Life beyond protests: an ethnographic study of what it means to be an informal settlement resident in Kanana/Gugulethu, Cape Town

Department of Anthropology and Sociology

A mini thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Anthropology, University of the Western Cape
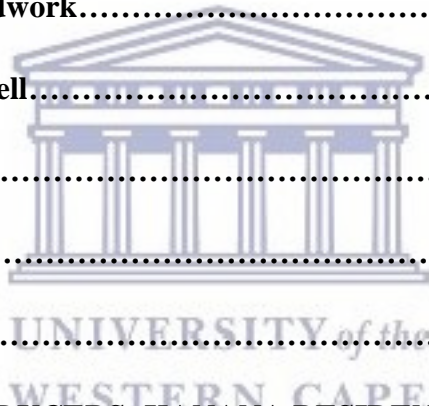
December 2018

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that *Life beyond protests: an ethnographic study of what it means to be an informal settlement resident in Kanana/Gugulethu, Cape Town* is my own work, that it has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other university, and that all sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged as complete references.

Mzulungile Gaqa   December 2018

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

"I am because we are"- The following helped me to take this work this far:

Sincerely, I would like to thank residents of Kanana who took part in this study for their valuable contributions. My friends, you co-produced this work. This thesis has reached its completion due to the guidance of my supervisor Professor Heike Becker who has always encouraged and supported me intellectually throughout this journey. Thank you so much Prof. Professor Sakhumzi Mfecane; thank you Prof for your continual support. You are the reason why I regard myself as a thinker. Lastly, I would like to thank my family and friends for always encouraging me to never give up and for your continuous support. Zintle, mama kaPhawu; thank you for your support. Your support and guidance is highly appreciated.

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ABSTRACT

This study explores the lives of Kanana residents, an informal settlement in Gugulethu Township on the outskirts of Cape Town, South Africa. It pays particular attention to their everyday lives to dispel negative and simplistic representations of informal settlement residents when they collectively take part in protests. Although there are extensive reasons for the protests in the informal settlements, the media and the South African government have reduced these protests to portraying them as demands for "service delivery", and furthermore as criminally induced protests. I point out that this problem is partly due to scholarly work that does not engage these misleading representations and illustrate the lives of shack residents in the ordinary, when they are not protesting. Thus the focus of this thesis is life beyond protests. I argue that the lives of shack residents who participate in the protests are complex. As opposed to negative and simplistic representations, this thesis illustrates that one needs to be immersed in the lives of shack residents so as to understand them as identifiable human beings who make meaning of their lives. I explore their lives in the shack settlement further and argue that these human beings live their ordinary harmonious lives centred on the practice of greeting. To highlight the complexity of life of protesting informal settlement residents this thesis makes a point that there exist unsettling realities in the shack settlement; unsettling realities that make residents feel to be less of human beings. Kanana residents, therefore, draw from these perpetual unsettling realities to organise and protest.

This thesis is based on ethnographic research, which was conducted between September 2015 and February 2016. During fieldwork, I observed and interacted in informal conversations with Kanana residents. With the main co-producers of this work, I carried out their life histories and further in-depth interviews.

KEY WORDS

Informal settlements

Daily life

Unsettling Realities

Ethnography

Participant-observation

Protests

Service delivery

Co-producers

South Africa

Cape Town

Gugulethu

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

The main aim of this thesis is to explore the meaning of being an informal settlement resident. It focuses on Kanana informal settlement residents of Gugulethu Township in Cape Town, South Africa, who participate in community protests to make sense of their life in the informal settlement; the emphasis of the ethnography is on their lives beyond their actual participation in the protests. I have an ordinary relationship with Cape Town. Like many black Cape Town general populace, I am from the Eastern Cape. Until I moved to Cape Town for educational purposes, I lived most of my life in the rural Eastern Cape. I continue to spend annual holidays in the Eastern Cape and in Cape Town I have lived in Khayelitsha, in a formal, ie, brick houses township. However I have also been exposed to informal settlements in Cape Town. That is where most, if not all, of my relatives, fellow villagers and friends from the Eastern Cape live. This is where I find a source of association and connectedness. My view has been that there is a lot that needs to be scholarly unearthed about informal settlements and their residents. This is especially true with regards to the much publicized and seemingly unavoidable protests that often emanate in the informal settlements. It is also my view that informal settlements need to be separately studied for consequent comparisons. This may pave a way of not only seeing them as relative but as complex spaces where people live and to better understand protests that are inseparable from informal settlements.

1.1 Lesson learnt in Honours thesis:

This study by and large is also influenced by my honours' research conducted in 2013 on *Service delivery protests in South Africa: Case Study of service delivery protest in Khayelitsha, BM Section*. It was an ethnographic explorative study conducted in an informal settlement aimed at gaining an understanding of how the so-called service delivery protests come into action. This was done to elicit the dynamics that play out during a protest. Narratives of those who participated in the protest in 2012 played an important role in my earlier research. I used literature to facilitate and engage the scholarly narratives of the protests.

It is from my honours thesis that I came to gain a basic understanding of community protests. Literature on protests assisted in the establishment of this basic understanding. In discussing protests the literature has shown that most of the so-called service delivery protests emanate from urban townships and informal settlements (Mottiar & Bond, 2012). What became a

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breakthrough for me in the course of the honours study was meeting actual people who participated in the protest. It was intriguing because I became to know them personally. It became quite overwhelming because our personal relationships extended even beyond the duration of my fieldwork. Learning and hearing from the "horses' mouths" in their own spaces is beyond rewarding. I learned a lot from my interlocutors who consequently became not only my accomplices but my extended family till to date.

What I learned from my interlocutors, as they continuously remarked, is that they took to protest because of the critical lack of adequate housing, provision of electricity to all, including the lack of decent toilets. They contested that they are unemployed, communal water-taps are far and that their shacks are vulnerable to shack fires. What became prominent to their reasons behind the protest was the demand of decent housing and toilets. These reasons and consequent protest action were cited as a result of disillusionment from government promises. In turn they did not just demand the delivery of better "services" but recognition of their dignity as human beings. Living conditions in a shack settlement became an underscored point of view. They voiced that to the government they were just voting subjects. I felt like something scholarly needed to be done to bring out people's daily lives in the informal settlement. On the one hand, part of what motivated this study, essentially, is the lack of scholarship to explore life beyond the popular protests in South Africa and the ethnographic exploration of daily lives. This thesis attempts to work on this noticeable gap. On the other hand, part of what motivated this study are media and government representations of the people who participate in protests. I will explain this below.

1.2 Rationale:

This thesis's approach goes against a well-established narrative in the South African media. It is very rare to finish a news bulletin without hearing about what the mainstream media views as "service delivery protests" in contemporary South Africa. Protests, especially in the mainstream media's representations, have become routine practices. Little is being said that South African residents, informal settlements residents in particular, have been protesting before and after the advent of democracy. Although protests before democracy were also about the issues of living conditions, they were mainly about the fight against the apartheid system. Contemporary protests however mainly relate to the grievances that have been

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expressed based on the living conditions in the informal settlements. Protesting in order to get the attention of the authorities can thus be traced back to the apartheid and post-apartheid eras in South Africa.

The participants in the post-apartheid protests are generally represented however as angry people who demand "service delivery". Their actions are presented as acts of violence (Gould, 2013). This has been not only reported in the Western Cape, where this research is based, but it has been reported in other provinces of this country. Mainstream media have played a leading role in this regard. The Mail and Guardian newspaper, for example, on the 10th of April 2014, reported on the protest over basic services and accusations of nepotism in Buitumelong Township, in the North West province. In this report the people who participated in the protest are represented as protesters who disrupted schools and blockaded a national road, N12. This prompted the Police and Prisons Civil Rights organisation in 2014 to refer to them as "unruly protesters". The same newspaper reported on the 6th of February 2014 on another protest, which represented residents, who protested against a lack of water services and demanded the building of proper roads in their area, as 'angry'. The general media representation can be summarized as follows: They protest about public issues that include sanitation, housing, toilets, unemployment and electricity. They occupy public spaces such as national roads when they protest. When they do so, other people who are not part of the protest are being affected. They blockade roads, burn tyres and even stone passing cars. Traffic is being blocked; people are injured due to violence that erupts and clashes with the police. This therefore does not only become their concern but it becomes the concern of other parties. Mainstream media including scholarly work, for example, Jain (2010); Mottiar and Bond (2012); and Nyar and Wray (2012) are responsible for these representations. This is what is viewed in this study as shallow understanding of those who are involved in protests, that fail to comprehend the protesting people's personal and daily lives; their narratives are lost.

Contemporary popular protests are generally dubbed as 'service delivery protests'. This is the term that is commonly used by media institutions, politicians and some academics. It is the media and politicians' representation of these protests. The works of Bank (2011:244); Alexander (2010); Mottiar and Bond (2012); Booysen (2009); Booysen (2007); and Bester (2012) and Dano, (2014) are just few testimonies of those who view these protests as service delivery protests; the latter two are media reports, with specific focus in Cape Town. In this

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thesis I challenge the view that these protests are service delivery protests. Instead follow Gibson (2011:30) that naming the protests simply 'service delivery' reduces the meaning of the activism. The language of service delivery reinforces suffering, naturalises suffering and objectifies the people. It ceases to take into account multiple determinations of inequality (Gibson, 2011:34-35; Fakir, 2014). It further disregards people's agency and projects them as passive human beings who are solely dependent and expect to be taken care of.

The public is provided with images of protesters; they are not given a perspective on human beings who have their daily routines. We are not told as to what those people do for living, who they are, who they are living with, their underlying involvement in the protest, their social relations, and their life in multiple dimensions. This is the void I address in this study. I show that these people are part of families, communities, and the wider local and international world. Critical understanding of daily lives can best be explored and expressed in the form of ethnographic research and writing. This has resulted in my thesis which therefore aims to provide an understanding of what it means to be an informal settlement resident.

There have been several studies conducted in informal settlements in South Africa and abroad (Adler, 1994; Robins, 2002; Ross, 2010; Harte *et al.,*2009; Richards, O'leary & Mutsonziwa, 2007; etc.). Literature that deals with informal settlements, as it is going to be illustrated in this thesis, generally however tends to be abstract when discussing informal settlements. As a result they lack in recognizing that there is a need to document and bring about the language of everyday life. As the reviewed literature in this thesis demonstrates, in-depth understanding through closely focusing on particular individuals is what the existing literature seems to lack. Specific and local actions of individuals are not prioritised; as a result the literature, unfortunately, tends to generalize. What is more, authors lean more on interpretation than on perceptions and in-depth interpretations of the informal settlement residents themselves.

This thesis works against the colonial and post-apartheid narrative of uncritically positing informal settlements as disorganized and crime-ridden. My exploration therefore looks at how informal settlements residents navigate spaces in their daily lives; and consequently contradict how informal settlements have been constructed. This study emerges at a very critical and insisting moment of protests in South Africa. Informal settlements residents have

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been protesting over several issues ranging from matters such as unemployment to matters such as sanitation, lack of water-supply, and community development in general. Authorities and the mass media have been very consistent into how those who participate in the protests should be viewed. They have been largely criminalized by state and the media (Auyero, 2010; Skuse and Cousins, 2007; Makhulu, 2010; Perlman, 2010; Goddard (2001); Desai, 2002: Gould, 2012). This has been consistent from the apartheid through to the post-apartheid eras.

My research follows calls made by earlier researchers. As long as more than twenty years ago Adler (1994:107) remarked that little is known as to how shack inhabitants operate in their urban environment. A little later, Mbembe conducted an academic conversation with the objective to open up the post-liberation township life and experience (Mbembe, Dlamini & Khunou, 2004). Again Mbembe (2001), and also Bank (2011) have pointed out that studies of everyday life, especially in African societies are needed to understand how people are entrapped in marginal places, and to understand protests. A study in response to the points raised by these authors is therefore an attempt to realise the meaning of being an informal settlement resident. From a social science and humanities point of view, the lack of understanding of daily life experiences in informal settlements suggests that such authors are not taking informal settlement residents seriously. This follows Dlamini (2009:129) who has noted that scholars, writers and thinkers tend to lack descriptions of what it meant, and subsequently means, to be an urban African in South Africa. To him this suggests not taking people's feelings seriously. Lack of empirical exploration of informal settlement residents and their participation in popular protests in contemporary South Africa call for an ethnographic study.

1.3 Field of the study:

My five-month ethnographic study conducted through participation and observation was based in Kanana. Kanana is one of the informal shack settlements in Cape Town, located in the township of Gugulethu. The most interesting thing about the name of the place is that it refers to the biblical country of Canaan that flows with milk and honey. Kanana is located in Gugulethu Township, some 15 kilometres from the Cape Town Central Business District, next to the N2 highway, extending towards the road leading the traffic to Cape Town

International Airport from the townships of Nyanga, Crossroads, and Gugulethu, which also includes the incoming traffic from the direction of Somerset West. People started to move to Kanana in 1990. This was then a piece of unoccupied land. According to the 2011 census, out of the 98,468 of Gugulethu's population and the township's 29577 households, 7830 people live in 3,177 households in Kanana. Ninety-percent of Gugulethu residents are black Africans and Kanana has 99 percent of black Africans. Forty-one percent of Gugulethu residents live in shack settlements while 6.3 per cent are shacks in the backyards.

Since people occupied the land without government permission, the land does not legally belong to them. The shacks in Kanana are predominantly made up of used material. The materials used to build shacks include zinc, plastic sails and planks. There are no public facilities such as schools and clinics. For education and health services Kanana residents therefore rely mostly on Gugulethu and Nyanga townships as nearby neighbours, and occasionally other townships. However, there are communal water taps. In some shacks there are installed electricity boxes while others use illegal connections. There are also communal toilets while others are still using the bucket toilet-system.

Informal settlement areas are where people build their own homes and government sometimes provide them with basic services such as electricity and water-taps. While many households have access to electricity, paraffin (kerosene) is used by other residents for cooking, and paraffin heaters. It is also used for lighting in other households. Candles are also used for lighting, which together with paraffin, are notable contributors of shack fires (see Chapter 7). Due to the challenge of rubbish removal huge plastic bags are hung on the streets and in front of the shacks and are collected by municipal workers on a weekly basis. Due to the shortages of building material, second-hand shipping containers are used for business purposes. Containers are used as restaurants, barbershops and salons, tuck-shops and other small business purposes. For transportation purposes many informal settlement residents rely on minicabs (commonly known as *amaphela*), mini-bus taxis, Golden-Arrow buses, and Metro-rail trains.

Kanana was purposefully selected as the research site on the basis of its informal settlement-ness and its involvement in protests. In this way I primarily deal with specificities of Kanana and its residents. I regard Kanana as situated. I am applying the notion of situated(ness) as according to Erving Goffman (1963) in his work on performance. He states that; "the term

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situated may be used to refer to any event occurring within the physical boundaries of a situation" (Goffman 1963:21). In this thesis, "situated" refers to any event or occurrence that I have studied, and have occurred and may be occurring within the physical boundaries of Kanana situation. Although not limited to situated activities, I am primarily interested in the activity aspect that could not occur outside situation, i.e. Kanana informal settlement, and informal settlements in general.

1.4 The Argument:

My central argument is that in order to gain an adequate understanding of popular protests there is a need to consider seriously how informal settlement residents experience and construct their living conditions. How they are recognized to be has huge influence into how they are treated and seen. I propose that there is a need to scholarly break away from what I sense as an antagonistic tradition of representing protesting shack residents as criminal, merely demanding "service delivery" and thus to be treated with contempt. I argue that there is a need to pay attention to the complex realities of the shack resident. Therefore, to understand protests one need to take into cognizance that those who participate in the protests are identifiable ordinary human beings who take part in the protests not as criminals or as a mere "service delivery" protesters. To emphasize once more, the call is for understanding their lives beyond their participation in protests.

Understanding shack residents' lives beyond their participation in protests provides an opportunity to learn and appreciate that the shack residents are also humans who have their harmonious ways of living among themselves in the settlement. Furthermore, it shows how shack residents live in the mist of unsettling realities that make them feel less of human beings. This goes along with both good and bad experiences of living in the shack settlement. I show that this must be understood as connected to shack residents' participation in the protests. Together this tells a complex narrative of what it means to be an informal settlement resident. So, the meanings that people make of their own lives must constitute a fundamental contribution of what is perceived to be informal settlement. Prioritising how protest participants as residents in the informal settlements themselves make meaning of what it means to be an informal settlement resident challenges the common perception of informal settlements and contributes to the larger arena of representation and

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personhood. How Kanana informal settlement residents make meaning of their daily lives thus destabilizes the largely disseminated view that the authorities and the mass media have historically and contemporary constructed about them. Shack residents' lives are complex. This is a quest for the shift in the geography of reasoning.

1.5 Structure of the thesis:

This thesis is organised in eight chapters. In **Chapter one** (*Introduction*), I introduce the discussion by pointing at the problem that this study is responding to. This chapter also depicts the methods used in this study. I then introduce the area of the study.

Chapter two (*The Making of Informal Settlements in South Africa, Cape Town*), focuses on the notion of informal settlements. Informal settlements are where the protests prominently take place. With specific focus on the informal settlements in Cape Town metro it introduces and discusses informal settlements as a historical phenomenon. It makes it clear how informal settlements came into existence.

In **Chapter three** (*Post-apartheid community Protests and their Representations*), I focus on protests and how they are represented. I start with a brief context of popular protests in South Africa. I then focus on the literature that deals with forms of and reasons for the protests. I illustrate that the protests are widely presented simplistically and adversely. On the one hand I draw from the literature to show that the protests are presented as "service delivery" protests. On the other hand I further draw from the literature to show that the protests are presented as criminal and treated with disdain. I demonstrate that presenting the protests in this way fails to comprehend the complexity behind protest demonstrations. It fails to attend to the question of what it means to be an informal settlement resident. Instead I imply that these ways of presenting the protests deform the protests and those who participate in the protests. I conclude this chapter by suggesting that in order to comprehend protests in the informal settlements there is a need to get an understanding of those who take part in protests beyond their actual participation in the protests; and how their participation in the protests is connected to their ordinary lives.

In **Chapter four** (*In the Informal Settlement: Navigating the field*), I explore the methods employed for the realisation of this study. I briefly present the theoretical scope of the study. I then show how I entered the field. The chapter explores the technicalities of the methods

applied. Most importantly, it engages the relationships that the researcher has managed to create and maintain with the people of Kanana informal settlement. It shows that Kanana residents became my friends. I then explore the reflections of the researcher about fieldwork.

Chapters; five, six and **seven** take up the appeal made in **Chapter three.** They explore the lives of the people who participate in the protests beyond their participation in protests. In this way they try to make sense of what it means to be an informal settlement resident. **Chapter five** (*Co-producers: Kanana Residents*), for example, takes the initiative and particularise Kanana residents who participate in the community protests. It presents them by showing that they are identifiable ordinary human beings with names, and that they predominantly migrated from the province of the Eastern Cape. It also shows how their ordinary lives are connected to the protests.

Chapter six (*Ways of Living with Others in an informal settlement*) goes further and explores the ways which shack residents have devised to live with each other. Taking up the argument against representations of informal settlement resident protesters as criminal and as calling for "service delivery" this chapter shows that shack residents have harmonising ways of living among themselves in their co-residential arrangements. It shows this by centring the practice of greeting as the main facilitator of harmonious ways of living with others.

Chapter seven (*"It makes you feel less of a human being": Unsettling Realities in the Shack Resident*) further complicates the lives of the people who participate in the protests. It pays attention to the unsettling realities that shack residents go through; unsettling realities of shack residents that make them feel less as human beings. These realities are coupled with both good and bad experiences of being a shack resident. It points to the complicated life of shack residents who participate in protests. It shows the complexity of what it means to be an informal settlement resident; and how these unsettling realities may be sensed as related to the participation of residents into the protests. In this chapter, by and large, I demonstrate that the residents' participation in the protests cannot be reduced to a mere criminal "service delivery" protest activity.

In **Chapter eight** (*Conclusion*)**,** I draw conclusions based on the discussions presented in the preceding chapters of the thesis. I will also propose ideas for further research.

CHAPTER TWO: THE MAKING OF INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA, CAPE TOWN

2.1 Introduction:

Since this study explores the meaning of life as lived in the informal settlements in order to provide a complex understanding of the everyday lives of protesters, it is befitting to first explore how informal settlements came into being. In this thesis, informal, squatter and shack settlement are used interchangeably. This chapter is decidedly a very brief of informal settlements through the discussion of historically based scholarly work. The aim is to lay out a historical context of a place where the protests predominantly take place and whose residents need to be studied as human beings who ordinarily inhabit informal settlements such as Kanana. I will pay particular attention to Cape Town as a city that has been surrounded by informal settlements for several decades now.

2.2 What is an informal settlement?

Informal settlements refer to the communities that came into being through illegal acquisition of state owned land (Fahmy, 2004:597). In South Africa and internationally, informal settlements are places that have been presented negatively. According to Kellett and Napier (1995:8) scholars such as Harrison (1980) in *The Third World Tomorrow* have negatively generalized informal settlements as inadequate, disorganized, and improvised shelters. Generally, Kellett and Napier (1995) have argued, the view is that the state had largely ignored or failed to support informal settlements (Kellett & Napier, 1995:9).

Based on their work on settlements in South America, Colombia and South Africa, Peter Kellet and Mark Napier (1995:8) have noted that poor people's self-constructed settlements around urban centers are a historical phenomenon. The informal settlements are generally characterised by self-constructed shacks, they lack services and infrastructure, and they lack formal planning (Harte *et al.,* 2009:143). Households are situated in insecure tenure conditions (Huchzermeyer, 2008:2). The most common character of informal settlements is that they are under the scourge of poverty (Richards *et al.,* 2007:383-385). Informal settlements vary in their trajectories of developing; some were developed gradually, and still being developed over a longer period of time while others can be built overnight (Malinga,

2000:43). Squatter settlement is generally defined as a "residential in an urban locality inhabited by the very poor who have no access to tenured land of their own, and hence "squat" on vacant land, either private or public" (Srinivas 2015:1).

2.3 Emergence and persistence of informal settlements:

Informal settlements form a significant part of the post-apartheid city; however they can be traced back to the colonial era. Informal settlements particularly in Cape Town coincided with the arrival of African people from the Eastern Cape, mostly from the former reserves of the Ciskei and Transkei (Wilson & Mafeje, 1963:31). Africans first moved in a noticeable number to Cape Town to find work in about 1896 or 1897 (Meier, 2000). At the core, people had to migrate to town due to poverty and the need to take responsibility and support their families (Wilson & Mafeje, 1963:3). Although the authorities of the time initially reserved accommodation for Africans in formal employment, the African population increased by 1900. They could not be accommodated as more unemployed Africans moved to Cape Town and were forced to go back the Eastern Cape (Meier, 2000). Over time they erected their makeshift shelters around the city (Meier, 2000:31). This has continued to the present.

Because they were primarily seen as workers in Cape Town, perceived to be aliens in urban areas (Maylam, 1995:22), Africans were restricted entry particularly since 1926 (Wilson & Mafeje, 1963:2; Mayer, 1963, in the case of East London). The 1923 Native (Urban Areas) Act No.12, which updated nineteenth century similar laws, was enacted to regulate African life in the city to effect segregation and to regulate new migrants for influx control purposes (Silk, 1981:61; Malinga, 2000:50; 59; Mears, 2007:14; Reader, 1961:10). This racial segregation emerged in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries through the capitalist and industrial economic system (Mears, 2007:3; Reader, 1961:11). The segregation policy maintained that the poor are located in locations far from where their places of employment are located (Wilson & Mafeje, 1963:6; Bank, 2010:8). This reinforced territorial cleavage. Ross (2010) has also noted the lasting implications of this policy. She stated that, "the pre-apartheid city's apparent racial integration overplay a cruel class structure apartheid re-rendered in crude racial terms. Despite massive post-apartheid change, Cape Town remains South Africa's most segregated city" (Ross, 2010:2).

The 1951 Prevention of Squatting Act gave rise not only to strong endeavours to limit the presence of Africans in the city but it also reiterated assault and eviction of Africans in illegal

shack settlements (Meier, 2000:273-274). In the mid-1960s the city ceased from building housing for Africans and only provided limited housing for Coloureds (Ross, 2010:2; Malinga, 2000:44). Consequently, the reason behind the emergence of informal shack settlements and squatter movements was a dire housing shortage as migrants and those residing in the urban settled in the urban area (Ross, 2010:2; Silk, 1981:65). Migrants, in this case, refer to "anyone living in town who also has, or recently had, a home in the country" Mayer & Mayer (1974: ix). In general, it was due to overcrowding in limited housing of Coloured, Indian and African neighbourhoods (Seekings, 2010:3). This was coupled by natural population growth (Malinga, 2000:44-45).

In 1927 the city officially opened the model location called Langa (Wilson & Mafeje, 1963). However, Langa could not accommodate all Africans in Cape Town. The population of Africans was estimated at more than ten thousand in 1927 and Langa was capacitated to accommodate five thousand persons (Meier, 2000:50). Backyard shacks grew and the government could not control the flourishing of informal settlements. Shacks increased and the authorities could not demolish them as they did not have alternatives of accommodating Africans (Meier, 2000:45). As a result, by the mid-1980s informal settlements had become noticeable (Ross, 2010:2) as defined attempts by African migrants in South Africa to live within metropolitan areas.

Informal settlement residents asserted their visibility on the fringes of the urban environment in pursuit of decent living conditions and –significantly - in the fight against apartheid laws. During the apartheid era black Africans were imprisoned and persecuted for building shacks on the outskirts of Cape Town as they were viewed as belonging to the so-called 'independent' homelands (Robins, 2002:526; Makhulu, 2010). This created hostilities, which became dangerous through the 1970s and 1980s (Ross, 2010:2). Political consciousness and the ability to adapt to urban life seem to have played an important role in many squatters as that helped them to devise modes of survival and self-determination (Makhulu, 2010:565).

Makhulu (2010) traces strong evidence of removals from hostels designated for city workers during the apartheid era, especially unemployed people and women were affected. They consequently joined those who were already residing in informal settlements. Makhulu (2010) characterises informal settlements as a location that came into being as a result of the failure of formal settlements to accommodate an amassing population in the urban

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neighbourhood In the post-apartheid era informal settlements are a location that has become excluded by the state's market-obsessed policies (Makhulu, 2010). The focus of post-apartheid state had been and continues to be on the economy and markets more than being on social reform among South African citizens (Makhulu, 2010:561). Political consciousness was therefore formed to address issues such as building homes, local institutions and schools (Makhulu, 2010:560). She suggests that articulating the rights of the citizens in post-apartheid South Africa seems to have demobilised mass mobilisation against overarching grievances (Makhulu, 2010:561). While Makhulu's research was obviously conducted in the era before the current wave of community protests, her point remains valid that getting an understanding of social relations in informal settlements is a significant attempt towards opening avenues for social reform.

