. This has meant that the RTC has put measures in place like the disciplinary committee to manage conflicts and menace that can negatively affect the everyday life of occupiers and by extension outsiders. Outsiders have also had to adjust to the existence of a home occupation. In essence, whether tensions exist within the occupation and with outsiders, spatial practice requires an observance of continuity and cohesiveness within the space one finds themselves. I therefore note that everyday life has had to adjust to normalcy that includes the displeasure of others and the conflicts that may arise coupled with cohesion and the continuity of it.

In the below diagram, the social space is generated through the interactions of conceived space, perceived space and lived space interact. The perceived space or representational space has also evolved with time. Initially, CGH was a hospital that served many including some of the occupiers. Over time, when the building no longer served its purpose, it symbolised abandonment and was



used for different unintended purposes. A respondent notes that part of the building was used to shoot horror films and there was a section in the building that was full of dead birds. Once the building was occupied by members of RTC it became associated with crime and a public menace. Over time, this symbolism has evolved since lived space and its symbolic experience serve as terrains to produce counter spaces and resistance to dominant order (Soja, 1996). The intersections of these three spaces produce a social space whereby there's an acknowledgement of an urban movement that is living within the inner city. An alternative social space has been generated in a



Figure 5.3: Adaptation of Spatial Triad in production of CGH

space that was slowly being dominated by a white and wealthier middle class. Now, not so wealthy working-class households occupy space that would not have been theirs had they not taken occupation and made the space one of resistance to the dominant order. Thus, part of the city is being reclaimed and deracialized. There may still be some neighbours with discontent with the occupiers. Nevertheless, continuous invitation to RTC activities like open houses with residents of Woodstock and public meetings not only raises consciousness to the realities of socio-spatial segregation, but it also recruits supporters and sympathisers of RTC. This also further produces

counter spaces for resistance to the dominant order in an enticing way that enhances a cohesive social space. Additionally, in the interview with a Western Cape government official, it is evident that the government is starting to take the onerous in socio-spatial integration. By illustration, the government official mentioned the Conradie Park project that has 49% of the housing units for social housing. Another pipeline project is the Founders Garden project in the city centre that will also have subsidised housing units. In another correspondence, the government official mentioned a pipeline project on an inclusionary housing policy that would require private developers to also incorporate social housing in their housing projects.

The RTC mobilizations have ensured that occupiers continue to be in these buildings over 5 years on. The persistence and insistence on pursuing the right to the city highlight that RTC has transformed space in its three dimensions to produce social space that hosts often peripheralized working classes. The conceived space of old Woodstock Hospital is getting transformed gradually. The provincial government transferred the old Woodstock Hospital site to the city of Cape Town municipality in a bid to develop it for affordable housing. Though it remains to be actualized, it is an indication of the shift from excluding Black working classes from the inner city.

Social space and the right to the city are products of continuous dialects of opposing forces that over time shape social space and carve out the right to the city through continuous contestations. There are many ways through which RTC has advanced its struggles for the right to the city. Some advances are radical while others have been conservative. Overall, RTC occupations and mobilizations contend for the use value of space as opposed to exchange value. The push for profits over people by the city government was evidenced in their eviction of an 80-year-old man from his home of over 40 years, all in a bid to auction property to the highest bidders. RTC is has been central in resisting such evictions among other mobilization actions that assert the right to the city. An outstanding moment that remains an imprint was the invasion of the Rondebosch Golf Course termed to be the size of 45 soccer fields. RTC made a symbolic occupation of the golf course and built shacks to state that well-located land is available but is subsidised for the leisure of the wealthy as the lease for the course had been R1058 per year since 1937 (Cape Times, 2019; Times Live, 2020). The symbolic occupation of the golf course raises consciousness on the need for affordable decent well-located housing for Black working-class people in Cape Town juxtaposed

with vast open land used for leisure at a state subsidy. This serves as a significant illustration of laying claims on the city. Besides, protest actions, the experience of walking to work, walking a child to school, being close to shopping centres, and making use of social facilities from CGH is a practice of the right to the city. The fact that occupiers have subverted long commutes to work asserts a fundamental freedom to easily access employment opportunities. Just less than 5 minutes walking distance is the Mountain Road Primary School which several children from CGH attend. Thus, the right to the city is finding expression through the social space created in the old Woodstock Hospital

