

**CONCEPTUALISATIONS AND EXPERIENCES OF
THE PRESENCE OF INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS
INTO FORMAL RESIDENTIAL AREAS. A STUDY
OF THE RESIDENTS IN FORMAL HOUSING OF
THE CLARE ESTATE AREA,
DURBAN, KWAZULU-NATAL**

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DECLARATION

This thesis is submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Social Science in the School of Environmental Sciences, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College Campus.

The research in this thesis was carried out in the School of Environmental Sciences, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College Campus Durban during the period January 2008 to December 2009, under the supervision of Ms Jennifer Houghton.

The work presented in this thesis is the researcher's own work. Where other research materials were presented, they were properly reference and acknowledged and has not been plagiarised. Furthermore this research has not been submitted to any other University.

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ABSTRACT

Cities across the globe are characterised by inequality. Within South African cities the marginalised population has unequal access to certain resources and opportunities, one such resource that the research is centred upon is the access and occupation of land. Many South African formal residential neighbourhoods are characterised by their proximity to informal settlements. This is largely due to the fact that local government has not adequately addressed the issue of occupation and land; this is clearly evident in Clare Estate in which the study was undertaken. The thesis refers to literature that is critical of the notion of the 'divided city' concept and draws on other concepts such as justice, social inequalities, politics of space, sense of place and NIMBY to name but a few.

The research adopted a quantitative and qualitative approach, where questionnaires and in-depth interviews with relevant stakeholders structured the basis of the research, respectively. This thesis investigated the experiences and understandings of formal residents of Clare Estate, in regard to the informal settlement which is encroaching on their neighbourhood boundary. The majority of the formal residents were not satisfied with the presence of the informal settlers and requested the relocation of the informal settlements to another location. The thesis shows how the informal settlers have been stereotyped with negative images and therefore the formal community has socially excluded them. Furthermore, most formal residents interviewed emphasised that the presence of the informal settlements only attracted negative consequences, such as the increase in criminal activity, the hampering of social activities and the reduction of property values.

In addition, this thesis reveals that there existed a strained relationship between the formal and informal communities in Clare Estate. It was also evident that the formal residents have attached a personal meaning to their residential area. This sense of place was seen to be threatened by the informal settlement in their neighbourhood. However, it should be stated that the local government authorities were re-addressing the issue of the encroachment of the informal settlement and there have been some attempts to relocate these settlements. Where the relocation initiative has not been successful, the government provided better building materials to the informal community to improve their housing situation in Clare Estate. However, this latter initiative was not accepted by the residents in formal housing who want the informal community 'out' of their residential area.

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- Municipal Official Representative from the municipality
- Non-governmental Organisation Representative

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The issue of access to and occupation of land is an urban concern which has been extensively debated, especially in the developing world. It is a prevalent issue that needs to be addressed, since there is a distinct movement of individuals, especially the marginalised poor, into cities in search of better economical and social opportunities. Given this movement, there has been a rise of informal settlements in cities where access to housing and land is problematic for the poor. This frequently unmanaged movement results in advantages and disadvantages for all communities within the cities. In many urban areas, for example, in Clare Estate in Durban, there has been an expansion of informal settlements on formal residential properties. This therefore has led to a number of economic, social and political problems.

In South Africa, the rise of informal settlements has been linked to apartheid discrimination and spatial engineering. In the apartheid era, the allocation of land to individuals was an unfair process as only a minority could access and occupy land, and all race groups were allocated space according to the Group Areas Act (GAA) (Davis, 1991; Jewel, 1983). This Act resulted in the forced removal of races into certain areas, physically separating them in space. Apartheid laws and policies resulted in the uneven distribution of land to individuals, especially the urban poor (Davis, 1991; Swilling, Humpries and Shubane, 1991). Consequently, black¹ South Africans were forced to live in the urban periphery, and were frequently subjected to unhealthy and inadequate living conditions.

Although there has been the dismantling of apartheid structures in South African cities, many South Africans still struggle with inadequate and unequal access to and occupation of land (Christopher, 2005). Usually these effects are mostly felt by the disadvantaged and marginalised population in South Africa. Low income and marginalised groups are subjected to insufficient housing, and have even been displaced with regards to access to land. This inadequate and unequal access and occupation of land has promoted the growth of informal settlements in and around urban areas. Historically, during the apartheid era in

¹ The term black in the South African context means people of African, Indian, Coloured and Chinese decent. However in this thesis for the purposes of clarity the term black will be used to denote persons of African origin.

South Africa, the development of low-income settlements in cities was a result of the inadequate housing initiatives for the poor population of the country (Maasdorp and Haarhoff, 1983). Following the demise of apartheid and the repeal of the Group Areas Act, informal settlements have become an urban management challenge for many municipalities in South Africa.

According to Nel, Hill and Maharaj (2003), space in KwaZulu-Natal has become a contested issue and has not been properly addressed. Informal settlements in and around the city of Durban have emerged near and within formal residential housing, since these locations provide easy access to transport and employment prospects that were not available in rural areas. Rapid urbanization and an inadequate capacity to cope with the housing requirements of people in urban areas have also contributed to the development of informal settlements (Nel *et al.*, 2003; Singh, 2005). These settlements have become a characteristic feature of South African cities and it has been estimated that approximately seven million people in South Africa are accommodated in such settlements (Nel *et al.*, 2003). In many spaces where unequal land access and occupation occurs and different social groups occupy the same space, social tension arises (van Kempen, 1998; Sachs-Jeantet, 2000). The majority of the population do not accept these informal settlements and therefore conflicts are exacerbated due to their presence (van Kempen, 1998; Singh, 2005). However, the current (2009) South African government is attempting to address these inequalities with respect to occupation of land. Who gets what, where and how have become important questions that need to be addressed.

Addressing urban housing requirements is widely regarded as one of the greatest challenges facing cities of the post-apartheid era (Kok and Gelderblom, 1994). In Durban the issue of access to land has become a contentious issue (Crush, 1992; Christopher, 2005). Furthermore, in order to address this social issue the national government and the eThekweni municipality in Durban are attempting to address the issue of the occupation of informal settlements in and around the city of Durban (Nel *et al.*, 2003). However, the urban planning strategies and policies that the eThekweni municipality have endorsed in and around KwaZulu-Natal, especially Durban, have proven to be ineffective since they were not properly implemented (Nel *et al.*, 2003). Government presently (2009) is extensively focused on drawing foreign capital into economically driven areas, and this has therefore dampened governments efforts to properly address social issues, such as inadequate access to housing and land of the poor and marginalised individuals in cities.

The marginalised population do not have adequate access to and occupation of land, and therefore this has led to the development of informal settlements, which is clearly evident in the case of the Clare Estate residential area in Durban. Clare Estate was a formal residential area, developed for Indian occupation in the late 1950's (eThekweni Municipality Durban, n.d.a). However, due to the government's inadequate prevention of informal occupation, informal settlements have become a characteristic feature of Clare Estate (eThekweni Municipality Durban, n.d.a). The presence of the informal settlement has resulted in many tensions amongst the two different communities (formal and informal) in Clare Estate (eThekweni Municipality Durban, n.d.a). Issues regarding the increase in criminal activity, property devaluation, and the decrease in the quality of life were highlighted as a result of the presence of the informal settlement. Due to the illegal informal occupation of land, many formal residents wanted the informal community to be relocated elsewhere. In response to the social and political tensions between the formal and informal communities in Clare Estate, the eThekweni municipality implemented an initiative to relocate most of the informal settlements in Clare Estate to other areas suitable for their development (eThekweni Municipality Durban, n.d.a). Although there have been some removals, there were still a number of informal settlements in the Clare Estate area, which were not relocated.

This research examines the experiences and understandings of the residents of formal housing with respect to the presence of the residents in informal housing, as well as examines how these experiences influence the type of relationship between these residents in Clare Estate. It addressed the underlying conflicting relationship and conflicts that existed between the residents of formal and informal housings of the Clare Estate residential area. In addition to this, the research examined and assessed the implications of the occupation of informal housing for the residents of formal housing in Clare Estate. Social divisions and inequalities influence the nature and outcome of community engagements. In the research the 'divided city' notion will serve as a lens to understand social politics in the Clare Estate residential area. It is important to understand how two communities which are on different sides of the social spectrum, live together in the same social space and how this type of relationship both negatively and positively impacts on the lives of interested and affected parties. This research thus allows for an understanding of the social politics between the formal and informal residents within a post apartheid urban space. Furthermore, the research also attempts to provide some insight into the context for

decision-making which may be used in determining how to address this situation in the future. The following section presents the rationale for the study.

1.2 Rationale for the study

The primary motivation of the research is to understand how access and occupation of land has become a contentious issue in the present South African cities (Christopher, 2005). Who gets what? Where? And on what terms? Have become debatable issues amongst many politicians and citizens. Poor marginalised individuals from rural areas have migrated to cities in order to search for better social and economic opportunities. This uncontrolled movement has resulted in some illegal unmanaged informal settlements, which has had repercussions for all communities within the cities. In many suburbs, for example Clare Estate, in which the research was conducted, there has been the development of informal settlements on formal residential properties. This has led to a number of socio-economic and political consequences. The primary motivation of the research is to understand how access and occupation of land constitutes a contentious issue in the present South African cities.

This study acknowledges that there are racial, cultural, and most importantly class divisions in society and that these divisions do indeed influence the types of relationships that individuals have with one another. Also, the experiences and perceptions of residents in formal housing are important in analysing the conflicting relationship and also the conflicts that the residents from formal and informal housing have with one another in Clare Estate. The poor and marginalised individuals are unable to acquire land and opportunities due to inadequate access to economic resources and divisions in society. There are divisions that are exaggerated within society, and these divisions' are very influential with regards to the social and economic relationships (Sachs-Jeantet, 2000). These divisions have created and intensified the types of relationships individuals have with each other. Also the types of stereotypical images and how people perceive 'others' become notable in the research since it provides insights into the type of relationships formed between residents in the formal and informal settlements/ housing in Clare Estate. From the information gathered in the research, the socio-economic status of individuals in Clare Estate influenced the type of relationships that have been developed between these two groups of residents. Understanding how individuals from different socio-economic statuses relate to one another is one of the major reasons for undertaking this research. Often land occupation is researched only from the perspective of the residents in informal

or disadvantaged communities but this research aims to highlight the impacts of the illegal access and occupation of land on residents in formal housing.

Another reason for undertaking this research was to examine the experiences of the residents in formal housing with residents in informal housing. Analysing this aspect allowed one to determine whether these experiences influenced the type of relationship that had developed between the residents in formal and informal housing in Clare Estate. Furthermore, individuals tend to attach meaning to a particular place and therefore this instils a sense of belonging to that place (Mazanti, 2007). Thus, the research examines the deep and personal attachments that these residents in formal housing have of their residential area. In addition to this type of personal attachment, the research also examined whether the social and economic changes (presence of informal settlements) of the residential area has or has not threatened the formal residents' sense of place. Proshansky, Fabian and Kaminoff (1983, cited in McCreanor Penney, Jensen, Witten, Kears and Barnes, 2006) state that a sense of place is influenced by 'place identity' or by people's associations with the physical and social dimensions of a location

Addressing this land occupation issue, which many South African municipalities are faced with presently, is not an easy task (Kok and Gelderboom, 1994). Although many municipalities have addressed the presence of informal settlements in formal residential areas, certain initiatives have not been adequately implemented and therefore heightening this problem of illegal squatting. Therefore, it is hoped that from this research one is able to understand what efforts the municipality has undertaken, as well as highlight what other efforts need to be realised amongst local housing and planning officials within the eThekweni municipality. Furthermore, since this research is focused on the perspectives of residents in formal housing, it was therefore important to examine the relationship and association between these residents and local authorities, with regards to the issue of informal housing in Clare Estate. This will give insight into role of the local authorities with respect to the needs and wants of residents in formal housing. In addition, this project aimed to provide new insight into the politics surrounding different (divided) communities in cities. The research examined how the processes and outcomes of occupation and access of land amongst residents of the informal settlement influences their relationship with residents of formal housing. Another reason for undertaking this project is that this topic is in the city of Durban, with much research and social movement activity occurring in relation to residents in informal housing in Clare Estate. This research aims to widen the

understanding of informal housing, to focus on the residents of formal housing in Clare Estate. The following section presents the aim and objectives of the research.

1.3 Aim and objectives

The aim of this study is to investigate the experiences and conceptualisation of the residents in formal housing with regards to the informal community's access and occupation of land in Clare Estate.

In order to meet the aim the following objectives have been formulated;

1. Examine how the residents in formal housing perceive the informal community.
2. Investigate if and how fear plays a role in the perceptions of the residents in the informal community amongst the residents in formal housing.
3. Investigate the importance of a 'sense of place', with respect to the experience and conceptualisation of informal settlements amongst residents in formal housing in Clare Estate, relative to the establishment of informal settlements in their neighbourhood.
4. Outline the nature of the relationship between the residents in formal and informal housing in Clare Estate. The outline will be generated from the perspective of the residents in formal housing.
5. Explain the impacts of the illegal/informal occupation of land on the neighbouring residents in formal housing in Clare Estate.

The next section presents the structure of the thesis.

1.4 Structure of the thesis

This section provides an outline of the structure of the thesis.

This first chapter introduced the research topic. This chapter also presented the rationale and the aims and objectives of the study. Chapter Two presents the literature review for the research. This chapter also provides a conceptual framework for the study and is structured according to the main umbrella theory of the 'divided city', and other concepts such as territoriality, prejudices, stereotypes, social exclusion and polarisation, social inequalities, politics of space, social justice, sense of place and lastly the NIMBY stance. It should also be noted that the theory of the 'divided city' and concepts mentioned above relate to one

another. The 'divided city' theory above and the above mentioned concepts allowed for insight into the relationship between the different groups in the Clare Estate residential area.

The background for the study is presented in Chapter Three. This chapter examines the issue of informal settlements in a South African context, and makes reference to the city of Durban. It explores how apartheid policies and laws were the major influence with regards to individuals accessing land rights and certain social, political and economic opportunities. Furthermore, it presents how the post-apartheid government has addressed the issue of informal settlements. It also provides insight into how these informal settlements have developed. Furthermore, this chapter presents a chronological history and geography of Clare Estate, examining when the residential area was developed and what racial groups existed in the past. Lastly, this chapter highlights the current context of Clare Estate in terms of what distinct social groups are present, the types of community organisations that are present, and furthermore, examines the initiatives that the local authorities have undertaken with respect to removal of the informal settlements to another suitable area.

Chapter Four, describes the research methodology used in the study. Quantitative and qualitative techniques were used. These were in the form of questionnaires and personal in-depth interviews, respectively. Furthermore, this section, examined how the data were interpreted and analysed. Lastly this chapter provides insights into the constraints that were present in undertaking this research.

The results of the research are divided up into two chapters, Chapter Five and Chapter Six, in line with the objectives of the study. Chapter Five explores the perceptions of formal residents in Clare Estate, with regards to the informal community. Chapter Six investigates the experiences of formal residents in Clare Estate, with regards to the informal community. Finally, the seventh chapter provides a conclusion to the study.

1.5 Conclusion

This chapter provided the introduction, rationale, aims and objectives as well as the structure of the thesis. This thesis explored the type of relationship that existed between residents in formal and informal housing, with particular emphasis on the perceptions and experiences of the residents in formal housing. It examined whether the existence of the

informal settlements in Clare Estate impacted, in negative or positive ways on the residents in formal housing, in the neighbourhood. The research also highlighted how illegal squatting has become a characteristic feature in the eThekweni municipality, which the present (2009) government has to address. The following chapter will present the theoretical framework for the study in order to frame the research within human geography concepts.