Informal settlements are known to exist in urban areas; yet their residents are said to live a life that is disconnected from city life. Regarding informal settlements as disconnected from city life is informed by fairly old articulations (see, Hasting, 1973:90; Cook, 1986). This has been challenged, however. Quoting Richard Jackson, Goddard (2001:10) has discussed that "a strong case can be made of the opposite view: that the settlements are frequently the homes of people less transitory, no more unemployed and just as urbanized as other sectors of the population" (Jackson, 1976, 4 9). Jackson's view is based on the people of Popondetta, in Papua New Guinea, whose socio-economic status resembled that of those in other third-world settlements. In respect of South Africa, Skuse and Cousins (2007) have advanced this argument regarding informal settlement residents of Khayelitsha in Cape Town. In contrast to the view that informal settlements residents are 'disconnected' from their cities as argued by the likes of Hasting (1973:90) and (Cook, 1986), they argue that informal settlements residents are 'marginalised'; they operate on unequal relations to access the economy instead. In reference to informal settlements in Khayelitsha, they argue that the township is rather very much connected to the rest of Cape Town given that residents are workers in the city and therefore forming an integral part of the economy and social life of greater Cape Town. This includes building social networks and participation in urban politics (Bank, 2011:212).

Fiona Ross, who conducted fifteen years of fieldwork in a settlement just outside Cape Town, argues that living in informal settlements includes the desire for independency, the option to change the place where one stays, and privacy in the case where one lives with many family members (Ross, 2010:27). Residing in informal settlements also became survival strategies

for those who did not have financial means to rent or buy a decently built house (Meier, 2000:193). Shack settlement became a place to retain community ties despite material hardships (Ross, 2010:27-28). This can also be seen as politics of space. The view that economic needs have contributed to people moving into informal settlements persists (Harte, Childs & Hastings, 2009:146). Some are unemployed. A number of survival forms thus bring informal settlements residents together; this include access to potable water, patrol of the shacks, information networks, and community organisations like stokvels, burial societies, and small businesses (Ross, 2010).

Bohman, Vasuthe, van Wyk and Ekman's (2007:336) have argued that modernisation, including economic and social transformations inferred by contemporary governments undermined the structures that have sustained communities through cohesive 'traditional' practices. Leslie Bank's (2011) study of East London, South Africa, concentrated on the changing city and townships as complex spaces of creativity, social formation, and struggle taking into consideration apartheid's restructuring process aimed at removing black people from the city. Bank demonstrates that historical ethnography is important. His focus is based on trying to understand how power and identity are contested in homes, streets and in public spaces (Bank, 2011:18-19). African urban settlements therefore are viewed as "places of distressed, amorphous, splintering and ruined urbanisation given that they are associated with social and economic dystopia of overcrowded, crime-ridden and poorly serviced townships, slums or ghettos- with areas of privilege, wealth, cosmopolitanism and global connectivity" Bank (2011:28; also see: Gibson, 2011).

Directed against government restrictions was the insistence by Africans to have the right to live in the city not only for work purposes but for settling and permanence. Shack settlements thus did also serve as havens for families (Meier, 2000:148). Scholars such as Sutherland and Buthelezi (2013:65) are of the view that informal settlements are a part of the struggle for the right to the city and the politics of space. They are not just a representation of housing backlog but they represent a profound urbanisation process (Jordhus-Lier, 2013:94).

2.4 Conclusion:

This chapter has provided a brief background of the informal settlements. In doing so I discussed what is meant by informal settlement. With great input from historical scholarship I then discussed the emergence of informal settlements with specific focus to Cape Town. It is

through this discussion that it is revealed that the emergence of informal settlements is traced from migration on economic grounds. I showed that informal settlements sprang up mainly due to two major influences, ie., segregation laws and overcrowding. Rather than being a recent development, they are an old historical phenomenon. One of the characteristic activities known from informal settlements are the eminent protests. Informal settlements living conditions are a primary factor in the lead up to protests. The following chapter discusses the protests as emanating predominantly in the informal settlements (Nleya, 2011); and how they ought to be understood.

CHAPTER THREE: POST-APARTHEID COMMUNITY PROTESTS AND THEIR REPRESENTATIONS

3.1 Introduction:

This study has emerged in response to how community-based protests in general and informal settlements-based protests in particular have been represented in the media and government. This chapter forms the basis of the discussion of protests and their participants My interest in this chapter is to contribute to how protests emanating in the informal settlements can be sensed. So, this chapter discusses the protests in general, and how they have been represented in particular; this is done from a critical perspective. This contribution is in the form of four sections. To provide context to the protests in point here I will first lay a background and the production of these protests in South Africa.

The second section pays attention to the reasons behind the protests; and how these protests are carried out. The underlying and overlying stance of this section is in working against the backdrop of representing informal settlement residents who participate in protests as "unruly", "angry", "violent" and as mere "protesters". I argue that presenting informal settlement residents who participate in protests as criminal and as mere protesters fails to take into full consideration the complexity that shack settlement residents find themselves in. It fails to present a sense of what motivates the protests.

In the third section of this chapter I discuss the representations of the protests. I start with the notion that these protests are supposedly "service delivery protests"; this is done to illustrate the negativity of the term and the misrepresentation of these protests. I discuss this in relation to the arguments professed by Dlamini (2009); Friedman (2009); Pithouse (2011); Gibson (2011); and Fakir (2014). Due to the complexity of what underpins these protests, I propose that these protests should not be characterised as "service delivery protests". I show that the notion of "service delivery" fails to make sense of what constitutes the protests. This notion limits the idea of what informal settlement residents are fighting for.

Entangled with the erroneous representations of protesting informal settlements residents as protesting for "service delivery" is the misleading notion that they are mere criminal

protesters. In this fourth section I discuss the critical works of Desai (2002); Zuern, (2011), Auyero, (2010) Makhulu, (2010) and Fakir (2014) to demonstrate the well-established representations of the protests by the state and the mainstream media. I show that those who protest have been labeled and stigmatized adversely. Central to this is the portrayal of those participating in protests as mere criminal protesters. This is in relation to the violence that erupts during the protests. Highlighting criminalisation of the protests as prominent, I will also discuss the noted violent elements on the side of the residents who participate in the protests.

As I conclude the chapter, I will suggest a more expansive way to understand shack residents in Kanana. I propose that attention should be waged on the life of those who participate in protests beyond protests. In this way I aim to break away from the tradition of limiting those who participate in the protests to the protest demonstration itself.

3.2 Protests in context:

I use the notion of protests to refer to community-based protests. This refers to community-based protests that take place in the informal settlements and townships. These community-based protests have their historical trace in South Africa going back to a history of apartheid. Protests emerged in response to living conditions at the time. The early 1980s are noted as prominent years of community-based protests. As much as the struggles of the time were predominantly directed against the apartheid regime community-based protests highlighted their focus on locally based struggles. This stems from the South African history of popular struggle that featured prominently during apartheid rule. There is a common and widely held agreement among scholars about the past context and contemporary rejuvenation of protests in the settlements. In the struggle against apartheid the civic organisations are among many organisations that stood to challenge local government (Zuern, 2011:23). They have extended (as I will show in the following section, drawing on Alexander, 2010) to be a reality in the post-apartheid dispensation.

Compared to the previous decade, the first few years after 1994 (the year of first democratic inclusive elections in South Africa) saw a decline in protest action (Zuern, 2011:57). This is true especially regarding protests that draw from material demands and broader aspects of consultation and representation in democracy. Apart from material concerns, in post-

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apartheid South Africa there has been increasing dissatisfaction with the realities of democracy. In the post-apartheid era thus protests re-emerged and are affected by men and women who hail from the governing ANC and who feel like their own leaders are not active in resolving the challenges of poor people (Tournadre, 2017:54). This phenomenon shows the continuities from the struggles against apartheid with post-apartheid movements being of the view that the struggle is unfinished; and the living conditions in the settlements manifest a direct consequence of apartheid (Gibson, 2011:150). It is therefore a continuation of the suffering by the suffering poor people.

In South Africa "material demands have clearly served as the basis for broader rights-based citizenship claims" and "through popular protests they have constructed their understandings of what democracy must entail" Zuern (2011: 65; 11). The community-based movements around the demand of basic needs thus began to spring up in the late 1990s (Tournadre, 2017; Gibson, 2011:162; Zuern, 2011:11). Their blossoming in the late 1990s became a returning process to most of the demands made by the earlier civics and has given the emergence of movements of the poor in post-apartheid South Africa (Zuern, 2011:44; Tournadre, 2017:54; Pithouse, 2008:75). This is the period when South Africa have witnessed protests over lack of housing, unaffordable electricity, access to water and sanitation in the poor settlements; in formal and informal settlements (Tournadre, 2017:54).

A growing mobilization in many poor communities since the late 1990s reflected past experiences of civic organizing around material needs (Zuern, 2011:42). The year 2004 in particular, the year of anniversary of democracy; "was marked by widespread actions" Zuern (2011:57; Gibson, 2011:165; Alexander, 2010:25). Generally, from 2004 and 2005 have experienced further increase of these protests with 2009 reaching "new heights as citizens demonstrated their frustrations with the government by marching, submitting petitions, and at times destroying government property" (Zuern, 2011:11). The increased protest actions were dubbed as service delivery protests (Zuern, 2011:57). They took a more confrontational approach (Zuern, 2011:57). This has been manifested by clashes with the police and destruction of public property among other things. Zuern, one of the key observers of community protests in South Africa concludes that these protests over time have presented the demands and marginalized people's quest to be treated as equal citizens (Zuern, 2011:14-15).

Unlike the policial scientist Zuern, anthropologists like Tournadre (2017:53) have argued that these organised protests are part of the everyday life and that ordinary people in post-apartheid South Africa have joined them for reasons that are directly linked to their everyday realities (Tournandre, 2017:58). This gave rise to a different language emanating from below and grounded in the struggle of everyday life (Gibson, 2011:157). Studies show that community protests are not spontaneous. They are informed by interactions in the communities that make them a reality. Criticism is generally aimed at municipal representatives (Tournadre, 2017:54). A typical example of these protests can be drawn from a shack residence in Durban that prominently took to protest. Kennedy Road shack settlement and its neighbouring settlements in May 2005 rose up with a march of over 3000 people; their demands and memorandum to the local councillor were however preceded by a series of community meetings and community discussions (Gibson, 2011:148). This is the same year a shack dwellers' movement, Abahlali baseMjondolo, was launched in Durban. Shack dwellers across Durban joined the movement although they were consistently ignored by local council and treated as criminals (Gibson, 2011:148-149). This movement extended to other South Africa's major cities.

3.3 Protests and why people protest:

My thesis suggests that in contrast to downplaying and denouncing the complex motives of protesters, attention should be paid to the causes of protests. I now do this by discussing the literature that essentially demonstrates that these protests are not merely criminal but are informed by notable causes. As it is shown in the course of this thesis it is to present that "an organised protest is not something that hovers above the ground: it is part of the fabric of "normal" (Auyero 2005: 128), or at least mundane or routine relations Tournadre (2017:53). I would like to emphasise the fact that the protests predominantly take place in urban townships and the informal settlements on city margins (Fakir, 2014); hence my research site of Kanana informal settlement in Gugulethu Township. Gibson (2011:14) states that, "feeling abused by their elected leaders and fed up with the endless broken promises, new struggles have emerged over urban space by those with only negative political identities, stigmatised as marginal, criminal and 'lost'". The latter makes a very important for the discussion. I will illuminate and elaborate the form these struggles have taken and the position this thesis takes in response to such stigma.

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There are an estimated number of 300 protests a year in South Africa (Fakir, 2014). The province of the Western Cape is known to be one of the leading provinces, when it comes to popular, or community protests in South Africa. Informal settlements are regarded as the most common sites of protests in the province (Jain, 2010:24). There are overlapping factors that are viewed as the causes of protests. Protests for basic needs can be traced in the period of 1980s (Zuern, 2011:3). Post-1994 democratic South Africa did not adequately address of such basic needs. In other contexts such as Guatemala and India protests have been analysed as a way of attracting the attention of the government (Benson, 2004). Political scientists Mottiar and Bond (2012) have discussed similar view with regard to South Africa. Zuern (2011:3-4) has further argued that in South Africa people take to the streets as a result of their belief and inability to effectively address the demands through formal state institutions; (see also Gibson, 2011). In fact, as Sinwell (2017:27) argues in the case of a North Johannesburg informal settlement, Thembelihle, "it is clear that change is possible when people use extra-institutional means to achieve their objectives". Mottiar and Bond (2012:311) have stated that the mainstream media views protests as a result of "complaints over lack of water, sanitation, electricity, housing and infrastructure in general" and moreover the "lack of response by local authorities, the lack of employment and business opportunities and high crime rates", (see also Gibson (2011:148) on the case of Kennedy Road Settlement dweller's protests; Allison (2012:349). These kinds of protests have included "mass meetings, drafting of memoranda, petitions, toy-toying, processions, stay-aways, election boycotts, blockading of roads, construction of barricades, burning of tyres, looting, destruction of buildings, and chasing unpopular individuals out of townships, confrontations with the police, forced resignations of elected officials" (Alexander, 2010:26). Peter Alexander (2010), a Johannesburg based sociologist, argues that people protest because of the lack of accountability of the authorities and inadequate services expected to be directed to the people. This includes opposition to the pace and the quality of services provided by the municipalities (Jain, 2012:2).

Social economists such as Akinboade, Mokwena, and Kinfack (2013) have also studied protests in South Africa. Akinboade, *et al.,* (2013) have studied citizen participation in public protests in the Sedibeng district municipality in Gauteng province of South Africa. They quantified that the communities in which protests are undertaken are typically significantly poorer areas (Akinboade, *et al.,* 2013:459). Following Akinboade, *et al.,* (2013) protest participants are known to be from the same area, but differ in terms of age and occupation,

community activists, and also mostly unemployed youth and students (Nyar & Wray (2012: 30). Nyar and Wray (2012) have also studied the so-called service delivery protests in South Africa in an attempt to understand the actions that develop during the protests. While Akinboade, *et al.,* (2013) and Nyar and Wray (2012) have studied the participation of people in the protests they have, however, not moved beyond the protests and followed up how these people live in their daily lives.

In his study among Indian residents in Chatsworth township of Durban,, who are always in constant struggle for better living, Desai (2002) has also discussed motives of the residents. Contrary to those who represent the protests as politically partisan, he is of the view that Chatsworth residents' protests are driven by the need to survive and the desire to live decently. In another context, Asef Bayat's (1997:57-58) study in Iran documents the struggle of how poor people struggle to live in the Iranian city. The struggle for better life by the poor is prolonged by their desire for necessary needs and quest for dignified conditions; not by their political affiliation (Bayat, 1997:57-58). In contrast, Alexander (2010:31), for example, has however argued that power struggles within the African National Congress (ANC) are also linked to the protests in the South African context (Alexander, 2010:31). In relation to the so-called 2011 and 2013 poo protests in South Africa particularly in Cape Town, Robins (2013b) seconded Alexander's view. It can also be argued that given that the leading protesters were prominent leaders of the youth wing of the ANC in the Western Cape, these protests were possibly motivated by the fact that the Western Cape is the only province that the ANC is not in provincial governance. Beyond partisan politics as motivating factors, Robins (2013b) also suggests that the mere fact that poo protests take shape in the public domains make them 'political'. Because space is political (Lefebvre, 1968:174), the struggles in shack settlements resemble the politics of space (Gibson, 2011:27). This line of argument provides a complexity in understanding protests. It opens up a space for the in-depth understanding of the protests.

Similarly, Skuse and Cousins (2007:991-992) have viewed public protests in informal settlements as a complex interaction to express residents' demands. Important to them is the ability of the ordinary residents to show a sense of dissatisfaction. They argue that this "highlight broader community literacy in ways of creating agency in the context of structural powerlessness and disadvantage" (also see Nyar & Wray, 2012). Due to the fact that the discussion of protests are largely drawn from print and electronic media sources one need to

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be cautious of the possibilities of bias and distortion (Nyar & Wray, 2012:25).

A different argument regarding the motivating factors of community protests has been proposed in a few recent studies: This is people's cry for dignity intertwined with the demand for recognition. A strong proponent of this view is Nigel Gibson (2011: xiv) who has argued that these protests are social revolts in response to broken promises made by post-apartheid government in South Africa. By the late 1990s these protests had begun articulation (Gibson, 2011:6). His work reflects on Frantz Fanon's work and how it can be appropriated in the contemporary South Africa. This therefore is seen as a way of expressing grievances. Expressed in a critical response to Alexander's (2010) argument that the protests must be viewed as the rebellion of the poor, Ebrahim Fakir (2014) is of the view that people's protests resemble a cry for political recognition. Fakir (2014), therefore, suggests a crisis of representation in politics. In his paper on 2011 pre-local government election protests over unenclosed toilets in Cape Town; Steven Robins, a Cape Town based anthropologist, has pursued a similar argument. To Robins (2014) sanitation politics resonate with political practices of claiming the right to the city. He referred to the realities of having unenclosed toilets and protests thereof as "the politics of the everyday" (Robins, 2014:481). Robins' (2014) analysis suggests that the unenclosed toilets phenomenon communicates what is happening in the everyday informal settlements, where many informal settlement residents face the indignities of having to relieve themselves in the open on a daily basis (Robins, 2014:492). The controversy over unenclosed toilets has exposed indignities and injustices of chronic poverty that have been invisible and normalised in South African cities (Robins, 2014).

Some township and informal settlement residents who have been involved in recent protests themselves referred to 'dignity' in reacting to the lack of sufficient service provision to them. For example, during a protest in Khayelitsha in April 2011 one of the placards read "Dignity in our lifetime" (Mottiar & Bond, 2012). This can be viewed as an expression of being humiliated by the authorities (Mottiar & Bond, 2012:311). Furthermore, authors such as Gibson (2011:18) and Mottiar and Bond (2012:311) have argued that shack dwellers in South Africa and particularly in Cape Town demand human dignity and recognition; they want to be recognised as human equals. Given that they live on the margins of the city they are fighting for their right to the city and justice. In relation to KwaZulu Natal, Durban shack dwellers on the other hand, Gibson (2011:18) argues that they are thus challenging the post-

apartheid global city. This is because the 'world class city' does not support or accommodate the poor (Gibson, 2011:20).

Mottiar and Bond (2012) deal with protests from the perspective of the mainstream media. This shows that their analysis relied on the data information as reported in the media. Citing Alexander (2010), Mottiar and Bond (2012:311) show that the reported protest activities in South Africa have for the most part emanated from shack settlements and townships rather than the better equipped suburbs. This has also been highlighted by Akinboade, *et al.,* (2013:459) who argue that the "protests have taken place mainly in informal settlements and under-privileged communities." Generally it is argued that, "these communities are typically significantly poorer" and that communities where protests happen "have higher levels of unemployment and have lower levels of access to services than the average resident living in their municipalities" (Akinboade, 2013:459). The protesters from poor communities have however also taken their protests to other locations (Akinboade, *et al.,* 2013:459). A good example in this instance is when they protest on highways or in parliament. Participants in a protest tend to come from the same community. However, they differ in terms of age and occupation. Nyar & Wray (2012: 30) further argue that, "they are usually area-based residents and community activists and include students and unemployed youth."

Due to inadequate service delivery and lack of accountability by local councillors researchers argue that protesting is a way of displaying complaints of the communities (Booysen, 2009; Alexander, 2010; Ngwane 2010a). Mottiar and Bond (2012: 311) have argued that the residents in South Africa resort to protest as a way of expressing their grievances. The mainstream media articles as analysed by Mottiar & Bond (2002:311) indicate that these protests come about as a result of "complaints over lack of water, sanitation, electricity, housing and infrastructure in general". "The protest is usually triggered by unsuccessful requests to meet ward councillors or municipal officials in order to share grievances, usually involving the prior drafting of memoranda and petitions" (Nyar & Wray, 2012: 30). Mottiar & Bond (2012: 311) note further that the "lack of response by local authorities" is the triggering factor of protests. In addition, councillors are unresponsive to the residents' complaints about the provision of the services that the councillors have the responsibility to provide to the public. This in turn, according to Mottiar and Bond (2012: 311), leads to the residents embarking on a protest.

In addition to the above; Akinboade, *et al.,* (2013:471) have found that the inability of municipal governments to be appropriately responsive to the needs of municipal residents is the main motivating factor. Atkinson (2007:58) similarly argues that, "public protest is the result of a culmination of numerous frustrations often building up over a long period of time." This shows that protest is not just a sudden activity. It shows that the protest is a process. It is a process that has taken some period of time to take place. And it is not just a criminal activity.

Based on his study on protests over joblessness and poverty in Patagonia, Argentina in June 1996, Auyero (2004) demonstrates the disregard of authorities towards protesters. Like happens often in South Africa, protesters in Patagonia blockaded main roads. They did this because they wanted to be seen and taken seriously (Auyero, 2004). They were protesting against the cancellation of a deal between the Patagonian provincial government and a Canadian company called Agrium, which would have provided jobs in the region (Auyero, 2004:417). In their view to barricade the roads was a representation of their plight; *not just a criminal activity*. They did not barricade roads for the sake of barricading. One of the protesters expressed that; "in each barricade, we express the things that were going on in our daily lives" as Auyero (2004:439) reports. The authorities however labelled the protesters as committing crime and the authorities hesitate to address them where they choose to protest (Auyero, 2004). Auyero (2004) concludes that the authorities did not regard residents' protests as pure; instead they viewed them as being instigated by anti-government forces. Bayat's (1997:57-58) study in Iran also documents the struggle of how poor people struggle to live in the Iranian city. Bayat (1997:57-58) argues that the struggle for better life by the poor was prolonged by their desire for necessary needs and quest for dignified conditions, not by their political affiliation. This suggests that when poor people protest, they honestly protest for their needs. This also suggests that poor people are not playing party politics but they purely struggle for their necessary needs and quest for dignified conditions.

The grievances that are communicated in protests of informal settlements residents mainly have something in common as demonstrated above. Protests "are related to issues of socio-economic justice" Nyar & Wray (2012: 23). Zuern (2011:3) succinctly states that in this regard; "in South Africa, as elsewhere, material needs and stark inequalities often serve as the basis for popular protests," thus shared perceptions of economic and political injustice. Studies from Latin America have relatedly revealed that protests of this nature are associated

with socio-economic class (Santino1999). The protesters of certain economic classes tend to express their grievance in a similar way irrespective of whether they lived under a democratic or a non-democratic regime (Mottiar& Bond 2012:312). Santino (1999:515) also argues that Northern Ireland residents resorted to protest in 1960 when they realized that there was a class difference between them and those that govern them. The protest was against the government officials and representatives who were seen as socially distanced from the people they claim to represent (Santino 1999:515). Their style of demonstration displayed feelings of betrayal and abandonment by their political representatives through distancing themselves from the people they claim to represent (Santino, 1999:515). The situation in South Africa is somewhat similar to the above instances. Social equality activists such as Desai (2002) spoke of how the right-wing economic policies of the ANC as the governing party in the country that has become a party of neoliberalism lead to widespread and escalating unemployment, with concomitant water and electricity cut-offs, and evictions even from the "toilets in the veld" provided by the government in the place of houses (Desai, 2002:147; in Habib (2005:671). "More importantly, there was general agreement that this was not just a question of short-term pain for long-term gain" (Desai, 2002:147; in Habib (2005:671). Furthermore the ANC's former left-wing policies were seen as lost; so "the ANC had to be challenged and a movement built to render its policies unworkable" (Desai, 2002:147; in Habib (2005:671). Desai concludes: "It seems increasingly unlikely that open confrontation with the repressive power of the post-apartheid state can be avoided" (Desai, 2002:147; in Habib (2005:671).

McLennan (2007:1) argues that the continuing racial inequalities in South Africa also play a role in the frustrations of black informal settlements dwellers. During the apartheid era an ideology that repressed the black majority was executed in favour of white racial group so that they controlled the national state. In post-apartheid South Africa black shack dwellers continue to live under deplorable conditions while white urban residents continue to enjoy the same privileges they were enjoying during apartheid period, now joined by the black middle class, a minority among the black population. McLennan (2007:3) argues that the remodelling policy adopted by post-apartheid government is mainly benefitting black empowerment firms and multinational corporations but fails to benefit those who expect better delivery and jobs. McLennan (2007:4) also marks that the commercialisation of key basic services indicates that the poorest will further be impacted due to high inequalities in provision.

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A final cause of protests is the desire of poor residents to get authorities to talk to them. For instance, Benson (2004), in his study in Maya town of Guatemala noted that the protesters viewed protests as avenues where they can "at least" get an opportunity of talking to otherwise unresponsive government representatives. Similar arguments have been presented regarding India where social protests are seen as normal accepted way of conversing with politicians and bureaucrats (Mottiar & Bond 2012: 314). At the same time, it has been argued that people embark on protests to express a way of participating or to voice their views to the authorities (Mottiar & Bond 2012:315). The multiple reasons for protests that I have shown here demonstrate that it would be wrong to project them as just criminal and spontaneous.

3.4 Protests as "service delivery" protests:

In challenging the mainstream representations of the protests I now turn to the notion that these protests are "service delivery" protests. This is the term that is commonly used by media institutions, politicians and some academics. It is the media and politicians' representation of these protests. The works of Bank (2011:244); Alexander (2010); Mottiar and Bond (2012); Booysen (2009); Booysen (2007); and Bester (2012) and Dano, (2014) are just few testimonies of those who view these protests as "service delivery" protests, although some have a somewhat critical perspective (especially Alexander 2010; Mottiar & Bond 2012); the latter two are media reports, with specific focus in Cape Town. I dispute this position. I argue that understanding these protests as "service delivery" protests further misleads and degenerate human beings' participation in protests. This notion does not fully comprehend what is at play in the protests. Unfortunately, the term is by now well-established however and is presented as unquestionable; especially in the media and in government point of view.