5.7 Conclusion

In the beginning of this chapter, I set out to answer four questions. The first question focused on the demographic composition of RTC members in CGH. I in part refer to the unpublished survey data by CALS (2021). In answering this question, it is evident that majority of the households are working class families with low incomes with some few outliers that earn above what would be considered low income. Further, a great number are unemployed or engaged in seasonal employment or piece jobs whenever they are available. The other question concerned the personal motivations for living in the occupation. The majority of respondents cite severe housing need as a motivation that is also tied to living within the city centre. Not only do many of the respondents need a roof over their head, but they also need it in close proximity to their places of work, community and other socio-economic opportunities. On what the mobilization strategies RTC employs to gain access to housing in the inner city, several have been cited such as helping to resist evictions from the inner city, innovative and thought-provoking protest actions such as building shacks in Cape Town's golf course among others.

Finally, on whether RTC struggles advance the reclaiming and deracializing of inner-city Cape Town, it is evident that these struggles have created spaces of counter hegemony. The consistent insistence on challenging the status quo through the occupation, challenging the sale of public property to private developers for exclusive private use, the challenge to city interdictions, having the survey data collected through RTC's legal representatives, the zombie march, resistance to evictions, symbolic occupations amongst other actions intermesh into carving out housing space for the working classes that have continued to be in the periphery. The former Helen Bowden

Nurses home which is also an RTC occupation is a project in the pipeline to have affordable housing units. Just earlier in 2021 the provincial department of Environmental Affairs and Development Planning tabled an Inclusionary Housing Policy draft that would require private developers to include affordable housing units in their housing developments. Though the policy is still in draft and has had stakeholder input and public participation it is an indication towards efforts to reclaim and deracialize Cape Town inner city. It is my observation that without the activist organisations like Ndifuna Ukwazi and urban movements like RTC putting pressure on the state and raising consciousness to unimplemented laws and policies, the inequality and other resultant effects of capitalist urban expansion would persist unhindered.



Chapter 6: Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

This study was based on the literature gap on building squats in South Africa. Most occupations or squatting in South Africa takes place on rural land or urban peripheral land. However, this study focused on squatting in public buildings right in the centre of Cape Town city by Reclaim the City (RTC) urban movement. When South Africa become a democratic republic, 80 percent of the population was relegated to only 18 percent of the land (Du Plessis, 2011; Karriem & Hoskins, 2016; SAHO, 2013). This is against the backdrop of land alienation, forced removals and overall disenfranchisement of Black people in South Africa. Consequently, squatting on land to carve out spaces for dwelling became an inevitable norm. In the urban terrain, the government was not deliberate to plan for the urban growth of Black people. Thus, quiet encroachment of urban peripheries persists to date as people immigrate into cities in search of better livelihoods and as population continues to grow (Dooling, 2018). Notably, quiet encroachment implies "non-collective but prolonged direct action by individuals and families to acquire the basic necessities of their lives (land for shelter, urban collective consumption, informal jobs, business opportunities and public space) in a quiet and unassuming illegal fashion." (Bayat, 2000:536).

During the democratic transition, the government committed to redress the injustices perpetuated by the apartheid regime. The slogan '*a better life for all*' resonated with the masses confident in the democratic government. The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) took centre stage as a significant government policy in redressing the past injustices. The RDP received popular reviews for its developmental approach in steering the new democratic state development agenda (Karriem & Hoskins, 2016; Oldfield & Stokke, 2007). Notably, the RDP required significant government expenditure to implement it effectively. Unfortunately, there was an already deeply ingrained neoliberal governance approach and an enduring apartheid legacy secured in private property rights, zoning laws and so forth making RDP implementation difficult (Bond, 2005; Crankshaw & Parnell, 1996; Huchzermeyer, 2003). For instance, land restitution was institutionalized under 'willing seller willing buyer' framework (Karriem & Hoskins, 2016). Henceforth, redressing socio-spatial segregation and inequality in South Africa has proved an