CHAPTER TWO

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to assess a broad range of literature which best situates the research. The overarching conceptual framework that will be used in the research is that of the ‘divided city’. This concept frames the other theories in the research, as well as it is also utilised as a tool to understanding the research issue. The ‘divided city’ concept allows insight into the perceptions and the relationships between the different groups in society (van Kempen, 1998, Sachs-Jeantet, 2000). Aspects of social division such as segregation, marginalisation, and exclusion will be addressed in this chapter. Concepts such as social justice, inequalities, politics of space, sense of place and lastly the arguments related to ‘Not in my Back Yard’ (NIMBY) ² responses will also be presented, since they are linked to the concept of the ‘divided city’. These are the principal concepts upon which the research project will be constructed. These concepts will not merely be stated but also intensely examined and some will be critiqued, showing an in-depth understanding of them. All the above-mentioned concepts will be discussed in significant detail in their appropriate sections subsequently.

The objective and the purpose of the conceptual framework is to provide a fundamental understanding of the concept of the ‘divided city’ to explain particular situation or events in present day society, in this case the research topic which has been undertaken. This chapter will be structured as follows. Section 2.2 presents the concept of a ‘divided city’. This section presents an understanding of society and space, territoriality, prejudices, stereotypes, segregation, polarisation and social exclusion, social inequalities and politics of space, which are all addressed in their own sections. Following the ‘divided city’ section, Section 2.3 explains the concept of social justice. Sense of place is presented in Section 2.4 and ‘Not in my backyard’ (NIMBY) is explained in Section 2.5. Lastly, the conclusion to the chapter is presented in Section 2.6.

² The concepts in this section are structured in a particular sequence; however this is not to say that one theory is more important than the other, but that certain concepts are more influential than others. Therefore all the concepts that are utilised are important for coherent understanding of the research and the path that the research has taken.

2.2 The divided city

A divided city is one which as a consequence of social, political and economic change constitutes divisions amongst individuals, (Breslin, 2005; Singh, 2005; Scheinsohn and Cabrera, 2009), which is evident in the case study examined in the research. Societies are heterogeneous entities that are intertwined with ever-changing economic, social, political and environmental aspects. This section examines some of the complexities that underlie some societies in the twenty first century. The concept of the ‘divided city’ allows insight into the fractured relationship between different groups (rich and poor) in society. It will further provide an understanding of how communities specifically in Clare Estate, are impacted upon through outside influences such as; political, social and economic factors that will direct their interrelations in certain ways. Under the rubric of ‘the divided city’ this section examines the idea of society and space, territoriality, prejudices and stereotyping, the social division of a city regarding social polarisation, segregation and exclusion.

2.2.1 Society and space

In order to understand the ‘divided city’ concept an explanation of society and space will be presented. Society and space are interrelated and therefore influence each other (Smith, 1999, cited in Cloke *et al.*, 1999). This section examines the society and space approach and its relevance in society. In addition to this concept, the characteristics of a city are explored since cities are dynamic and the types of interactions between individuals and their physical surroundings become more pronounced.

Smith (1999, cited in Cloke *et al.*, 1999) contends that society is mapped into space. Smith (1999, cited in Cloke *et al.*, 1999) also emphasised that the simplest way to conceptualise the interactions of society and space is to regard the spatial arrangements as a reflection of social divisions. Smith’s (1999, cited in Cloke *et al.*, 1999) analysis of the relationship between individuals in society becomes relevant in the research, since he refers to the most powerful (residents in formal housing) versus the least powerful (residents in informal housing). These individuals have different access to benefits and opportunities and it is mainly the least powerful individuals who are displaced from society. Smith’s (1999, cited in Cloke *et al.*, 1999) diagrammatic representation (see Figure 2.1) on the ‘spatial construction of society’ is a good representation of the social divisions in society. The diagrammatic representation illustrates the social categories and identities that society is divided into (Smith 1999, cited in Cloke *et al.*, 1999). The least powerful or disadvantaged

are located in worst locations having unequal access to resources and opportunities compared to the most powerful or advantaged, who are located in the best locations having access to resources and opportunities (Smith 1999, cited in Cloke *et al.*, 1999; Moser and McIlwaine, 1999; Cox and Watt, 2002; Scheinsohn and Cabrera, 2009).

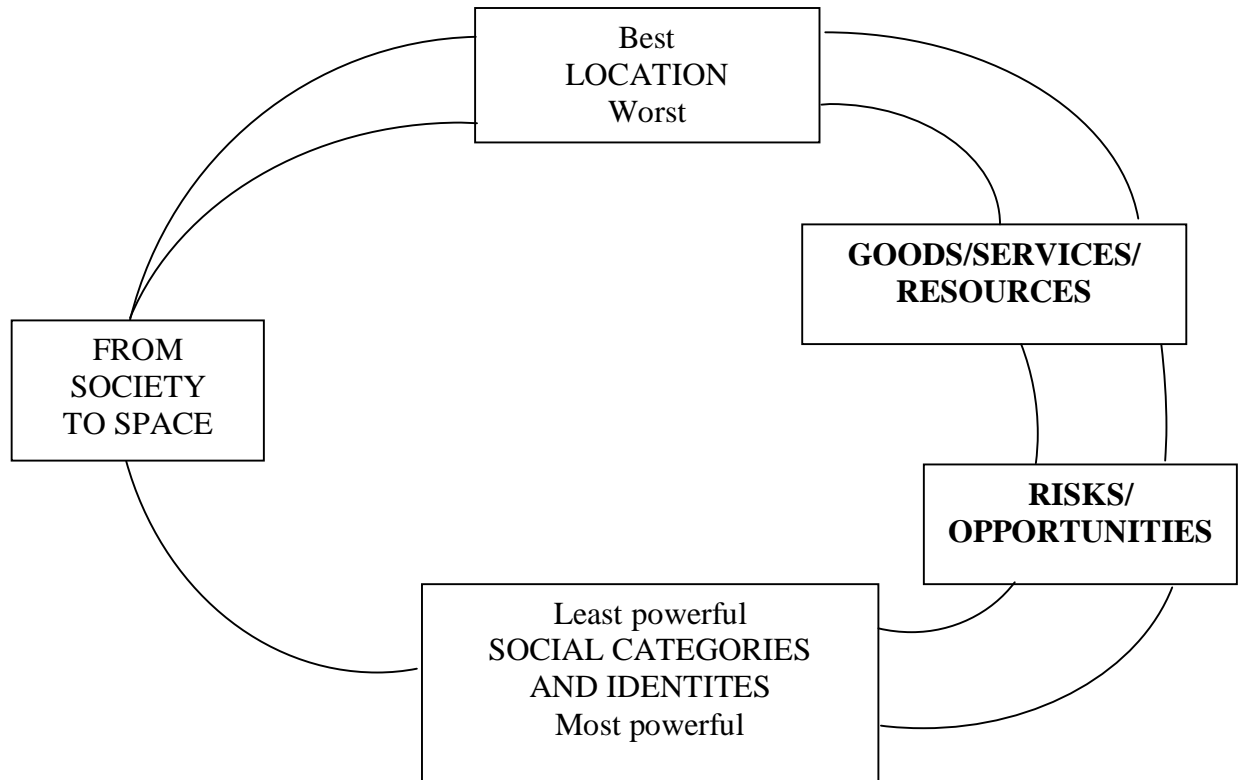


Figure 2.1: The spatial construction of society (Smith 1999, cited in Cloke *et al.*, 1999: 17)

This diagrammatic representation of society is very realistic since this is the basis upon which modern society, specifically Clare Estate is developed. With this diagram in mind, Smith (1999, cited in Cloke *et al.*, 1999) argued that a way of conceptualising the relationship between society and space is to think of spatial patterns as a reflection of social structures and to regard spatial processes as an index of social relations. There are inter-relationships between people and their physical and social environments (Knox, 1995). Knox (1995) argued that, people who inhabit urban space characterise and structure them. However, Smith (1999, cited in Cloke *et al.*, 1999) also stated that instead of taking particular social categories for granted and mapping them into space, analysts examine how socially divisive spatial arrangements mediate access to services and resources,

underpinning differences in people's experiences to risks and opportunities. Smith (1999, cited in Cloke *et al.*, 1999) further stated that these aspects highlight the power relations that influence how individuals categorise others and how they identify themselves.

The society and space approach is helpful with regards to the understanding of a 'divided city', in that it analyses the social relationships that individuals and communities develop. In order to understand the society and space concept further, an understanding of a city becomes relevant. A city is commonly and loosely referred to a physically built-up area, consisting of buildings, infrastructure and so forth. However, a city cannot merely be defined through these features only, it is a 'container' of aspects involving the social, political, economic and environmental facets (Robinson, 1975, cited in Massey *et al.*, 1999). In Robson's (1975, cited in Massey *et al.*, 1999) view, the city is more than a collection (or combination) of images, but something that has social significance. Furthermore, cities are subjected to dramatic continuous transformations. Due to globalisation, cities have undergone a number of alterations and reorganisation of institutions (Nel *et al.*, 2003). While it is true that globalisation encourages free trade among countries, there are also negative consequences because some countries (particularly developing countries) try to save their national markets (Sassen, 1998, Douglass *et al.*, 2007). The emphasis on strengthening economic trade has resulted in social, cultural, political and environmental degradation throughout many countries (Sassen, 1998; Douglass *et al.*, 2007). Globalisation, thus has structured the types of relationships that individuals have within their spaces. Society has never been a static component and is constantly transforming from a simple one to a more complex one, due to the forces of globalisation.

City life is distinctive because the scale of the city is larger and its activities are more intense than elsewhere (Massey *et al.*, 1999). A city is a concentration of individual, group and social interactions and activities. Cities are spaces of intense social relations and heterogeneity and therefore they are spaces that exude difference and social divisions (Massey *et al.*, 1999). Cities reflect a greater heterogeneity in society compared to societies in the past. A city is a network through which social and economic transactions, interchanges and interactions take place (Massey *et al.*, 1999). Mumford (1937, cited in Massey, *et al.*, 1999: 16) stated that, "the city in its complete sense, then is a geographical plexus, an economic organization, an institutional process, a theatre of social action, and an aesthetic symbol of collective unity". Mumford (1937, cited in Massey *et al.*, 1999) argued

that the city, by bringing people together both enables new forms of association to be created and also requires of people that they interact in new kinds of ways. A city can be seen as a hub where social, political and economic exchanges exist. The city is the main focus where these interactions, relationships and interchanges are emphasised. Furthermore, after introducing what a city is, it is important to provide an explanation of a 'global city'. A 'global city' is thought to be an important node point in the global economic system (Sassen, 2001; Scott, 2001). With regards to the global city notion, the linkages binding a city have a direct and tangible effect on global affairs through socio-economic means (Sassen, 2001; Scott, 2001). A 'global city' differs from an 'ordinary city' in that, the characteristics of a city become more intense in 'global cities'. However, although cities and global cities result in more interconnectedness, social exclusion and inequalities are evident since individuals are characterised by different wants and needs; and this is disadvantageous mostly for the marginalised population in the city. Issues such as wealth and poverty and social exclusion are evident in cities and global cities such that, by bringing these aspects in close proximity with each other, they can improve or worsen (Massey *et al.*, 1999; Scheinsohn and Cabrera, 2009).

When understanding the society and space concept, and how individuals interact and are influenced with the space in which they are placed, the characteristics of the 'divided city' become exposed. Individuals classify themselves according to similarities, which enhances the social hierarchy within society and therefore patterns of segregation and social exclusion become apparent within society, which is evident in the Clare Estate residential area. Thus, the following section will examine the ideas behind territoriality, prejudices and stereotypes, which increase social segregation and exclusion in society.

2.2.2 Territoriality, prejudices and stereotypes

Attaching a label to others, that is stereotyping, and prejudices are very influential in understanding the process of exclusion (Sibley, 1995). Also, the idea behind territory and the meanings that individuals attach to territories become meaningful. Who belongs 'inside' and is 'outside' become important when understanding the stereotypes that individuals impose on others, especially with regards to their territories. This section examines the complexities behind territoriality, prejudices and stereotypes, since these aspects were relevant to understanding the relationships between the residents in formal and informal housing in Clare Estate.

Territoriality consists of three facets, namely, classification of an area, communication by boundary and a form of control or enforcement (Brown and Wemer, 1985; Sack, 1986; Grosby, 1995; Jacobson, 1997). It is a pattern of boundaries that particular group of individuals impose in order to manage a physical space (Grosby, 1995; Jacobson, 1997; Singh, 2005). Territoriality largely focuses on the idea of controlling an area (Brown and Wemer, 1985; Sack, 1986; Grosby, 1995; Jacobson, 1997). This means that an individual or group can decide or agree to change the pattern of territory (Grosby, 1995; Jacobson, 1997). Furthermore, the pattern itself is established by a set of rules that define the pattern, so changing the rules changes the pattern (Grosby, 1995; Jacobson, 1997). Therefore when a territory is threatened it can either be defended and the attacker can be attacked and suffer the trauma of invasion, or change the rules of the territory (Grosby, 1995; Jacobson, 1997). Although this is a very straightforward explanation of the term, it is useful in this study, since it provided insight into the territorial attachment that the residents in formal housing had with respect to their properties and residential area. Territoriality in this section is understood more in a social context, rather than one of physical distance, since territories are determined by social processes (Brown and Wemer, 1985; Sack, 1986; Grosby, 1995; Jacobson, 1997). Territoriality is not present unless there is an individual or group wishing to alter the connections of other groups or individuals (Brown and Wemer, 1985; Sack, 1986; Grosby, 1995; Jacobson, 1997). Individuals become very territorial and therefore limit the entry of other groups of individuals that are deemed different. With regards to Clare Estate, the residents in formal housing are not accepting of the informal settlements in their residential area and have a territorial attachment to their neighbourhood. Sack (1986) and Grosby (1995) further explain that territory is seen as an attempt of an individual to 'control' and influence other individuals, phenomena and relationships by exerting control over a particular geographic area. To define objects in space means to allocate how they are utilised without declaring them as territories (Brown and Wemer, 1985; Sack, 1986; Grosby, 1995; Jacobson, 1997). These delimited spaces become territories when the boundaries are used to affect behaviour by controlling access to these spaces (Brown and Wemer, 1985; Sack, 1986; Grosby, 1995; Jacobson, 1997).

Territory can be viewed as a primary geographical expression of social power (Sack, 1986). Within societies, territories are socially constructed to exclude certain individuals within a particular society (Sack, 1986). Places of familiarity are embedded with meaning, as individuals become socially attached (Grosby, 1995; Jacobson, 1997; Cresswell, 2004). These places therefore emphasise the social power of those individuals (Grosby, 1995;

Jacobson, 1997; Cresswell, 2004). These places are socially constructed to benefit a handful of individuals and in turn socially exclude other individuals (Sack, 1986; Grosby, 1995; Jacobson, 1997; Cresswell, 2004). This understanding of territoriality allowed one to understand the social relationships between individuals in society, especially Clare Estate. It also in turn allowed one to understand the prejudices and stereotypes that develop when individuals in society start to define territories (Singh, 2005).