I take the position pursued by some scholars who have voiced criticism on this notion. I am of the view that when Township residents protest it is not because they want "service delivery", it is because they want to escape it (Friedman, 2009). Labeling and insisting that citizens are protesting for quicker "service delivery" is not only sloppy and misleading; it is also deeply anti-democratic and denies citizens a voice (Friedman, 2009). Naming the protests phenomenon simply "service delivery" reduces the meaning of the protest (Gibson, 2011:30). Critics have argued that the language of service delivery reinforces suffering,

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naturalises suffering and objectifies the people. It ceases to take into account multiple determinations of inequality (Gibson, 2011:34-35; Fakir, 2014). It further disregards people's agency and projects them as passive human beings who are solely dependent and expecting to be taken care of. It has been argued that the ANC has created an anti-politics machine where black people are positioned as objects of state policies and passive recipients of service delivery from the state (Dlamini, 2009:20; Fakir, 2014). Dlamini (2009:110) makes a strong point that the notion of "service delivery" is not only patronising but it is also anti-politics. It is anti-politics as it does not open space for people's participation (Gibson, 2011). This notion projects the government as the master, not the servant; and treats grassroots citizens as not thinking and choosing human beings (Friedman, 2009).

Richard Pithouse (2011) fittingly coins the notion of "service delivery" a *myth*. He argues that the myth of service delivery advocates for the rule of the few in the name of the many. In the case of present South Africa, Pithouse (2011) is of the view that this was achieved by an alliance of the ANC and the older elites of the apartheid establishment. Pithouse (2011) shows that this myth is prevalent in measuring state performance so much that "justice, dignity, lived experience and the day to day practice of democracy fade into invisibility." Furthermore, the power of this myth is prevalent so much that the meaning of dissent is thought to be directly proportional to "service delivery" (Pithouse, 2011). This means that even if the informal settlement residents protest for the representation of their views to be represented in the government decision making or are in disagreement with the decision the government has taken; in the narrative of "service delivery" such dissent is thought of as a plea for "service delivery".

It is rare to find journalists who ask people involved in protest before labeling a protest "service delivery" protest (Pithouse, 2011). The aim is to project the protests as the demand for the current system to strengthen itself. It projects shack residents, mostly, as the passive consumers who are still suffering from apartheid legacy (Pithouse, 2011). The myth "makes us assume that patience is a virtue and that dissent at anything other than the pace and efficiency of "service delivery" is perverse and probably the result of malicious conspiracy" Pithouse (2011). Essentially, the myth thus expresses that people are just passive consumers at the mercy of the "benevolent state" (Pithouse, 2011).

Gibson's counter argument goes along the line that, instead these protests indicate the

people's contestation of South Africa's elite form of democracy (Gibson, 2011:159). This elite form of democracy has systematically excluded ordinary people from decision making about their own life experiences. This alludes to the fact that they are not rejecting democracy per se but with the form it has taken. Kennedy Road informal settlement residents in Durban and Abahlali baseMjondolo are not dissatisfied with the post-apartheid version of democracy; they are dissatisfied with what they view as failure of government's policies to represent their interest (Byrant, 2008:46). The Durban-based movement has denounced "service delivery" narrative and has insisted that its demands are matters of "being human" (Gibson, 2011:157). By this they mean that shack dwellers think and discuss their situation in community meetings and interactions and reject that this has been reduced to the notion of service delivery. As they contest their view to be regarded as thinking and reasoning human beings Abahlali are also fighting to achieve not only recognition but mental liberation. They seek to gain recognition of articulating their own experiences. Gibson (2011:159), in addition, states that "the shack dweller's knowledge derives from their existentially experienced situation of being in the shacks, and their politics from their situation". Another vocal critic argues that the fundamental problem with "service delivery" is that it "entails officials-and commentators-deciding what people need and then dumping it on them" Friedman (2009). Friedman (2009) proposes the alternative notion of "public service". Public service entails that the democratic government's job is not just to deliver to citizens. "It is, rather, to listen to them, to do what the majority asks" Friedman (2009). Irrespective of differing causes to different protests people share the common plea; to be heard and to be taken seriously as citizens with rights (Friedman, 2009). Informal settlement residents need to be listened to; and taken seriously.

3.5 Protests as criminal:

In the Western Cape the largest number of protests happens in informal settlements in township areas such as Khayelitsha, Nyanga, and Gugulethu, the latter is where this research was conducted in the Kanana informal settlement of Gugulethu. In discussing the protests I am particularly paying attention to how these protests have been mostly portrayed in the mainstream media and by government. I have fundamentally noted and would like to highlight the *adverse* appeal in which these protests tend to be portrayed. I use examples and

citations in relation to the problem of the adverse representations of the protests, not necessarily in relation to the place and period. The basic representation is that the participants in the protests are angry people who demand basic services. They are presumably inherently violent (Gould, 2013). This has been not only reported in the Western Cape but also in other South African provinces. These media representations have also be noted by one of the leading scholars in community protests in South Africa, Elke Zuern. She argues that even how news reports make sense of the protests usually question them as truthful:

"Newspaper, television, and radio news reports often define actions as spontaneous protests or riots, suggesting disorder and a lack of clear grievances and demands" and further that, "protesters may be presented as endangering democracy, threatening instability, and most powerfully, betraying the nation" (Zuern, 2011:4;5).

This reminds me of Auyero (2004) who writes that the authorities do not regard residents' protests as 'pure' (genuine); instead they view them as being instigated by anti-government forces. Through these kinds of portrayals the attention gets shifted; those who participate in the protests become people who are problematic and not necessarily protesting for justifiable demands. This is part of demobilization strategies by democratic regimes who use the language of citizen's civil and political rights and those who do not follow such legal means may be projected as "hooligans, malcontents, or subversions" (Zuern, 2011:5). This seems puzzling with regard to the democratic regime that is associated with freedom of expression. However it also shows a continuation of apartheid tradition; that of being brutal in consequence to labeling people adversely (Skuse and Cousins 2007:992). As Makhulu (2010:574) argues, like apartheid authorities, post-apartheid authorities generally continue to be hostile to demands made in the informal settlements. Furthermore, following Zuern (2011:9) and Gibson (2011: 150;152), due to neoliberalism as a privatization discourse those in power tend to criminalize the actions of those who demand the recognition and expansion of their rights. So, "the rights associated with substantive citizenship are effectively privatized" (Zuern, 2011:9).

With reference to Argentina Auyero notes creatively refers to this portrayal as *visible fists.* In protest against living conditions, Auyero (2010:6) argues that the informal settlement residents in the Buenos Aires metropolitan region have been criminalized and imprisoned. In

Argentina, the state employed military-style force against these highly stigmatized residents and popularized them as danger that need to be guarded against for safety (Auyero, 2010:6; Ngwane et al, 20173). In the case of democratic South Africa Zuern (2011:4) shows that since the protests turn to be forceful and destabilizing, the authority, the governments present protesters as violent and the news media focus on such violence.

3.5.1 Violent interactions in the protests:

Criminalising community protests in South Africa of course goes back to the time of the apartheid regime. It continues under the post-apartheid regime. With the inception of democracy and the eminent response of apartheid police to the protests, Desai (2002:38) recalled continuity of police offensive response from as early as 1996. The state has been responding to Township protests in a brutal manner and has included vicious assaults, arrests, issuing of charges and accusing the protesters as criminals. (Desai, 2002:13). It would be wrong of course to view protesting residents as all being nonviolent. Regarding this, Fakir (2014) argues that those who participate in the protests also become violent. He argues that enacting violence on the side of the protesters could be viewed as the only way in which people feel they are recognised and heard.

In my interactions with Kanana residents I pursued to understand their experiences in the protests. They never talked of any specific protest for they have been involved in many protests in their area. Probing specific protest became unsuccessful for me. What most of them for sure recalled were their experiences of being part of the protests; especially their interaction with the police. It is this interaction with the police that I would like to focus on here. This is deliberately in light of the above literature observations. It did not matter if I was having a conversation with Nongoma, Mthungi, Patrol, Sis'Gugulethu or any Kanana resident who participated in the protest; their general notions regarding their interactions with the police during the protests are always very similar:

"*Our interactions with the police during protests are always about being chased and shot at by rubber bullets*" (Interview with Nongoma, 08 December 2015).

"*When police come you must know that there will be no order*" (Interview with Mthungi, 20 January 2016).

"*The police are not interested in our grievances, they always come and disrupt*" (Interview

with Patrol, 21 January 2016).

There was never a protest action in Kanana during my fieldwork, between September 2015 and February 2016. Also, Kanana residents did not implicate themselves in violent acts even though they expressed knowledge of blockading the roads and fighting back the police. I am interested to discuss here what kind of violent actions individual residents-protesters may or may not have been involved in. Rather, I am interested in those adverse representations without denying suggestions that those who protest do also become violent. In taking seriously how my people from Kanana have expressed how they interact with the police during protests their experiences is a clear congruence with the portrayals noted in the literature above. It shows that the protests in Kanana just like elsewhere are criminalized.

The narrative of projecting people participating in protests as violent can also be sensed through academic writings. The writings of Mottiar and Bond (2012), South African based political scientists, for example, are testimony to this. Mottiar and Bond (2012:311-312), for example, argue that when township residents embark on a protest they tend to be violent. They further argue that this is a trend that can be traced from the apartheid era when the objective was to make administration of the time ungovernable through vandalism and roads barricade (Mottiar & Bond, 2012:311-312). Other scholars also project those who participate in the protests as just violent. Hough (2008:3), for instance, laments the view that "if a culture of violence has been established in a country in the past, it could serve to legitimate violence in the future". Jain (2010:9) defines violent protests as the protests "where some of the participants have engaged in physical acts that either cause immediate physical harm to some person or are substantially likely to result in such harm". This also includes "instances where rocks are thrown at passing motorists, tires are burned to blockade roads and other similar acts have occurred to constitute a violent protest" (Jain, 2010:9).

What needs to be pointed out instead is that, when residents embark on protest they use various tactics to draw attention from the authorities. Tactics may include "mass meetings, drafting of memoranda, petitions, processions, stay-away, election boycotts, blockading of roads, construction of barricades, burning tyres, looting, destruction of buildings, chasing unpopular individuals out of townships, confrontations with police and forced resignation of elected officials" (Mottiar & Bond, 2012:313; also Bryant, 2008:49). They claim that burning tyres and barricading roads are the most favoured when people protest for services that need

to be delivered, or when protesters demand political accountability (Mottiar & Bond 2012:314). Other forms of protesting must not be downplayed. Some protesters, for example, have thrown human faeces in the Western Cape legislature and in Cape Town international airport in June 2013 to remonstrate the local municipality's lack of collecting and cleaning of portable toilets.

As Nyar & Wray (2012: 30) argue, "the criminality and violence that often accompany protest action has led into government's perception of violent protest action as crime-related and it then underplays the protesters' concerns." What has been more neglected, especially in the mainstream media, is the problematic way government has dealt with violence. Media reports often focus on the reaction of authorities regarding the restoration of order and the safeguarding of public property. On the other hand, several scholars such as Alexander (2010:32), Sinwell et al (2009:1), and Omar (2006:7-12) (all cited in Nyar & Wray, 2012: 31) have raised the issue of police brutality in the management of violent protests. These critical scholars have highlighted serious concerns that, communities exercising their constitutional rights to protest are simultaneously denied the right to safety and security (Nyar & Wray, 2012: 31).
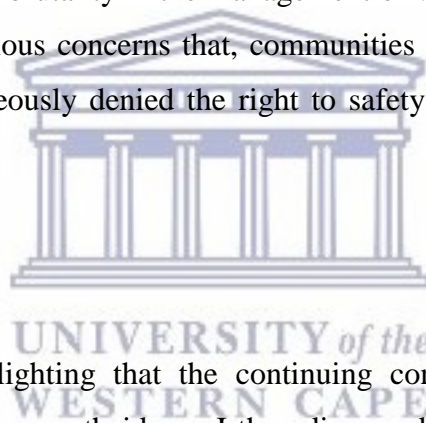
3.6 Conclusion:

This chapter began by highlighting that the continuing contemporary community-based protests can be traced from the apartheid era. I then discussed scholarly input into how and why contemporary protests take place. It then shifted focus on the ways in which protests mainly based in the informal settlements are problematically portrayed in the mainstream media and government. I have shown that conceptualizing these protests as "service delivery" protests fails to fully comprehend what is at play in the protests. I further used scholarly work that exposes the concerted determinations by the mainstream media and governments to further misrepresent the protests as mere criminal machinations. As much as I caution representation of the protests as merely "criminal" I pointed out the noted elements of violence that are associated with protests. I however argued that concentrating on protests as simply criminal, or violent, fails to attend to the grievances raised in and prior to protests.

At the heart of the misleading representations of both those who participate in the protests and the actual protests seem to be the lack of routine relations in communities where protests

take place. There is a definite lack of a sense who those who participate in the protests are, and how they are a part of their shack settlements. There is no sense of life beyond protests. Consequently, this narrative tells very little about the life of human beings in shack settlements. It tells very little about who the protesters are and what keeps them together as shack residents. In Chapters five, six and seven I set out to rectify this and write about people who participate in the protests beyond their actual participation in the protests, thereby, as articulated in Tournadre (2017:53), moving away from an essentially "political" way of looking at things. By this I mean moving away from focusing on confrontations with the state. My aim is to pay attention to what the "militants" concern themselves with when they are not protesting. I provide an ethnographic account of shack residents behind the smokescreen of protest in Kanana. Before engaging their lives, however, the following chapter will discuss how this study was conducted, and my involvedness in the field.

CHAPTER FOUR: IN THE INFORMAL SETTLEMENT: NAVIGATING THE FIELD

4.1 Introduction:

This chapter is largely a methodological discussion that navigates the field. It practically explores the field and discusses how this study was conducted with Kanana residents. It begins by briefly providing theoretical lenses that guide this study. I discuss the ethnographic approach, the insertion of the researcher in the field and the methods employed during fieldwork. I also describe the dynamism of rapport and how it became a friend-making tool with the cell phone as assisting this process. The last section of this chapter will discuss some researcher's reflections on the fieldwork.

4.2 Theoretical lenses:

It is important to point out that this study views social life as existing in inconsistencies and contradictions by individuals. Edmund Leach ([2006]1970) emphasises that real societies exist in space and time; therefore the demographic, economic, ecological, and external political situations are built up in a constantly changing environment. This corresponds with Dlamini (2009:126) who has also argued that people of the same township, differentiated by age, gender, occupation, and other factors experience the location not in a homogeneous way. While the study is broadly framed by a view on community protests as motivated by people's desires for dignity and recognition, as suggested by authors such as Gibson (2011) and Robins (2002), it also considers older approaches in anthropological theory.

This study maintains that Kanana residents live in integrated and linked ways. I follow Eric Wolf's perspective that the search for a world of distinct cases is illusory as it does not reflect society on its own reality ([2001]1982:377). Therefore, reflexivity and context is what characterise fieldwork in the interconnected and diffused society (Gupta & Ferguson, 1997:35). This study has no intention of providing a sense of a cohesive, bounded 'culture' of informal settlement residents. Instead it highlights ethnographies of the particular. Ethnographies of the particular does not mean disregard of the external forces and dynamics but they stress the local and specific actions of the individuals in their particular lives (Abu-Lughod, 1991:150; Coughey, 1982:230; Lefebvre, 1968:70). This is to document and bring about the language of everyday life. It is in this understanding of closely focusing on

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particular individuals that fieldwork operates. This is against the backdrop of the literature on community protests that, generally, falls short in identifying ethnographies of the particular. As a result, in much of the literature on contemporary protests there tends to be no clear link of how the studies are informed by human beings they ought to discuss.

4.3 In the field before fieldwork:

This research is based on in-depth ethnographic fieldwork conducted between September 2015 and February 2016. However I informally visited Kanana already months before during the research proposal writing stage and continued to spend time there for several months after the conclusion of fieldwork.

In 2014 I decided to visit Kanana informal settlement informally. Before that I only knew the settlement when passing through it via taxi to town, i.e., Cape Town Central Business District. I started visiting Kanana in mid-June 2014, on a Saturday; at that time I thought it would be strategic for me to not only focus on the literature around protests and informal settlements while preparing my research proposal. Several more informal visits followed. The motivation was to try and meet potential research participants. I also thought that it would be important that I provide myself with a glimpse of being in the field because I felt nervous of proposing to do research in a place I had never visited. And this is what I call *In the field before fieldwork*. It is *In the field before fieldwork* because it is not formal; I did it before the proposal got passed. Of course, this is not to rule out that I had to deal with human beings who could have decided to change their minds when the actual fieldwork started.

My initial plan was to randomly choose one household and try to have a conversation around protests and daily lives then take it from there. As a student living in on-campus residence I took a train to the nearby train-station in the late hours of the morning. I walked to Kanana. The weather was chilly. Upon my arrival, a few meters outside Kanana, I stopped and had a chat with a group of about ten children who were playing in the Gugulethu Seven Memorial, a memorial in the township of Gugulethu just outside Kanana that commemorates (Memorial of seven young anti-apartheid activists who were killed in that vicinity on the 3rd of March 1986 by apartheid police. I was starting to be nervous, so I used the chat with those children to ease my nervousness. After a few minutes of chatting with the children and asking their names I left them to their play and proceeded. In less than fifty meters I was in Kanana. Kanana on my left-hand side, I was walking on the side of the road looking on my left-hand

side for the shack structure I would choose. I thought that I should walk a bit further so that I was going to be in the middle of the settlement. Many things grabbed my attention. As I was walking in Kanana's   main road I noticed mind-blowing and heart-frustrating existences. The sounds of loud music from different genres ranging from house to reggae and gospel were competing with loud voices of people coming out from different shacks, in the small streets between shacks and the main road I was walking on. In the mix was a sound of different cars stopping and passing by Kanana.

The smell of cooked food and braai-ed (barbecued) meat contended for dominant scent over fresh air with fly-infested rotten bulks of rubbish, piles of vomited food, and stinky urine, infested swamped water, and human-solid-waste. I could smell this as I was passing shacks, some jovial people and playful children, decaying water and urine on the surface, meat stalls, tuck shop, barbershop and saloon respectively. While I was carried away by walking as if I knew where I was going to I was attracted by a song sang by people in a tavern I was approaching. Some were singing outside while some were inside the tavern. They were singing while enjoying their alcohol. The song was one of the political-struggle songs in South Africa. I still remember it vividly. It goes:
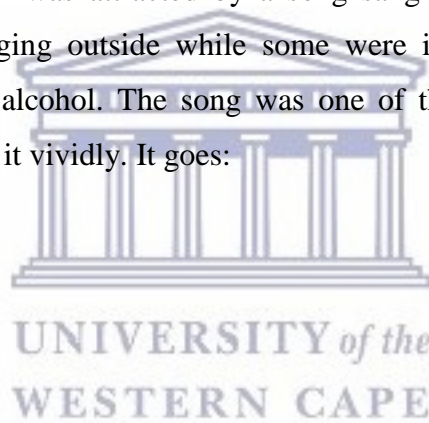
Siyaya, siyaya   We will go, we will
Siyaya noba kubi.   We will, even in dreariness
Emabhulwini siyaya,   To the Boers, we will go
Siyaya noba kubi,   We will, even in misery,
Noba besidubula   Even when they shoot at us,
Siyaya...   We will go...

All of the people with whom I later worked during my fieldwork could recall this song. When I asked them about the mentioning of Boers in the song they relativized the current government to that they viewed was of the Boers; apartheid government. They maintained that when they protest they invoke apartheid struggles. This is because, according to one of, my key research participants, Mthungi:

Lorhulumente uziphatha ngalendlela urhulumente wocalucalulo wayeziphethe ngayo kubantu abahlala ematyotyombeni. Banedlela yabo abacingangayo ngathi ngaphandle kokuthi ba discuss nathi ubunzima bethu.

[This government behaves towards shack residents just like that of the apartheid. They have

their own thinking about us without discussing with us about our plight]. (Conversation with Mthungi, 29 September 2015].

On this particular day those singing the song had no political programme; they were just singing it due to their fondness of the song. I greeted and only those who were facing me noticed and responded. I then took advantage and sat next to those who responded. In the middle-table of the tavern joined to the main-household-shack there were two men. One of them was drinking while another man was not drinking. We exchanged introductions. I started the conversation by expressing my interest in listening to the song. Our conversation expanded from then and they started sharing with me that they usually sing the song, along with other struggle songs, during the protests that they have been having in the shack settlement. This provided me with fertile ground to introduce myself as a student whose research interests are on them as shack residents. We spoke about range of issues; from protests to their living conditions. I drew lot of interest in the latter. After about two hours of chat and our conversation one of the men, Mthungi, alerted me that he had to leave and would come back later. At that time different songs were sang, one after the other.

 Mthungi became my first close contact in Kanana. I asked him that I would like to follow-up from the conversation we had. We exchanged phone numbers. The agreement was that we would meet intermittently and I would phone him when I could not find him in his shack. He showed me his shack, which was about four streets away from the tavern. I decided to take things slowly and I left after saying my goodbye to Robert, Mthungi's friend from the neighbouring settlement of Barcelona. Through Mthungi and other encounters during my walkabouts in Kanana I got to know the other people who became my key research participants and indeed co-producers of the study. The owner of the tavern I visited that first day in Kanana, Mam's, interestingly, also became one of my main research participants.

4.4 Methods:

This study is premised on ethnographic research methodology following Fiona Ross (2010:9) who states that ethnography as a research methodology and social scientific account "attempts to make sense of people's experiences using people's own everyday categories and models." Ethnography involves the researcher's participation in people's lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions and in fact collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the

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focus of the research (Hammersley & Akinson, 1995; Crapanzano, 1986). Bronislaw Malinowski (1922:21), eminently known as one of the forefathers of ethnography, furthered this as he stated that, "it is good for the ethnographer sometimes to put aside camera, notebook and pencil, and to join in himself in what is going on. He can take part in the natives' games; he can follow them on their conversations."

The primary aim of ethnography is to describe what happens in the setting, the people involved, their own actions and those of others, and the context in which the action take place (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995:6). Paul Rock (2001:29) has argued, furthermore, that ethnography alludes to the situated empirical description. This means that I have my methods from having observed life as lived practically in the field and have only cautiously theorized methods to be employed in the field. It is noteworthy to point out that the ethnographic account is shaped by, and describes the context in which fieldwork occurred. Therefore this thesis must be seen as a reflection of the context found in the field. This is in line with what Clifford (1986:6) has argued as the contextualization of ethnographic writing. I further have followed the intellectual movement of the 1990s that had it that, "there are no universal truths to be discovered, and that all knowledge is grounded in human society, situated, partial, local, temporal and historically specific." (Coffey 1999:11) I take up especially Abu-Lughod's (1991:140) argument that ethnographic representations are also "positioned truths" hence my presence in the field. The above is an elaboration of what James Clifford has coined as "partial truths" that are partial; committed and incomplete (Clifford, 1986:6-8).

I am encouraged by Abu-Lughod's (1991) stance of "ethnographies of the particular", which she suggested as one of the modes of "writing against culture". She critically argued that "culture" as an anthropological discourse enforces separations that tend to be hierarchical (Abu-Lughod, 1991:137). Problematically, this leads to generalisations and a language of power: "it is the language of those who seem to stand apart from and outside of what they are describing." (Abu-Lughod,1991:147) Generalisations also tend to produce homogeneity, coherence, and timelessness (Abu-Lughod, 1991:148). Writing "ethnographies of the particular", therefore, unsettles the concept of culture and subverts the process of "othering" (Abu-Lughod, 1991:145). She is arguing for a form of writing that better convey actions of individuals living their particular lives, inscribed in their bodies and their particular lives (Abu-Lughod, 1991:147). The particularity of individual's lives does not imply disregard of forces and dynamics that are not locally based (Abu-Lughod, 1991:147). Locating my study

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in this tradition, the focus is on particular individuals and families, that is, significantly, to tell stories about particular individuals in time and place (Abu-Lughod, 1991:148).

Kanana consists of thousands of people living there; my study however has adopted a small scale and yet intensive approach. In the event my research focused on thirteen Kanana residents. However, this does not mean insights and observation of those who were not main research participants would have been disregarded. Because I was not necessarily interested in generalization, an insight and observation of residents of this particular number from Kanana shed light on the daily life experience in Kanana. I thus have gathered material to point out what it means to be a Kanana informal settlement resident, hereby following Geertz (1973:23) who stated that "small facts speak to large issues."

Throughout fieldwork I strove to find expression to the research questions I had set out for this study. The overarching question had been to enquire about the life of the protest participants beyond protests. By "beyond protests", I mean discussing the lives of those who usually participate in the protests when they are not protesting. This, of course, was realized through ethnography and time spent with the people known as protest participants. In realization of the principal question I had to enquire questions such as: How do people survive on a daily basis? How does daily life survival relate to protests? What are the social relations between residents? How do individuals contribute to the making of Kanana? What role does local organising structures or social movements play and how the residents relate to it? How do residents envisage Kanana? What are the meanings that people give to their living conditions and their place? Consequently, how do their living conditions relate to ho they make sense of their residence, and consequently to their participation in popular protests.

Participant observation became my main fieldwork strategy. Being a participant and observer in Kanana informal settlement's daily life has assisted me to develop a better understanding of the people who live there, and particularly those with whom I worked closely. It has also assisted me in my attempt to gain an understanding of what they are going through.

4.4.1 Three periods of fieldwork:

I conducted fieldwork in Kanana over five months. My fieldwork falls into three distinct periods. The first period was based on the first month of fieldwork and of being in the field before the formal beginning of fieldwork. During these early days I worked towards settling

in the field. I made general preliminary observations. Like for instance, I used to walk in and around the settlement, hang-around in the taverns, watched children play, and randomly visited church services conducted in the settlement. At this stage I had two people to work with already, Mam's and Mthungi. Through our conversations Mam's and Mthungi also helped me recruit more residents. Already in the first month I visited and mingled with Kanana residents. I deliberately concentrated on having informal conversations. As I was visiting people I initiated and participated in conversations around being an informal settlement resident and protests. All this I wrote down in my field-notes, as I continued to do for the entire duration of the fieldwork. This first period really immersed me into the field and Kanana residents. It provided me with a very great rich ground to explore and even to thread intimately with the people I was working with.

The second period of my fieldwork became more formal. It took place during the second month in the field and into the third month. While I continued with participant observation; in this period I deliberately concentrated on the formal aspect of data collection. Most of my formal interviews were collected during this period. I made sure to cooperate with the residents for the realization of formal interviews. We had interviews filled with comfort and flexibility as opposed to rigidness. I give credit to the good relations I initiated and maintained with my people before formal fieldwork and most importantly during my first month of fieldwork. I strove for stronger relations with the main people I was to work with first. This then yielded good relations and ease during formal interviews.