arduous undertaking. Notwithstanding, the government has piles of policy documents to bring about socio-spatial integration. However, these policies have not translated to tangible realisation. By illustration, Cape Town ranks among the most unequal cities in the world. Further, the lack of political will furthers negates socio-spatial integration attempts. This is evident with the Western Cape government selling a strategic site for socio-spatial integration to a private developer with no integration motives.

In the first chapter, I provided background to the study that is briefly outlined in the above discussion. I also provided the problem statement, rationale and significance of the study as well as the research questions and objectives. In the second chapter I delved into a wide literature review covering neoliberalism and neoliberal urban governance as the key underlying factor causing urban contests. I also discussed how the contests have occurred across the globe. I specifically focused on urban squatting as a daring contest against neoliberal governance in general. In the third chapter I focused on the theoretical framework based on critical urban theory. The frameworks that I used for the study are the spatial triad and the right to the city. In the fourth chapter I explained my research design in detail and in the fifth chapter I presented the data and analysis. In this chapter, I provide the summary findings of my research based on the research objectives. I also outline the recommendations and concluding remarks.

6.2 Summary Findings

Even though squatting is phenomenon associated with the Global South, the reality is that it is also common in the Global North despite elevated levels of development control and planning laws being adhered to (Chioldelli, 2019). In cities like the Amsterdam, Paris, Madrid, Berlin, Rome to name but a few, squatting continues to be rife (Holm & Kuhn, 2011; López, 2013; Martinez, 2019; Pruijt, 2013). Notably, in these cities urban squatting has a rich history traced not only to housing needs, but also to political activism geared towards resisting systemic structures that deprive low-income households of decent housing in well located urban areas. In the Global South, squatting is associated with poverty, housing deprivation and low levels of absorption into the formal housing system (Chioldelli, 2019; Davis, 2006; Neuwirth, 2006; Rocco & van Ballegooijen, 2019). Notwithstanding, squatting in the Global South not only addresses housing needs but it is also a tactic to have a grasp in shaping the urbanisation process and transforming divided cities in places

like Sao Paulo and Porto Alegre (Earle, 2012; Stevens, 2019). In the case of this study, squatting serves to meet housing needs as well as counter racial segregation, access central city locations and overall redefine the urbanisation process.

Within critical urban theory, squatting or occupation movements are viewed to be in existence to counter an exploitative urbanisation process which thrives on accumulation by dispossession (Brenner, 2009; Brenner, et al., 2012; Harvey, 2010; Martínez, & Cattaneo, 2014). Squatting is enabled by the existence of empty buildings juxtaposed with people in severe need of housing (Holm & Kuhn, 2011; Martínez, 2007; Wates, 1980). In many instances, even though the formal housing market may have vacant houses, they are unaffordable to people who choose to squat. Rather than proffering solutions to existing housing needs, buildings stand empty for speculative purposes or when it is most profitable to offset them. In the case of this study, members of RTC proceeded to squat in empty government buildings in the centre of the city of Cape Town. The enduring condition that enabled this move was the existence of empty buildings alongside the need for housing. Though the action to squat began as a symbolic move to put the Western Cape government into account over sites committed for affordable housing, underneath the symbolic intentions were real housing needs. The Western Cape government sale of the Tafelberg site instigated the occupations. Instead of developing affordable housing for the working class in a prime urban location, the government opted to sell the site to a private developer, to finance its office building project. Thus, even though squatting is a type of informality, its existence is dependent on the degree to which the formal of urban governance absorbs low-income households into the formal housing market. When the formal urbanisation process does not cater to the needs of low-income working-class households, then a niche for urban movements to meet the needs of these people is created albeit through informality.