Prejudices and stereotypes play an important part in the configuration of social space because of the importance of the behaviour of social groups (Sibley, 1995; Wratten, 1995). The thoughts behind prejudices and the construction of stereotypes, through the construction of individuals as the 'other' can be examined through the structure of role schema (Hecht, 1998). Role schema is the way that we perceive, store and recall information (Stephen 1985, cited in Hecht, 1998). This type of role schema is adopted with regards to the way individuals perceive and classify others, thereby leading to stereotypical images. Stereotyping allows for generalisations to be made based on the characteristics of an individual or groups (Sibley, 1995; Wratten, 1995; Hecht, 1998; Singh, 2005). Stereotyping and prejudices relate to how individuals within one group have preconceived thoughts about members of another group and thus influence how actions are interpreted, (Sibley, 1995; Wratten, 1995; Hecht, 1998; Singh, 2005), which is evident in Clare Estate. Stereotypical nature is divided according to 'good' and 'bad' and these result in stereotypical representations of others (Sibley, 1995). The 'good' stereotype may represent an unattainable fantasy whereas the 'bad' stereotype maybe perceived as a real, malign presence from which people want to distance themselves (Sibley, 1995). In most cases that the 'bad' stereotype labelling is exaggerated (Sibley, 1995). Individuals distance themselves from others who are represented as negative, and therefore these images create landscapes of exclusion (Sibley, 1995; Wratten, 1995; Hecht, 1998; Singh, 2005). Those who are labelled as the 'other' and those who may threaten social life are ostracised from society (Sibley, 1995; Wratten, 1995; Hecht, 1998). This therefore exaggerates the lines of divisions and social exclusion that are present within society. How the labelling of the 'other' encourages social exclusion will be addressed in the next paragraph.

The use of stereotypes can be categorised into three sets, in an attempt to understand their function (Coleman *et al.*, 1987, cited in Hecht, 1998). The first set, 'complexity-extremity', is where individuals within one group view their own group as more significant and other groups as more minimal (Coleman *et a.l*, 1987, cited in Hecht, 1998). This set highlights a

dominant role of one group against the other, whereby power is concentrated within that dominant group. The second set, 'assumed characteristics', implies that the stereotypes created provide stereotypical images about the 'others' in society (Coleman *et al.*, 1987, cited in Hecht, 1998). This therefore implies that all the members the 'other' group are classified according to that stereotypical perception. The last set, 'expectancy violation' is where the actions of an 'out-group member' are interpreted at a more extreme scale (Coleman *et al.*, 1987, cited in Hecht, 1998). This is where the stereotyped group's actions are exaggerated and perceived in a negative light (Coleman *et al.*, 1987, cited in Hecht, 1998). These stereotypical sets allow individuals to understand the interactions between themselves and the other groups. Often stereotypes are not consciously recognised, and in turn this sort of unconscious acceptance of stereotypical nature influences decisions of individuals, due to the labelling of others (Sibley, 1995; Wratten, 1995; Hecht, 1998). The interaction between group members is often based on the notion that we view others as members of another group; and interaction is limited to being 'intra-group' (Hecht, 1998). Thus this exaggerates the increased stereotyping, prejudices and generalisations made (Hecht, 1998). Fears and anxieties are expressed in stereotypes. The 'other' threatens the existence of a community and is therefore excluded (Sibley, 1995; Wratten, 1995; Hecht, 1998, Breslin, 2005). Individuals feel possessive about spaces. Feelings of belonging and ownership attached to natural territory exaggerate stereotypical labelling and thus in turn advocates social exclusion.

Each of these aspects, namely territoriality, prejudices and stereotyping helped to examine the social interactions between individuals (residents of formal and informal housing) within Clare Estate. Furthermore, these social interactions are limited due to the social differences, attachment to a place and stereotypical images that are embedded within society. Due to these stereotypical labels, social cohesion is difficult to fully attain. Further to this, the following section examines the social divisions of cities, regarding segregation, polarization and social exclusion.

2.2.3 The social division of cities: segregation, polarisation and social exclusion

The divided city concept provides a detailed knowledge about the particularities of the context of the social structure of a city. The divided city concept, examines the boundaries of the spatial distribution of society. The city is a personification of the political, economic, cultural and social structure of society (Maharaj, 2002; Kjellstron and Mercado, 2008). This section concentrates on the social structure, or rather the social fracture upon which

cities all over the world are developed. Often cities are divided according to socio-economic differences (van Kempen, 1998; Sachs-Jeantet, 2000; Thorns, 2002; Singh, 2005; Scheinsohn and Cabrera, 2009). In addition to this division, aspects such as social segregation, polarisation and social exclusion, are exaggerated and will be emphasised in this section.

Cities are divided according to social conditions, such as socio-economic differences, class, culture and race that initiate a process of marginalisation as opposed to social cohesion (van Kempen, 1998; Thorns, 2002). As van Kempen (1998) propounded, most cities are fragmented according to segregation by ethnicity and socio-economic differences, leading to social polarisation. This type of division leads to social segregation and exclusion (van Kempen, 1998; Moser and McIlwaine, 1999; Cox and Watt, 2002; Thorns, 2002; Singh, 2005; Fernandes, 2007; Kjellstron and Mercado, 2008; Scheinsohn and Cabrera, 2009). Within society there is a distinct division between the high and lower income groups, and these groups are segregated within their own particular areas, which is evident in the case study of Clare Estate. Lower income groups are clustered together, and in most cases excluded from certain areas (van Kempen, 1998; Moser and McIlwaine, 1999; Cox and Watt, 2002; Singh, 2005; Iyenda, 2005; Fernandes, 2007; Kjellstron and Mercado, 2008; Scheinsohn and Cabrera, 2009). This segregated cluster tends to mould how some individuals perceive other individuals. In most cases the lower income and marginalised poor individuals are negatively perceived. van Kempen (1998) also examined how different social groups, namely high and low income groups, live within the same proximity from each other and how this type of association leads to unwanted bad perceptions of the 'other'. Furthermore, van Kempen (1998) emphasised that this division emphasised the stereotypes and prejudices that individuals may have, which has been explained in Section 2.2.2. These perceived negative images are imagined stereotypes that are formed in the mind and are hard to alter or remove (van Kempen, 1998). In addition to these stereotypical images, social conflicts arise between different groups in society, namely because of these socio-economic differences and how they perceive each other. According to van Kempen's (1998) argument, society is socially and economically fragmented and this division is accelerated by the perceptions of how people perceive each other which in turn promotes a 'divided city'. Thus 'divided cities' are places of disadvantages and divisions (Beall *et al.*, 2002; Beall, 2002).

In addition to van Kempen's (1998) argument of a 'divided city', Sachs-Jeantet (2000) focused on managing the social transformation in cities, with a focus on fragmented cities. Sachs-Jeantet (2000) considered the modern city, which is considered as a 'dual city'. A 'dual city', is a city that is socially and economically fractured into two parts, namely the high income groups and the low income groups. It is a disproportionate divide between the social groups in society, where the lower income groups make up the majority of individuals within society (Sachs-Jeantet, 2000; Iyenda, 2005; Fernandes, 2007; Kjellstron and Mercado, 2008; Scheinsohn and Cabrera, 2009). Additionally, the 'dual city' is described as a city that is embedded with social unevenness and inequality (Sachs-Jeantet, 2000). Sachs-Jeantet (2000) stated, that these cities are the basis of social exclusion³ and spatial segregation⁴. Within society there is thus a social hierarchy, which places those at the top of the hierarchy in power and those at the bottom are excluded from decision-making processes and their ability to access certain resources and opportunities (Moser and McIlwaine, 1999). In addition, social exclusion leads to oppression and subordination of the marginalised poor groups in society and therefore allows one to understand the patterns of disadvantage that these individuals have encountered (Hamnett, 2001; Beall, 2002). Furthermore, this leads to the politics of resistance amongst the oppressed. Sachs-Jeantet (2000) further stated that this type of 'urban exclusion' leads to urban violence and that the local authority should implement procedures and policies in order to address and avoid these social conflicts. Urban exclusion can be understood as change that has occurred with respect to inequality, in a framework of related issues of fragmentation, poverty pockets and exclusion (Sachs-Jeantet, 2000; Butler *et al.*, 2007). van Kempen (1998) and Sachs-Jeantet (2000) papers, highlight the 'divided city' concept and how these divisions within cities are developed and lead to social segregation and polarisation.

Social segregation and polarisation have increased almost as rapidly as population growth (Davis, 1990; Thorns, 2002; Scheinsohn and Cabrera, 2009). Society is segregated into groups and this causes a number of social differences, therefore encouraging segregation. Within society there is always a battle for the "political power and participation in the decision making process" (Leitner, 1992, cited in Maharaj, 2002: 172). Within society there is a struggle for power over certain political and economic agendas. This is as a result

³ Social exclusion refers to the "process whereby individuals become deprived, though it can also refer to a state which goes beyond deprivation by implying an inability to participate fully in social and economic activities, including those which influence decision making" (Santana, 2002: 34).

⁴ Spatial segregation is a process whereby society is socially and economically divided and separated according to their socio-economic, class, race and cultural characteristics (Santana, 2002).

of the uneven social structure that is present within many societies which therefore excludes certain individuals from decision-making processes, therefore exacerbating social conflicts. Social tensions and conflicts within a common space arise when socio-economic, cultural, race and class differences are emphasised. These differences thus in turn lead to the formation of a segregated city (van Kempen, 1998; Sachs-Jeantet, 2000; Iyenda, 2005; Fernandes, 2007; Kjellstron and Mercado, 2008; Scheinsohn and Cabrera, 2009). Therefore this emphasis on separation and segregation has enhanced social exclusion of the marginalised poor individuals within society.

Contemporary human landscape has been structured on the basis of exclusion. Social divisions between the rich and the poor in cities are increasing phenomenon (Moser and McIlwaine, 1999; Hamnett, 2001; Cox and Watt, 2002; Thorns, 2002; Iyenda, 2005; Fernandes, 2007; Kjellstron and Mercado, 2008; Scheinsohn and Cabrera, 2009). Sibley's (1995) 'geographies of exclusion' analysed the constructions of socio-spatial boundaries along the lines of gender, colour, sexuality, lifestyle, age and disability; exploring the experiences of community and the city and the state. This has therefore resulted in spaces of segregation, where particular groups of similar interests are clustered together to maintain social order. Society is characterised by socio-spatial congregation and segregation and this in turn leads to social exclusion (Knox, 1995; Moser and McIlwaine, 1999; Hamnett, 2001; Cox and Watt, 2002; Beall, 2002). As Suttles (1972, cited in Knox, 1995) emphasised that spatial segregation of different communities assist in minimising conflict between social groups while facilitating a larger degree of social control and endowing specific social groups with more political voice. Also this type of clustering maintains the community identity (Knox, 1995). Segregation minimises perceived 'threats' from the 'others' (Knox, 1995).

Sibley (1995) argued that certain neighbourhoods have promoted segregation initiatives. This is substantiated by Robinson's (1999) research on 'segregation in cities'. Robinson (1999) stated that within certain cities there are unwanted settlements such as informal settlements and many have undergone relocation. Robinson (1999) further stated that although this is to improve the housing situation of the urban poor, this has led to segregation of these individuals since they are moved to other areas (Robinson, 1999). Robinson (1999) stated that 'slum clearance' initiatives around the world created less social cohesion, and enhances social exclusion. Furthermore, there are several possible means of social and spatial exclusion (Sibley, 1995). However, one of the initial means is

derived from the feelings that people have of the 'other' (Sibley, 1995, Wratten, 1995). Individuals' perceptions of one another, affect their social interactions with one another (Sibley, 1995, Wratten, 1995). Sibley (1995: 3) emphasises that, "Who is felt to belong and not to belong contributes in an important way to shaping social space". Sibley (1995) explains that how people feel about belonging to a particular space, shapes social space. Within society there are social divisions, and individuals tend to interact with others of similar characteristics. This type of socialising affects the spatial structure as it isolates certain groups from one another (Sibley, 1995; Scheinsohn and Cabrera, 2009). The idea of this isolation is to maintain social cohesion and conformity of a particular group, and therefore integration of a 'different' group, is perceived as a threat (Sibley, 1995). In most cases, hostility to 'others', is articulated because of this labelling of difference (Sibley, 1995; Iyenda, 2005). Furthermore, this labelling, although it may not be favourable to marginalised and excluded populations; attach people and places in complex ways (Sibley, 1995; Wratten, 1995). Sibley (1995) emphasised how psychologically rooted fears of the 'other' lead to exclusionary geographies at every spatial scale. Modern communities are structured according to social, economic and political similarities, and therefore these communities try to maintain these similarities by excluding individuals who are different and may sometimes disrupt this 'social order'. In most cases those who are excluded are generally the poor and marginalised individuals and they are viewed as a threat to city life (Mooney, 1999).

Santana (2002: 35) states that poverty and social exclusion are largely connected, "Poverty is a precarious position arising from economic and financial conditions". Economic and financial conditions are the 'roots' of poverty. The economy intensifies poverty, mainly when it passes through several generations, provoking social exclusion, specifically affecting lower income groups (Campos 2000, cited in Santana, 2002; Hamnett, 2001). It threatens stability and social cohesion (Campos 2000, cited in Santana, 2002). Although this exclusion has been acknowledged, socio-economic inequalities are widening such that there is a widening gap between the rich and the poor groups in society (Fainstein *et al*, 1992; Hamnett, 2001; Santana, 2002). Santana (2002: 35) refers to exclusion as, "a process that leads people to isolation, expelling them from social networks and from the consumption of essential goods and services, such as health care, that are available to other citizens". Exclusion is a very unfair and unequal system that disregards lower or marginalised individuals' needs and wants. Power and status, wealth and structures present in society, determine the amount of exclusion that an individual experiences in society.

This maybe somewhat superficial, however, these are the aspects that many societies are defined by. It is usually the poor groups in society that are excluded from attaining the same opportunities and access to resources as the wealthy groups in society (Santana, 2002), therefore leading to inequalities especially for the marginalised population. Social polarization is a term used to describe the emerging patterns of inequality in many cities (Lohnert *et al.*, 1998; Hamnett, 2001; Beall *et al.*, 2002; Thorns, 2002).

Social segregation and exclusion have been increasing in almost all societies including South Africa. Presently society, paying particular attention to Clare Estate, is socially constructed according to a social hierarchy that has exuded the patterns of social segregation and exclusion. These exclusions have a greater impact on the poorer and marginalized groups in society, since they are perceived as the 'other'. Campos (2000) (cited in Santana, 2002: 43) stated that, "the fight against exclusion should not be conservative". There should be measures in place to meet the needs and wants of every individual in society and the disparities of exclusion need to be eliminated. Measures to increase income (reducing poverty) should be followed by measures to reduce exclusion from the use of goods and services (Maharaj, 2002; Santana, 2002), thereby eliminating the social inequalities, especially faced by the marginalised poorer sectors in society. The following section examines how social inequalities and social segregation and exclusion of individuals within society are interrelated.

2.2.4 Social inequalities

The concept of social inequality has its 'roots' within the 'divided-city' approach. It is also largely associated with the social justice concept (which will be explained later in this chapter in Section 2.3). Social inequality largely focuses on the unequal relationships between individuals. Within society, due to over-emphasis on economic initiatives, social hierarchies become distinct. For example there is a distinct division between the residents in formal housing and residents in informal housing, in Clare Estate (Singh, 2005). The residents in formal housing have better access to basic necessities and are situated in proper housing, while the residents in informal housing do not have the opportunity to access these basic necessities or proper housing and have to live in shack dwellings. Inequalities are pronounced or become pronounced among the marginalised and excluded groups present in society. This section provides an explanation of social inequality as well as examine the characteristics of this concept in relation to the research. It should be emphasised that although social inequality is centred in the social sphere, there are

political, economical and environmental aspects that influence this concept. This section firstly attempts to define what equality entails, and then examines what social inequalities involve, with respect to social exclusion.