From around the 18th of December 2015 till early January 2016 I had conversations and insights mostly from people I had not identified as my main interlocutors. This is because all and I mean really all of the main interlocutors went to the Eastern Cape for festive holidays. Although this set limitations it provided me with the opportunity to reflect and reassess my fieldwork going forward. I also gained interesting and interconnected insights from the people I had less time to focus on when my main participants were present. It was all joy and catching-up when my main people, now becoming friends came back in the early days of January 2016. With their return my fieldwork experience escalated in input.

The third period of my fieldwork lasted until the end of my formal fieldwork. This period was characterized by more conversational, reflective and engaging developments. I have deliberately opted to be more engaging in the field during this period. In doing so I carefully

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studied the interviews and identified the missing links and instances where I was not satisfied with some of the responses I got. There were also instances where my people contradicted their previous responses to my questions, especially to the questions I posed during formal interviews. In most cases this third period of humbly engaging Kanana residents based on responses they provided during formal interviews and on what I have observed helped me garner clarifications and complexities that come with being an informal settlement resident. Like for instance, Sis'Gugulethu, one of the women I worked with, had strongly expressed to me during formal interviews that she was a happy and proud resident of Kanana informal settlement. As someone who said she had been an informal settlement resident for all her life I easily believed and tended to be uncritical about her sentiments. This was until during one of our usual conversations that she complicated how she feels about being an informal settlement resident. While watching television around lunch time we were chatting about the news coming up on television. Sis'Gugulethu was dusting and sweeping the floor. It was a bit windy outside and although the door and windows were closed sand scattered-in. Stressed by the sand that kept on pouring into the shack Sis'Gugulethu diverted from the discussion we were having and started to complain:

Sis'Gugulethu: Look! It's sandy everywhere here. Its things such as this that make one hates being a shack resident.

MG: It's because of the wind that is blowing outside.

Sis'Gugulethu: But still! This thing of living in a shack is not on.

MG: At least you are fine with being a shack resident at the end of the day.

Sis'Gugulethu: Fine? There is nothing fine with being a shack resident. With all poor conditions of living here? No, sometimes this is unbearable.

MG: I thought you said you happy the other day.

Sis'Gugulethu: I always say I am happy. It is not that I am truly happy. It is because I have no choice. You force yourself to be happy not because you are really happy. No one is really happy about living in a shack but I create happy impression because I do not have resources to escape this trap. I only have this place to live in.

(Conversation with Sis'Gugulethu on Tuesday, 19th January 2016.)

This period of fieldwork helped to uncover very complex relationships that shack residents such as *Sis'Gugulethu* have with shack residence they inhabit. There exist contradictions, a sense of being compelled to be happy in a place you are not, cannot be happy about. Because it is expensive for them to live in more inhabitable places in Cape Town as human beings they are finding themselves having to forge happy instances in a place that they are not actually happy about. As a result of this engaging and reflective period of my fieldwork I did a lot of revisiting in my interviews. With the help of observations and my experience in Kanana this allowed me to be more rigorous in trying to make sense of the actions and expressions of Kanana residents and the field in general. This proved to be productive as more revealing information came into realization.

4.4.2 Fieldwork in a nutshell:

For me to observe what Kanana residents do from their early mornings to their late nights, I had to dedicate as much time in Kanana as I could. Although I retained my student residence and commuted to the field, on many occasions I slept over in Kanana. This was made possible by the keenness that Kanana residents showed to me that I was welcomed to live in the settlement, including offering me places to sleep. I therefore became part of the early morning routines and learnt about what happens during the day till the night. My observations, therefore, provided me with the insights of what happens on a day to day basis.

What I noticed in Kanana informal settlement almost every day as early as around four o'clock in the mornings is that scores of people make the way north to the nearby train station for transportation to their workplaces. The train is regarded as the cheapest form of transport among Kanana residents and it is the preferred transport although there are challenges with using the trains. Commuters get frequently robbed on their way to and from the train station. Walking in large groups to and from the train station is a protection strategy that commuters have been using. Sometimes this strategy does not work when the robbers use guns, as they frequently do. The service of the trains is known to be very poor, especially trains are regularly delayed. Also, the trains become overcrowded due to a lack of sufficient services for the many people who use them and some fail to make it into the train. This then results to late arrival at work or for very late arrival back in the shack settlement. Pickpockets also find opportunities in the overcrowded trains. There are also people who use mini-taxis (sedan cars) known as *amaphela* or kombi minibus taxis to get to work. There are also a handful of

those who are using the municipal bus services.

This early morning movement of large numbers of working people towards train station; to *amaphela* ranks and some to bus stops, is joined by during school terms by large numbers of learners (as pupils and high school students are referred to in South Africa) on their way to school. Some learners attend the neighbouring township schools while others go to school in other townships and in middleclass suburbs. This wave of learners in the mornings is most noticeable at around six o'clock till around half-past-seven. There are also parents who take their children to crèches and preschools. It then gets quieter around eight and nine o'clock. As most of my participants, like many other shack residents, spent most of their days in the shack settlement the day times became the most viable time for our conversations, particularly formal interviews. It became the time without "distractions" since this time especially during weekdays tended to be less busy. This is however the time that is regarded as the time to prepare food for those who are at work and at schools. When most of the people I worked with in Kanana, mostly women, were not busy with house chores, we dominantly discussed and they narrated to me their views on their status as shack residents and how they live their daily lives nonetheless. We normally discussed "undistracted" until early afternoon.

During the early afternoon learners start trickling back to the shacks they inhabit. This is followed by people who return from work during the later afternoons and evenings. Around the same time a handful of residents travel into the opposite direction, usually for nightshift work purposes. In the afternoons and the evenings those who were absent during the day join those who have spent their day in the shack settlement and life goes on in Kanana. Evening meals are prepared and the following day is planned. During weekends, school vacations, and especially the December holidays a different mood prevails in Kanana ordinary life. The feeling of 'being' in the informal settlement becomes different. Weekends are regarded as time for happiness and relaxation. Even though there are some serious gatherings such as funerals and occasions for conflict resolutions, weekends are largely dedicated to joy. People organise parties, play sports, and join drinking groups in taverns.

4.5 Becoming friends:

The extent to which the field-worker can establish close relationships with the people he or she is studying is very important in any field study (Caughey, 1982 & Agar, 1980).

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Consolidation of good relationship with the research participants is generally referred to as rapport (Agar, 1980). In ethnography more specifically, the notion is one of becoming "friend" and ceasing to be merely a "stranger" as Powdermaker characterised "the way of the anthropologist" (Powdermaker1966) What I realised during fieldwork is that the friendships that were initiated when I was in the field before formal fieldwork continued to improve but also got tested throughout my fieldwork. This provided fertile ground for my familiarity with some of the people in Kanana. It began with the first time I visited Kanana to find out the feasibility of conducting fieldwork. My first trip to Kanana became a success because I had a conversation with Mthungi, who was very enthusiastic to discuss life in Kanana. Consequently, people who got to know me in Kanana knew me as a student whose interest was to hear from them about the life of being a resident in Kanana.

It never came to my mind though that I was actually "initiating rapport". However, getting to know Mthungi and Mam's became a breakthrough. Already they became the main people I would visit even though I met and conversed with other people. The following months proved to be a challenge to me as these two new friends expected me to declare that my study had 'officially' started, which only could happen after my proposal was approved by the university. This, however, did not deter me from visiting Kanana intermittently to keep in touch with my people; especially my two people, Mthungi and Mam's.

When I finally started official fieldwork I realised that I needed to spend more time with Kanana residents so that I build-up from my pre-fieldwork visits. I visited them in their homes and walked with them around Kanana. Most of them, in different instances, even confessed that they noticed that I was interested in being one of them.

Nene, similarly with other main interlocutors and other people in Kanana, would usually say:

Uyabonakala ukuba ungahlala kulempilo. Emva kwale research yakho kufuneka uzobeka elakho ityotyombe.

[You give the impression that you can live this life. After your research you must come and erect your shack.]

With regards to the latter I also had to show my willingness to reciprocate as one of them. There were instances where I would offer to assist even with in-house chores. Like for example, I used to help at times in Mam's place to pack beer-bottles. Given the fact that my

fieldwork required me not only to observe but it had a very important aspect of having conversations and interviews with them, I had to assure them that I had a genuine interest in and respect of their views. I was working to ease their caution regarding what they could share with me. I noticed that, gradually, they felt more at ease while narrating and reflecting on their lives in the settlement.

Our relationships transcended those of a researcher and 'research participants'. We actually became friends. On this aspect of the ethnographic nature of the research I drew insight from the work of Mfecane. In his paper on *Ethical Quandaries in Social Research* titled 'Friends in the field' Mfecane (2014:125) has argued that insightful research findings can be extracted from creating comfortable friendships and knowing more about our research subjects. He argues this noting "immediate risk" or what he calls possible "distaste" due to the fact that these friendships are instrumental and researchers use them solely to extract information. Research subjects, just like researchers, are the authors of these friendships (Mfecane, 2014:125). Instead of skepticism among scholars, Mfecane (2014) argues that the friendships that researchers establish with research subjects are not "fake" instead, they ought to be real. In turn he argues that friendship can be instrumental for both the researchers and the participants (Mfecane, 2014:129). Furthermore I think friendships in the field and consequent declaring of them in ethnographic writings are very important as they have a power to reveal relationships that a researcher has with her or his subjects. It also serves to demonstrate the crucial character of the work we are doing in Anthropology. United Kingdom based social scientist Amanda Coffey (1999:47) has also argued that the narratives of ethnographic friendship are crucial to highlight because they serve to remind us that we are part of what we study.

Although some of the Kanana residents were older than me, we managed to maintain that relationship of being friends. This relationship of being friends found expression in many ways. It is something I observed based on the actions and kinds of attitudes imparted towards me. I have also deduced this from residents' own words. I cannot recall unwelcome any actions and expressions from the people I worked with in Kanana. We got to meet and converse with each other more often. They showed a sense of being comfortable when being around me. Many of them shared personal secrets about themselves. There were many instances where my friends imparted to me that I was not just a poor young man conducting research with them but I was also a friend to them. Often my participants showed and told me

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that I am a friend. On one such occasion I was walking with Nene on a Friday morning from the tuck-shop where he bought bread when I noticed from his grumbling that there was something bothering him. I then interjected and asked:

MG: Kwenzenjani? (What has happened?)

Nene: Eish mnganam (my friend) life is hard

MG: Ungazibulali (May you not kill yourself)

Nene: Eish mnganam. Did you know that the money I used to buy this bread was the last penny I had? The other thing is that my brother is fed up of taking care of me, last week and he told me that he will not provide me with grocery money again.

MG: Oh no! Did you have a squabble with your brother?

By this time he was unlocking the door of his shack for us to get in.

Nene: Yes mnganam he was drunk and he told me that he is tired of feeding a man who is old enough to feed himself. From now on I will starve to death.

MG: Nene, don't you think he was too drunk and he did not mean what he was saying?

Nene: No, I think he means it and it is just that he had confidence when he was drunk to tell me.

MG: Was it the first time he said this?

Nene: It was the first time he said this to me.

MG: But he is your brother. You must think of visiting and humbling yourself to him. Maybe he did not mean it.

Nene: You know, I am a very stubborn person but it is always good to listen to a friend. I will visit him tomorrow.

(Conversation with Nene on Friday, 4th of December 2015.)

On another occasion I was with Nonkonzo in her shack at around noontime and she was preparing food for her daughter who was out to play with other kids outside the neighbouring shack. For the third day now, I noticed that she was always sulky when she texted on her

phone. I did not want to be drawn into that. She however came out of the closet. She had uncertainties about her boyfriend. She suspected that he was cheating on her. She suspected that he had an affair with another girlfriend where he is staying, in George. Nonkonzo opened up and said:

Nonkonzo: You know, there is something that has been bothering me the whole of past week. But it is okay I do not think it will matter to you as a man.

MG: Oh its women stuff?

Nonkonzo: Not necessarily. It's more than that. It's my private problem.

MG: It's okay. But please don't let it affect your health.

Nonkonzo: It will!

MG: You may consider doing something about it.

Nonkonzo: If it was you what were you going to do when it is clear that your partner is cheating on you?

I was caught off-guard by this question. Voice higher, I merely did not know what to say and I randomly responded:

MG: Oh is that what has been bothering you?

Nonkonzo: Tone down (she warned)

Nonkonzo: I just hope that this will remain between the two of us. You know I don't just discuss my private life, especially with men. I discuss this with you because I take you as my friend whom I trust.

(Conversation with Nonkonzo on Saturday, 28th of November 2015.)

Generally, how my friends regarded me was characterized by a sense of welcome, high regard and quest to be accepting. They would phone me at times when I was away from Kanana. Sometimes they would say;

It's like you one of us now, we will have to go together to buy beer-stock) said, Mam's (on the 4th of October 2015 during one of my visits to her "house").

In reference to the untidy kitchen when on Sunday morning of the 18th of October 2015 I unexpectedly visited sis'Gugulethu's household and she suddenly shouted at her daughter whom, I suppose, she asked to clean in the kitchen earlier than my arrival:

How will Mzulungile perceive us? Is he not going to say we are messy-people?

On the other hand tat'uMnyamezeli would say:

Please bear, this is the life we are living here in the shacks.

He would say this whenever he thought I was in discomfort with what was happening. This comprised situations when there was unavoidable noise of rats in his shack, when I asked for a place where I can take a pee, when it was too hot in the shack and we struggled to have a chat inside only to find out when we were outside there was no shade either and we were forced to go back and sit inside. I had to be calm and be understanding with them.

My relationship with my friends has also been facilitated by means of communication through mobile phone. Lotte Pelckmans (2009:30) in her work on the social life of the mobile phone and how it shapes human interaction and communication has noted that the mobile phone has become a tool of changing access to people. In my case during fieldwork and before formal fieldwork mobile phone has become a tool to interact with Kanana residents I consequently worked with. This followed visits to the field. I would phone just to greet. In the consequent this has kept me in touch with my friends especially when I was not with them in the field. Generally, I used my mobile phone to check up on them and not necessarily to garner information regarding my research. I arranged some visits and interviews through phone calls. However, I could not rely only on verbal communication through the phone. I had to be in the field to not only make sense of verbal communication but also to witness and make sense of visual, gestural and behavioural ways of expression. I had to consider that telephonic conversation are constricted since it is estimated that three quarters of all human communication is non-verbal (Pelckmans, 2009:35). Instead, phone calls simply assisted me to get in-touch with my people of Kanana.

4.6 My reflections:

Methodologically I appreciate participant observation as an important aspect of my ethnographic work. As someone who never lived in Kanana before, participant observation

facilitated and catalysed my familiarity with the settlement and its people. I came to know shack settlements when I came to Cape Town. It was through visiting people I know back from the Eastern Cape who in shack settlements that I got an idea of a shack settlement. It became apparent that most of the people I met in Kanana are also originally from the Eastern Cape. Although I introduced myself as a student from the University of the Western Cape when it came to be known that I am from the Eastern Cape their interest was more on my Eastern Cape background. Generally meeting some people from the same province and or town has contributed to building friendships; this is especially true with the people I only got to know in Cape Town. To them my identification as a university student was surpassed by my Eastern Cape identity. The recall of geographic proximity back in the Eastern Cape seems to have worked to my advantage with the people I worked with. They reinforced my Eastern Cape identity of being their homeboy *("umkhaya").*

This was also helped by the factor of language. Not only were my friends in the settlement all isiXhosa speakers but almost all the people living in Kanana. Therefore, being an isiXhosa speaker myself I did not find difficulties in communication. This is very important because as an ethnographer I am of the view that for an ethnographer to participate effectively and observe thoroughly understanding the language that people use is advantageous. I did not have moments of being lost because I did not understand the language used including in times when enigmatic language was used. My friends also did not find difficulties in understanding my questions, responses, jokes, and narrations because of the sameness in language. Using the same language that we were all comfortable with I think contributed much in my relations Kanana residents. Expressions in the language that we were all comfortable at brought about confidence in talking and relating confidently. It has also sharpened my thoughts of this research as the thinking-through of the ideas is based on my first language.

However I had to not forget that I was a researcher whose interest was to make sense of people's lives beyond protests. I therefore had to position myself as a researcher while positioning myself in the lives of the residents. This benefited me as I was able to gain an insider perspective of their daily lives while constantly bearing in mind that I am conducting research about them. To them I became what they perceived me to be through how I portrayed myself. So my ethnographic selfhood was based on who I came to be in the field. The ethnographic selfhood is negotiated and crafted in the process of fieldwork so as to establish fieldwork identity or field role (Coffey, 1999:23). The people in the field and our

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relationships with them build our identity in and even beyond the field (Coffey, 1999:39).

I did not have to *convert* into being a shack settlement resident. The point has been to *immerse* myself into their lives. This is what became important because it equipped me with a better understanding of their daily lives. It did not convert me into being a shack settlement resident but it has ethnographically positioned me to critically thread on their daily lives and their social world. Amanda Coffey (1999:68) has stated that the character of fieldwork is subjective and personal. In this thesis, therefore, I attempt to narrate, intermittently, my fieldwork journey and endeavour. I am doing so knowing very well that it ought to be subjective and personal. My work therefore should be seen as a subjective endeavour of concerned young black academic whose interest is to write the struggles of suffering people in the shack settlements into the mainstream academic discourse. In trying to describe social worlds of Kanana residents through ethnography, this thesis seeks to convey a sense of place and the people I worked with. My relations with them depended on the relationships I established and maintained with them.

As a poor student researcher, conducting research without fieldwork funding tended to be a shortcoming. There was a covert constant expectation from the field by some of the residents that I will reciprocate them for their participation. This was despite unequivocal continuous explanations that I tendered to them that there will be no imbursements for participation in my research. There were instances when I felt like buying something to secure the growing companionship but I just could not afford. As a result I remember one Saturday one of the residents, Tshawe, could not chat with me for longer. He left and went to Nyanga Township telling me that he is going to one of his old friends. He told me that he was going to chat with me for longer and even not go to Nyanga if I would buy him a beer. I was expected, among other things, to buy beers, cigarettes, *umbengo* (braaied red-meat), and cool-drink.

4.7 Conclusion:

This chapter has provided a discussion of the methodology of this study. It provided theoretical lenses that guided this study. I then discussed and described how I was introduced in the field of study. In this way I wanted to highlight the practical penetration of the field by fieldworker. The chapter has discussed the methods employed in the field. It has highlighted ethnography as the basis of the methods employed. It also showed how rapport and the use of cell phone for fieldwork purposes have played important role in initiating and maintaining

friendships in the field. I then discussed my reflections. This chapter has served as the basis to show the shack settlement of Kanana as inhabited by human beings; my friends! The following chapter will delve now further by discussing and presenting shack residents as identifiable human beings who take part in protests out of necessity.

CHAPTER FIVE: CO-PRODUCERS: KANANA RESIDENTS

5.1 Introduction:

The preceding chapter has laid the ground for the discussion of protest participants in their daily lives, beyond the smokescreen of the publicised protests. This chapter furthers that by particularising the main people I worked with in Kanana. In a mission to argue against adverse representations of informal settlement residents who participate in community protests this chapter introduces Kanana residents. Here Kanana residents are introduced as human beings who migrated predominantly from the Eastern Cape and have become shack residents. I discuss them here mainly to highlight humanness in them; as people with names and identifiable. Through particularising them I would like to emphasise the ordinariness of their lives and most importantly how they are connected to the protests.

There are thirteen (main) Kanana residents, six women and seven men, who participated in this study. They are Mam's, Khethiwe, Tat'uMnyamezeli, Sis'Gugulethu, Nongoma, Tat'uBuyelekhaya, Ncedo, Mthungi, Nonkonzo, Mam'uNomzamo, Nene, Tshawe, and Patrol. These are the residents who confirmed that they participated in all the protests that have taken place in Kanana ever since they became permanent residents there. I have, of course, met other Kanana residents who have helped shaped data in one way or another. I decided to effect gender parity on the main participants. This is an attempt to balance insights along gender lines. Like myself, they are all black and isiXhosa is their first language. They are all above the age of eighteen. Their highest formal-schooling standard is grade twelve, grade three being the lowest. For ethical considerations purposes the names I used to refer to the co-producers (participants) here are pseudonyms. I refer to them as co-producers here to acknowledge their participation in the study, particularly during fieldwork. Fieldwork information gathered is largely the product of their cooperation. I did not single handed produce the work, they contributed in its production.

The names I used to refer to them respectively are not the names that I just came up with; they say something about each participant. Their meaning ranges from how Kanana residents relate with them, how they; themselves see themselves and how I chose to coin them. Therefore, there is something to be learnt from these names about the participants. Due to the sensitivity and criminalisation in taking part in a protest I decided to not provide their photos here. The following is the very-basic summary of their life histories. It is based on numerous

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conversations and it reflects what I have observed and been told intermittently. I will start with Mam's, follow with Khethiwe, then Tat'uMnyamezeli, succeeding that will be Sis'Gugulethu, then Nongoma, followed by Tat'uBuyelekhaya, Ncedo, Mthungi, Nonkonzo, Mam'uNomzamo, Nene, Tshawe, and lastly, Patrol.

5.2 Mam's:

Mam's was born in 1957 and is a mother of two; Akhona and Siyabulela. Akhona was born in 1978 while Siyabulela was born in 1993. They are both males. She proudly asserts that she is from Dlamini clan name. Mam's is a widow. Her late husband passed away in 1999 in a car accident at the age of 51. She is a tall, Xhosa Shebeen queen. Mam's grew up in the rural areas of King William's Town in the Eastern Cape, in the former Ciskei region. She, together with her late husband, was one of the first people who started to build their own shacks in what is now known as Kanana informal settlement, in 1990. Mam's is the third of her four siblings. Her married parents are no more. Her father passed away in 2005 when he was 92 years old and her mother passed away in 2011 at the age of 90. Her father used to work in the mines in Rustenburg, in the North West province while her mother had never been an employee. Mam's, till she got married, depended on her father's income for survival. All of her siblings are still alive. Two of her older sisters are staying in their marriage homes; one in Umthatha and the other in Alicedale. Two of her younger sisters are unmarried and are staying in their parents' home in the rural areas of King William's town in the Eastern Cape.

She got married to her late husband, Mthandeki, who was also from one of villages in King William's town. Mam's vividly remembers that it was when she just passed standard 8 in December of 1976 when she got married to her late *"beloved"* husband. At that time her husband was working at one of construction companies in Cape Town. Her husband was still working in this company at the time of his death. Till 1985, Mam's was staying at her late husband's home with the in-law parents and her son Akhona who was born in 1978. In 1985 she joined her husband who was renting a backyard shack in the NY1 section in Gugulethu. Mam's has grade four in formal schooling. She went to Cape Town in 1985 because her husband had told her that his women neighbours told him that there were several white people's households who were looking to employ black women to do nanny-work and other household chores. She then started working after two days of her arrival in Cape Town. She used a train to get to Rondebosch (one of southern suburbs in Cape Town), where she was

working as a domestic worker. Mam's said she got paid R200.00 a month for ten years and it was increased by R100 in 1996. She said she got paid R300.00 since mid-1996 till she was forced to quit the job in 2001.

In 1990, after they heard that people were starting to build shacks in a few hundred metres away open space, they moved to Kanana informal settlement, where their shack is located. This is where her four-room shack is located. They decided to move from NY1 because rent rates were too high for them and they were hinted by their landlord that a family member was about to move to Cape Town from the Eastern Cape in the following year and he would need the space they were occupying. Mam's said low pay and ill treatment she got from her employers forced her to quit her job. Low payment became more distressing after her husband's passing;

After the death of my husband, I could not feed and take care of my family. I had to send money at home and to the home in-law. At the same time I had to take care of two children who lost their father at a young age. My wage was very low. Even though my husband was remunerated very low as well it was better when we combined our wages. I had to find another was of having money because working as a domestic worker was just exploitation with no tangible income.

[This is extracted from the interview I had with Mam's on the 28th of November 2015].

Mam's lamented that low pay was not the only reason why she quitted the job. She said;

 After my husband's death I had to leave for King William's Town to prepare for the funeral. My employers allowed me to leave. I came back after three weeks donning the mourning (black) clothes. The problem started with how I was wearing. They did not like the way I was dressing saying I am an exemplary to a demon. I was forced to change the mourning clothes before the expected duration. But that did not relieve me from ill treatment by my employers. They totally changed from how they used to be. It became tense, they were now even complaining about my poor proficiency in speaking English..

[This is extracted from the interview I had with Mam's on the 28th of November 2015].

She endured this while saving money to open up a business. She then started her business of selling alcohol to residents who would drink in her extended shack. She is now a well-known

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business woman in Kanana. She remembered that it started with two cases of beer but now she buys up to 22 cases of different beers a week. She also sells brandy. She commends the business for enabling her to take care of her family. She is now living with her two sons, and two of her youngest sister's daughters. Both of her sons are not working and are helping her operate the business. Mam's usually visits her parents' home and home in-law during December holidays.

As Kanana resident she is regularly attends community meetings, which are open to every Kanana resident. Like many Kanana residents who attend community meetings Mam's feel very strong that community members need to meet regularly to converse about issues that do not only affect the community in general but those that affect community members in particular. Mam's usually blame the African National Congress (ANC) for not assisting them with housing in Kanana. She said all the problems in Kanana are as a result of unemployment of the residents including her two sons. This is despite the fact that, she complained, they have standard ten (Grade 12) certificates. She is of the view that even though the government responds by sending police when they protest but at the end of the day it will be forced to respond when "*simisa zonke izinto, nakula N2 batshebeleza kuye" [we stop everything, including the N2 where they travel unobstructed]*. To her, to protest is to grab the attention of the authorities so that they can be listened to as residents. This is very close to her as she feels that the unemployment of her two sons is due to government's failure to provide job opportunities. This includes what she has referred to as government's failure to "*even listen to how community members think community challenges can be resolved*".

I call her Mam's because of the popularity of this name that is given to women who are involved in small businesses in Kanana. Mam's in Kanana is used as a shortened term to mean Mama [Mother]. She also became my Mam's. Like other women who are involved in small business she is called Mam's. This term is mostly used by youth customers and youth in general to women they respect as their mothers.