Notably, members of urban movements compose not only of low-income working-class households. Even though severe housing deprivation is usually a key motivation to participate in squatting (Davis, 2006; Neuwirth, 2006; Pruijt, 2013; Vasudevan, 2015). Majority of the research respondents were squatting out of severe housing need. Nevertheless, there are other squatters whose main motivation is socio-political activism (Aguilera, 2013; Holm & Kuhn 2011; Lopez, 2013; Martínez, 2007; Mudu & Rossini, 2018; Pruijt, 2013; Lopez, 2018). In Paris, politicians,

academic elites, artists and the like participate in squats to critique and highlight the exploitative housing market, assist squatters negotiate with authorities among other action (Aguilera, 2013). In this study, two respondents fit in the caveat of socio-political activism squatting. This type of squatting highlights moral justifications of use value for empty buildings. This is against the option of the building remaining empty in anticipation of its value being determined by the rate at which it can be exchanged for, perhaps at a future date when its monetary value would be higher. The underlying logic for political squatting is to oppose neoliberal urban governance, critique the exploitative state aided urbanisation process as well as to offer an urban common for raising political consciousness and exercise use-value over buildings that would otherwise be commodified.

Lefebvre (1991) points out that space is a component or outcome of the social relations of production. In this study, this statement was evidenced with transformation of social space in Mountain Road Woodstock following the occupation of the former Woodstock Hospital building. Reclaim the City occupations created counter spaces to hegemonic urbanisation processes in Cape Town's inner city. The process of production in the counter space involved a dialectical interaction of spatial practice, perceived space and conceived space (Lefebvre, 1991) to create an entire new social space from the moment squatting in the public building began. The three types of space transformed the pre-squatting spatial triad to produce an entirely new social space as each component of the triad was redefined. Reclaim the City members living in these spaces ensured deterritorialization of the exclusive prime urban spaces and a reterritorialization of these spaces as spaces confronting status quo and systemic ousting of the poor from the city centre.

The right to the city is continuously being pursued by members of RTC whether by design or by default. The right to the city involves pursuits by collectives to exercise power in shaping the urbanisation process and realising social justice for the oppressed (Harvey, 2010; Marcuse, 2009). Reclaim the City together with Ndifuna Ukwazi rallied through a court process and had the sale of a prime public property rescinded. Further, Ndifuna Ukwazi has been involved as a stakeholder in an awaited inclusionary housing policy in Cape Town. RTC have also assisted in resisting evictions from the city centre, held important protest actions among other mobilization strategies.

These are the significant gains made by RTC and that coalesce into redefining the urbanisation process.

6.3 Recommendations

The existence of urban movements is necessary especially given the declining strength of labour movements that were otherwise better placed to negotiate the rights of the working class. Noteworthy is the reality of the neoliberal age we live in that places a greater demand on austerity and return on investment than massive expenditure for developmental gains. It is therefore of necessity that urban movements increase their capacities to place greater demands on the state to fulfil its development goals. The National Development Plan takes cognisance of the need to better integrate South African cities so that low-income working-class households mitigate high transport costs to work or to look for work. Therefore, where the state has recognised the need for integration but has not in equal measure implemented tangible solutions, social movements are required to keep the government on toes even if it is through actions like urban squatting.

On the other hand, proliferation of building squats does not serve as a lasting solution to a highly racialized and polarized Cape Town city. The government needs to take a proactive role in ensuring prime urban sites are not exclusive to a certain race and social class. This is a government obligation if it is to redress the systemic racialized and uneven urban development institutionalised by the apartheid regime. The pipeline inclusionary housing policy that requires private developers to have social housing allocations in their building projects is a step in the right direction. Nonetheless, the political will from the state to actualise such policies must be seen through deliberate investments in such ventures. The rhetoric in policy needs to be laid aside and an operationalisation of socio-spatial integration visions seen through decent affordable housing made available throughout Cape Town's socio-economic catchment areas.