In order to understand social inequality, the concept of equality first needs to be addressed. Many authors or theorists treat justice and equality as one concept; however, this is not the right way to interpret either of them. In political theory there is a clear distinction made between equality and ideas such as 'uniformity', 'identity' and 'sameness'. Equality is not the enemy of human diversity nor is its goal to make every individual alike. Equality does not involve the uniformity of society; its aim is not to create clones within society. However, equality is about 'levelling' those conditions of social existence which are thought to be crucial to human well-being. Equality is a complex concept and we should ask ourselves as to how far should we promote equality? By what means? How do we measure how people should be equal? However, although attaining social justice is favoured, it should be emphasised that there are short comings to attaining 'full' social justice (Heywood, 1999).

Equality involves a combination of attributes such as formal, legal and substantive equality. Formal equality is where people are treated equally by rules of social practice (Honderich, 1980; Heywood, 1999). However, people may not have the same wealth and status as everyone else, and this gives rise to the notion of social inequality which will be examined shortly. Legal equality deals with the government and the rules that are exercised in society (Honderich, 1980; Heywood, 1999). Substantive equality, is when individuals start at one level, allowing for fairness (Honderich, 1980; Heywood, 1999). This type of equality allows for equal footing, everyone starting at a common ground, allowing for the empowerment of all individuals within a particular society. From this basic understanding of equality, one can explain the notion of social inequality.

Social inequality is a universal phenomenon that occurs in many countries, irrespective of whether they are the leading countries at the top of the global hierarchy or if they are countries at the bottom of the global hierarchy. Social inequality in spaces is largely attributed to the forces of capitalism (Rose, 1993; Butler and Hallows, 2002). Spaces are socially produced and consumed through the capitalist mode of production (Rose, 1993; Butler and Hallows, 2002). Therefore capitalism initiates social unevenness and inequalities in society. Spatial codes and capitalism isolate and separate fragments of

everyday life (Best and Struver, 2000; Butler and Hallows, 2002). This is evident when city planners are more concerned with the economic benefits rather than catering for the social needs of the citizens. Struggle over resources and access to certain basic needs and opportunities become evident, since individuals, especially the marginalised, realise that they are getting the 'short end of the stick'.

The levels of social inequalities within cities differ since some cities exude high levels of social inequalities while others exude low levels of social inequalities (Low and Gleeson, 1998; Radcliffe, 2004). Social inequalities have disastrous consequences on communities both on a local and global scale, since power is concentrated in the hands of a few (Low and Gleeson, 1998; Butler and Hallows, 2002; Radcliffe, 2004). The space of a society is seen as an instrument for those in power (Best and Struver, 2000). Spaces can be manipulated to benefit a certain few, which in most cases are the most powerful groups. Spaces are used as objects for these individuals to obtain and maintain their control over resources and opportunities, in detriment to the lower income individuals.

The social, political and economic development of society has increased the divide between the 'haves' and 'have-nots' (Best and Struver, 2000). In many ways this divide has largely to do with the nature of modern society, which is attributed to the institutional arrangements of the state and the social, political and economical structures that are present at the moment (Best and Struver, 2000). Certain individuals are faced with the inability to achieve certain goals or exercise their rights due to structural constraints present within society (Sibley, 1995; Wratten, 1995). These limitations therefore give rise to the inequalities that many marginalised individuals have to encounter. As a result certain individuals may be excluded from certain aspects within society, which has been emphasised in Section 2.2.3 regarding social exclusion. There has always been a gap (social divide) between the (upper class) most powerful and the (lower class) least powerful and whether the present African National Congress government is going to address the issues resulting from this gap is yet to be known.

Social inequalities result in social divisions between different groups in society, and these divisions influences the nature and outcome of community engagements. In some societies, structural constraints such as difference in the income brackets restrict individual engagement are. However, what needs to be noted is that the disadvantaged and marginalised population within a society are mostly affected. Within society, there are

political and economic structures that reproduce capitalist's modes of production and consumption (Kitchen and Tate, 2000; Radcliffe, 2004). These capitalistic systems largely impact on individuals, allowing some to benefit while disadvantaging others. As Marx argued, capital production largely influences the structure of society (Cloke *et al.*, 1991). There are structures that are in place that dictate an individual's decisions and choices, therefore limiting their 'own' choices. There is a hierarchy in society, dividing the groups of individuals; those that are benefiting from capital production are more advantaged, while those that are not are least advantaged. Consequently there are power relations within society that largely influence the social strata (Cloke *et al.*, 1991), thereby enhancing social inequalities.

From the above stated global understanding of the social divide between the different classes, and the inequalities faced by marginalised groups in society, the South African city is a good locality where this social divide and the inequalities are emphasised. Although apartheid policies have been dismantled, many South Africans are still feeling the effects of the oppressive and divisive policies such as those regarding access and occupation of land (Radcliffe, 2004; Christopher, 2005). In many spaces where unequal land access and occupation occurs and different social groups occupy the same space, social tension arises (van Kempen, 1998; Sachs-Jeantet, 2000). Although the post-apartheid government is trying to address these issues, especially with regards to access and occupation of land through different policies, practices and programmes, the full execution of these policies to benefit the marginalised population is yet to be seen.

Inequalities are largely present within societies; however, some people are uncaring to the disadvantages associated with the inequalities, while others are attempting to rectify the injustices present within societies due to the hierarchical nature within societies (van Kempen, 1998; Sachs-Jeantet, 2000; Christopher, 2005). Within society there is a social divide between the different classes. The South African society, particularly Clare Estate is characterised by social polarisation and exclusion. The ideal way of thinking is to allow all individuals irrespective of creed, race or religion to be given equal opportunities, however, this view is difficult to adopt, since individuals are diverse beings with different needs and wants. Some individuals' needs and wants exceed other individuals' needs and wants. Therefore a society without inequalities is difficult to obtain. Once these inequalities are realised, social and political conflict between individuals are emphasised. The idea here should be to manage and eliminate the inequalities associated with class. Due to these class

inequalities and social exclusions, conflict arises between individuals structured on differences, and this will be explained in the following section with regards to politics of space.

2.2.5 The politics of space

When untangling the concept of politics of space, it can be easily established that space is not just a mere physical object that is occupied, but it is a physical object that is entangled with social, political, economical and environmental characteristics. Laclau (1990: 68) states that, “politics of space are antinomic terms. Politics only exists in so far as the spatial elude us”. Antinomic, in that there are contradictions between politics and space. This concept of politics of space is utilised to illustrate the notions, the divided city, social inequalities, social justice, sense of place, and the ‘Not in my Backyard’ (NIMBY) concept. Some of these concepts mentioned above have been discussed in previous section, and the remaining concepts will be discussed in upcoming sections. This section attempts to provide a clear explanation of politics of space as well as present what aspects underly this concept, in relation to the study area.

Politics of space largely focuses on the relationships between individuals and the places that they occupy. Places are physical objects; however, they are spaces that embrace social relations. It is the everyday social interactions between people that define space. The politics of space focuses on how individuals make sense of the landscape they are in. Ley and Duncan (1993: 32) suggest, “landscapes and place are constructed by knowledgeable agents who find themselves inevitably caught up in a web of circumstances - economic, social, cultural and political”. People economically, politically and socially construct places. A number of theorists in the past, and presently, have analysed the characteristics of space and therefore it should be stated that the concept ‘space’ forms the underlying structure for many concepts. Societies are placed in geometry of power relations (Laclau, 1990; Massey, 1997; Oncu *et al.*, 1997, Best and Struver, 2000). There are differential power relations in space that shape the production of space and that sustain those power relations (Oncu *et al.*, 1997; Dikec, 2005). In modern society these power relations are attributed to a social hierarchy that outlines the spatial arrangement of individuals, which is evident in Clare Estate. This therefore means that they can reflect aspects of exclusion and inclusion which largely has to deal with the divided city debate and the inequalities associated with social justices concerns. Places are socially constructed and these constructions are founded on acts of exclusion (Cresswell, 2004, Oncu *et al.*, 1997).

'Space' is the outcome of the conflicts in society (Cresswell, 2004, Oncu *et al.*, 1997). All individuals in society have the ability to socially construct space, be it upper class, middle class or the underclass. However, those that are at the top of the hierarchy have the ability to manipulate space more than those at the bottom of the hierarchy. Those with power are taken more seriously and their interests are taken into consideration (Watson, 1999). It is only those individuals at the top of the hierarchy that benefit, therefore having repercussions for the individuals at the bottom of the hierarchy, thereby exuding inequalities. It is where these inequalities are embedded that the politics are emphasised.

These politics of space are realised when individuals place an 'imaginary divide' between one another which sometimes leads to unrest. Oelofse and Dodson (1997) refers to this gap as 'social-distancing'. This divide distinctly defines one group from another. Due to capitalistic modes of production, the needs of a certain group are favoured over others in society and this therefore causes political, social and economic imbalances in society (Robinson, 1992). In addition to this, due to this difference in viewpoints, conflicts arise in society. When conflicts become pronounced within a space, tensions arise between the individuals residing in that space and this can have a positive or negative outcome. Interrelation of space and power continues to become an intense and complex (Robinson, 1992; Massey, 1997; Oncu *et al.*, 1997). These interactions may be associated with negative or positive attributes. It should also be noted that it is these interactions that complicate space and these may in some instances cause social differences which in turn causes conflict. Individual relationships are complicated and are always fluctuating. They are influenced by a number of aspects such as class, race, social upbringing and culture. Individuals can coexist peacefully with one another; however, their relationships become strained when they hold opposing views with each other (Massey, 1997; Watson, 1999; Dikec, 2005). This is attributed to the fact that there are different groups with conflicting interests trying to maximise their benefits within society (Oncu *et al.*, 1997; Dikec, 2005). Furthermore, it must be emphasised that spaces are not political only due to the fact that they are embodied with different power relations or differences in interests, but that they are political in that spaces are multifaceted with different aspects present (Robinson, 1992).

In addition to this understanding of the politics and conflicts within space, Best and Struver (2000) examine how politics is aligned with place and identities. Identity and space has become significantly important in geography, especially in political geography. Best and Struver (2000) further explain, "critical spatial identities" in order to attempt to understand

this type of alignment. “Critical spatial identities” can likely be the outcome of an adherence to critical values (left-wing, multicultural, working-class), allied with a localised culture, firmly linked with a place. This is connected with the notion of “identity”. Individuals have a sense of belonging to places associated with these different groups, therefore allowing them to develop a spatial identity. However, many post-structuralist and deconstructivists find that the critique of these ideas is of great concern to identity, as well as to space and place. There is no such thing as a place or a community per se, but these are mere constructions of discussions and practices (Best and Struver, 2000).

Understanding the notion of the politics space allows one to understand the make-up of society. Politics of space pays particular attention to the different groups present in society, namely the bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie, working class and underclass. This concept further explains whether these groups are in accordance with one another or whether these groups are in constant conflict with one another. Understanding the complicated relationships between individuals is addressed in this section. It allows one to understand the issues that exist in space amongst different social groups or about certain activities that are present within spaces. Furthermore, the notion of the politics of space, allows one to understand the inequalities faced by the marginalised population of a society. Space is no longer viewed and limited to a geographical aspect, it encompasses so much more, such as social relations, political upheavals and so forth. Conflicts arise when the social inequalities are highlighted in society.

The ‘divided city’ is representative of the ideas surrounding society and space, effects of and social segregation, polarisation and exclusion within society. Understanding the aspects or structures that influence one’s relationship between the different groups in society is essential, in order to identify the underlying core aspects. There are complexities that underly every society in the modern and post-modern eras. Societies are heterogeneous entities that are intertwined with ever-changing economic, social, political and environmental aspects. Social exclusion and segregation have become exaggerated in many cities all over the world. The poorest and marginalised sectors are those that simultaneously feel the various impacts imposed by a divided city. In addition to this exclusion of the marginalised groups within society, territorial distinctions become important to address, since the spaces that a group are segregated to, are attached with meanings and are therefore ‘protected’ from ‘outsiders’, namely the poorer marginalised groups (Sibley, 1995; Wratten, 1995, Hecht, 1998). Furthermore, although this type of

social isolation catalyses the social divisions in society, social prejudices and stereotyping are also equally responsible for the increased divisions amongst people in society. How individuals perceive 'others' and whether they allow them entrance into their physical and social place becomes important when understanding the characteristics of the 'divided city', since stereotypical labelling enhances the divisions in society. In addition to social exclusion and social divisions within society, social inequalities become pronounced. Therefore conflicts within space become evident with regard to addressing these social inequalities. Place becomes political in that it becomes the polemical place where a wrong can be addressed and equality can be demonstrated (Dikec, 2005). Social justice is explained in the following section, as it offers the prospect of a solution to the 'divided city' issues, such as territoriality, prejudices, stereotypes, social segregation, polarisation, social exclusion, social inequalities and lastly politics of space.

2.3 Social justice

The issue of acquiring equal standing and equal access to certain resources in terms of economic power, wealth, and contribution, is evident amongst many societies today. Who gets *what? how?*, and *when?* have become principle questions in terms of unpacking social justice. This section attempts to provide a clear definition of and the characteristics of social justice, the principles that underly this concept, as well as acknowledge the 'roots' of social justice. This section is developed in accordance with its relevance in the research.

Examining social justice allowed one to examine the societal fragmentation of society and the uneven distribution and access to resources in Clare Estate. The concept addresses issues regarding inequality and shared (re)distribution of benefits within society, since these aspects are relevant to the research. Social justice is a very important concept with regards to understanding who has access and who does not have access to certain opportunities, services and sustaining one's basic needs and wants (access to proper housing, water and electricity) (Coleman and Morris, 1998; Heywood, 1999; Visser, 2001; Clayton and Williams, 2004).

Social justice is derived from the idea of justice. More specifically, it is justice in respect of society. The notion of justice tends to encompass the idea of social justice. Many theorists have advocated the concept of social justice and the social justice literature emerged in response to practices that have brought about social injustices. Rawls (1971, 1997) idea of justice touches on the many aspects of social justice and will be unpacked in this section.

Heywood (1999) provides an excellent definition of the concept of social justice which will be explored in the research. Carter (2001) and Scott and Oelofse (2005), to name but a few, support the ideas following the concept social justice. The research undertaken, with regards to the illegal occupation of land by the informal community in Clare Estate, also examines the geographical aspect of social justice, examining social justice in a city. Smith's (2004) *Social Justice and the (South African) City: Retrospect and Prospect*, presents an excellent understanding of social justice in a South African context, regarding a city, and therefore his work will structure the geographical aspect of this section. Examining justice in relation to urban space contributes to a deep and full understanding of the factors that impede or support the aspects of social justice in a set physical and geographical realm.

Adopting the ideas behind justice and social justice is envisioned as an 'ideal'. Social justice centres on society and individuals; the social relationships embedded within society and how individuals in society interact socially with each other (Heywood, 1999). Advocates by the supporters of this concept, emphasise that society will run efficiently and effectively only by the 'full' adoption of this concept. Furthermore, like justice, whether social justice will be fully experienced by every individual within society is debatable; this is largely due to the fact that there are outside influences such as economic, political and social influences that prevent one from obtaining full justice, in this case social justice. The following section will explore the definition of social justice.

2.3.1 The characteristics and critique of social justice

Firstly, this section provides an understanding of justice. Secondly, this section presents a definition of social justice as well as it examines some of the characteristics and principles upon which the social justice concept is structured upon. Furthermore, this section also provides some of the critiques that some theorists have placed forward on the 'full' adoption of social justice in modern society.