5.3 Khethiwe:

Khethiwe was born in 1988 and is a single mother of one daughter, Jabulile. Jabulile was born in 2014. Khethiwe spent her early life in the rural areas of Butterworth town in the Eastern Cape, in the former Transkei region, where her home is located. She is the first born of her two siblings, a brother; Mandla born in 1991 and a sister; Athenkosi born in 1999. Her

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parents are staying in her home with Athenkosi. Mandla is working in a clothing store in Johannesburg and is living with his father's younger brother who is a taxi driver. Khethiwe's father and mother were born in 1964 and 1969 respectively. Her father works as a packer in a supermarket in Butterworth and her mother is a former cleaner at the nearby hospital. She had to stop working in 2010 due to health related reasons. Khethiwe left the Eastern Cape when she was 8 years old in 1996. She was living with her mother's older sister in Kanana till 2008. Her mother's sister left Kanana for Langa Township, where her husband received government house. This is after her aunt has been separated with her husband for more than 10 years. The shack had ever since been authorised to be owned by her, as according to her aunt's instructions. The shack has one big bedroom that is split by two wardrobes to make two bedrooms, and another big space arranged for the kitchen and the lounge. Having grown up in Kanana, Khethiwe attended her primary and secondary schooling in Gugulethu. She said she could not proceed to tertiary level studies after she passed Grade 12 in 2007 due to insufficient financial support at home. She is now staying with her father's younger brother's son Sigcine aged 19, and a daughter, Nombeko who is 13 years old. In a patrimonial arrangement as is the case here and in most of the African arrangements, Sigcine and Nombeko are her brother and sister respectively, not her cousins.

Her aunt was making living by selling home-made *amagwinya* (fat cakes) and umbengo (*braaid-meat*). Khethiwe took over from this business when her aunt left. She is now making living out of this business. She is taking care of her daughter whose father has denied that he is a father of the daughter. The said father is staying in the neighbouring shack settlement known as Barcelona. She is also taking care of Sigcine and Nombeko. Sigcine and Nombeko are schooling in the nearby Gugulethu schools. She said she sends some money home twice in every six months. She said, on average, she visits her rural home once in two years; and stay there for duration of about a moth. Her aunt is currently operating this same business in Langa. Khethiwe, in many occasions, has said she is saving some money from business so that in the next two to three years she goes back to school. Khethiwe said she has a dream of becoming an academically qualified nurse one day.

Having spent most of her years in Cape Town Khethiwe has lamented that life in the shack settlement is a struggle. She said that one hopes that she will live a better life one day, and stop being subjected to shack life. Although she prays that one day she should be out of

shacks she maintained that she has to make living so long because a shack has been part of her life since her early age. She usually said of the shack settlement:

No one likes this living. Who can be happy with living in a coop (shack)? These shacks we call houses here are used to keep chicken and work tools back home. But I grew up here. I will have to make living.

[This is extracted from the interview I had with Kethiwe on the 1ˢᵗ December 2015].

As a youth participating in the protests in Kanana Kethiwe has maintained her active participation as a citizen of the country. She has highlighted that "*it is about time that young people express their dissatisfaction with living conditions here in the shacks. We participate in the community meetings also to emphasise that. What kind of democracy that raises its children in the shack? Is this government even interested to hear from us? But because we do not have a choice we are forced grow up here. But we are certainly not happy* [Interview with Khethiwe, 23ʳᵈ January 2016].

As a young business woman and a very youthful human being Khethiwe is well known in Kanana. She is known, in highlight, of her loud voice and sharer of jokes with her customers. I am referring to her as Khethiwe because she seems to be the preferred woman where people of Kanana buy their fat cakes and braaid-meat. Khethiwe is the name that is mostly used in Isizulu for a woman. It relatively mean: *the preferred* or *the chosen one*.

5.4 Tat'uMnyamezeli:

Tat'uMnyamezeli was born in 1956. He is father of five children who are all living in the North West under the care of Tat'uMnyamezeli's first born son who is working in one of the mining companies in the North West. He is the second-born, to his sister, in eight siblings. He has three daughters and two sons of which the first-born, Khayalethu, is 35 years old. Tat'uMnyamezeli relocated to Cape Town in 1980 where he worked as a security guard since then till to date. He has grade 9 of formal-schooling. He is from the rural areas of Cofimvaba small town in the Eastern Cape, in the former Transkei region. When he moved to Cape Town in 1980 he recalled that 1980 was the year that he got married. He said that he had to marry out of his parents' expenditures. After he got married he decided to move to Cape Town so that he can take care of himself, his wife and the children he planned to have with his wife. His wife is from his neighbouring town called Tsomo. Both of Tat'uMnyamezeli's

parents are no more. His father passed away in 2003 at the age of 80 while his mother died in 2010 at the age of 84.

Tat'uMnyamezeli visits his home in the Eastern Cape once a year when he is given leave at work. He has been doing that together with her children until the year 2005 when his children, led by their older brother, moved to the North West province in Rusternburg. Tat'uMnyamezeli's first-born, Khayalethu, got a job in the mining company at the beginning of the year 2005 and his siblings joined him towards the end of that year. He was then left with his wife who passed away in 2013. He is now living with his 15 year old granddaughter, Thandeka. Thandeka is Khayalethu's first-born. Thandeka is doing grade 8 in one of the high schools in Langa Township. She uses the train as her transport to and from school.

Tat'uMnyamezeli said he used to be a backyard shack dweller in Nyanga Township. He said after hearing that there was a new shack settlement in Gugulethu he decided to move there and construct the shack for his family. His shack has two bedrooms, a kitchen and a lounge. 2017 was his last year at work. This was after he was hinted by his employers that since he was going to be 61 years old he would be considered for retirement. Tat'uMnyamezeli has nothing good to say about his life as a shack settlement resident. He said that as a man from poor background he had to withstand all the difficulties of having to live in a shack settlement. Tat'uMntamezeli pointed out that weather conditions, especially winter season is not suitable for someone who lives in a shack. He also pointed out that the unsanitary aspect of the shack settlement is something that he will not get used to. He usually said that informal settlement living needs an enduring person. He used to say:

Even you, if you look at it there is no better living here. The air we breathe is not clean. This place stinks human waste, and filthy water that we throw anywhere after taking a bath. To be a resident her mean we are refugees. If we were not living in these substandard shacks we would be living in open spaces. But I have one solution, to remain strong, endure.

[This is extracted from the Interview I had with Tat'uMnyamezeli on the 27th November 2015].

Ta'uMnyamezeli draws his participation in the protests in Kanana as a solidarity position he has taken with the fellow residents. It is that he shares the same living conditions with other shack residents. And he views the current government's conduct as very similar to that of

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apartheid. In one of our earlier interactions and interviews he vividly stated that; *"When there was a struggle against apartheid people were under the impression that once we attain democracy we will be able to sit with our own government and come up with solutions together. We did not know that we will have government who does not discuss with us our own struggles. This is just like apartheid government. And we are forced to behave like apartheid citizens if this government keeps on provoking us"* Interview with Tat'uMnyamezeli, 05 October 2015).

I named him Mnyamezeli because he always emphasised endurance. In almost all conversations I had with him he would refer to something that has to do with *ukunyamezela.* In IsiXhosa to endure mean *ukunyamezela.* A person is called Mnyamezeli to refer to that person as the one who endures. As a prefix to respect and acknowledge him as a father I refer to him as Tat'uMnyamezeli to mean father-Mnyamezeli.

5.5 Sis'Gugulethu:

Sis'Gugulethu was born in Duncan Village Township in East London, the former Ciskei region, in the Eastern Cape Province. A mother of two daughters, Aqhama, born in 2006 and Yanga born in 2012, she was born in 1978. She is the first born to her parents, Ntaba, father born in 1942 and Nosabatha, mother born in 1947, who are both living in the shack settlement of Duncan village. One of her siblings, her sister, Khanyisa born in 1989, is working as a petrol attendant in one of the filling-stations in East London and she is living with their parents. While the other one, the brother, Musa born in 1981, is living in one of the informal settlements in Cape Town and is currently working as manual-labourer in a construction company. Sis'Gugulethu arrived in Cape Town in 1992 when she was fourteen. She has been living in Kanana for her entire Cape Town life. She visits home in the Eastern Cape on the average; once in two years.

Upon her arrival in Cape Town she was doing grade 7 in one of Gugulethu primary schools. She was staying in her uncle's shack till 2005 when she bought her own. She decided to buy her own shack in Kanana because she considered that she has "grown up" and needed her own space. She passed her grade 12 in 1998 and started working in a factory-shop in the year 2000. She was retrenched from her work in 2009 as a result of the company's resolution to cut its employees. For living, Sis'Gugulethu now relies on the assistance that she receives from her brother and the social-grant that she receives from government for her two

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daughters. The father of her two daughters lives in one of the shack settlements in Cape Town and is unemployed. As someone who has lived in the shack settlements for all of her life Sis'Gugulethu usually had this to say with regards to her as a shack settlement resident:

I am a Duncan Village girl in a shack settlement. Kanana is not different to me. I have never lived a life outside shack life. But I liked Gugulethu better than Duncan Village. Gugulethu has become my pride although I sometimes feel embarrassed when the people who live in brick houses visit us here.

[This is extracted from the Interview I had with Sis'Gugulethu on the 1st of December 2015].

Sis'Gugulethu is adamant that Kanana residents need to take charge of their community and make Gugulethu *a real pride of the people*. She expressed that through participation in community meetings and in protests shack residents need to come to terms that it is in their hands to change the living conditions in the shack settlement. For her the meetings help residents to be on the common understanding about what they are fighting for and that it helps them express their concerns in a collective way.

I have referred to her Sis'Gugulethu because of her love that she always evokes of Gugulethu Township. As indicated above, Gugulethu mean "our pride". As a prefix to respect and acknowledge her as a sister I refer to her as Sis'Gugulethu to mean sister-Gugulethu.

5.6 Nongoma:

Nongoma grew up in Kanana. She was 7 years old when her parents moved to Kanana from Queenstown, in the former Transkei region, in 1991. Both of her parents have since passed away and she is living with her older brother, Zolani. Her father passed away in 2010 after complications with tuberculosis and her mother passed away due to headache related complications. Nongoma's parents were both working in the nearest supermarket as packers since the year 2000.

After passing grade 12 in 2003, Nongoma had no financial means to further her studies. She said she was committed to further her studies and pursue studies in Accounting. She is now unemployed and her brother who is working as a security guard is taking care of her. She has been looking for work from supermarkets and factories around Cape Town. She takes care of

house-chores and basks around with friends, except, predominantly, when she is not in the informal settlement busy with job-hunting.

Nongoma is a very ambitious young woman. She blames her inability to further her studies to her family for being poor. Other than that she blames Kanana's lack of facilities such as the libraries and computer labs to keep her busy. Due to fears of being robbed in other section where there is a library she finds herself in a position that discourages her to access the library in another section of Gugulethu. As ambitious woman she dreams of having a bigger house and living a suburban life. In many occasions she has expressed her longing for living a life that is opposite from shack life. She has expressed this with hopelessness. In many conversations we had she would complain about the government's failure to provide housing and the need for public protests that would draw the attention of the government so that the primary demand for housing can be taken seriously. She would usually say:

We live in shacks, something that can wither away anytime. I call a shack my house because I do not have proper house. It is a way of consoling myself. The government of the day does not see any problem in our lives. They are happy eating money and they do not care about us. We have been complaining about houses! We are not asking for heaven, we are asking for houses. If things were according to my wishes we are supposed to protest every day and blockade all these roads that they use so that they realise that we are not playing when we say we want houses.

[This is extracted from the interview I had with Nongoma on the 4th of December 2015].

Nongoma is very adamant of protest actions. When she is with her friends and the subject of living in their area come up in their conversations she always agitate for a protest because she has no hope in systematic-procedure to petition for their demands. This is because, as she stated; *in this country if you are poor and you want your grievances to be taken seriously and to be treated as a thinking person you must stage a public protest otherwise you will not be heard through formal ways"* [Interview with Nongoma, 07 October 2015]. Her friends have popularised her as a good leading singer during the protests of recent years. In fact she has identified herself as one of the people who lead in struggle songs during the protests in their area. I then decided to call her Nongoma because of her role in leading in a song when there is a protest. An *ingoma* in IsiXhosa mean a song. When referring to someone who loves to sing, especially a woman, she is referred to as Nongoma.

5.7 Tat'uBuyelekhaya:

Tatu'uBuyelekhaya was born in 1956 and he is a father of three children; Sakhele, Novangeli, and Siphelo. His children are all living with their mother in Phillipi Township. Tat'uBuyelekhaya started to live in Kanana in 1999 after he divorced with his wife. Tat'uBuyelekhaya has said he dropped out at school in grade four. He also used to live in Phillipi, having arrived there from Free State where he was working in the farms. Tat'uBuyelekhaya is originally from the villages of Keiskammahoek in the Eastern Cape, in the former Transkei region. His home village and his former wife's village are neighbouring villages. He said he broke-up with his wife after he was told, by his family and became convinced that the lastborn that his former wife gave birth to was not his child. Someone else was alleged to have impregnated the wife. After several conflicts with the wife regarding this they agreed to break-up and Tat'uBuyelekhaya left Phillipi. He is now living alone and all of his children visit him on average once a month. In many of our conversations he has claimed that he is a father to his children through sending the money to their mother for maintenance purposes; and that she gives them the love as much as he can when they pay him a visit.

Ta'uBuyelekhaya is working as a staff-driver of one of the hotels in Cape Town. Till 2004 Tat'uBuyelekhaya was working as a taxi-driver. Tat'uBuyelekhaya is regarded, at least by participants and the people I have met in Kanana, as one of the people who play an important role in organising community meetings. Together with Nonkonzo (who is going to be introduced) they are known as having organised meetings that have not only discussed living conditions in Kanana but who have lead in recent protests for better living conditions in Kanana. Tat'uBuyelekhaya believes in education. Having dropped at grade 7 at school due to peer pressure he is wary of Kanana young people. He is of the view that Kanana is not a learning friendly environment. This is what forms his activism in Kanana because he is of the view that they need to be provided with proper housing that would provide children with conducive learning environment. Although he sees himself as someone who belongs in the Eastern Cape he is motivated for the better future of children who grow up in the informal settlements in big cities, especially Cape Town. He usually proclaimed that:

It is painful to think about the future of children who have to grow up living in shacks. Most of them are discouraged by the living conditions and end up dropping out at school. After that there is no proper job that they can get without education. I do not blame them; it is

because of the living conditions here in the shacks. Shacks are like places where the government is not expecting professionals from.

[This is extracted from the Interview I had with Tat'uBuyelekhaya on the 6th of December 2015]

Having lived in Kanana for more than fifteen years now, Tat'uBuyelekhaya does not see himself living in Kanana in five years to come. He wishes to move back home to the Eastern Cape for retirement. Whenever he complains about living conditions in the informal settlement he always reminds me, and himself, that he does not have many years more to live in shacks. He often reminds that, *ndizohamba kakade ndibuyelekhaya (I am going to leave anyway and go back home).* I have therefore referred to him here as Buyelekhaya to indicate his love and keenness to go to the Eastern Cape, the place that he regard as his home. I must highlight, for the benefit of the interest of this paper, that Tat'uBuyelekhaya's longing to go back to the Eastern Cape is influenced by living conditions in the informal settlement. He had to endure living there in the previous years because he was desperate to keep his job. Now that he is about to retire, he cannot take living in the informal settlement any longer. His discomfort about living in the shack has motivated him to not only take part in the community protests but also to be in the leading team.

5.8 Ncedo:

Ncedo was born in 1984 in the rural surroundings of the town of Lady Frere in the Eastern Cape, in the former Transkei region. He is the first born to his three sister siblings, Vuyo, Akhona, and Anele. He grew up in the Eastern Cape. His parents, Marhadebe and Mgcina are pensioners who rely on their pension grants and livestock for living in the Eastern Cape. After completing grade 12 in 2003 he joined friends who went to Worcester in the Western Cape to work as farm labourers there. After two years of working there with very low wages he joined one of his friends who left to Cape Town to live with his parents in formal housing section of Gugulethu. Ncedo arrived in Cape Town in the beginning of 2006 and started living on his own in Kanana towards the end of 2006.

After struggling to find a job and depending on his parents for living Ncedo got a job in 2009. He got a job in Bellville where he is working as empty-bottles collector in one of the taverns. He is still looking for another job though because he is not satisfied with the wage he earns.

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Since 2014 he has been living with his unemployed girlfriend. In 2015 they had a child, baby boy Sikho. Ncedo is very critical of his low paying job. Most significantly Ncedo is very critical of where he lives. He even had moments of trying to stifle conversations related to him being a resident in Kanana. He would say; *ingase kungathethwa ngalempilo imbi yalapha, yona iyazithethela ngokwayo* [I wish we can avoid talking about these bad living conditions, they are talking for themselves; Interview with Ncedo, 20th October 2015].

The latter is precisely what Ncedo has said connects him with the protests. He has insisted on being impatient with the living conditions in the shacks, just in the above. He shared that he attends community meetings and protests to add to the voice of shack residents who want to change the living conditions in the shack settlement.

As a very creative man with a sense of humour, Ncedo is known in Kanana. He is mostly known for his handwork though. When he is not at work, he regularly does what he calls "piece jobs". He builds, fix shacks for very low payment. He is also good at fixing electrical materials such as stoves, microwaves, and refrigerators. Ncedo does this even on credit where the client would pay later. Although he gets paid he is regarded as a helper in his community. There are however other people who this kind of work in Kanana other than him. Due to the fact that he charges less and do work on credit he is regarded as a helper. In this he becomes a preferred person in his community, a community that consist people who struggle to maintain living. I have referred to him here as Ncedo because of his reputation as a helper. Ncedo in IsiXhosa can be loosely translated to English as "help" or "assistance".

5.9 Mthungi:

Mthungi was born in 1979 in the town of Mount Frere in the Eastern Cape, in the former Transkei region. Before he arrived in Cape Town in the year 2000 he was staying in the rural areas of Mount Frere with his parents and siblings. He is the second born of four siblings. Mthungi dropped at school at grade 9. There was no one to look after livestock and him and his brother had to drop out at school to look after livestock. His older brother, Nululeko, dropped out at grade 12. After six years of looking after livestock full-time he decided to go to Cape Town to his aunt. This is besides the fact that his father promised to allocate him some livestock and assist him in building his own household in his own plot. Upon his arrival in Nyanga Township, where his aunt was staying, he was lucky to get a job in a restaurant in Bellville. He then bought a shack in Kanana in his second year as a worker in a restaurant.

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He worked in a restaurant for three years and he was retrenched because he could not speak Afrikaans, he said.

For about two year since 2003 Mthungi was not working. He depended on his older brother who has a business of growing and selling livestock in Mount Frere. In 2005 he started a business of sewing shoes. After five years he bought a sewing-machine for clothes. He is now living with his unemployed girlfriend and two of their children in his two room shack. His girlfriend, Thobekile, takes care of house chores. Although he is not convinced by the money that he makes out of his business and is struggling to make living he is thankful that he can at least take care of his children. The older one of his two children, a boy, Anda born in 2012, is attending a pre-school. The younger one, a girl, Athabile born in 2015 is still under the care of her parents in the settlement.

As a humble man to his customers, Mthungi seems to be the preferable man among Kanana residents given that he is not the only one who is doing this business. The radio is always on in his shack and he likes South African political-parties related news. This also surfaces in the conversations that he always creates. With regards with being a shack resident he is always of the view that shack life is the life of those who are rejected by the system and that the reason why he and many other people are shack residents is because politicians do not care about shack residents. That is why he has been part of the protests in Kanana. He feels like the politicians especially in government need to go and listen to them so that they find solutions to their living conditions. Among similar sentiments that he always expresses he once stated that:

You must know that if you live in a shack you are an unwanted in this country. The government does not want poor people; they only want people who make money for government. Politicians do not care about people; that is why you will only see them when they are campaigning for the votes. After that they go back to the suburbs areas, become corrupt and fight among themselves.

[This is extracted from the interview I had with Mthungi on the 1st of October 2015].

I have then referred to him as Mthungi in reference to the work that he is doing. Ukuthunga in IsiXhosa refer to sewing. Someone who sews can be loosely referred to as uMthungi.

5.10 Nonkonzo:

Nonkonzo is a mother of one daughter, Nonkosi born in 2009. Nonkonzo was born in 1980 in Langa Township in Cape Town. She is the last born and she has three siblings. Nonkonzo grew up in the hostels where he lived with her parents and siblings. Both of her parents are no more. Her father, Jacob, passed away in 1998 at the age of 76 while her mother, Elizabeth, passed away in 2005 at the age of 78. Although she grew up in Langa Township she once in a while visit her homestead in the Eastern Cape in Aberdeen. She is not familiar with family members in the Eastern Cape and she prefers Cape Town. After starting schooling in 1987, Nonkonzo studied till grade 12. She passed her grade 12 in 1998. Given that her father passed away in 1998 and she depended on her father's retirement income she could not further her studies. She noted that after her father's death suffering at her home turned "*from bad to worse*". In 2000 she left her home in Langa to live in Kanana where she thought she would find "*a peace of mind*". This is because, according to Nonkonzo, her older brothers ill-treated her and they could not listen to her mother. She said they treated her as a house-wife and did not appreciate her contribution since she was not working. She then left her home after she got a job organised by her church friend in Gugulethu where she was attending church services. As young as twenty years old she started working in a filling station in Gugulethu. She stopped working there due to health related reasons concerning working conditions at filling station.

Nonkonzo is now living with her daughter in a three-roomed corrugated iron shack. She depends on her boyfriend for living. The father of her daughter and her boyfriend, Oliver, is working in George and visits them once a year. Oliver is living with his family in George. He used to work in the same filling station with Nonkonzo. Nonkonzo is a very passionate woman who is very involvement in her community activities. She is the only participants who would switch to English in most of our conversations.

Together with Tat'uBuyelekhaya she is known as effective organiser of community meetings. As a result she is the chairperson of her community section. She is most effective at her church. She is also chairperson of the youth in church. She organises youth related meetings at church. During the week she would visit church members regarding church related issues. Church related matters are what she is always busy with. "*Church is in my blood* ", she would say. Concerning her community roles as a chairperson; she is of the view that it is her responsibility as a Christian to be at the forefront in fighting against what she refers as *"poor living conditions"* in Kanana. She is of the view that *"the people of God"* in the informal

settlements must unite and fight for better life. Nonkonzo is convinced that "*it is not in God's plan for us to suffer in shacks*". Therefore "*people need to wake up and raise their voices, a vote is not working*".

I have called her Nonkonzo to highlight her general courage as active church going Christian. Nkonzo in IsiXhosa is loosely understood as a service and it is usually, though not limited to, a church-service. Nonkonzo therefore refers to someone who possesses church-related characters especially in reference to a woman.

5.11 Mam'uNomzamo:

Mam'uNomzamo was born in 1960 in the rural areas of King William's Town in the Eastern Cape, in the former Ciskei regioin. She arrived in Cape Town in 1992 and Kanana is the only place has lived in in Cape Town. Mam'uNomzamo is a single mother of two children; Zuko, a boy born in 1988 and Zukiswa, a girl born in 1996. Both of her two children are living in the rural areas in her parental home. Before 1992 Mam'uNomzamo has lived her entire life in the rural areas of King William's Town. She lived with her parents, who both passed away in 2001, and her three brothers, who are all younger than her. Because of the dire situation at home, as she said, as a first born she felt that it is upon herself to leave for Cape Town where she would look for a job so that she takes care of her family. She left her four year old son with the parents and went to Cape Town in 1992. By that time she had already dropped at school in grade three and was just living at home. When she arrived in Cape Town, as she remembers, she did not know anyone. She made friends on her arrival in Bellville train station who provided her with the place to sleep in Crossroads. By the end of 1992 she left the family she was staying with due to family conflicts. That family had however assisted her with the building of the shack in Kanana and provided her with bed and cooking material.

Mam'uNomzamo spent 1992 and the whole of 1993 without securing employment. In the end of 1994 Mam'uNomazomo got work as a caregiver in Sea Point. She was working in white people's family house. Mam'uNomzamo has said that she started working for R250 in 1994, increased to R450 in 2000, R900 from 2003, and to R1500 from 2007. This is the job that she held till 2008. In 2008 the family that she has worked for for fourteen years left South Africa permanently. It is now permanently living in England. Since then she became unemployed and unemployable. She has tried looking for a job but to no avail. Using a train as her transport to-and-from work, Mam'uNomzamo nostalgically recalls the challenges of having

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

to travel in an *"always full train"*. Having served as a caregiver in Sea Point for fourteen years Mam'uNomzamo does not have any kind of savings. She said that the family thanked her for the work that she has done through handing out to her some of the furniture, clothes, and the amount of the money that amounted to the money that she used to make in the period of twelve months.

Explaining Kanana shack settlement; she has referred to it as a quagmire that she has to live and get used to it. After failing getting a job after 2008, she is now taking care of young children who are not yet older enough to attend a crèche. Those are the children of single-mothers who are working. During the course of the fieldwork, she has been taking care of three children. She charges R120 a month. This is the money that sustains her throughout except times when one of her younger brothers who works in metro-rail decides to do some groceries for her. Although she regards her life as a life of being in a quagmire and being *"stuck in shacks"* she believes that life is all about making efforts and plans out of nothing. On the other hand she is very encouraged by community efforts, that she is part of, of calling meetings to discuss living conditions that she views as "*not fair considering that there is national department of housing that never comes and speak to us as shack residents".* I have therefore referred to her as Nomzamo due to her life philosophy that in life one has to make efforts and make something out of nothing. Umzamo in IsiXhosa relates to effort.

5.12 Nene:

Nene is from a village of a small town called Ugie in the Eastern Cape, in the former Transkei region. He was born in 1980 in the Eastern Cape. He grew up in his rural home with his mother, his older brother, and his younger sister. His father was working in Cape Town and used to visit them during December holidays. Nene's father was living in Crossroads as a backyarder and moved to Kanana in 1997. After passing grade 12 in the Eastern Cape in the year 2000, Nene went to Cape Town to live with his father. He is still living in the same three-roomed shack that he used to stay with his father in. His father is now living in the Eastern Cape with his mother and grandchildren including two of Nene's daughters. Nene's father retired at his work in 2004 and went to the Eastern Cape to stay permanently in 2005. Nene is now living alone and he is unemployed.

Upon his arrival in Cape Town in the year 2000 he had just passed grade 12 and he was hoping that he would get a job as soon as he arrived in Cape Town. This did not happen. He

worked in a construction work from 2007 to 2011. When the company he was working for was moving to Durban in KwaZulu Natal at the end of 2011 he became unemployed. He then worked in City of Cape Town municipality as a street cleaner for a year from 2012 to 2013. After that he became unemployed. For financial support Nene now depends on his brother who is living in Langa Township. His brother is a taxi driver.