Finally, the state needs to re-evaluate its urban governance approach. Handling housing needs in Cape Town has involved creating Temporary Relocation Areas which are not temporary in any way, Incremental Development Areas where no significant increase in development has taken place and Transitional Housing Projects that are ideally expensive and unsustainable. The

obsession with sanitising the city centre and making it a world class attraction services to elevate aesthetic values over real basic needs like shelter for South African citizens. Outward looking policies only create unrest within. The provincial and city governments need to develop governance approaches that are people centred and developmental as opposed to exploitative profit centred governance approaches.

6.4 Areas for further study

The need for affordable decent housing in the inner city cannot be over emphasised. The government took cognisance of this and began social housing projects. However, many of the social housing projects continue to be scattered in urban peripheries. It would be important to find out the underlying obstacles in providing social housing in Cape Town's inner city.

The city of Johannesburg has a working inclusionary housing policy. An evaluation of Johannesburg inclusionary housing policy would be useful to provide lessons for Cape Town though the two cities may have contextual differences.

Reclaim the City has been involved in workshops to build capacity for members to participate in the formalisation of the occupation. The inner workings of Reclaim the City in the actualization of this project would also make a good study especially if the Woodstock occupation is formalised.

6.5 Conclusion

The overall objective of this study was to find out the role that urban movements play in the transformation of urban spaces. Throughout the globe, there has been an uprising of urban movements undertaking symbolic occupations as a way of protest. These movements have risen in effervescent moments and dissipated in either defeat or victories. Nevertheless, Castells (1977) asserts that, even in defeat, social movements leave an enduring impact on countering dominant logics. In the case of this study, Reclaim the City occupations continue to endure five years on with many victories. The Woodstock area, formerly a mixed-race space started to evolve into a white only area with the advent of gentrification. However, RTC occupations have contested the detrimental effects of gentrification in the area through the continued stay of different races in the occupation. The consideration to formalise the occupation serves to highlight gains of making claims to inner city housing. In conclusion, RTC contests for housing and reclaiming Cape Town

inner city have made significant progress towards deracializing the inner city as well as providing dwelling in the inner city. Indeed, urban movements play a critical role in the transformation of space.



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Appendices



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14 September 2021

Ms C Kanchau
Insitute for Social Development
Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences

HSSREC Reference Number: HS19/10/47

Project Title: Urban Contestations for Housing:
Reclaiming and Deracialising Cape Town's
Inner City.

Approval Period: 26 August 2021 – 26 August 2024

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

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

Please remember to submit a progress report 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

Director: Research Development
University of the Western Cape
Private Bag X 17
Bellville 7535
Republic of South Africa
Tel: +27 21 959 4111
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FROM HOPE TO ACTION THROUGH KNOWLEDGE.



Private Bag XI7, Bellville 7535, Cape Town, South Africa
Telephone : (021) 959 3858/6 Fax: (021) 959 3865
E-mail: pkippie@uwc.ac.za or akarriem@uwc.ac.za

INTERVIEW INFORMATION SHEET

Project Title: *Urban Contestations for Housing: Reclaiming and Deracializing Cape Town's Inner City.*

What is this study about?

This research project is being conducted by Clara Kanchau, a student at the University of the Western Cape. You are invited to participate in this project as a government official and key stakeholder in the production and reproduction space in the city of Cape Town. The study focuses on neoliberal policies as causes of contests and how these contests shape how space is produced and reproduced. Additionally, what the right to the city entails and how it affects urban development.

What is the Interview about?

The Interview seeks to investigate from the perspective of government officials how urban space is produced and reproduced to integrate low-income households into prime urban locations. It also seeks to investigate why socio-spatial integration has been slow despite policy reiterating the need for it. Lastly the interview seeks to ascertain what role the government plays in bringing about socio-spatial integration in the city of Cape Town.

Would my participation in this study be kept confidential?

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 during the study.

What are the risks of this research?

There are no risks involved in participating in this research project. From the beginning, aims and objectives will be clear.

What are the benefits of this research?

There are no material benefits for the research participant/ respondent.