The 'roots' of social justice is developed from the 'roots' of justice. In order to understand social justice, an explanation of justice will be presented. Justice makes clear the 'even-handedness' or fair-dealings within society or community. Justice means lawfulness and equalities, just is fair and unjust is unequal (Kelsen, 1957; Rawls, 1971; Rawls, 1997; Daniels, 2003). Justice like social justice is seen as centred on the concept of fairness associated with social organisations and practices (Rawls, 1971; Rawls, 1997; Daniels,

2003; Freeman, 2003; Dixon and Ramutsindela, 2006). Justice attempts to allow one to question what standards society should meet if individuals adopt the ideas of fairness and equality. The theory of justice requires that we treat every individual with respect, and that all individuals in society are free and equal, and that there should be fewer inequalities in society. Furthermore, justice has a function for making good laws and distinguishing the good from the bad laws (Rawls, 1971; Jaques, 1976; Rawls, 1997; Freeman, 2003; Farrelly, 2004).

There are two principles that encompass justice. This first principle, the principle of equal basic liberty, suggests that everyone is entitled to the same amount of liberty and people are entitled to their rights and freedom (Rawls, 1971; Rawls, 1997; McDonald, 2004; Daniels, 2003). This is seen as an egalitarian and libertarianism based concept, which emphasises the notion of democracy, equality, freeness and classlessness (Daniels, 2003). Individuals within society are seen as equal beings all entitled to equal opportunities allowing for a less segregated society. The second principle of justice, the difference Principle, argues that social and economic inequalities should be structured so that they are both (a) to the greatest benefit of the least advantaged persons, and (b) attached to work-place and positions open to all under circumstances of equality of opportunity (Rawls, 1997; Freeman, 2003). There are two parts to this second principle. The first part is not egalitarian, as it only benefits a certain few. This part of the principle emphasizes that inequalities are good only if the poor and those who are trying to improve the rest of society are the ones who benefits from certain opportunities (Rawls, 1997; McDonald, 2004). Secondly, individuals equally must attain desirable positions, and that a person's fate should not depend on the social circumstances of their upbringing (Rawls, 1971; Rawls, 1997; Storelli, n.d). These principles describe justice to be morally good. This principle allows every individual who is equally talented to be deserving of the same opportunities in the work place. It is critical to adopt these principles in order to obtain full justice. The combination of the two principles together requires that society maximise the worth to the least advantaged of the complete scheme of equal liberty shared by all (Daniels, 2003; Freeman, 2003; Farrelly, 2004). Therefore, from this understanding of justice the next paragraph introduces and examines the ideas behind social justice.

Heywood (1999: 296) defines social justice as that which, “stands for a morally defensible distribution of benefits or records in society, evaluated in terms of wages, profits, housing, medical care, welfare benefits and so forth”. This definition is enlightening because its

core argument is about distributing the benefits amongst every individual in society equally, thus giving every person equal access to housing, wealth and health care. This concept advocates equality of opportunity for all members in society. It tends to eliminate the barrier of difference that separates individuals from each other, and therefore in turn tries to dissolve the gap between the 'haves' and the 'have nots' in society. In other words, adopting this concept will allow for the inclusion of the marginalised and excluded individuals in society, thereby promoting the cohesion of society. This type of justice is associated with the social well-being of society (Coleman and Morris, 1998; Heywood, 1999; Visser, 2001; Mitchell, 2003). Social justice is largely focused on the conditions under which marginalised individuals (Heywood, 1999; Clayton and Williams, 2004; Mitchell, 2003). Thus, the adoption of this concept hopes to correct the injustices that marginalised individuals experience. Social justice, as understood by modern liberal thinkers, refers to the attempt to restructure the social order in accordance with moral principles, by correcting the social injustices that may be present in society (Coleman and Morris, 1998; Mitchell, 2003). It tends to successfully address the processes that have brought upon social injustices. Social justice is about the distribution of benefits and services, for example, health care in societies, for the benefit and improvement of the lives of individuals, especially the poor or marginalised individuals.

There are three equality principles that Heywood (1999) mentions that will allow for social justice to be maintained, that is, 'formal equality', 'legal equality' and 'substantive equality'. Formal equality emphasises that people should be treated equally regarding the rules of social practices. Legal equality emphasises government rule. And substantive equality emphasises that every individual should start at one level, so the future can be prosperous (Heywood, 1999; 2000). Although all three equality principles are favourable, individuals do not have the same economic or social standing as each other, and therefore the idea of justice needs to be broadened. Also, the upbringing of an individual can influence his/hers aspirations, therefore this adds strain to obtaining and adopting 'full' social justice, since there are barriers to attaining equal and fair benefits within society. Life chances may reflect aspirations, motivations, and realised abilities, which social background are in turn affects (Young, 1990; McGann, 2006). While people with equal abilities and motivations have equal chances, people born into different social classes develop different abilities and make different efforts (Sandel, 1992; McGann, 2006). Differences in life chances reflect differences in social background and are also determined

with respect to the differences in natural endowment (Young, 1990; Sandel, 1992; McGann, 2006).

Concern for social justice is incorporated into a well developed and extensively debated body of knowledge that addresses issues around relative deprivation and fairness (Rawls, 1971; Harvey, 1973; Rawls, 1997). The social well-being of individuals is given paramount importance in consideration of social justice, however, one must not ignore the political, economic and environmental aspects of social justice since they are all interwoven and largely influence one another. Heywood (1999: 296) thus explains that, “Social justice is therefore about ‘who gets what’”. It is about which individuals deserve certain opportunities and resources. Consequently this emphasises the morally justifiable distribution of social and economic gains throughout the whole society (Heywood, 1999; Clayton and Williams, 2004). Carter (2001) argued that social justice is about distributing opportunities, rights and resources among people in society.

While the distribution of wealth and income need not be equal, it must be to everyone’s advantage, and positions of authority must be accessible to all (Rawls, 1971; Rawls, 1997). Rawls (1997) informs that economic barriers are some of the main sources of social injustice, which is evident with regards to residents in the informal settlements in Clare Estate (Singh, 2005). Due to economic advancements and capitalism certain individuals are excluded. These are seen as obstacles that prevent people from securing the positions in the job market. This exclusion therefore results in social, economic and political inequalities, which contributes to the particular spatial arrangement of individuals within society. This is evident in Clare Estate because there is a spatial distinction of the residents in formal and informal housing. The marginalised groups have to bear the brunt of such capitalist markets since economic recognition and power are given paramount importance, ignoring the needs and wants of the poorer communities in society. Protecting the basic rights of individuals as well as ensuring that they have a chance to compete fairly for jobs and public office promotes advances in all the areas that contribute to human flourishing (Rawls, 1971; Rawls, 1997). Society is so diverse that certain individuals are more disadvantaged and benefit less in comparison to others; thus social justice tends to rectify address uneven socio-economic development (Coleman and Morris, 1998). This notion attempts to include all individuals at the same level, instead of only benefiting just a handful. Social justice is used to give reason for, and to address the inequalities present within societies (Coleman and Morris, 1998). The fair and equal distribution of benefits

within society is important in understanding social justice (Coleman and Morris, 1998). Recognising the injustices, be it economical, social, political and environmental, is the initial step to achieving social justice.

Social justice largely centres on equity and the idea of what is fair and just. It attempts to allow for equity and benefits to be equally distributed within society (Scott and Oelofse, 2005). It is a normative discourse which therefore promotes the most vulnerable groups in society that have suffered from historical forms of exploitation and neglect (Scott and Oelofse, 2005). Social justice concentrates on, “issues of inequity through social redistribution of the benefits of society” (Scott and Oelofse, 2005: 9). It is especially adopted to benefit the marginalised and poorer socio-economic groups, allowing them to enjoy the same benefits as the higher socio-economic groups present in society. Social justice was conventionally viewed as concerning distribution among the population of a particular geographical unit, evidently the nation state (Smith, 2002; Smith, 2004). Traditionally social justice was concerned with the distribution of resources amongst a particular group of marginalised individuals. Smith (2004: 1) stated that prioritising the prospects of the least advantaged, reflected a central feature of the liberal egalitarian theory of justice that John Rawls expounded (Rawls, 1971; 1997). Marginalised individuals that were socially displaced in society were given paramount consideration in order to address the uneven social and economic structure of society. Therefore, the idea of democracy and viewing all individuals as equal was of paramount importance in this condition. Social justice challenges the status quo by developing and proposing changes in the economic and social relations to prevent social crisis and environmental deterioration (Blowers and Pain 2001, cited in Scott and Oelofse, 2005). Furthermore, Smith (2004) identifies that there are four concerns that characterise social justice. The first one is concerned with the distribution of means of human well-being though there are differences about certain means, such as primary goods, basic needs and opportunities. The second is with (in)equality, though there are differences about the crucial dimension, such as race and gender. The third is with the structure of society and its institutions though there are differences about the aspect of social identity and relations such as class and culture. Finally, the fourth mentions the need to be condensed in order to reach conclusions of injustice (Smith, 2004). Social justice’s main concern is the protection of individual rights and freedoms, and if government is needed to enforce that every individual is equal and deserves equal opportunities, the rule of the structures and rules of the state need to be adhered to.

In order to highlight social injustices, Smith (2004) examined the South African city. During apartheid the majority of South Africans were displaced and exploited in order to strengthen the apartheid system. Blacks were restricted to areas that had limited services and had no access to fair and equal opportunities. The handful that benefited during the apartheid era were the white minority citizens in South Africa. There were a number of discriminatory laws that ensured racial injustices (Peffer, 1990; Smith, 2002; Smith, 2004). However, only after the end of the apartheid regime and the development of a new post-apartheid government were these social injustices addressed. The introduction of Reconstruction and Development Programme and Growth, Employment and Redistribution were developed to answer some of these inaccuracies of past governments (Smith, 2004). However, amidst all of these programmes and policies there still exist social injustices. Furthermore, although there has been a shift to democratic governance, it is difficult to examine the progress of adopting a liberal-egalitarian conception of social justice in South African cities, because of apartheid laws and policies. There is currently a distinct divide between the rich and the poor in South African cities. The affluent minority seems to increasingly seek exclusion, behind walls of gated communities (Smith, 2004) and the poor are still seen as occupying sub-standard housing, in some cases make-shifts shacks. There are formidable obstacles facing further progress in the direction of social justice (Smith, 2004; McGann, 2006). Attaining full social justice is problematic.

Although it is favourable to achieve a 'socially just society', in today's modern era, achieving 'full' social justice is unattainable. This notion is still a contested issue (Sandel, 1992; Heywood, 1999; Heywood, 2000). Capitalistic motives are what drive individuals in the contemporary world and therefore the total adoption of the social justice theory is a grey area. Although one can argue that it is only fair to adopt this principle, markets dictate the lives of certain individuals, since they provide personal benefits to their social well-being. However, it is not to say that certain aspects of justice and social justice cannot be implemented, but that adopting these principles to the full extent seems an unrealistic vision. Presently, in society there is an uneven distribution of rights and resources. There will always be a hierarchical placement of individuals within society where a certain group of individuals is largely favoured over another group of individuals (Choptiany, 1973; Gastil, 1975). This divide is noticeable when an individual's needs are favoured over others. For that reason, costs and benefits within society are unevenly distributed and this is where the understanding of social justice becomes paramount (Hayek, 1978).

Fairness, free-will and equality are notions that need not be taken lightly if a society needs to be run effectively and efficiently, and justly. Rawls (1971; 1997) states that 'fair play' in a state is important to its stability. Rawls (1997) emphasised that the adoption of a liberal and egalitarian view-point will ensure a society is stable. However, social justice critiques share concerns with the distribution of means of well-being and structures of society and institutions that perpetuate inequalities (Harvey, 1973; Pred, 1984; Smith, 2004). Although some regard it as something which is linked to egalitarianism and acts as little more than a code for equality, others view it as a cover for the growth of state control and government interference (Heywood, 1999; Clayton and Williams, 2004). Some theorists believe that social justice reconstructs moral principles and order, and others believe it increases state rule in society (Heywood, 1999; Heywood, 2000). The state is what governs society, and therefore there are certain limitations that are employed in order to run society efficiently. Consequently, local structures fulfil a role in regulating the distribution of society's benefits and burdens (Visser, 2001; Clayton and Williams, 2004). Therefore this control can have negative effects for the individuals within society.

Social justice, like justice, has very similar attributes relating to the protection of the least advantaged groups and fair and equal treatment and distribution of benefits amongst individuals within society. Heywood (1999) definition of the term social justice, which involves distribution of benefits or records in society, evaluated in terms of wages, profits, housing, medical care and welfare benefits, is beneficial to this research. Social justice attempts to allow for equity and benefits to be distributed equally within society. Social justice is seen as an important concept in civil society. There are many advocates (theorists) who propound the importance of adopting this 'idea' in order for the effective and efficient management of society. Many emphasise that the adoption of this concept is favourable in society. Although Social justice has many benefits, however, as stated above, society cannot fully adopt the concept, since society is diverse and comprises of a hierarchy of different social groups all of which have different wants and needs, which is evident in Clare Estate. A 'socially just society' seems like a favourable option and, the diversity which society is structured upon needs to be taken into account. Within every society inequalities and unequal distribution of benefits in society are going to be present and the social and economic hierarchies make it difficult to attain social justice.

Smith's (2002; 2004) ideas relating to social justice and the city seem to be very beneficial, since examining the idea of justice in geographical terms is very enlightening. Smith tends

to examine the narrow version of social justice in a South African city. Although the apartheid regime has been dismantled and some of the injustices corrected, however, the effects of the apartheid legislations are still present in contemporary South African cities, and therefore many individuals still encounter some of the injustices within these cities, especially the marginalised poor populations. The study area examined in the research was a good example where the concept of social justice has not been fully realised and where the injustices are still prevalent amongst the poor and marginalised individuals, in this case the residents in informal settlements. The South African government like other governments across the globe is trying to address the social injustices present in many cities. From this understanding of the concept, one is able to understand the politics and tensions that may arise due to the inequalities present amongst the individuals in society. The following section will examine the notion of a 'sense of place'.

2.4 Sense of place

The concept of 'sense of place' largely focuses on the relationships between individuals and place. Place and space are not seen as just physical objects, but objects or localities that have meaning. The notion of a 'sense of place' attempts to explain an individual's attachment to a particular place (McCreanor *et al.*, 2006; Hernandez *et al.*, 2007). Sometimes the level of intensity that an individual has to a place varies, since a particular place such as a home may have more significance than that person's favourite shopping centre is situated (McCreanor *et al.*, 2006; Hernandez *et al.*, 2007). This concept provides an understanding of the value of space, that individuals have attached to places. Particularly, this concept provided an understanding of the value that the residents in formal housing have attached to their neighbourhood. This section attempts to provide a clear explanation of sense of place as well as present what aspects underlie this concept. Once an individual's 'sense of place' is impacted upon, the NIMBY stance becomes realised, since people adopt this stance in order to maintain the same attachment or meaning to a specific place, therefore this is also discussed in Section 2.5.

The concept 'sense of place' has been used by many social theorists to understand the complexities of the relationship between people and places (location) (McCreanor *et al.*, 2006; Hernandez *et al.*, 2007). Sense of place is one of the ways in which many geographers have attempted to address the complex linkages between individuals' well-being and physical location (McCreanor *et al.*, 2006). It therefore allows one to understand the linkages whether political, social or economic that people have with regards to physical

locations. Places are entities that people attach strong bonds too (McCreanor *et al.*, 2006; Hernandez *et al.*, 2007). However, the ideas of a sense of place are not concrete, since it is a complex term. Ley (1983, cited in McCreanor *et al.*, 2006) states that this construct contributes to ways of thinking and talking about specific places, their liveability and their impacts, be it positive or negative on well-being and belonging.