As a Kanana resident, Nene is known a one of the famous football coaches. He coaches a group of boys who, mostly, reside in Kanana. As a committed football coach, Nene has a dream that his team get the sponsors so that his talented players get recognition in the mainstream football stage. Nene has several complaints regarding how his settlement, Kanana, and its people are treated by government. Most of his complaints emanate from challenges that he faces in sport. He views sport as another away of helping youth avoid being involved in crimes, alcohol and drug abuse. He has complained that the government does not assist in what he calls *"a strategy to reduce crime and substance abuse"*. That is why, he would say, he also takes part in community meetings and protests to make sure that his ideas and initiatives are heard by government authorities.

He has earned respect among youth who love sport and football in particular. As an unemployed man, he is always in and around his shack settlement and he is keen in discussing issues that relate to community development. He had however expressed that to government the views of them do not matter; *"urhulumente akakhathali nokuba sithetha ntoni, kurhulumente asingobantu bakwaziyo ukucinga"* (the government just do not care about what we have to say, to government we are not people who are able to think).

What I have learnt about Nene as a person is that cleanliness and respect is what comes first to him. He is known as a decent man by people I have met in Kanana. Most people I met have referred to him as a *"gentleman"*. I have since referred to him here as Nene. In IsiXhosa a gentleman is referred to as inene with (i) standing for (a) to mean a gentleman (iNene).

5.13 Tshawe:

Tshawe was born in 1981 in Langa Township in Cape Town. His parents are from the rural areas of the Eastern Cape in uMthatha, in the former Transkei region. They are now permanently living in Langa Township and no longer going back to the Eastern Cape since the year 2000. As pensioners they, according to Tshawe, do not find it necessary to go back

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to the Eastern Cape. His mother was born in 1953 and his father was born in 1950. Tshawe is the second-born of four siblings. They are two sons and three daughters. Tshawe grew up in Cape Town and had been in the Eastern Cape in his parents' home for five times.

Tshawe started living in Kanana in the year 1999. This is after he went to the Eastern Cape in uMthatha for traditional-initiation school in December 1998. He moved to Kanana because he needed to live on his own. "*Njengekrwala kwakufuneka ndifunde uzihlalela*" (As a newly-graduated initiate I had to learn to live on my own); he said. He took this as an opportunity to experience how to live on his own. He depended on his parents for living. In 1999 he was doing grade 10 and he dropped out. Tshawe said he dropped out because he felt disrespected by teachers and ultimately by other schoolmates. He was one of the very few traditionally circumcised men at his school and he could not endure being *"disrespected"*.

In his two-roomed shack Tshawe is now living with his girlfriend, Ayema born in 1987, who is working as a cashier in one of the chain store in Cape Town. They started to live together in 2009. His girlfriend is always at work. She works from Monday to Saturday, from 09h00 to 17h00. And she spends the other time in traveling by the train. Tshawe is unemployed and his girlfriend is a breadwinner. Their seven year old son is living with his parents and sisters in Langa Township. Tshawe is always in the settlement and at times does odd jobs such as painting shacks and electricity tubing.

Tshawe is well-known in the shack settlement for his talkativeness. We would walk around the settlement-to the shops when we had to buy something, chill at the tavern and visit some of his friends. Tshawe had, in many occasions, expressed his distress about himself as a shack settlement resident:

It's not nice to stay here, it's bad. It's worse to people like me who are unemployed. Sometimes I just accept this living condition because I regard it as my place whether I like it or not.

[This is extracted from the interview I had with Tshawe on the 4th of November 2015].

Most of the people do not know his real name. Most of the people I have met and observed, including young children, call him by his clan name. I have therefore decided to call him Tshawe. Tshawe clan is known as kings of Xhosa nation. As he is a proud isiXhosa speaker I

have referred to him as Tshawe. This is, of course, not his clan name that is used to call him in Kanana.

5.14 Patrol:

Patrol is from De Aar in the Northern Cape. He was born in 1978 in De Aar. Patrol grew up and lived in De Aar until he was 20 years old. When growing up he used to live with his late grandparents, siblings and cousins. He is the lastborn of two siblings; a brother and a sister. Both of his parents were away working and could visit them during Christmas and winter holidays. In 1997 he passed his matric. In 1998 he moved to Cape Town in Kanana, where both of his parents were living. Patrol's father, born in 1948, was working for the manufacturing company in Parow while his mother, born in 1951, was a cleaner in a hotel in Cape Town. They are now living in De Aar as pensioners. They left Cape Town in 2008. Patrol is now living in the two-roomed shack that his parents left.

Patrol is a father of two sons, ten year old twins; he had with his girlfriend who is working in De Aar. Patrol has worked for a supermarket as a packer since 2002 and was fired in 2009, with many of his colleagues, due to his involvement in what was deemed as illegal strike for wage increases. He is now working as a staff-driver for a business man who is based in Nyanga Township. He picks up the staff from Nyanga Township and Gugulethu to Victoria & Alfred Waterfront in the morning and picks them up in the evening.

Patrol is of the view that being an informal settlement resident is a matter of the people who are rejected by the state. He is always furious with the lack of government's constant conversation with shack dwellers. To Patrol, government must be in constant conversations with the shack settlements so that a solution of constructing what he called "*a better settlement*" is found. "*How can you think that the government that does not talk to you cares about you?*" [This is extracted from the interview I had with Patrol on the 17th of November 2015]. This is in line with what has drawn Patrol in participating in community committee, community meetings and in protests.

Patrol boasts about himself as a disciplined man. He is held in high regard in the settlement. He is the second youngest man in the committee of security in his section. He is in the committee of twenty-two men who are responsible for patrolling in the settlement at night. This is in response to reported cases of frequent robberies of residents at night. They patrol

the streets and making sure that Kanana is a safe place at night. They hold regular meetings about the protection of Kanana residents from criminals. Their operation is not perfect since the incidents of crime at night are still reported. I have referred to him as Patrol here based on his involvement in the Patrol committee.

5.15 Conclusion:

In this chapter I described and discussed a sense of what it means to be an informal settlement resident. This is demonstrated by particularising the main people I worked with in Kanana. In an attempt to discuss against adverse representations of informal settlement residents who participate in community protests this chapter introduced Kanana residents as identifiable ordinary human beings with names that resemble their connection with the place they inhabit. Kanana residents are introduced as human beings who migrated from elsewhere, most often from the Eastern Cape province, and have become shack residents. By particularising and singling those out I wanted to emphasise the ordinariness of their lives and how they are connected and involved in the protests. For all co-producers I have discussed their life histories and their social positions as shack residents. This was to show how they live their daily lives in the shack settlement. The following chapter goes further and explore the ways of living with others in the shack settlement; ways that exposes life beyond protests in the shack settlement.
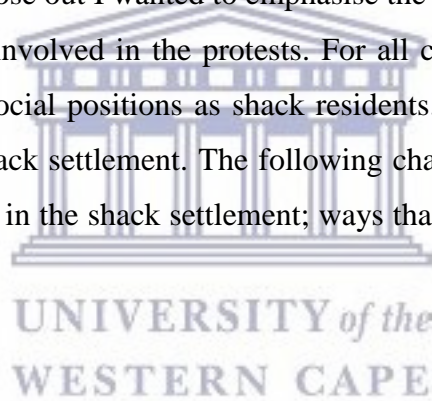
CHAPTER SIX: WAYS OF LIVING WITH OTHERS IN AN INFORMAL SETTLEMENT

6.1 Introduction:

This chapter explores ways of living with others among informal settlement residents in Kanana. The central argument here is that the ways of living with others in Kanana represent a sense of harmony and living together. In this way the chapter contributes to the overarching concern of the thesis, i.e., a representation of life beyond protests and a sense of what it means to be an informal settlement resident. It also demonstrates, against adverse representations of the protests and those protesting, the re-existence, resurgence, and re-emergence of the residents as humans. I use "re" in order to emphasise the sense of humanity against the alienating representations of humans participating in protests as mere criminals and/ or as protests just for "service delivery". This shows that not everything about life of shack residents must be reduced to protesting. There is more to life in the informal settlement than reducing everything about their life as always linked to protests.

I start by showing that that the ways of living with others as humans in Kanana can be traced from various co-residential arrangements. I thus argue that co-residential arrangements are primary producers of these social interactions. They produce social interactions in the sense that the individual residents of Kanana belong in the first place to their respective co-residential arrangements. This reflection draws attention to the importance of co-residential arrangements in the ways of living with others in the informal settlement. Then I will discuss practices of greeting as a daily way of living in the shack settlement. I will show that greeting is a practice that provides a rich foundation for people to get to know each other; and that it extends to function as an important factor for friendship and a sense of togetherness and occasion, in the sense of honouring community occasions. I will further discuss that greeting in Kanana is an indicator of the state of person-to-person relations in Kanana. The mood of the social relations among Kanana residents can be sensed through the practice of greeting.

The chapter's third section draws attention to deeper person-to-person interactions. This should be read as an extension of the discussion on greeting. It argues that person-to-person interactions are the rhythms and expressions of Kanana ways of living with others. I will

show how person-to-person interactions exemplify the sense of living together and in harmony in Kanana. Person-to-person interactions find expression in various occasions in Kanana. Residents visit each other; they also meet up in the streets, in sheebeens, hair salons, and in tuck shops and stalls. Person-to-person relations are also expressed through mobile phone devices. My point is that person-to-person interactions are compellingly sites of information and ideas, of peace, comfort, happiness, and gossip.

The chapter concludes with a discussion of how the ways of living with others in the informal settlement are centred on harmony and living together. In this way I wish to highlight how Kanana residents I worked with inhabit the shack settlement.

6.2 Co-residential arrangements:

As has been shown in the earlier chapters of this thesis, the housing of this informal settlement is made of shacks that are obviously inhabited by human beings. My presence in the field was owed to those who occupy these shacks. Through interactions and observations in the course of fieldwork I learnt to know them not just as residing in shacks. I learnt that, rather, their occupation of the shacks is organised along co-residential arrangements. This relates to the group of people who share meals, living together in the same shack, and also sometimes those living in the same vicinity and not necessarily in the same shack. I shall show also that not all Kanana shack residents live in co-residential arrangements. There are also several residents who live on their own.

Co-residential arrangements in Kanana vary in terms of family structure and forms of coordination. I found five categories of co-residential arrangements in Kanana. The first and most common form is the mother-headed co-residential arrangement while the second one is the father-headed co-residential arrangement. The third category is the one in which adults, ranging from young adults to older adults; individually live on their own and the fourth category includes those adults that live together to form co-residential arrangement. Another category is the one I refer to as distinctly living-together (*ukuhlalisana*). I want to emphasise that these categories are not static. They are always in a state of f1uidity; one type of living-together arrangement can evolve into another form, or fade completely in particular situations.

6.2.1 Mother-headed co-residential arrangements:

Of prominence in Kanana are mother-headed co-residential arrangements. Mother-headed co-residential arrangements are those where the mother is regarded as the head of the house. A head of the house status is prominently given to the eldest adult, usually male, who provides for the family. Or this is the idea. In reality, notably, mothers live with their children or those of their kin. The common association thus is that mothers as heads of co-residential arrangements regard themselves as have assumed the head position due to the absence of the father figure or a male counterpart. Reasons for the absence of fathers in the co-residential arrangements differ.

Mam's born in 1957, for example, is a sheebeen owner, and the head of co-residential arrangement. In her four-roomed shack with a cemented and carpeted floor, ceilinged on the roof and walls, during my fieldwork she lived with her two sons and two daughters of her younger sister. Having moved to Cape Town from the Eastern Cape, she has lived with her husband and children in Kanana since 1990 when Kanana was constructed. She became the head of the house in 1999 after the passing of her husband. Before that, her husband was the head of the house. On the other hand, Sis'Gugulethu, born in 1978, is an unemployed mother of two daughters. As a "grown up" she started to live in Kanana in 2005 and consequently lived with her two daughters. Her brother who works as a construction worker is supporting her financially. She also relies on the government social grant she receives for her two daughters for living. Sis'Gugulethu shared with me that the father of her two daughters is living with his parents in one of the townships in Cape Town and is unemployed. She postulated that if they were living together the father of the children would have been the head of the house.

There are also reasons for the absence of fathers in the mother-headed co-residential arrangements other than death of the father or unemployment. I learnt about four more incidences. One of the people who cordially worked with me in Kanana is Kethiwe, born in 1988; like several other people she shared her story with me. At the time of fieldwork she lived with her daughter. She regretted that she was not living with the father of the daughter who would have been the head of the house. The purported father denied impregnating Khethiwe and she decided to not follow it up. Another mother who I worked with, Mam'uNomzamo, born in 1960, was living with her two children, a son and daughter. The fathers of her children had disappeared, she did not know about their whereabouts and their homes of origin. She works as a caregiver of about five children in her own shack.

Nonkonzo, born in 1980, is among those whose partners or husbands live in a different town or province. She lives with her daughter. Her boyfriend who lives and works in George, 500 km away from Cape Town, although he assists her financially. The last incident, in my exploration in Kanana, of mother-headed co-residential arrangements with absent fathers was of mothers living with their children who were no longer in good relations with the fathers, and or that their children's fathers were committed in relationships with other women.

6.2.2 Father-headed co-residential arrangement:

The second category of co-residential arrangements in Kanana is the father-headed co-residential arrangement. Father-headed co-residential arrangements are those where the father is regarded as the head of the house. The general supposition by the people I interacted with in Kanana is that the ideal co-residential arrangement would be one that is headed by a father, living with the mother in a marriage arrangement. The most desirable co-residential arrangement is one that is headed by fathers in Kanana, and that include the father as a husband, a mother as wife and with their children. Those who view this co-residential arrangement structure as desirable have argued for a more patrilineal family structure. Although she is finding herself unable to raise her children in a patrilineal and father-headed co-residential arrangement Mam'uNomzamo defended the ideal of patrilineal and father-headed co-residential arrangement in our conversations. Like many Kanana residents I interacted with she is of the view that a father headed co-residential arrangement is desirable and provides a more sense of belonging in a family to the children. In one of our conversations about co-residential arrangements in Kanana, Mam'uNomzamo affirmed that;

Even though I am forced to raise my children on my own without their fathers the appropriate way is to raise your children in a home that has a father as a head. That is healthier. In my situation my children do not even know their fathers. That is not healthy for their upbringing at all. With the presence of the father in the children's lives give them a sense of family belonging. They grow with both of their parents and they certainly know their clan name. That is the appropriate way of family upbringing (Conversation with Mam'uNomzamo on the 13th of January 2016 while we were having lunch at her shack).

There are, however, other father-headed co-residential arrangements that do not adhere to the above arrangement. Tat'uBuyelekhaya born in 1956, for example, lived with two of his three children without a female partner present. He had moved to Kanana in 1999 from Philippi

where he was living with his wife and children when he found out that his wife had been cheating on him. They divorced and he left the shack they were living in in Philippi. Other father-headed co-residential arrangements may resemble that of Tat'uBuyelaKhaya's best friend, Tat'uMkhonzi. Tat'uMkhonzi lived with his two children and grandchildren. His wife passed away in 2006. Another father-headed kind of co-residential arrangement that I encountered in Kanana involves fathers whose wives have left them and got married to someone elsewhere; something that is very similar in the case of absent father in some cases of co-residential arrangements.

6.2.3 Single residential arrangements:

Another category that I interacted with and observed is the one in which adults, including young adults as well as older adults live on their own in their shacks. These single inhabitants in residential arrangements in Kanana include those who are new to the settlement, but there are also those who lived in Kanana for many years, even more than ten years. Single-living residents include males who live singly and females who live singly. Most of them are unemployed and rely on family relatives for a living while some of them are working for wages. Most of those I interacted with expressed their ideals of *"looking for a right partner"* that they are going to live with in the near future. Some of them are parents but are not living with their children. Nwabisa, born in 1988, for example, has two daughters who live with her parents in the Eastern Cape. She started to live in Kanana from the Eastern Cape in 2012 in her sister's shack as her sister had to move to Durban with her husband in the same year. She works in a nearby supermarket and sends money to her parents for sustenance on a monthly basis. Nwabisa is not sure about the whereabouts of the father of her daughters although she had heard rumours that he got married to someone else and is living in Johannesburg. On the other hand, Nene, born in 1980, started to live in Kanana in 2001 with his retired father who is now living at their home back in the Eastern Cape. Nene had a job from 2007 to 2011 and was retrenched when the construction had to move to another province; from 2012 to 2013 he was employed again in a local municipality but then his contract expired. Nene thereafter became unemployed and now depends on his married brother who lived and worked as a taxi driver in Khayelitsha Township.

6.2.4 Diverse co-residential arrangement:

The fourth category of Kanana co-residential arrangements consists of adults that live together to form co-residential arrangement. These adults may be socially related in different ways. Some adults that live together are kinfolks some live together as home-boys and home-sisters (they come from the same and neighbouring towns in the Eastern Cape) while some are living with each other because they became friends and guardians to each other. In this arrangement anyone of any gender can become the head of the house since to be the head of the house; it primarily requires that you are the breadwinner. Nongoma, born in 1984, for example, lived with her older brother who worked as a security guard. She started to live in Kanana in 1991 with her late parents and is unemployed. I also got to know Sandile who lived with his home-boy whom he knew from their common hometown of East London in the Eastern Cape. On the other hand Nonkululeko lived with her friend who works in a train station as a teller.

6.2.5 Ukuhlalisana co-residential arrangement:

Ukuhlalisana is the fifth category of co-residential arrangements that I observed and explored. This category consists of two sexual partners who live together. Most live with their children while some live as a twosome. I observed and interacted only with heterosexual co-residential arrangements and I did not come across co-residential arrangements of partners with a different sexual orientation. Although among Kanana residents I had extensive interactions with there is a general agreement that the most desired co-residential arrangement is the one that involves a married heterosexual couple and their children, I learnt that sexual partners resort to *ukuhlalisana* as a living arrangement. This category is very interesting in that its structure imitates a formal marriage living arrangement while the children assume the surname and traditional rituals of their mother, rather than the father. This goes against the patrilineal tradition in Xhosa community. Those involved in ukuhlalisana have generally expressed it as a transitional stage into getting into formal marriage. In this category it is not obvious as to who heads the co-residential arrangement. Although the general patrilineal assumption is that a man becomes the head of the house; with the co-residential arrangement I studied in Kanana, this is not always the case. In the cases whereby a man lives in his partner's shack and especially where he is unemployed, a woman who is employed or self-employed becomes the head of the house; for to be a head of the house you must also be a bread winner of the co-residential arrangement. Although living together is generally regarded as a prelude to marriage some residents have shared with me

situations where this arrangement has become permanent. One of the mothers, mam'Tolo, who was very keen to interact with me about their living conditions in Kanana shared with me how *ukuhlalisana* became a permanent co-residential arrangement for her.

I was with my partner for about twenty years. We lived in Langa Township as backyarders and started to live in Kanana in 1999. We lived together and we had three children together. Our plan was to eventually get married. We didn't get married for about twenty years of being together until he passed away in 2013 due to Tuberculosis related illness. We wanted to get married but we could not afford enough money for him to pay lobola. There were times of accepting things as they are. Understanding that he did not have enough money to marry me we accepted our situation. What became important was that we loved each other, and we were committed to each other. [This is extracted from the interview I had with mam'Tolo on the 2nd of February 2016].

From mam'Tolo's reality and those of this similar situation that I interacted with in Kanana *ukuhlalisana* has become a refuge in light of having failed to reach the envisaged marriage status because they cannot afford marriage financially. Mthungi, for instance, has lived with his unemployed girlfriend since the year 2007. They have two children and the children are using their mother's surname. Mthungi still hopes that he will get married to his girlfriend when he has saved enough money to pay lobola. He shared with me that he is saving some money out of his sewing business and getting married would take some years to be realised. Like many people I interacted with, and who are engaged in *ukuhlalisana* he commended that he and his partner had deep love for each other as a sustaining factor in the relationship that is hoped to be formalised by marriage.

For the particular purpose of this chapter, this exploration of different categories of co-residential arrangements in the shack settlement has provided a background in which the ways of living with others take place. In this essence I would like to make the point that co-residential arrangement in their varying categories foreground ways of living with others in Kanana. It is co-residential arrangements that are the primary nurtures of the people who find and maintain ways of living with others in Kanana.

6.3 Greeting as a way of living with others: as a cornerstone for friendship, and a sense of togetherness

As living in respective categories of co-residential arrangements, there is something compelling about Kanana residents when they meet outside their respective co-residential arrangements. Daily Kanana residents greet each other. I found during my fieldwork that greeting is an everyday way of living with others, and a norm of living in the shack settlement. I spent mornings, middays, afternoons, and evenings in Kanana. Greetings continuously happened at all these different times. When one encounters another in the streets of Kanana or in the co-residential arrangement people usually made a point to greet each other.

Greeting in Kanana takes different forms and includes different gestures. It is clear however that one has to show enthusiasm when greeting. Since Kanana is an isiXhosa dominated informal settlement isiXhosa concepts of greeting are used to greet. *Molo*[1] or *molweni*[2] are the common verbal expressions that are used for greeting in Kanana. If the people have not seen each other in a while a *'molo'* is usually accompanied by a handshake to show appreciation of meeting each other again. It is not rare to observe people greeting each other without looking at each other but the most dominant scenario is whereby residents would give each other attention when greeting. They smile as they greet each other and this is usually followed by a brief or a longer chat that starts with asking about how you feel, regarding your health.

I found that greeting provides rich foundations for people in Kanana to get to know each other. This is especially true regarding their neighbours and those who live in the same street. Kanana residents I socialised with expressed a general agreement that it is those who greet each other that stand a chance to get to know each other. If you do not greet each other chances of talking to each other so that you get to know each other are very slim. Kanana residents view greeting as providing a rich foundation for people to get to know each other and live as people who belong in the same community. Nene, for instance, like other Kanana residents I had frank conversations with, expressed the importance of greeting as breeding ground for people to know each other in Kanana. He motioned that to know your neighbours and people who live in your neighbourhood you have to greet them on a regular basis first. He recalled how he started to know his neighbours and eventually many other people who live in Kanana. He emphasised greeting as having played the key role. We were having some

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[1] Molo is IsisXhosa singular word to say, hi.
[2] Molweni is isiXhosa plural word to say, hi.

drinks at Mam's place in late January 2016 when he suitably recounted how greeting provides a rich ground for people to get to know each other in the shack settlement. He told me that;

When I came here in 2001 I didn't know anyone except my father. In my early days as a resident here it was difficult for me to even make friends here. An opportunity to know people here started when I started to greet my neighbours and other people in my street. Without that there was no chance to even open my mouth to the people here. If you do not greet, especially if you are new here, people will just stare at you and they will not say a word to you. They will develop indifference towards you. If you do not greet, no one will greet you. That means no one will talk to you; you will not have any basis of getting to know people here.

In Kanana when you pass one another in the street you are expected to greet each other. When residents act with friendliness towards one another they always cite how they have been greeting each other. I have observed, and been told by Kanana residents how greeting functions as a cornerstone for friendliness and a sense of togetherness and occasion in Kanana. Hospitality, for example, is shared among those who greet each other. To make this point I illustrate two scenarios, among several, where greeting plays out as a cornerstone for friendliness. Furthermore, I will illustrate two scenarios whereby greeting plays out as a cornerstone for a sense of togetherness and occasion in Kanana. On the Wednesday evening of the first week of December in 2015 I was with Mthungi in his shack when one of his street mates visited him to borrow some money to buy chicken eggs and bread to eat for supper. Before giving him the money they had a chat and joked. After he left Mthungi explained why he lent him the money without hesitation. He elaborated how they have always been friendly to each other. Mthungi emphasised that this was owed to greeting, in the first place. He acclaimed that this was so because they have always greeted each other and greeting is a sign of friendliness. To him and many other residents whom I worked with greeting has created relations where fellow residents become friendly with each other. Mthungiwent on to make a point about greeting as important factor in friendliness among the residents in relation to his street mate;

You see this guy; I have known him for more than five years now. It is not that he is my best friend but we greet each other. You know when someone greets you all the time it means that

she recognises you as a human being. It means that she is friendly towards you. People here show their friendliness by not forgetting to greet you. How can you then be not friendly towards someone who greets you consistently? If you know that someone greets you it is very difficult to deny her anything when she comes politely and ask for it. You see here we are kind to each other because we are friendly to each other. But I cannot be friendly to someone who does not even greet me. How can you be friendly to someone who does not recognise you; someone who cannot greet you; a stranger who live in the same place as you?

In this sense greeting becomes a cornerstone of friendliness. This projects greeting as a prerequisite to friendliness. It is a statement that *if you do not greet me then I cannot be friendly towards you*. There exist conformity between greeting and friendliness. So, primarily, Kanana residents are friendly among themselves because they greet each other. In essence greeting opens up opportunities for friendships and friendly ways of living with each other; so that you can borrow each other money friendly.

In other forms of cooperation Patrol gave evidence to how greeting becomes a cornerstone of friendliness. One woman called Sisi whose shack is located down the road in Patrol's street was about to give birth and the ambulance was not reachable. It was on a Friday in mid-Ocotber of 2015. I was with Patrol and his cousin in his shack and we were just chatting while listening to music. Patrol keeps the minibus he drives to transport the staff in his yard. Sisi's sister approached Patrol for the transportation of her sister to the hospital. Patrol did not hesitate; he rushed Sisi to hospital. A few weeks after that Sisi came to Patrol's shack to pay him. I happened to be with Patrol and one of his neighbours. He refused to take the money from Sisi citing friendship. He told Sisi that he cannot take the money as he was just helping a friendly sister from his street. According to Patrol, he and Sisi greet each other daily and that is a sufficient sign of being friendly. As a matter of contrast he mentioned another woman with whom he does not greet. He said that if it had been that woman, he would not have gone out of his way to help her. He said that as a result of not greeting each other they were not friendly with each other. Patrol explained;

I helped Sisi because we are friendly towards each other. I don't expect her to give me money. We greet each other, I smile and she smiles. That is enough. She has shown that she is friendly towards me. If someone does not greet you, it is clear that she does not like you. You cannot expect kindness from such a person. I can assure you; if it was that woman I was not

going to avail myself. She does not greet. I cannot be friendly to someone who is not greeting me. Sisi greets, and that's friendship.

Greeting, further plays out as a cornerstone for a sense of togetherness among Kanana residents. I illustrate this with two instances from my fieldwork. The first one is through the birthday party and the second one is through a death incident.