Private Bag X17, Bellville 7535, Cape Town, South Africa
 Telephone : (021) 959 3858/6 Fax: (021) 959 3865
 E-mail: pkippie@uwc.ac.za or akarriem@uwc.ac.za

Consent for Interview-Recording

I....., have had the opportunity to ask any questions related to this study, and received satisfactory answers to my questions, and any additional details I wanted.

I agree to take part in this research.

I understand that my participation in this study is voluntary. I am free not to participate and have the right to withdraw from the study at any time, without having to explain myself.

I am aware that this interview will be recorded and may result in research which may be published, but my name may be/ not be used (circle appropriate).

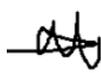
I understand that if I don't want my name to be used that this will be ensured by the researcher.

Date:.....

Participant
 Name:.....

Participant
 Signature:.....

Interviewer name: Clara Kanchau.....

Interviewer Signature:..... 



Private Bag X17, Bellville 7535, Cape Town, South Africa
Telephone : (021) 959 3858/6 Fax: (021) 959 3865
E-mail: pkippie@uwc.ac.za or akarriem@uwc.ac.za

Dear Sir/Madam

Re: Questionnaire for the use in the research on Urban Contestations for Housing: Reclaiming and Deracialising Cape Town's Inner City.

My name is Clara Kanchau and I am currently doing my Master degree in Development Studies student at the University of the Western Cape. I am conducting research with the title Urban Contestations for Housing: Reclaiming and Deracialising Cape Town's Inner City. I would appreciate it if you would voluntarily participate in the study and complete the attached research questionnaire.

Please note that all information will be preserved with strict confidentiality.

Your contribution to this study is greatly appreciated.

Thank you.

Yours sincerely

-----  -----

Clara Kanchau (researcher)

Questionnaire:

Section A: Demographics

	Questions	Reponses	TICK ON THIS COLUMN	
1	How old are you?	19 - 35		1
		35 – 50		2
		50 - 65		3
2	Gender	Female		1
		Male		2
3	Race	Black		1
		Coloured		2
		Indian		3
		White		4
4	What is your Marital status?	Single		1
		Married		2
		Widowed		3
		Separated or Divorced		4
5	Educational status	No school		1
		Primary school		2
		High school		3
		Matric		4
		Tertiary		5
6	Employment status	Employed – formal and informal		1
		Employed – solely informal		2
		Unemployed		3

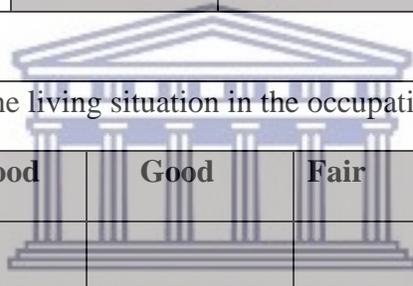
		Retired		4
7	What is your occupation?	Any response		
8	What is the household monthly income	Less than R3500		1
		Between R3500 and R5000		2
		Between R5000 and R8000		3
		More than R8000		5
9	Are you currently receiving any state grant?	Yes		1
		No		2

SECTION B: Housing Situation

10	Where did live before moving into the occupation?	Within Woodstock/ Salt River		1
		Within Green Point		2
		Outside central Cape Town		3
11	What was the monthly rent at your previous residence	Less than R3500		1
		Between R3500 and R4500		2
		Between R4500 and R5500		3
		Between R5500 and R6500		4
		More than R 6500		5
12	Why did you move to the occupation?	Eviction		1
		Increased rent		2
		Upgrade from backyard		3
		Support the movement		4

13	What do you consider to be the most accessible facilities from the occupation? Tick in order of importance 1st MOST important and 4th LEAST important			
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th
Work				
School				
Hospital				
Government Services				
Transport				
Market				
Community				

14	How would you describe the living situation in the occupation?					
	Very Good	Fairly Good	Good	Fair	Fairly Bad	Very Bad



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SECTION C: Participation in Reclaim the City

15	Which activities do you prefer while in the movement? Tick in order of importance 1st MOST important and 4th LEAST important.			
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th
Meetings				
House duties				
Protests				
Advocacy				