In order to understand the concept of sense of place, one needs to understand what 'place' entails. Some theorists have a very narrow understanding of place, that is, they view places as just having a physical aspect and these understandings need to be acknowledged and addressed. However, Cresswell (2004) states that places should not be something to be observed, researched and written about, but are themselves part of the way individuals see, research and write. Place is not a specialised piece of academic terminology (Cresswell, 2004). Place allows us to understand the political, social and economic relations that are present within many societies.

With the understanding of place in a more holistic manner, the aspects of place become apparent. A political geographer, Agnew (1987, cited in Cresswell, 2004) has outlined three fundamental aspects of place as a 'meaningful location': 1) location, 2) locale and 3) sense of place (Agnew 1987, cited in Cresswell, 2004). With respect to 'location', places have fixed co-ordinates on the earth's surface (Agnew 1987, cited in Cresswell, 2004). However, one must note that the types of places are different, meaning places do not have to be static (Agnew 1987, cited in Cresswell, 2004). By 'locale', Agnew (1987, cited in Cresswell, 2004) means the material setting for social relations - the actual shape of place within which people conduct their lives as individuals. Agnew (1987, cited in Cresswell, 2004) further states that place has concrete form. Places have a distinct physical characteristic and are material things (Agnew 1987, cited in Cresswell, 2004). Places used to be envisioned as physical entities or objects.

Although places have a location and a material form, places must also have some sort of relationship to humans and the human capacity to produce and consume meaning (Cresswell, 2004). Individuals form a bond to the landscape in which they are located. By 'sense of place', Agnew (1987, in Cresswell, 2004: 7) means, "the subjective and emotional attachment people have to a place". Places therefore are social, since individuals have an emotional attachment to places. Cosgrave (2000, in McCreanor *et al.*, 2006: 196) describes sense of place as, "...sentiments of attachment and detachment that human

beings experience, express and contest in relation to specific places”. Individuals have social intimate investments that are embedded within spaces (Hay, 1998; Mazanti, 2007). It is a complex concept which is linked to peoples’ association with an area and it varies across the spectrum of a community. This is largely due to the level of attachment that individuals assign to a specific location. Sense of place in these terms constitutes a psychological response (Hay, 1998).

In addition to these aspects of place, there are two concepts that are usually accompanied with place, firstly ‘space’ and secondly ‘landscape’. Firstly, with respect to space and place, ‘...space is a more abstract concept than place’ (Cresswell, 2004: 8). Therefore spaces are not merely physical components, but components with meaning. Cresswell (2004) argues that spaces have areas and volumes and places have space between them. Space has been seen as a distinction to place, as a realm without meaning, as a fact of life, producing the basic co-ordinates for human life (Cresswell, 2004). Individuals endow meaning to spaces and then become attached to it, and in turn become places (Cresswell, 2004).

Secondly, the concept of landscape is also important in understanding the meaning of place. Jackson (1997, cited in Cresswell, 2004: 10) refers to landscape as, “...a portion of the earth’s surface that can be viewed from one spot”. A landscape is a piece of land that can be viewed from a particular spot. Landscapes are viewed to be different from places, in that, with landscapes the viewer is outside of it, while with regards to place, places are very much things to be inside of (Cresswell, 2004). Therefore this gives place a type of social connotation, allowing individuals to form a sort of relationship with place, instead of viewing it as an object. Places are more than just merely physical possessions; they are spaces where there are transfers of social, political and economic interactions, which individuals attach meaning too.

Furthermore, Massey (1997: 220) states that geographers have reconsidered places as sets of ‘stretched out social relations’. From this, one can denote that places are constructed through different kinds of social relations by individuals over time and space. Places regardless of form, for example, a residential neighbourhood, are constructed on a set of social relations (Massey, 1997; Singh, 2005; McCreanor *et al.*, 2006; Hernandez *et al.*, 2007). Not only are they constructed from social relations or processes, but places give rise to various levels of belonging. In addition, Fennell (1997, cited in McCreanor *et al.*, 2006)

states that the experience of belonging nowadays transcends community within a place and as an alternative invariably reflects no necessary connection between nearness and significance. Belonging is assumed to be linked with kinship, stability and a bounded community (Massey, 1997; McCreanor *et al.*, 2006). The understanding of belonging allows us to scrutinize the construct of a sense of place. Social factors involving the experience of belonging are at least as significant as physical structures, with social relations often developing from contact centred on physical structures in the physical environment (McCreanor *et al.*, 2006). Constructions of belongings are clearly central to conceptualisation of sense of place in geographical literature (Smith, 2004). Individual experience of belonging can be the adhesive linking place and identity (McCreanor *et al.*, 2006, Hernandez *et al.*, 2007). Furthermore, a sense of place or belonging is not restricted to a particular type of individual; everyone has a sense of place or adults. Some individuals, may for example, have a stronger attachment to a place compared to another individual who may, or may not, be of the same social construct (such as race, gender, income and class).

Understanding and examining an urban setting in terms of the cultural experiences and belonging individuals attach to a location is of significance. It is important to discern how social attachments and belonging to places are connected to individual cultural distinctiveness or identities. Places have unique and fluid identities that can be understood through broader social relations from which they are created (Massey, 1997; McCreanor *et al.*, 2006). Places are therefore important to peoples' identities. Proskansky further concord *et al.* (1983, in McCreanor *et al.*, 2006), that a sense of place is influenced by 'place identity' or by people's associations with the physical and social dimensions of a location. Identity involves feelings and experiences embedded in social relations; feelings and attachment to places are connected with identity because places potentially represent features of how individuals define themselves (McCreanor *et al.*, 2006; Hernandez *et al.*, 2007). Individuals seek comfort of belonging somewhere.

In addition, McCreanor state *et al.* (2006: 198) that, "peoples sense of place is therefore shaped, both by locational characteristics and the metaphorical 'place-in-the-world' they experience mediated by their social, cultural and psychological contexts". As a result of these characteristics individuals attach a sense of belonging to certain places and therefore try to maintain the type of attachment they have to a place. However, it is difficult to measure one's sense of place since there are a number of characteristics that need to be

taken into account. Sense of place and attachment (belonging) in urban settings arise from the interplay of geographical and social features of certain residential areas in an interactive dynamic that can have impacts in individual life experiences (McCreanor *et al.*, 2006). Therefore an individual's sense of place can be impacted upon. Social and economic change can threaten a traditional sense of place with consequent damage to local social cohesion and the benefits that flow from social relations (Le Heron and Pawson, 1996; Kearns and Joseph, 1997). From this, one can conclude that a sense of place does impact on a psychological level, moulding residents' sense of identity to a point where it becomes a 'comfort zone' in a challenging city (McCreanor *et al.*, 2006; Hernandez *et al.*, 2007). In western societies, a loss of a sense of place is common place as the forces of globalisation have eroded local cultures and produced homogenised global spaces. As a result many individuals experience a sense of 'placelessness' which will be discussed shortly.

Although one can argue that this social cohesion will be beneficial to many societies, allowing for exchange in broader social relationships, increasing the flow of capital, therefore allowing for a development of stronger economies throughout the globe, however, these advantages also provoke negative effects. Social and economic change can threaten a traditional 'sense of place' with consequent damage to local social cohesion and the benefits that flow from social relations (Le Heron and Pawson, 1996; Kearns and Joseph, 1997). Furthermore, a 'threat' to an individual's 'sense of place' results in that individual feeling displaced from the place that they attach meaning to. A key determinant of 'sense of place' is the degree to which people feel included and accepted within the institutional fabric of a community or neighbourhood (McCreanor *et al.*, 2006). Relph (1976, cited in Cresswell, 2004) makes a distinction between insiderness and outsiderness in human experience of place. To be inside a place, allows one to belong to it and identify with it, and the more intensely inside you are, the identity with the place is stronger (Cresswell, 2004). Contrary to this, outsiderness involves the alienation from place which is the antithesis of an unreflective sense of belonging that comes from being an existential insider (Cresswell, 2004). Furthermore, Relph (1976, cited in Cresswell, 2004) argues that we are surrounded by placelessness, marked by an inability to have authentic relationships to place because the new placelessness does not allow people to become existential insiders. This exclusion is largely influenced by the territorial nature that individuals have over their territories (Sack, 1986, Hecht, 1998). It also should be ascertained that these territorial distinctions displace many individuals, namely the poorer income become

marginalised individuals in society, resulting in a cycle of inequalities and this in turn has implications in attaining social justice in many societies (Sack, 1986, Hecht, 1998, Visser, 2001, Mitchell, 2003), this is apparent amongst the formal and informal residents in Clare Estate.

From the above explanation of sense of place one can observe that individuals are social beings who attach meaning to familiar places, allowing for a sense of belonging to be attained. Sense of place allows one to understand the symbolic, cultural and emotional attachment that individuals have with places that they reside (McCreanor *et al.*, 2006). Once meanings are attached to a place, individuals tend to object to any activity or development that will disrupt their attachment to a particular place. This is where the NIMBY concept/stance becomes evident, which will be explained in the following section.

2.5 'Not In My Backyard' (NIMBY)

'Not In My Backyard' (NIMBY) is an opposition stance to a certain activity that may have negative effects. NIMBY is dependent on the sense of place concept, since it focuses on the type of attachment an individual has to a place and the types of relationships that are formed. Places are embedded with meaning and individuals have a direct and indirect relationship with the places that they occupy or are attached with (McCreanor *et al.*, 2006; Hernandez *et al.*, 2007). This section attempts to provide a clear explanation of NIMBY as well as present what aspects underlie this stance.

The NIMBY stance is linked to the concept of sense of place is, since the types of attachment people attach to a place depend on the actions of those individuals to maintain the area as they expect it to be as well as the meaning that is embedded within it (Wolsink, 1994; Watson, 1999; McCreanor *et al.*, 2006; Hernandez *et al.*, 2007). The NIMBY concept is a construct that many individuals adopt in opposition to a development or activity that impedes and impacts on their social well-being within their neighbourhood (Wolsink, 1994; Watson, 1999). Take, for example, the opposition of the residents in formal housing towards the presence of informal settlements in Clare Estate (Singh, 2005). Many theories regarding NIMBY have been used in different contexts, which therefore makes NIMBY a difficult concept to define. Take, for example, Dear (1992) who states that individuals adopt this stance to protect their own property (social space). NIMBY is therefore a complex concept, since it encompasses multiple aspects of spatial conflict and will therefore be used in the research (Wolsink, 1994; Watson, 1999).

Cities are constituted by intense juxtaposition of different activities and people and this therefore leads to conflicting interests especially with regards to development (Watson, 1999). Individuals put their needs and wants first, it becomes of paramount importance that these needs are met and not impacted upon. This concept largely places an individual's interests first before community interest. Interests of local residents are entangled with their behavioural motives (Wolsink, 1994). Thus, the NIMBY concept largely focuses on individual and community attitudes. Additionally, this term is given to the resistance to a proposed development which residents object to, because of perceived negative impacts. If the risks exceed the benefits or when there are increased disadvantages on the welfare of an individual or individuals, the NIMBY stance is adopted (Wolsink, 1994). This concept is adopted when development occurs and there are disadvantages at a local level, it also examines how costs are emphasised in one area and how there is local opposition towards a certain view (Wolsink, 1994). These NIMBY struggles often arise from urban decision-making initiatives concerning developments over which local residents have little say (Watson, 1999). Institutions of urban governance, such as private developers and road authorities often administer decisions-making initiatives, which local communities often oppose (Watson, 1999). These decisions are often made which affect local people with little concern as to what the effects and consequences might be towards them (Watson, 1999).

Once this NIMBY stance is adopted and recognised, developments occasionally are slowed down since the placement of community interest is made supreme (Wolsink, 1994; Watson, 1999). This has tedious repercussions for municipalities within cities. Radical changes in decision-making procedures are proposed with consequences for the level of influence which the public, environmental groups, local authorities and regional interest groups can have in the future (Wolsink, 1994). This term has also resulted in the development of other terms such as LULU's (locally unwanted land uses) and NIABY (Not in anyone's backyard), to name a few (Dear, 1992; Wolsink, 1994).

Furthermore, Dear (1992: 7) expresses that, "NIMBY is the result of a social dilemma characterised by a spatial separation of advantages and disadvantages". Therefore the 'root' of the stance NIMBY is a characteristic of a social issue that encompasses both advantages and disadvantages. Take for example the opposition towards the presence of an informal settlement within a formal residential neighbourhood, since these informal settlements are seen as a disadvantage to society. Wolsink (1994: 845) argues that, "in

theory, the NIMBY phenomena may be a social dilemma; in practice, however, this is only a social dilemma if the assumptions behind the NIMBY policy are indeed true". There are contradictions to this stance; some view it as a social dilemma itself, instead of a stance addressing a social dilemma. The reason for this is due to the fact that adopting this stance allows for only a few to be 'heard', ignoring the 'voices' of others. Although the individuals of informal settlements in Clare Estate are displaced due to certain structural aspects and although they are marginalised, they are seen in a negative connotation, and therefore these are type of developments that no individuals want in their areas. This concept largely centres on aspects such as public participation and involvement, allowing the public to have a position in society and allowing them to make decisions that will be beneficial to them presently as well as in the future. Some of the strategies that individuals adopt when opposing a certain development that is having unwanted affects on their well-being, are the use of the media, petitions and sometimes demonstrations (Dear, 1992).

There are four factors that determine community attitudes towards a facility, namely community characteristics, facility characteristics, host community characteristics and lastly programmatic considerations (Dear, 1992). Community characteristics as Dear (1992) states is when attitudes towards differences are hierarchically arranged, where differences are accepted or rejected. This type of characteristic places certain interests above others, thereby creating an unequal spatial arrangement amongst the community members (Dear, 1992). The facility characteristics impact on a community's perceptions in terms of operational activity and appearance (Dear, 1992). Furthermore, community members adopt an opposition stance if a facility or development is operating in a negative manner (Dear, 1992). Host community characteristics are similar to the community characteristic, where familiarity with a certain facility results in tolerance (Dear, 1992). In this case, if a facility occupies a location for a long period of time, members of the community tend to encounter and accept the consequences created from this facility. Lastly programmatic considerations, is whereby facilities try to gain acceptance through community communications (Dear, 1992). This last factor occurs when facilities create opportunities for communication, thereby enhancing a better relationship between themselves and the community (Dear, 1992).

Following the four characteristics that determine community attitudes, Wolsink (1994) emphasises that there are six implicit assumptions regarding this stance. Firstly, the decision-making on local facility siting is difficult, entails that public participation is of

great importance (Wolsink, 1994). Decisions are complicated and involve the involvement of the public and local authorities, in order to approve a certain development (Wolsink, 1994). Secondly, the projects involved represent 'higher' interests than those of the local population, highlights that the interest which the national or provincial authorities defend is a public good, and therefore of a 'higher' order than the interests of the local community (Wolsink, 1994). The whole society is given paramount importance here, although a particular community may not receive the benefits, but it may be beneficial to a society on a whole. Projects are characterised by 'higher' order interests, therefore emphasising power relations in society, since one group of individual interest prevail over another (Wolsink, 1994). Thirdly, everyone is agreed on the value of these facilities (Wolsink, 1994). This assumption denotes that individuals realise a particular development is seen as useful and therefore there is a general acceptance of such development (Wolsink, 1994). The benefits are welcomed by the individuals.