Birthday parties are celebrated in Kanana in different co-residential arrangements, to which fellow residents and relatives get invited. Those invited attend the party with jubilation. Usually, when the birthday is during the week, it is celebrated on a weekend, mostly on a Saturday. People are not compelled to celebrate their birthday every year. However when a celebration takes place a cake is bought by a friend, parent, or co-residents for the one who has a birthday irrespective of her age. One also buys a cake for herself or himself. On that day when the birthday is celebrated; relatives, friends and invited Kanana residents sing a "*Happy birthday song"* and the birthday person cuts the cake. Those who have brought birthday presents hand them to the celebrant in front of the people in attendance or do so privately. The birthday celebrant is given an opportunity to talk to the attendees. They may talk about their personal aspirations; and then thank those who made the day possible and attendees in general. Food is prepared to serve those in attendance. Those present are served in age chronological order. Older people are served first and the younger ones follow. This is traditionally followed by play of music and those who drink alcohol do so. The hosts usually make means to buy alcohol. Some of the invited people also bring their own. In most cases alcohol is bought even if the person of the birthday does not drink alcohol. This takes place during the day until the morning of the following day as long as there is still alcohol available.

On the 14th of November I attended Nongoma's birthday party in the shack where she stays with her older brother. I was invited two weeks before the occasion; expressly as a friend. Interestingly; Nongoma asked me to "*please come and enjoy yourself. That day is not about research. You only need to be there and enjoy yourself"*. It was a very warm sunny Saturday. On Friday night I slept at Mthungi's shack. He was also invited to the birthday party so we went there together. Nongoma was delighted by my attendance and she introduced me to her friends as her "*brother from another mother who studies in UWC."* About fifty invited people, excluding children, were in attendance. Most of the attendees were people who lived

in her streets and other surrounding streets. Because it got crowded inside the shack we were seated outside on the chairs that had been organised for the occasion. After we were served with food the time to dance and drink started. It was also an opportunity to interact with other guests.

Contrary to Nongoma's advice, in my conversations with some of the residents, my fieldwork continued. During several conversations we ended up talking about the interlocutor's relationship with her and why it was important for them to attend her birthday party. They generally commended Nongoma's humility and her talkativeness. They mentioned how Nongoma humbles herself and greets people when she chances upon them in the dusty streets of Kanana. To them, that kind of attitude projected her as a person they would not miss to have happy moments with. They expressed how important it was to have happy moments with someone who greets; because, I learnt, someone who greets is welcoming and respecting. My interlocutors felt expected and honoured to attend a birthday party of a person who shows respect to them through greeting. This was also the response I got from Mthungi on our way to sleep at his shack in the middle of the night. We were both exhausted and we decided to leave in midnight. There were still many people outside and inside Nongoma's place and they were still dancing and drinking alcohol. I shared with him how happy I was to see people from Nongoma's street coming in their numbers. Mthungi vehemently responded, saying;

People honour someone who respects them. If you noticed, people were there to support and to show her that they respect her. That's what people do here. If you greet them and they know you they will come and honour your event. They will show unity behind you and make you feel like you are one of them. You saw there? Most of the homes were represented. That reflects how people value her. They wanted to celebrate her day with her, myself included. I wanted to show her that we are together in this Kanana. All of us who are friendly towards each other here, we make sure that we attend your event or ceremony.

Nongoma is seen as a respectful and humble person due to her willingness to greet, and to greet with respect. That, in turn, has earned her the respect of her fellow residents who honoured her birthday party. They enjoyed celebrating her birthday together with her. Residents came together and celebrated the occasion. Like on many similar occasions people

always cite the host's friendliness, which is revealed by greeting. Those who greet each other easily assemble in events like these. It is not only during joyful times that they do this.

Kanana residents come together and honour the occasion also in times of grief. I have observed this during several incidents of death in Kanana. When there is a death incident in one residential arrangement, residents go and comfort affected homes and relatives. They comfort the family in its time of mourning. They comfort them with the aim of helping them heal. From the day of the death to the day before funeral residents come together and hold prayer sessions in the evenings. One goes to the one who greets him or her. As Mam'uNomzamo at times said; "*if you do not greet me I cannot go to your house even in time of death*". This is the widely held belief in Kanana. There was once a death incident of a 17 year old teenager a street away from Mam'uNomzamo's shack. Very few residents went there to show comfort and support. The parents of the deceased were accused of being arrogant; they didn't greet even their own neighbours. Residents were hesitant to go and offer condolences as to them someone who does not greet is unwelcoming and malicious, and cannot be comforted in the usual way. When we had a conversation about that incident of death Mam'uNomzamo bellowed and said:

How do you go and comfort people who do not even recognise you as a human being? Is it not the lack of self-love on your part? Those people there are so full of themselves. I tried to greet them on several occasions but the response was always cold and I decided to stop. It's like they don't see themselves as part of us here.

Something very different happened when Tat'uMnyamezeli's neighbour lost her husband who gave in to headache related illness. Prayer sessions were well attended and neighbours were keenly ready to attend them. The house used to be full to the point that we stood outside during prayer sessions. Residents acclaimed the widow and her deceased husband as friendly people, again it was emphasised that they were people who greet. This sense of togetherness and occasion is very strong among those who greet each other in Kanana among those I interacted with. It is a way of relating and particularly of living with others. As a way of living with others Kanana residents socially have a way of converging in different shapes and sizes for different occasions, good and bad. They also, in a friendly manner and in the spirit of togetherness interacted during *igqongo*[3], get-togethers, sport games, church services, and

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[3] Igqongo is a social drinking occasion whereby a Xhosa traditional beer is shared among men and women.

funerals. This, as discussed above, is a way of living with others. Its focal point is in greeting. Greeting, scales the relations between residents. It is an indicator of person-to-person relations among Kanana residents. They tend to be friendly towards each other. In contrast, among those who do not greet each there tends to be hostility. As a result they seek to find friendly and collective ways of living as companion residents. To sum up: Failure to greet is regarded as a sign of being antisocial, disrespectful, and unwanted, foreign, arrogant, ignorant, selfish. And all these traits are not appreciated as part of personhood of Kanana residents.

6.4 Person-to-person interactions:

As a way of living with others, person-to-person interactions become rhythms and expressions of Kanana. Through these person-to-person relations, founded upon the practice of greeting, residents seek and maintain ways of living together and in harmony. In the following, I elaborate on person-to-person relations; particularly how they are revealed and their implications in Kanana.

Greeting each other means interaction. Consequent to greeting each other residents interact and bring about ways of living with others. During fieldwork I witnessed and became part of person-to-person interactions in such various sites and platforms in Kanana. They are demonstrated through visits in different co-residential shacks, in the streets, shebeens, salons, and tuck shops and stalls. These person-to-person relations are also expressed through mobile phone devices. For the purposes of keeping person-to-person interactions active residents respectively visit each other's houses. This is especially to those who have been greeting each other and have reached a stage of being friends and confiding to each other. As an immersed ethnographer I, too, became a regular visitor to respective shacks for the purpose of my research.

Due to person-to-person interactions foregrounded by the practice of greeting Kanana residents visit each other. These visits, as I learnt during fieldwork, are aimed at fulfilling more intimate person-to-person interactions. Companions interact more comfortably with each other. During these visits individual residents usually sit down while interacting. Visiting someone in their shack is touted as relaxed and a more meaningful way of getting to know each other. To visit is also viewed and acknowledged as respectful and an appreciation of friendship with the fellow residents. Visits may be accompanied by various motives.

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Residents visit each other because they are bored in their own home; they may wish to borrow something; they may want to seek and receive information and ideas; they may seek and receive peace; they love to seek and receive comfort; they enjoy seeking and finding happiness. Of course, they may simply be interested in gossip! I observed and was repeatedly reminded that such visits are common in Kanana. I observed this in different homes. It was seldom, for example, for Sis'Gugulethu to not be found in her friend's shack or her friend, Sis'Thobeka, to not be found in Sis'Gugulethu's shack. This was especially the case when Sis'Thobeka, who works as a vendor in the neighbouring Nyanga Township bus terminus, was off duty. When expressing my curiosity on several occasions how regularly they visited each other they would recount how it all started and what continues to sustain it. So, they started to know each other in 2008 when Sis'Thobeka moved to Kanana from Khayelitsha Township. It started from consistently greeting and introducing each other thereafter. They live in the same street and only six shacks apart. In a conversation that I had with Sis'Gugulethu on a Monday in early December 2015 she shared with me how their friendship had grown and recalled how they have been visiting each other; she also spoke about the benefits of those visits. Sis'Gugulethu elaborated:

I noticed Thobeka from her early days here that she is a respecting person. She humbled herself and showed friendliness. She would greet everyone in this area. Then we started to chat at the communal water-tap. After that we started to visit each other. Till today we greet and respect each other. Visiting each other has now become a habit. When I feel bored I visit her and my other friends here. Someone who does not know may laugh and I just like visiting. This thing of visiting my friends has played significant role in my life. It has done a lot for me. Particularly with Thobeka! When I need some money, I borrow from her and she does the same when she is in a similar situation. When we visit each other we chat at ease and learn from each other. For example, it was through Thobeka that I started to know about the less expensive shop where I can buy my children clothes. That woman also assisted me with some ideas on how to identify a little child when she is sick. I am telling you; during these visits we share and grow a lot. At some point in 2012 I had to visit her more often to comfort her when she lost her mother. That is how we relate! We also gossip about goings-on here.

Ncedo and his friend, Phuza present a similar case among men. Very similar to Sis'Gugulethu and Sis'Thobeka's habit of visiting each other, Ncedo and Phuza have been friends since they both moved to Kanana in 2006. Visiting each other's shack has been their

way of showing each other friendship and fondness of their person-to-person interactions. That is how they share their way of living with each other in the shack settlement that goes beyond their relations with other friends. Ncedo and Phuza's person-to-person interaction goes further exactly because they visit each other's shacks. Similar to many other pairs of friends who visit each other's shacks in Kanana, Ncedo and Phuza too have illustrated and shared how greeting has been the foundation of their friendship. We conversed about this for a quite good number of times. I learnt that they have pursued and found peace; they have sought and found happiness in their friendship.

Apparently Ncedo moved to Kanana late in 2006 and Phuza moved to Kanana late in 2008. We had very interesting conversations on how they became friends. As they told me on several occasions when Phuza first came to Kanana he was not greeting, or rather, he was greeting some of the people but not others including Ncedo. As the one who arrived later, it was expected that he should have been the one who initiates greetings. Because they could not greet each other they could not talk to each other. So, to Ncedo, the non-greeting newcomer automatically became an enemy. This changed however in June 2010 when they were watching television together in one of the taverns in Kanana during one of the world cup football games held in South Africa. Phuza relayed that he decided to swallow his pride and approached Ncedo for a chat. He said that Ncedo was welcoming and they had a peaceful chat. From there Phuza did a follow up by visiting Ncedo in his shack and everything evolved as Ncedo told me during a conversation on a Sunday in late January 2016:

When he visited me here in my shack the following day after we watched that game, he was greeting me for the second time. I could see that he was humbling himself. From there we started making peace with each other. We forgave each other for not having greeted each other. After that we greeted and visited each other more often. We became friends and had good times together; we now converse, watch football, drink some alcohol in his shack or mine. We now visit each other like we never were enemies.

These person-to-person relations extend beyond visiting and I have observed them in the streets, shebeens, salons, and tuck shops and stalls. Just like during sustained visits Kanana residents interact in the streets, community meetings, shebeens, salons, and tuck shops and stalls. Provided that they greet each other and there exist good person-to-person relations between them they borrow from each other certain materials such as money or food products;

they seek and receive information and ideas; they seek and receive peace; they seek and receive comfort; they seek and find happiness; and they are interested in gossip. These person-to-person relations are also expressed through mobile phone devices. When not visiting or not with each other beyond visiting they use mobile phone devices which they individually own to phone each other. When they cannot phone they send each other messages. As I illustrated in Chapter four, as someone who had good relations with the Kanana residents I worked with I was also involved in making phone calls, sending and receiving messages through mobile phone device.

6.5 Conclusion:

This chapter has explored significant aspects of life in the shack settlement, beyond protests. I have done so by showing social interactive ways that Kanana residents practice as ways of living with others ordinarily and in harmony. This is for a moment to show the life of shack residents as not always a life that must be read as preparatory life for protesting. It is more complex than that; shack residents in Kanana greet and live in harmony with each other. These ways of living with each other are not a training or preparation to protest. Shack residents are human beings also; they are not preoccupied with protesting. I have argued and illustrated that Kanana residents live in their shack structures in various co-residential arrangements. And that it is from those respective co-residential arrangements that Kanana residents' ways of living with others can be traced. To express ways of living with others as ordinary and in harmony this chapter, in turn, observed that greeting plays an important role. I have shown that greeting is crucial in harmonising the ways in which Kanana residents live with others. I have shown that; greeting each other among Kanana residents play an important role in building and maintaining friendships and togetherness. Those who greet each other get together in good and sad occasions. Failure to adopt a habit of greeting each other results to unfriendly relations among residents. I have described in this chapter that person-to-person interactions are also shaped by friendliness that is generated from regular greeting. As a way of living with others and through person-to-person interactions I have discussed that Kanana residents visit each other in respective co-residential arrangements. They also interact with each other in in the streets, community meetings, shebeens, salons, and tuck shops and stalls; And through phoning and messaging each other using mobile phone devices. That is how Kanana residents live with each other; the ways of living with others in the informal settlement. As this thesis emphasise: beyond protests this is how shack

residents live, they live as human beings who have their ordinary ways of living with others in harmony.

The following chapter extends the discussion of life beyond protests in Kanana. It extends from the partial discussion of harmonious ways of living with others in the shack settlement. I discuss that beyond participating in protest demonstrations there also exist unsettling realities in the shack settlement that cannot be separated to the residents' participation in the protests. This stands in contrasts to the above discussion on ways of living as harmonious and friendly. The idea is not to romanticise the life of the shack residents. The idea is to illustrate the complex life of shack residents as lived. This is done and follows the very ethnographic appeal of this study.

CHAPTER SEVEN: "IT MAKES YOU FEEL LESS OF A HUMAN BEING": UNSETTLING REALITIES IN THE SHACK SETTLEMENT

7.1 Introduction:

This chapter focuses on what I describe as unsettling realities in the informal settlement of Kanana. The notion of unsettling realities brings into attention the harshness associated with living in the informal settlement, and in shacks. It broadens and complicates the understanding about Kanana social relations as harmonised and ordinary that I depicted in the previous chapter. It extends that more than harmonious ways of living together discussed in the previous chapter there are stark unsettling realities in the informal settlement. In this way it explores and describes the experiences of living in unsettling conditions in the informal settlement. This chapter contributes to the overall rationale of this thesis of representing life beyond protests as experienced by residents. Unlike the previous chapter; it exposes the unsettling life of residents in the informal settlement beyond the actual participation in the protest demonstrations. It suggests that these unsettling realities are connected to the residents' participation in the protests. And it contributes to the larger body of research on the theme of suffering in the informal settlements.

In this chapter I am showing how the shack residents, and the protesters among them are humans who are compelled to negotiate their lives in the unsettling realities of the informal settlement. I provide descriptions aimed at comprehending the complexity of human beings who inhabit shack settlements and their living conditions. This chapter, together with the previous one, thus also demonstrates the conditions and social relations in informal settlements such as Kanana, from which protests arise.

The unsettling realities discussed in this chapter include the effects of weather conditions under the living conditions in shack settlements, hygiene hazards, also due to the circumstances, shack fires and the effects of criminal activities. I thus want to show that shack residents' ordinary lives are characterised by unsettling conditions. These realities expose the pervasive nature of insecurity that comes with shack settlement. As I will show, the unsettling realities bear witness to a life of distress. They illustrate how demeaning the life of being a shack resident can be. In reference to shack dwellers movement based in

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Durban Gibson (2011) has also insisted on this point that shack experiences and demands thereof are demands for dignity that the unsettling realities discussed here undermine. In showing unsettling realities in the informal settlement I illustrate that it is the entrenched experiences of the unsettling conditions of life as a shack dweller that ought to be considered as root causes of the protests.

I will discuss the unsettling realities in four steps. The first section deals with the effects of weather conditions on the lives of shack residents. It demonstrates that almost all forms of weather in the shack settlement are a disadvantage to those who inhabit the shacks. This is shown by the residents' frequent protestations on how weather conditions are averse to them as shack residents. The second section deals with hygiene hazards in the shack settlement. I show how Kanana shack residents are exposed to unhygienic circumstances. The focus of my description is on the extent of dirt in the streets and yards in Kanana. The point here is to illustrate that the unhygienic circumstances in the shack settlement are not only unsettling but that they also demean the humanity of shack residents. In the third section I look into the misery of shack fires in Kanana. During my five month fieldwork in Kanana, shack fires erupted almost every week. Given the extent of shack fires in Kanana I will further discuss the implications of shacks fires and how they have instilled uncertainty and discomfort among Kanana residents. The fourth and final section focuses on the criminal activities in the shack settlement of Kanana, especially those that relate to mugging and house break-ins. These criminal activities are so pervasive in Kanana that many, if not all, Kanana residents I interacted with have a sad story of experience to tell about robberies in the shack settlement. These experiences I explore and describe, as well as the ways in which Kanana residents manoeuvre in light of the pervasive crime.

To further complicate an understanding of life beyond – behind and before - protests the chapter concludes with a discussion of the contradictions that come with being a resident in an informal settlement. I discuss how being a shack dweller has instilled conflicting experiences and how those conflicting experiences contribute to how the residents associate and identify with the shack settlement. This arises from the fact that, as narrated in this and the previous chapter, there are good and bad experiences of life in the informal settlement. Reflecting on these conflicting experiences appeals for more an investigation on the life beyond protests. This discussion is inspired by, and writes against what the Nigerian novelist

Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie has called "the danger of a single story" (Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, 2009. The Danger of a Single Story. TED Talk.

7.2 Existence of Kanana is threatened by weather conditions:

Weather conditions are a threat to the existence of shack structures in Kanana. There seem to be almost no weather condition that does not threaten the strength of shack structures. Everyone I have known in Kanana has underscored this as a major threat to their accommodation. Residents constantly complained that weather conditions created permanent unease on their lives. As structures are made up of cardboards, planks, used corrugated iron and plastic substances shacks tend to struggle to endure different weather conditions. The people in Kanana have always complained that they are compelled to fix their shacks for almost every season of the year.

I started my fieldwork in September 2015; by October I noticed how pervasive complaints were about how weather conditions are a burden on the lives of my participants. Take the conversation I had with Nonkonzo. It was during my fourth meeting with Nonkonzo when this verbal protest featured prominently. For our previous conversation we were with Mthungi at Nonkonzo's "house". On this particular visit to Nonkonzo's house, it was a sunny but very windy Wednesday. I arrived there at about late hours of the morning.

The door of the shack was closed. Standing in front of the shack I was under the impression that there was no one inside. So I decided to phone her, and without even picking up her phone she opened the door. Inside, she was cooking and watching television. Her ten year old daughter was at school. As I sat on the sofa Nonkonzo was already asking me about how I made sense of the living conditions in Kanana. She was very aware of what I was looking for; she was just challenging me. I gently said to her that I also would like to hear more from the residents themselves. She laughed softly and we continued conversing about how she became a resident in Kanana, how she wishes her daughter to succeed in life and how she copes on a daily basis. Our chat was scattered and not limited to any particular topic. Nonkonzo is an outspoken woman. This is also what she made clear to me when I first met her. She told me that she tells things as they are and it would be my responsibility to fix and soften her confrontational tone when writing up my research. As we were talking for almost two hours, there was a noticeable amount of sand building up in the house, coming through small holes and cracks of the shack.

The rest of our conversation that day was then entirely on her frustration about what seemed things she could not control. Our conversation turned to be the shack's inability to provide comfort during different weather conditions. Like other residents Nonkonzo is in constant discomfort and insecurity due to the state of her house and its failure to provide comfort during almost all weather conditions. Grabbing the broom and sweeping the floor, Nonkonzo expressed her frustration that whenever there is wind she lives a life of having to sweep her house all the time. She was even worried that the food she was cooking would become contaminated by the sand. After cleaning the floor she had to dust-off the sand on the tables and on the lids of the pots she was using for cooking. She expressed her resentment for windy weather and how it affects her shack and belongings. She also expressed that heavily windy conditions often blow shacks away in the settlement and in more generally heavy winds tremble and reshape the shacks. Expressing how windy weather is a burden to her life as shack dweller Nonkonzo got very emotional about its effect:

You see, this is the life I am living here whenever the weather is windy. If I ignore this it piles up and get unbearable. When it is windy I clean here every hour to prevent too much sand on everything inside this house. I have to dust-off almost everything here; from tables to beds, to beds and sofas, to wardrobe and floor. It is really painful. It always reminds me that I am not human being enough. You know that even the clothes in the wardrobe are not safe. Every time when I have to wear something from the wardrobe I must make sure that I take time to dust it off first. This is very degrading. You see when this wind strikes it does not only render this house sandy it also quivers it. Then there would be cold coldness that penetrates through holes here. All this make us feel like we do not have a shelter. Our children are affected by this.

I wanted to have a longer conversation with her so I tried to calm her down so that she does not exhaust her emotions. In trying to soften her I attempted to provide hope and wished that the wind goes away. I said, "*let us just hope that this wind goes away".* As if yelling at me, Nonkonzo expressed how that might not make any difference. She contended that even if we wished for different weather condition her wretched situation would not go away. Even if it was raining, for example, her shack was still going to be affected. She highlighted that when there is rain her shack leak the rain drops. Nonkonzo explained that even though she always try to close holes and cracks the rain drops always find a way of trickling inside her shack. She posited that when the wind quivers the shack it always unsettles it and new holes and

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cracks appear. She went on telling me about her experience with the wet weather conditions in the Cape Town winter. When it rains heavily shacks are affected by flooding. In that process she has always witnessed shacks collapsing in Kanana; her own shack having been swayed. In addition to this; she went on trying to explain to me that there is really no weather condition that she, as a shack resident, prefers. These are the kinds of sentiments shared with me whenever the conversation centres on weather conditions.

These sentiments were also shared by other Kanana residents with whom I had informal conversations. Tat'uMnyamezeli, for example, expressed similar grief. We were watching a football game in his shack. It was early November 2015 on a Saturday. It was a sunny and very hot day. In addition to complaining about other weather conditions he complained about the weather of that day. As we were watching the game, it was getting hotter inside the shack to the point that he asked that we go outside to look for shade. As we were standing on the shade besides her shack he smilingly said; *"this is what your research must write about"*. He made the point about having to vacate his house to find solace outside to show it to me how weather conditions are not friendly to shack settlement dwellers. Similar to the feelings expressed by Nonkonzo and other Kanana residents I had spoken with, Tat'uMnyamezeli protested that;

You see how hot it is inside? This is the life we are living here. You see this thing? (pointing at the shack). *This thing is misery. When the weather is hot, this thing becomes too hot. It becomes unbearable. Mosquitos get attracted. There is no suitable weather for us here. When the weather is cold, this thing becomes too cold. It does not feel like a house. **It makes you feel less of a human being.** You see when the weather is cold you feel like there is no shelter inside there.*

The inescapable weather conditions contribute to what makes life in the shack settlement unsettling. They continue haunting the residents. Like other aspects that are discussed in this thesis, the effects of weather conditions contribute to the complex understanding of living conditions in informal settlements in general, and what it means to be an informal settlement resident in Kanana in particular.

7.3 Hygiene is ordinarily in jeopardy:

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Throughout my fieldwork in Kanana I noticed that hygiene of the residents, including myself when in the field, was often compromised. This goes without saying when exploring the streets of Kanana. I noticed this from my very first visit to Kanana. It does not matter from which side you enter the informal settlement; there is a noticeable mess regarding hygiene. When I went to Kanana for the first time I went through an adjacent formally built neighbourhood. I was walking from the nearby train station of Heideveld. Upon my arrival as I walked along the main street of Kanana I sensed the hygienic jeopardy with at least two of my senses: I **saw** and **smelled** the state of hygienic jeopardy. In the streets I saw dumped rubbish, still filthy-water, and children's faeces, unenclosed toilet structures, and portable toilet buckets. The smell of what I was seeing was their combination of foul-smelling.

During my fieldwork I learnt that what I saw in my first day was a normal scenario. Dumped rubbish would differ in quantity, depending on whether the municipal cleaners come and clean-up which they do irregularly. Unmoving filthy-water changes into different colours because of its longevity in the same place. Already used water from laundry and bathing, for example, contributes to the enduring scores of unmoving filthy-water fleabags. Children's faeces stay put until they wilt into the sand. Unenclosed toilet structures stand here and there; not every shack has one though; while portable toilet buckets lean against the constructed yards and shack buildings in most of the shack structures. The portable toilet buckets too attract flies and worms. Most of what can be sensed through the eye can also be sensed through the nose. The messiness of the dumped rubbish as it meets the eye stinks, albeit in some cases, especially when one is closer to it. The same applies to unmoving filthy-water in the streets. The children's faeces become the scent of the streets. The unenclosed toilet structures release the intolerable stink to the direction of wind blows. Portable toilet buckets, usually roamed by flies, with stink of human defecation.

Residents are living under these conditions, anyway. Through the conversations I had with people in Kanana about my observations of hygienic jeopardy I learnt that even though they have a deep distaste for the hygienic jeopardy they have come to accept it as part of their living conditions. They have shared health concerns in relation to how their hygiene is compromised. I was principally concerned about how children manage to play outside the houses without being affected by the state of compromised hygiene in and around their homes. Discussing this with Mam's during one of the sunny days just outside her yard, in December 2015, Mam's explained that children are always affected by poor sanitation

conditions in Kanana. She lamented that the living conditions in Kanana are high risk to children and that these conditions continue to affect the health of children. She shared with me how children are usually affected by dire hygienic conditions in the streets of Kanana. Children play with all kinds of things they find in the streets. They also play with the unmoving filthy-water. As a result, there are many cases where children are affected by this. Mam's decried that children are vulnerable and many have suffered from skin rashes. And with all the smells associated with dumped rubbish and human defecation Mam's expressed concern that having to breathe under these circumstances is dangerous to the health of human beings. She decried that in Kanana it is therefore difficult to live a healthy life. Others shared similar responses. Nonkonzo, like other caring adults; never got tired of shouting at children when they played with rubbish and or unmoving filthy-water. While shouting at them she would remind them that if they continued to play with filth they would get ill. Children never stopped attempting to play in such hygienic compromised sites, though. Mam's highlighted that she just had to try and prevent children from playing in those filthy sites. She went on to blame infrastructural development as a result of hygienic compromised shack settlement. That is how she elaborated:

Because no one can keep a child indoors all the time, children end up playing here outside with others. You see there is full of filthy water here; we do not have drainage system. Even the dirt all over here it is because the municipality is slow and does not clean adequately. If you may have observed, children stool anywhere. It is because they do not have decent place to do so. With all that we are ending up breathing all that is bad. People like us will never be healthy then.