This assumption also emphasises the power relations in society since the needs of the minority (who may not benefit from the development and who are against the development) are ignored and sacrificed for the benefit of the majority (Wolsink, 1994). Fourthly, everyone prefers not to have facilities in their own backyard, stresses that individuals reject developments that could negatively impact on their social well-being (Wolsink, 1994). The assumption here, is that people's interests are of 'lower' order (Wolsink, 1994). Fifthly, people would rather have facilities situated in someone else's backyard' (Wolsink, 1994). This put emphasis on the fact that that people do not want development that could be negative to their well-being in their own backyard, but would prefer it to be located elsewhere, in someone else's backyard (Wolsink, 1994). Lastly, the feelings and views are static, maintains that the people do not look at the benefits of a development, but rather they focus on the cost of that development in their community (Wolsink, 1994).

The concept of NIMBY is important in the research since it examines the individual's (residents in formal housing) position with regards to development (informal settlements), whether they will reject it or accept it. Individuals attach a certain personal meaning to an area as a result of this type of attachment; any changes to a particular place can be unwanted by individuals of the area. This is where the NIMBY concept becomes apparent. This concept allows one to examine the relationship individuals have with the places they live in. NIMBY is a type of opposition stance that individuals adopt when development or

an activity in their area is unwanted (Dear, 1992; Singh, 2005). This is possibly due to the disadvantages that may arise due to the development or activity within that particular area. The NIMBY concept allows one to analyse the perceptions of individuals on certain types of development or activities within an area, which maybe negative or positive. However, there are mixed feelings of adopting this stance, since it sometimes only benefits a few and excludes others. Furthermore, this stance or notion emphasises the divisions in society since it tends to promote the exclusion of certain individuals (Wolsink, 1994).

2.6 Conclusion

The research discussed a number of concepts and each concept acts as part of a framework that structures the research. The 'divided city' concept is a fundamental concept that frames the research, since it provided for an understanding of how communities are impacted upon by outside influences, such as, the state or local economy, which will direct their interrelations in certain ways. Societies are complex entities that are intertwined with economic, social, political, cultural and environmental aspects. There are forces in society that have negative consequences especially for the poorer groups in societies (van Kempen, 1998; Thorns, 2004; Singh, 2005). There is an uneven divide that separates individuals in society and this divide results in inequalities, especially for the marginalised groups, and therefore this exaggerates social exclusion in society.

In some instances those in power construct society socially and economically, however the role of agency in its various forms resists the hegemonic forces at times (Massey *et al.*, 1999). There is a hierarchy within society that characterises the spatial arrangement of individuals (Singh, 2005; Massey *et al.*, 1999), which in turn results in social and economic divisions. These divisions exacerbates the effects of social exclusion which is enhanced by many factors such as stereotypical labelling and prejudices (Sibley, 1995; Wratten, 1995; Hecht, 1998). Individuals, especially those in power attach a certain negative 'label' to others (marginalised individuals) that are socially and economically different from them (Sibley, 1995; Wratten, 1995; Hecht, 1998). This perception of the 'other' enhances the exclusion that these marginalised individuals experience (van Kempen, 1998; Sachs-Jeantet, 2000; Thorns, 2004; Iyenda, 2005; Singh, 2005; Fernandes, 2007; Kjellstron and Mercado, 2008; Scheinsohn and Cabrera, 2009).

The understanding of the different classes allowed one to understand the social inequalities in society, who benefits and who doesn't (van Kempen, 1998; Sachs-Jeantet, 2000; Iyenda,

2005; Fernandes, 2007; Kjellstron and Mercado, 2008; Scheinsohn and Cabrera, 2009). It should become evident that the groups that become marginalised are often the groups that are below the bourgeoisie class, such as the petite bourgeoisie (middle class) and the underclass, in the socio-economic hierarchy (van Kempen, 1998; Sachs-Jeantet, 2000; Iyenda, 2005; Fernandes, 2007; Kjellstron and Mercado, 2008; Scheinsohn and Cabrera, 2009). Once the social inequalities are apparent, conflicts are enhanced within a space. Competition over the right to resources or access to land and certain opportunities and benefits become the agenda for many (Oncu *et al.*, 1997; Dikec, 2005). Due to the difficulty of attaining full justice, there are inequalities that arise and these inequalities pose major difficulties for the marginalised groups in society.

Once polarisation and social exclusion are realised, the understanding of justice and social justice notions become important. The concepts justice and social justice are embedded in the political and geographical science realm, and therefore the literature used is mainly from researchers in these fields. These concepts allow one to understand the social divisions in society and how certain groups are favoured over others due to certain structures that are in place in society. Access to certain resources such as land or opportunities are a contentious issue in developed countries and it is also proving to be an issue in developing countries, especially South Africa. Social justice encompasses the idea that justice is achieved in every aspect of society (Heywood, 1999). How these benefits are going to be distributed amongst individuals in society have become debatable amongst many politicians and citizens, since society is diverse and individuals' wants and needs differ from one another.

The last two concepts that the research examined were the 'Sense of Place' and NIMBY respectively. Sense of place varies amongst individuals according to their familiarity with a particular space. The sense of place an individual has is a constituent of 'identity' (McCreanor *et al.*, 2006; Hernandez *et al.*, 2007). Individuals are social beings that tend to socially connect with the environment that they are in. They in turn attach meaning to places. As a result of this type of attachment, individuals reject any changes to a particular place. This is where the NIMBY concept becomes apparent. NIMBY is a stance that individuals adopt when development or an activity in their area is unwanted (Dear, 1992; Wolsink, 1994; Watson, 1999). This may be, due to the disadvantages that may arise due to the development or activity within that particular area. The NIMBY stance allows one to analyse the views of individuals on certain types of development or activities within an

area, which maybe negative or positive. It is therefore clear this concept gives added insight into the relationship between individuals and development, and how individuals view and act towards development within a particular area.

The utilisation of the concepts in this chapter was relevant in the research since it examined all the issues that the research intended to examine and address. The following chapter presents the background of the research, examining aspects of apartheid, post-apartheid racial segregation and the housing backlog with regards to the informal occupation of land and lastly this chapter gives an overview of the study area.

CHAPTER THREE
SOUTH AFRICAN URBANISATION:
STRUCTURING OF SOUTH AFRICAN CITIES DURING THE
APARTHEID AND POST-APARTHEID ERAS

3.1 Introduction

Land access and occupation of land is a very contentious issue being researched in South Africa. This chapter is concerned with issues of access and occupation of land. The chapter examines how certain individuals were excluded from opportunities and access to resources, especially land, due to the controls and regulations of the apartheid government. This chapter further examines how the post-apartheid government is dealing with the results of this restriction and exclusion of individuals in respect of opportunities and access to resources such as land. This process played an influential role in forcing many people, before and after the dismantling of apartheid, into occupying ‘make-shift houses’, and informal settlements. In particular, the present democratic government is attempting to address the issues regarding the urban poor, and a fundamental issue on the agenda in many municipalities, is supplying these individuals with adequate housing and access to resources (Nel *et al.*, 2003; Singh, 2005; DEAT, 2007).

This chapter will be structured as follows, Section 3.2 introduces the effects of apartheid in an urban landscape and also examines the effects of apartheid on Durban’s spatial arrangement. The change in South Africa’s spatial arrangement due to post-apartheid initiatives is explained in Section 3.3, which examines land occupation and squatting in South Africa with respect to KwaZulu-Natal and Durban’s post-apartheid planning strategies. Section 3.4 provides insight of informal settlements in South Africa. The background to the study area (Clare Estate) is provided in Section 3.5, which presents the context of Clare Estate as well as the social movement (Abahlali baseMjondolo). Lastly, a conclusion to the chapter is provided in Section 3.6.

3.2 The effects of apartheid on the urban landscape

The apartheid era is of pivotal importance with regards to South Africa’s urban geography as it led to massive spatial engineering and widespread discrimination (Swilling *et al.*, 1991). This section examines the era of the apartheid regime with respect to the social and physical segregation of races in relation to occupation and access to land. It examines

apartheid policies in general in South Africa and then examines how these policies affected the spatial arrangements in Durban.

Apartheid is thus an important aspect of understanding issues of land access, development of informal settlements and concerns with redressing this inequality in contemporary South African cities. Apartheid was an oppressive system, which allowed power to effectively rest within a small elite segment of society (Davenport, 1991; Hendler, 1991; Isaacs, 1997; Lund-Thomsen, 2005; Singh, 2005; Bond, 2008). Apartheid for some was a beneficial system that supported and promoted the interests of minority population while it was an exploitative system that marginalised the majority of the population (Davenport, 1991; Hendler, 1991; Isaacs, 1997; Lund-Thomsen, 2005; Bond, 2008). The apartheid system implemented social distinctions and inequalities in society (Davenport, 1991; Hendler, 1991; Isaacs, 1997; Lund-Thomsen, 2005; Bond, 2008). Understanding the apartheid regime, allows one to examine the social and political tensions that the apartheid government created. These tensions are still noticeable at present. Furthermore, these tensions catalysed by socio-economic and political differences of the apartheid government amongst individuals located within the same urban space are important to examine, since they highlight the relationships that are either negatively or positively impacted upon. Consequently the apartheid regime played an influential role in the development of relationships between many individuals in South Africa. South Africa's previous apartheid government was the primary actor in the physical changes of the landscape at that time (Davenport, 1991; Hendler, 1991; Isaacs, 1997; Bond, 2008). Apartheid policies were designed to separate black and white South Africans, to oppress, dominate and control blacks, and in the same time to enrich white South Africans at the expense of the oppressed people (Davenport, 1991; Isaacs, 1997; Lund-Thomsen, 2005; Bond, 2008). Apartheid led to racial segregation as well as discrimination, it ensured white dominance in the economic, political and social sphere since the 1960s. It provided for the continued disfranchisement of the black majority from the nation-state (Davenport, 1991; Isaacs, 1997; Lund-Thomsen, 2005; Bond, 2008). The seeds of apartheid were sowed as early as 1910 but apartheid officially became law after the National Party won the white minority elections in 1948 (Davenport, 1991; Isaacs, 1997). Apartheid laws for a long time only allowed the South African white minority to exercise their political dominance over the rest of the population. While other countries were dismantling their discriminatory legislation and becoming more liberal on racial issues, South Africa continued to construct a structure of legislation promoting racial and ethnic separation (Davenport, 1991;

Hendler, 1991; Isaacs, 1997). Apartheid placed great emphasis on “self-determination” and “cultural autonomy” for different ethnic groups (Davenport, 1991). It was also a corrupt system of governance (van Vuuren, 2006).

Urban apartheid was based on a very detailed conception of the coherence between industrial time, urban space, and political citizenship (Swilling *et al.*, 1991). Urban apartheid was exclusively for the benefit of the white minority as they were the only citizens that qualified for full political and urban citizenship (Swilling *et al.*, 1991). Apartheid and its policies allowed more allocation of land to the whites, as well as allowing them to develop in the urban core where they had greater access to resources as well as greater economic opportunities (Davis, 1991; Swilling *et al.*, 1991). The effect of this, was restrictive to black South Africans especially in occupying urban areas that were developing at that time (Davis, 1991). Schensul, (2006: 2) has argued, “The effectiveness of the apartheid city was not just in segregating races, but in keeping them so geographically distant from one another as to entrench completely different paths of development for groups that ostensibly shared the same urban boundaries”. The enforcers of the apartheid regime intention were to physically divide the population under social, economic and political terms, only allowing the white minority to benefit from the opportunities available to them. The legislations and policies of apartheid regarding access to land will be addressed in the subsequent paragraph.

The extensive apartheid legislation regarding access and ownership to land included the, Natives Urban Areas Act of 1923, the Group Areas Act 41 of 1949/50, Population Registration Act of 1950, Bantu Authorities Act 68 of 1951, Separate Amenities Act 49 of 1953, and, Black Homeland Citizenship Act of 1970, and all of which divided citizens both spatially and socially (Jewel, 1983; Davis, 1991; Singh, 2005). There were amendments to the original Natives Urban Areas Act, however, one such Act that was influential was the Natives Urban Areas Act of 1923, which set aside land for African occupation. This prevented black South Africans from living outside them (Davenport and Saunders, 2000; Ntsebeza, 2004). This controlled access and occupation of land resulted in the inability of many individuals (Blacks) to acquire land. It has been estimated that 3.5 million people were displaced in terms of the white government’s discriminatory laws (Platzky and Walzer, 1985; Kassier and Groenevald: 1992). Among these, as many as 1.2 million blacks were affected, 670 000 “black spots” removals took place and 834 000 people were displaced under the Group Areas Act (Kassier and Groenevald: 1992). Squatter

developments were linked to the fact that the apartheid system in South Africa gave rise to patterns of land distribution that are racially skewed and inequitable, causing overcrowding in urban areas and the countryside and poverty (Department of Land Affairs, 1994). The apartheid system with the Natives Urban Areas Act of 1923 fostered the Group Areas Act 41 of 1949/50, which will be discussed next.

The Group Areas Act 41 of 1949/50 was designed to restrict the black, Indian and coloured race groups to their own residential area, and to control the purchase or occupation of land (Jewel, 1983, Mandy, 1984, Davis, 1991; Singh, 2005). This Act put an end to diverse racial areas and determined where one lived according to race (Jewel, 1983, Mandy, 1984, Davis, 1991; Singh, 2005). This Act resulted in the forced removal of races into certain areas, physically separating them into separate residential and commercial spaces. Many of the removees found themselves in inferior housing in sterile, overcrowded and distant townships, and their former homes were frequently turned over to whites at relatively low prices (Simon, 1989). It was estimated that 84% of the land was given to whites, even though they were only 15% of the total population; blacks were only given 14% of the land, known as the 'Tribal Homelands', even though they made up over 80% of the population (Ntsebeza, 2004). Out of 3.5 million people who had to leave their homes under this Act between 1951 and 1986, only 2% were white (Ntsebeza, 2004). These removals included people re-located due to slum clearance programmes, labour tenants on white-owned farms, the inhabitants of the so-called 'black spots', areas of black-owned land surrounded by white farms, the families of workers living in townships close to the homelands, and 'surplus people' from urban areas (Davis, 1991; Jewel, 1983). The forced removals resulted in inequalities in access and land-use. Some of those inequalities are still experienced nowadays (Ntsebeza, 2004). Residential areas were segregated according to the forced removals. This separated groups of the population according to geography. This Act created the apartheid cities and towns countrywide (Platzky and Walker, 1985). The Group Areas Act "divided South Africa's racial groups into competing factions, each fighting for its own economic and social survival." (Purcell, 2006: 18). South Africa had a distinct racial division, and each division had to encounter the effects of the apartheid government.

The apartheid laws and consequent unequal development, forced vast amounts of the rural population off their farmlands to seek employment elsewhere, especially in the city (Robbins and Robbins, 2005). However, due to the apartheid laws, black South Africans

were restricted in accessing proper accommodation and employment. These individuals were only allowed in the city within a particular time-frame and to discourage the creation of black urban population (Robbins and Robbins, 2005; Tomlinson, 2006). The city centres, developing urban areas and residential areas were branded 'white' spaces that only permitted white occupants.

One of the priorities of the apartheid government was to restrict Black Africans even further, by creating black homelands (Robbins and Robbins, 2005; Tomlinson, 2006). The Population Registration Act of 1950 defined who belonged to a particular race (Jewel, 1983; Davis, 1991). In addition, The Bantu Authorities Act No 68 of 1951 created separate government structures for blacks and was the first piece of legislation established to support the government's plan of separate development in the Bantustans (Jewel, 1983; Davis, 1991). This Act resulted in the establishment of black homelands and regional authorities, with the intention of creating greater self-government in the homelands (Robbins and Robbins, 2005). Furthermore, to strengthen the above laws, the Separate Amenities Act of 1953 allowed the government and business to establish separate but unequal and poorly equipped facilities for blacks (Jewel, 1983; Davis, 1991). For example, people of colour were allocated to different beaches, shopping areas and so forth. All amenities provided for the coloureds, blacks and Indians were lower in standard than the amenities for "whites" (Jewel, 1983; Davis, 1991). The Separate Amenities Act of 1953 was further expanded to provide government with absolute control over the movement of Black Africans (Jewel, 1983; Davis, 1991). The Black Homeland Citizenship Act of 1970 then changed the status of the black Africans so that they were no longer citizens of South Africa, but became citizens of one of the ten autonomous territories (Robbins and Robbins, 2005; Tomlinson, 2006).