With the lack of proper toilet structures even adults are struggling to relieve themselves, especially when nature calls them to seat. Some people in Kanana who know residents in the neighbouring settlement of brick-built houses usually go there to relieve themselves. But this is not always possible. If people do not defecate in the stinking toilet structures or in the portable toilet buckets, they usually do so in the open area next to the N2 freeway. Due to the lack of proper toilets I was also compelled to do so in many instances during fieldwork. This means that your body become exposed to people on the passing cars, people in the nearby shacks, and children playing on that side of the settlement. This situation is one of the situations where indignity has been highlighted by Kanana residents.

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7.4 The fact of shack fires in the settlement:

Shack fires in the shack settlement are real. Residents are always on the watch and are expecting an incident of shack fire anytime. Like death, they know *that* shack fire will strike; it is a matter of *when* it happens. And when it strikes it brings grief. Shacks are built with easily flammable material such as cardboards, plastic-sales, and planks; and they are built close to each other. When they catch fire the flames easily spread from one shack to the next. Given that shack fires flare up anywhere in the settlement shack residents live in constant fear of fire. Kanana residents with whom I talked about shack fires have mainly spoke about fear. They feared losing human lives. And they also expressed a fear of losing their belongings.

When shack fires erupt people sustain injuries and more often than not they lose their belongings. By sustaining injuries and living with such scars, shack residents are constantly reminded of the fact of shack fires. Those living with such scars remind their fellow residents of what might happen to them too. During my fieldwork in Kanana I noted that there was a case of a shack fire almost every week. I witnessed several such shack fires. The impact of shack fires varied from case to case. In some cases the fires have erupted during weekends and at night. The first shack fire I witnessed was on a Saturday night, towards the end of the month of October 2015. I was at Mam's place and I was going to sleep there as I often did during my fieldwork. At around ten o'clock at night we heard people screaming and alerting the residents about the fire. Voices were shouting; *Kuyatsha! Kuyatsha! Kuyatsha! Kuyatsha!* (It's burning! It's burning! It's burning! It's burning!). People were still having beers at Mam's place. The atmosphere was spirited and it was noisy inside as it tends to be during weekends and especially the weekends of the end of the month. I was chatting with one of Mam's loyal customers, Nkqayi[4], when we heard these screams, warning residents of the approaching flames. Upon hearing this, everyone in the house rushed to the doorway to see where the fire was raging. We saw that it was three streets away from Mam's place. Some of those who were inside Mam's house, including myself, rushed to where the fire was while others rushed home. Scores of Kanana residents were already on the scene trying to rescue the belongings of those affected by fire while others were helping to extinguish the fire.

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[4] This is not his real name. I refer to him as Nkqayi because of his hairstyle. His favourite hairstyle was cutting every visible hair on his head. In isiXhosa language it is known as iNkqayi hairstyle. Nkqayi started to live in Kanana in 1998, from the Eastern Cape. He lives with his girlfriend and their son. He works in a bakery company as a driver.

Residents do not bother calling municipal fire fighters in a fire of this scale. I was told that municipal fire fighters are called only when a fire reaches a stage that residents deem as "out of hand". The fire started from one shack and it was stopped by residents when spreading to the shack of the neighbour. Because shacks are close to each other, it is easy for the fire to spread from one shack to the other. The cupboard in the kitchen of the family of four was burnt down and the backside of the shack structure was severely affected. With the assistance of the neighbours, they spent that night reconstructing what was destructed by fire. The mother of the family of the victims, Mkhaya[5], acknowledged the fault on her fifteen year old son who failed to switch off the primus stove completely after he warmed the food for supper. The failure to switch off stoves, candles, kerosene lamps, and lit cigarettes are common negligent acts that have led to shack fires Kanana, at least in the incidents I was informed about during my fieldwork.

The neighbour living next to the affected shack, Melwane[6] also blamed his neighbour's son. However, he went further than just blaming the boy; he claimed that it was the material that is used to build shacks that should be blamed. Other residents with whom I spoke during different incidents of shack fires concurred. Similar to Melwane they believed that if shacks were not easily flammable and were brick structures the incidents of shack fires could have been curbed in Kanana. In a follow up conversation I had with him, a few days after the fire in his neighbourhood he invoked sentiments. He went on to explain that when they protest as the community they are mainly expressing unhappiness with living in shacks. It is because living in a shack comes with severe disadvantages such as having your shack burnt down very easily. Melwane contended that the state of the shacks in Kanana during constant impending shack fires is one of the things that keep him awake at night. He expressed fear of losing his belongings and ultimately his life. He shared with me that;

If it were for me, we were supposed to protest everyday here. That was going to show that we urgently need housing. Living in shacks is like sitting on top of the bomb. It's like when its burning the bomb has exploded. Because these shack fires are frequent, people here expect

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[5] This is not her real name. In isiXhosa Mkhaya is usually a person whom you claim to be sharing home area as with. It is usually the same area such as a town or a district. I refer to her as Mkhaya here because I come to he same town in the Eastern Cape as her. She started to live in Kanana in 1999, from Eastern Cape. And she is employed in a local salon.

[6] This is not his real name. In isiXhosa Melwane is the name that is used to refer to the neighbour. I refer to him as Melwane, emulating how Mkhaya used to refer to him. He started to live in Kanana in 2003, from farms in Worcester, in the Western Cape. He sells fruit and vegetables from her shack.

their shacks to be affected by fire anytime. The way this is painful, it is like waiting for death. We need brick houses. Because these fires are frequent at night, it is difficult for me to sleep peacefully at night. I am in constant fear of losing my belongings, including my life.

Similar expressions were shared by numerous people with whom I had conversations about shack fires in Kanana. They all painted a picture that the state of shacks is undesirable. From what I observed what seemed to be the case is that shack fires have created a sense of unease in the community of Kanana. The lives of the residents have been impacted by shack fires. Their mind has been affected too. Kanana residents shared how emotionally draining the thought of the many incidents of shack fires was. People panic and become emotional when the topic of shack fires is being discussed. They are even frightened by the thought of the incidents of shack fires. This is because they know that with shack fires comes a loss; a loss of belongings which they have worked very hard to attain; there is the loss of the very shelter that keep them accommodated regardless of the poor situation of such shelter; more than that: a loss of hope in life; and, in drastic incidents, the actual loss of life and loved ones. When speaking about their lives, and particularly shack fires I always was under the impression that the people of Kanana mostly had an experientially informed attitude that showed in their expression. People I have had an opportunity to observe and interact with particularly closely have expressed definite despondency when it comes to the fact of shack fires in their settlement. As a result their lives are uncertain and uncomfortable. Because they are uncertain about the eruption of shack fires and the impact thereof, they are also very much uncertain about their own safety regarding shack fires. They live with such constant discomfort: the discomfort of uncertainty about the life of being a shack resident, a life that can be damaged and destroyed by fire. In this sense, life in Kanana is characterised by discomfort, uncertainty, and fear of being robbed belongings and loss of existence, to fire.

7.5 Criminal activities in the settlement:

Criminal activities also contribute to severely affect life in the Kanana informal settlement. Incidents of robbery are very common in Kanana. Kanana residents get mugged in the streets and in their houses. Incidents of being robbed in the settlement are hardly reported to the police as the common understanding is that the police barely discover and arrest the perpetrators. Several residents shared their experiences of being mugged with me. Some had their belongings in their houses robbed, some had been robbed of their belongings while

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walking in the streets, some had their bodily organs impaired while being mugged, and some had loved ones lost who died during a robbery.

All the people I worked with in Kanana have experienced getting mugged. No one is ever absolved from being robbed in the settlement. I consider myself lucky indeed to have never been mugged during my fieldwork. On a Monday of the end of the month in November 2015 I was, however, almost mugged. I was about a hundred metres away from Mam's place walking to the train station in the late hours of the afternoon when six suspicious-looking men in their early twenties approached me. As they got closer to me, about six metres away from me I noticed that one of them was drawing out the gun. My first reaction was to run; and I ran like a rabbit running for her life from hunting dogs. They tried to chase after me but they did not manage to get to me. I ran to Mam's shack for safety. Some of them were shouting; *"Dubula! Lentwana inento edurayo phaya kuyo"* ("Shoot! This small boy must have something expensive with him"). Fortunately I was not shot. When Mam's and some of the customers who were there at the time went out to look out for them, they had already escaped.

The robbers, also known as *Skollies*[7]*s*, are largely young male adults. Some of the *Skollies* are known in the settlement while it is alleged that some live in neighbouring areas. It is not easy to identify and study them because they do not openly reveal themselves, presumably they fear that they may come across being attacked by residents and get arrested. Some of the incidents of their activities happen in broad daylight while most of them happen during the dark time of the morning and at night. The experience of being mugged contributes to what has become a life of discomfort and uncertainty in Kanana. Residents fear being mugged because they know that being mugged comes with grievous consequences. *Skollies* walk in groups, pairs, or individually. They conduct their operations while armed. The most common weapons they carry and use are knives, swords, and guns. They use these weapons to intimidate and attack victims. When they rob a house they mostly enter when there is no one inside the house. But sometimes when they rob they do not care, they smuggle in and rob even if there are people inside.

Mthungi shared with me his recent experience when *Skollies* rustled into his house and robbed the residents of cell phones and a microwave oven. This was his recent experience of

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[7] This word has Afrikaans origins. It is used to refer to petty criminals.

being robbed, an incident that occurred in March 2015. Previously he had been robbed in the street more than twice, while at home he had been robbed more than thrice. This conversation came about when we were walking from his house to Mam's place on a hot Friday afternoon in mid-November 2015. We had just passed two young men who were standing at the corner of the street and we suspected them of being *Skollies.* He recalled *"four young men",* entering his house while they were having supper. The shack's door was locked but they kicked the door and forced it to open. He was with his pregnant girlfriend and his three year-old son when this happened. He could not identify them; three of them were wearing balaclavas but the face of the fourth one was clear. Mthungi sadly remembered that all four of the *Skollies* took out their guns and were pointing at all of them asking for money and cell phones. *Skollies* abruptly evaded the house after snatching two cell phones and a microwave oven. He, with grief, emotively shared that they were left traumatised and scared. This is an unsettling reality about Kanana and these incidents are common and expected by residents.

Being robbed in the street is also common in Kanana. One of my main interlocutors, Nonkonzo, shared her experience of being robbed in Kanana. We conversed about this subject after a crowd of people speedily passed Nonkonzo's yard and were yelling that they were looking for two *Skollies* who just mugged a neighbour a street away from Nonkonzo's shack. We were standing in front of Nonkonzo's shack on a sunny Saturday afternoon towards the end of January 2016. Her recent encounter of being robbed had been in July 2015 while she was coming from her church's night vigil. She told me that it was during early hours of the morning of a Saturday when about five *Skollies* mugged her. She said she was just about to enter her yard when she came across these *Skollies,* carrying swords. They took her bag and ran with it. Inside the bag, she said, there was her cell phone, some toiletries, her house keys, and a couple of twenty-rand bank notes. Forthrightly, this was yet another opportunity for her to highlight to me that the life of living in a shack is precarious:

You see how dangerous it is to live here? Put aside that it is like we do not have shelter and that these shacks burn down easily. This place is congested and there are no street lights. The government does not care about that. Skollies hide easily in between these shacks. What kind of life is this? We live in constant danger.

The impact of *Skollies* is even imprinted on residents' bodies. Some people have marks that came to existence during incidences of being robbed. These marks are a living memory of

devastating experiences in the shack settlement. They remind victims of the brutality of life in a society where criminals thrive. Just opposite Nonkonzo's shack in the opposite street lives Mjita[8]. Mjita is in a wheelchair. His wheelchair struggles to move on the sandy Kanana streets. Mjita told me that he started using a wheelchair in 2012 after he was shot three times on the waist by a *Skollie*. Mjita lives with his older sister, MaLeta[9]. Mjita became my friend; we had cordial relations and conversations, especially when it concerned South African premier league football. We spoke about his injury, now and then. He would talk about it and he struggled to accept what became his sudden state of being. He recurrently told me. Mjita said that he was approached by a *Skollie* a street away from his home. On him he had a brand new cell phone and about seven hundred-rand in cash. It was at night and he was returning from the spaza-shop[10] when this incident occurred. He would narrate how the incident occurred on that unforgettable day, albeit in different ways. I recorded this version:

What happened to me on that day is still painful, my guy. I was from the spaza. I bought a cool drink that we were going to drink after the supper meal. It was around eight o'clock, at night. I was close by our house. I came across this guy who said I must give him money. I had about seven-hundred with me. When I noticed that he was serious I tried to run away. He drew a gun and shot me at the waist. The doctor found three bullets. I fell off inside the house as I was running. MaLeta was screaming. That guy probably ran-away at that moment. I did not even recognise his face.

At the time of the incident Mjita was looking for a job after he had passed matric in 2011. His dream was to work as a police officer. The incident shattered his hopes as he no longer can be accepted for employment as a police officer. Mjita became the victim of criminal activities, a living bloodshed; the young man in his wheelchair remains a living evidence of the brutality of life in the shack settlement. He represents a complex comprehension of what it means to be a Kanana resident. Other similarly devastating criminal activities in Kanana were shared with me.

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[8] This is not his real name. Mjita is a slang term to mean; guy. Mjita is a young man born in 1994 in Alice, Eastern Cape. I refer to him as Mjita because of his often use of the term. He does not bother knowing a guy's name. Mjita is fine for him.

[9] This is not her real name. This is one of Xhosa clan names. She is known by her clan name in her street in Kanana and it is not Leta. I refer to her as MaLeta to mark her identity as she is known in Kanana.

[10] Spaza-shop is a small tuck shop that sells food products and other household related products. In Kanana it is mostly run from home.

Some residents have been murdered during incidents of mugging. In September 2015 I attended the funeral of an eighteen-year-old girl who was shot and killed after she was robbed of her phone and money. The incident is said to have happened in daylight in front of the girl's mother. The girl was carrying water from a communal water-tap with her mother when it happened. During the funeral a speaker narrated what happened, which was confirmed during conversations I had with people who had witnessed the incident. Four *Skollies* had attacked the girl and her mother. They pickpocketed the girl and took her phone and money of about fifty rand. It is said that as the *Skollies* were fleeing the scene the girl started to swear at them. The response was gunshots. One of the *Skollies* shot the girl twice in the head and she passed away on the scene. The *Skollies* were not found and no one was arrested. This is common occurrence in Kanana; victims of crime report cases to the police but the common challenge is getting hold of the perpetrators. The police either do not follow up or are not effective in looking for the perpetrators of crime. It tends, therefore to be case that the perpetrators of crime in Kanana succeed in normalising criminal activities in the settlement. This is unsettling and normal in the shack settlement. Whenever there are mugging incidents in Kanana the lives of the residents are potentially at risk: a risk of not only being robbed of personal property and belongings but being robbed of life itself. With very low trust in the police, residents have taken their precautionary measures.

There is a committee in Kanana that was founded to fight crime in the settlement. It is called *Patrol*. Patrol consists of twenty members. The committee is largely dominated by men and, during my fieldwork, there were only three women members. The leading positions in the committee are Secretary; who is responsible for organising the meetings and Patrol operations; Chairperson who is responsible for facilitating the meetings and lead during Patrol operations; Coordinator whose responsibility is to oversee the duties of the Secretary and the Chairperson. The rest of the seventeen committee members play advisory roles for the strength of the committee. Members are elected during a community meeting and they serve in the committee for as long as the residents have trust on them and that they still want to continue serving in the committee. The residents largely support the idea of the committee; which is to fight crime through patrolling the streets of Kanana at night.

The members of the Patrol do rounds at night trying to make sure that the streets are peaceful at night. The Patrol members also gate-crash shacks that are believed and suspected to be hiding-spots of *Skollies*.. If the Patrol volunteers find anything such as weapons, stolen

property, or drugs, they phone the police for intervention. Sometimes they seek to act on their own however. When they act on their own, they confiscate what is illegitimate and punish the *Skollies* through corporal punishment. The punishment is usually through beating up the suspect by knobkerries. The suspected *Skollies* sustain serious injuries.

Members of the Patrol are usually armed with weapons such as knobkerries, swords, and other sharp weapons. Residents who are not part of the committee are always welcomed to join the operations of the committee; and indeed there are always volunteers to join the operations of the Patrol. During several instances I myself had joined their operations. For me, participating in the operations of the Patrol was not only about seeking to maintain peace and order in the settlement but it was also about getting an understanding of how the Patrol carries out its duties.

The Patrol does not have specific time of patrolling the streets at night. This is the strategy against being predictable to the *Skollies*. Patrolling hours vary between the late hours of the night and early hours of the morning. During its operations the corps divide themselves into two groups. One group would patrol one side of the settlement while the other group would patrol another section of the section and then both teams would assemble in the middle of the settlement for a briefing. They then continue patrolling the settlement. When they meet any vagabonding person during their operations they introduce themselves, search, and ask the person to go home. They also offer escorting people they find in the streets at night.

During its presence in the streets, Patrol has succeeded in seeking to maintain peace and order in Kanana. It has provided security to the residents against criminals, the *Skollies*. The Patrol is, however, not omnipresent in the shack settlement. In the absence of the Patrol operations *Skollies* carry on their own operations. And they carry them successfully. *Skollies'* operations undermine the operations of the Patrol. The operations of the *Skollies* further undermine the teachings and preventative measures of the Patrol, against contending criminal incidents in the shack settlement. The teachings and preventative measures of the Patrol are that the residents need to walk as a group, avoid being outdoors during darkness, avoid walking in quiet streets, keep belongings such as wallets and cell phones at home or keep them concealed in the pockets, display a high level of confidence when walking alone, and pray every day before leaving home.

In addition to this my friend Patrol and other Kanana residents I interacted with have also expressed that the Patrol operations are important for community safety. This is because the police do not offer sufficient community safety against the *Skollies*. Therefore the residents have devised their own ways when the state fails. Patrol for example, has always highlighted that the police cooperation with the residents against criminal activities in Kanana has always been one of their demands when they protest. In this sense the unsettling reality of criminal activities in Kanana forms part of life in the informal settlement that is very connected to residents' participation in the protests. So, Patrol operations are an attempt to make the shack settlement a convenient place to live while when they protest they insist on police cooperation.

7.6 Shack life is a contradictory experience:

This chapter and the preceding chapter show that contradictory experiences exist in the shack settlement. In this chapter I have shown how the residents do not like their life as shack residents, which is something that they detest as undesirable and devastating. They are at constant pains with having to live as shack residents due to the multiple unsettling conditions they have to face on a daily basis. The contradiction to this is that living as shack residents seems to be inescapable to them. They feel that they are compelled to live in a place that they do not like. They cannot afford to live what had been historically created as decent suburban housing, nor even in the modest formal settlement areas, with brick houses of the townships. They permanently live in the shack settlement that, through living conditions, has contributed to render their lives to wretchedness. Because they live the life of having to come to terms to unsettling realities of the shack settlement, these unsettling realities have become normal. The young ones grow up regarding the place as their home. Even to the grown-ups this is where they find a sense of shelter. Their life memories and experiences are invested in the settlement. Out of living in the place they do not like life has to go on, anyway.

In contradistinction, happy experiences and memories occur in the same place of unsettling realities. Taking part in most of the ways of living and becoming part of Kanana discussed in the previous chapter has instilled good memories among my participants. Participating in ceremonies and events such as church services, get together, birthday parties, and Igqongo contributes to these good memories. The experiences and good memories, situated in Kanana; with the family, fellow residents and friends are cherished. In the place of unsettling realities

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and out of suffering this is also the place of their memories, good and bad. In essence there exist complex experiences of joy and counter experiences of life tragedy.

What I observed is that some residents have constantly tried to make peace with the discomfort they feel about their place of residence. Compelling themselves to accept living conditions in the settlement as normal has become their psychological coping mechanism as permanent residents of the shack settlement. They have developed a relationship with Kanana. This relationship with the settlement is founded on these experiences and memories. This experience of the relationship with the shack settlement is the one of loving and hating the place simultaneously. They cherish with fondness the good experiences they have in Kanana. On the other hand they hate unsettling realities in Kanana. Through these experiences and memories, good and bad, the residents identify themselves with the shack settlement. Residents; however tend to lean more on these unsettling realities and bad experiences as breeding grounds for protesting. As much as they also have fond contradicting experiences about living in the settlement the unsettling realities supersede these experiences. Since the residents share common unsettling realities they easily organise and think through their unsettling living conditions and resort to protesting.

7.7 Conclusion:

This chapter has discussed the fact of unsettling realities in the shack settlement. It complicated the discussion in the above chapter; of understanding social relations in Kanana as ordinarily smooth and in harmony. To illustrate the unsettling realities of shack residents in Kanana this chapter began by showing that almost all weather conditions pose a threat to living well-being of residents. This finds manifestation through unsustainable building material that is used to build the shacks. In this chapter I further discussed that the shack settlement is ordinarily and yet very uncomfortably unhygienic. This chapter then discussed the misery and uncertainty that is associated with the unsettling reality of prominent shack fires. Rife criminal activities are also what make experiences of living in the shack settlement of Kanana an unsettling reality. In essence this chapter has shown and captured that these unsettling realities of being Kanana shack settlement resident are what makes residents feel less of being human beings; *"it makes you feel less of a human being"*. This chapter has also shown, as expressed by Melwane that living in these disturbing realities in the shack

settlement provides fertile ground for eruption of the protests. This is, I suggest, the angle of daily life experiences that the eruption of protests should be sensed.

To complicate an understanding of the life beyond protests even further this chapter further emphasised that there are however contradictory experiences in the shack settlement, both good and bad. The following chapter is the last and concluding chapter of this thesis. It brings together the main claims made in this thesis, and ideas for further research.

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CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION

In response to negative and simplistic representations of informal settlement residents who participate in the community protests; this study aimed to explore the ordinary lives of these residents beyond their actual participation in protests. It focused its attention on Kanana informal settlement residents, an informal settlement in Gugulethu Township on the outskirts of Cape Town, South Africa. This study paid a closer look at what happens in the lives of informal settlement residents when they are not protesting. In order to demonstrate the significance of the notion of informal settlement as a place it was necessary to provide a brief discussion on the brief background of informal settlements with particular focus to Cape Town. Since the focus of the study has been on the residents of the informal settlements, the latter played an important role in highlighting the historical and persistent nature of the making of informal settlements.

In paying attention to what this study is responding to I delved into the discussion of community, largely in the informal settlements, protests and how they are represented. Drawing on literature that deals with protests I have shown a brief history of urban community protests in South Africa. Further discussion of this literature demonstrated prominent reasons that are associated with people resorting to protests. It showed the form/s that the protests usually take. Central to this theme on community protests was to expose that these protests are generally projected by the government and the media in a simplistic and adverse manner. This also includes some of the scholarly work. I demonstrated this by showing two misrepresenting strands of thought. The first strand is the well-established view of portraying these protests as "service delivery" protests. The second strand is the well-established view of portraying these protests as mere criminal and treated with disdain. Through showing these two positions I aimed at showing my critique at them. Against these positions I argued that presenting the protests in this way fails to comprehend the complexity behind protest demonstrations. I further noted that these positions show a failure in making sense of what it means to be an informal settlement resident. I suggested that these ways of presenting the protests distort the protests and those who participate in the protests. Instead, I argued that, in order to broadly make sense of the protests in the informal settlements there is

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a need to get an understanding of those who take part in protests beyond their actual participation in the protests. This can show how their participation in the protests is connected to their ordinary lives.

Getting an understanding of those who take part in the protests for this study was largely achieved through ethnographic research method. I have shown that this ethnographic study is within a particular theoretical thinking. I have further demonstrated how I navigated the field by describing how I entered the field and my first interactions with Kanana residents. Through ethnographic research method I have shown that I have to initiate and maintain good relations with the residents. I have shown that Kanana residents, in fact, became my friends. As a researcher, though, I then explored my reflections about fieldwork. As a result of this ethnographic nature of the study I interacted and explored the lives of my friends when they are not in protest action, beyond their participation in the protest. Considering their contribution in the realisation of this study I have referred to Kanana residents I worked with as co-producers of this work. In this thesis Kanana residents are therefore are presented and described as identifiable ordinary human beings with names, who predominantly migrated from the province of the Eastern Cape. Through this description it is also shown how their individual ordinary lives are connected to the protests.

To show the complexity of the lives of shack residents that need to be sensed in its complexity I explored the ways in which shack residents have devised to live among each other in the settlement. This is to provide a sense of shack residents as ordinary human beings. In further arguing against presenting informal settlement residents who participate in community protests and reducing them to simply "service delivery" protesters I demonstrated that shack residents have harmonising ways of living among themselves in their co-residential arrangements. This is demonstrated by showing that the practice of greeting is at the centre of harmonious ways of living with others in the informal settlement. In turn; I further showed the complexity of the lives of the people who participate in the protests. I showed this by exposing that to be a shack resident also means that you ordinarily live in the mist of unsettling realities. This by and large had been to show how the lives of shack residents beyond their participation in the protests are connected to their participation in their involvement in protest actions. I have also argued that these unsettling realities are coupled with both good and bad experiences of being a shack resident. These all contribute to the complex life of the residents when they are not protesting and what it means to be informal

settlement resident; an ordinary life that cannot be divorced from protesting. It befits Bank's (2011:244) statement that; "It is difficult to understand the dynamics of service delivery protests in South Africa without realizing how people have become entrapped in marginal places and developed place-based identities and notions of deprivation which they draw on in protest action."

As this thesis explores the lives of shack residents in its ordinariness, when they are not protesting; what left me tempted to explore further is the notion of *citizenship*. The complexity of life in the informal settlement challenges one to explore the notion of citizenship assumed by informal settlement residents. It will be very interesting to interrogate what it means to be a citizen in South Africa in contradistinction with what it means to be informal settlement resident in South Africa. It would be more revealing to ask; what is the relevance of citizenship in the context of unsettling realities in the informal settlement? What are the implications of participating in community protest for the notion of citizenship? In fact, I have been thinking of exploring these questions further if I may be afforded with the opportunity to pursue doctoral research.

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