During the apartheid era, the black reserves were converted to Bantustans and later into 'independent' states within South Africa. The "homeland" system, stripped black South Africans of their citizenship, legally making them citizens of self-governing Bantustans (tribal homelands) (Robbins and Robbins, 2005). The homelands occupied relatively small and economically unproductive areas of the country (Robbins and Robbins, 2005). The homeland system was based on the following tenets (Robbins and Robbins, 2005): firstly, the arrangement of the population into race group such as: African, coloured, Indian and white; secondly, stringent racial segregation in urban areas; thirdly, limited and controlled African urbanization; fourthly, restricted and controlled system of migrant labour; fifthly,

the stronger belief in African administration and tribalism than the past; and sixthly, on strong security legislations and controls.

Given the limited access to 'white' spaces the presence of black South Africans in the periphery of many urban areas grew over time, resulting in the emergence of peri-urban settlements in townships and homeland areas (Robbins and Robbins, 2005). Purcell (2006: 17) expressed that, "What was novel about apartheid was the extent to which the state would control space and land". The apartheid government was an oligarchy and attempted to control all spheres of development, that is political, social and economic spheres. The apartheid system thus in turn affected city spaces, in that it led to an influx of individuals from rural areas to occupy pockets of land away from centres in the city. Communities in peri-urban areas were restricted and marginalized from opportunities available to the white population. In order to address this influx, these groups were allocated pockets of land that was away from the city centre. However, due to growth and overpopulation these groups were forced to seek alternative land in areas that were unsuitable for development (Bhorat and Kanbur, 2006; Robbins and Robbins, 2005). Due to the large influx of peri-urban population and implementation of a few housing opportunities, the development of informal settlements began to emerge (Bhorat and Kanbur, 2006; Tomlinson, 2006). These informal settlements typically emerged on the outskirts of white and Indian suburbs and were characterised by inadequate access to housing in city centres where unskilled labourers were searching for employment. Shack settlements were arranged where Africans were legally permitted to sleep (and other more unstable settlements where they were prohibited to sleep). These zones of African dwellings were developed for racial exclusion (Purcell, 2006). These areas presented opportunities such as easy access to accommodation, employment and transport facilities that may not have been available in the rural areas that were allocated by the apartheid government. However, the black South Africans were frequently subjected to unhealthy and inadequate living conditions in these areas.

The growth of informal areas for black Africans in cities, posed enormous problems for the apartheid government by occupying private or vacant land without permission (Tomlinson, 2006). Thus, in turn, the apartheid government quickly enforced a new law preventing 'illegal squatting' (Robbins and Robbins, 2005; Tomlinson, 2006). The Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act of 1951 was a very harsh law used for forced removals of squatter communities (Robbins and Robbins, 2005; Tomlinson, 2006). It gave landowners, local authorities and government officials many ways of evicting people or of breaking down

their houses to get them off the land (Robbins and Robbins, 2005; Tomlinson, 2006). This law prevented black Africans from occupying private or public land, without permission from government. The objective was to keep the urban areas 'white'. This law ensured that the local authorities gave the farm workers, from rural areas, to work on white farms, and therefore restricted their ownership of land (Robbins and Robbins, 2005). It only allowed the black South Africans to exercise their rights within their allocated homelands (Robbins and Robbins, 2005). In addition to this, The Health Act of 1977, the Slums Act of 1979, and health and slum control regulations under the Black Local Authorities Act of 1982 were also used to break down buildings, take away land and arrest people living there, on the grounds that the buildings or land were unsafe, unhealthy, overcrowded or falling apart (Visser, 2003; Louw, 2004). Furthermore, there were many 'influx control laws', which prevented black individuals from owning or living on land in the towns and cities outside the homelands (Visser, 2003; Louw, 2004). The idea was to give blacks political rights in the homelands and to try to keep them out of the rest of South Africa (Visser, 2003; Louw, 2004). Nevertheless many people still came to the cities, and lived there illegally. However, in 1986, the government scrapped the influx control laws and therefore more black individuals moved to the cities (Visser, 2003; Louw, 2004). This therefore led to an increased development of squatter settlements in and around urban areas.

While other countries were dismantling their discriminatory legislation and becoming more liberal on racial issues, South Africa continued to construct a structure of legislation promoting racial and ethnic separation (Davis, 1991). The legislations presented above led to the attempt to reduce white political opposition at all cost. Laws in the apartheid era were passed to control the movement of black people in urban areas, therefore enhancing social polarization (Robbins and Robbins, 2005; Tomlinson, 1990). The over-all spatial effect of apartheid city has not only been racial segregation but also increased separation between workplace and home for many working class households (Simon, 1989). Although apartheid legislation was implemented to control the movement of black individuals into cities centres and urban areas, it was not implemented adequately enough to control the development of squatter settlements. The following section attempts to examine the effects of the apartheid regime on Durban's spatial arrangement.

3.2.1 The effects of apartheid on Durban's spatial arrangement

Durban, during the apartheid era, is of pivotal importance since it was during this time where these problems were exaggerated. Spatial policies in Durban, during the apartheid

era, have caused a multitude of problems (Davis, 1991, Hendler, 1991; Maharaj, 1997; Singh, 2005). Although many of the apartheid acts were passed in the early 1950s, they intensified over the years and became pivotal strategies that reordered the spatial arrangement of Durban. The government in Durban believed, “that cities were the creation and preserve of whites, that the African presence should be temporary and limited to serving the interests of white citizens and that ruthless controls over African movement and contracts were the mainstay in maintaining a labour market convenient for the dominant interests of the city: in short a basis for a cheap labour system” (Purcell, 2006: 23). Durban’s economy, spatial design and neighbourhoods, in the 1960s, were differently arranged compared to the present spatial design of post-apartheid Durban (Davenport, 1991; Davis, 1991; Hendler, 1991; Isaacs, 1997; Maharaj, 1997). This section is an attempt to understand the spatial patterns of Durban during the apartheid era. This section also attempts to provide an explanation as to the reasons for the development of informal dwellings and how the apartheid government at that time tried to rectify the problem, by forced removals. Unpacking Durban’s spatial arrangement gives insight into the urban dynamics during the apartheid era, which this section attempts to unravel.

Durban, like most South African cities, was spatially planned on the basis of colour. The standard planned model of the apartheid city was a series of concentric circles of development and settlement, with geographic and social distance from the core as a perfect proxy for race (Schensul, 2006; Bond, 2008). The inner core of economic opportunity was surrounded by a residential ring of whites, who were provided access to the best benefits of city life (Schensul, 2006). White South Africans were situated in the urban core where they were able to enjoy these opportunities. A semi-peripheral area followed, made up of the middle racial tier, including Indians and coloureds, collected in townships, though usually of a better condition than black townships (Schensul, 2006). The final planned concentric ring was populated by the massive and extremely marginalized and under-served black population, settled in relatively high density townships lacking basic infrastructure and commercial activity and located as far as 15 to 20 kilometres away from core areas (Maylam 1996; Frescura 2001). These townships were planned to link seamlessly with rural “homeland” areas, and were originally built as temporary settlements for black South Africans (Mabin 1991). These distinctive zones were separated with the use of buffer zones. Different race groups were allocated designated areas in which they could live during the apartheid era (see Figure 3.1, which shows racial zoning in Durban).

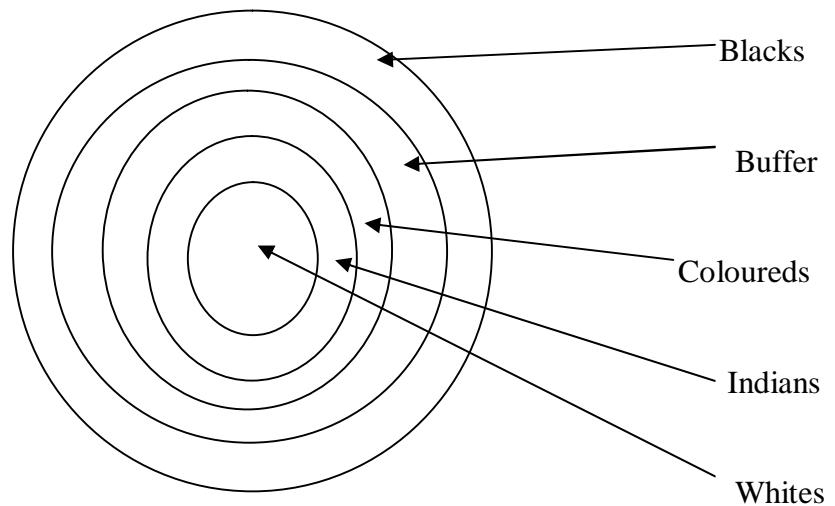


Figure 3.1: Racial zoning in Durban (Schensul, 2006).

In Durban by the 1930, the municipality became concerned about the black belt of shack lands on the boundaries of Durban on every side (Maylam, 1982). The administration of informal settlements was a concern at that time a concern with regard to their administration. An increase of informal dwellings, led to the implementation of apartheid policies in order to address the issue of squatter settlements. Furthermore, a variety of legislation had not been implemented nationally to address the issue of squatter settlements. For example, the Health Act of 1919, the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923, and the Slums Act of 1934 concentrated on the management of the slums to ensure public health (Ballard, 2004). However, it should be understood that these Acts were developed to help curb the problem of informal settlements in proximity to white residential areas. However, although these regulations were implemented to keep the squatter settlements out of residential areas, especially white residential areas, poor implementation of these regulations allowed for the existing unplanned settlements to become more pronounced. Due to urban population increases of the 1940s and 1950s, their severe economic oppression and the effects of the Native Reserves Act of 1913 and Urban Areas Act of 1923 (which has been explained in the previous section), the African population in Durban had already faced housing shortages (Purcell, 2006).

In 1950, the Durban City council appointed a Technical Sub-Committee to plan all of Durban's areas, as per the Group Areas Act (Purcell, 2006). The Groups Areas Act in Durban forced different race groups in Durban to be relocated to designated areas that were

associated with their particular race. Indians were considered to be better-off than Africans in Durban and they owned more highly-valued land, however, their complaints were not identical to Africans, and the Group Areas designations worked to emphasise these differences (Purcell, 2006).

In 1952, one estimate indicated that 90,000 Africans lived in shacks and while the City Council recognised this problem, it refused to address it (Purcell, 2006). Durban was rezoned, and (writing in 1958) demographers commented, “It seems probably that Government policy will be directed toward the entire removal of the African population from the city into the peripheral zones” (Purcell, 2006: 19). Black South Africans were most affected by the apartheid government, since the government advocated separate development for black South Africans from city centres. In addition, Durban City Councillor J. Bolton remarked, “The Government has made no provision for compensation. They are just not interested” (Purcell, 2006: 20-21). This was an unfair process of exclusion which the apartheid government did not even attempt to rectify.

Purcell (2006: 20-21) states: “Forced removals to *nowhere*, then, increased shack, informal, and unsafe settlements and increased the housing shortage in Natal”. Many Black South Africans were forced to move from their homes and had to resettle elsewhere due to the effect of the apartheid policies, such as Groups Areas Act. Purcell (2006) further emphasised that the Act was not only important for segregation but also for the racial and class tensions that it aggravated. Due to the pressure of separate development amongst the different race groups in Durban, political and social tensions arose amongst the majority racial group, namely the black Africans. This Act was to intensify the political, social and economic inequalities that the marginalised race groups encountered. Although the apartheid government thought that the implementation of this Act would solve the problem of informal settlements in residential areas, however, it only accentuated the problem. Furthermore, Durban, much like South Africa’s other two largest cities, was planned for segregated residence, interaction, and social and economic development during the apartheid era (Schensul, 2006). It was structured and planned on a racial distinction that excluded certain individuals from certain areas. Durban, spatially engineered, was to separate the different races from each other. Its apartheid structure very closely follows the generic apartheid model (Schensul, 2007).

In conclusion apartheid was an era that tried to retain racial segregation within many societies in South Africa. The pattern of forced removal and destruction was a common aspect that many individuals had to encounter in South Africa. It ensured that white South Africans were at the controls of a racial oligarchy that was developed on the suppression of black South Africans (Schensul, 2006). A near monopoly on money, power and influence were in the hands of a minority and they used this to either violently suppress the majority or, at best, transfer resources in order to stave off the inevitable revolution (Schensul, 2006). Apartheid intended to contain, fragment and seclude the majority of the population from benefits and equal opportunities to resources and employment opportunities. It can be described as a solidified process of inequalities. South African cities and especially Durban, were engineered to segregate and isolate (Schensul, 2006). However, the repercussion of this was a development of a complicated residential settlement pattern with many under resourced and informal residential spaces in the cities. Subsequently due to the rise of a new democratic political government, the apartheid policies have been dismantled and the democratic government presently is addressing the inaccuracies made by the past apartheid government. This will be addressed in the following section.

3.3 Post-apartheid: change in South Africa's spatial arrangement

In the past, due to the majority population resistance, there was growing political opposition to apartheid and to racial segregation, which intensified the difficulty of managing the South African cities in the 1980s (Bremner, 1994; Maharaj, 1999; Robinson, 2006). Thereafter, the democratic elections followed in 1994. From this transformation to a democratic state, there is a shift from minority to majority rule. The new post-apartheid government intended to dismantle and reverse the policies of apartheid. South Africa's transition from racialized oligarchy to majority democratic rule in the early 1990s was a momentous break from a terrible past (Schensul, 2006). The African National Congress (ANC), voted into power by a huge majority of the newly constituted electorate, began with a mandate to close the social and spatial gaps between racial groups, particularly in urban areas (Schensul, 2006). Presently the South African government and the municipalities within each province are addressing the inequalities that past apartheid governmental structures have created.

This section examines how the transition from an oppressive state to a democratic state has influenced, lives of the citizens in South Africa. This section also attempts to articulate an understanding of South Africa's present development in general, then understand

KwaZulu-Natal's development and then provide an understanding of Durban's present development. Presently there are inequalities in South Africa that has been as a result of the apartheid regime. Similar to the importance of understanding the apartheid regime, the post-apartheid regime also gives insights to understanding the unequal access of certain individuals' rights to the same opportunities and resources, in this regard, land.

South Africa's greater struggle since early post-apartheid days has been the attempt to undo the economic vestiges of the system of racial exclusivity (Maharaj, 1999; Borat and Kanbur, 2006; Hoogeveen and Ozler, 2006; Robinson, 2006). The country inherited vast inequalities in education, health, basic infrastructure, access to safe water, sanitation and housing (Hoogeveen and Ozler, 2006). The majority of the South African citizens at present are exposed to these inequalities. There is a vast distinction between those that have and those that do not. Presently the majority of the population, especially black South Africans, have unequal access to resources and opportunities due to uneven social development programmes that the present democratic ANC government have been implemented.

Access to resources, especially land, has been on the agenda of many municipalities in South Africa. One of the problems that the post-1994 government has faced is access to land in urban areas. The problem is that government cannot easily relocate those communities that were moved in the past. Another issue is that, the African National Congress government promised housing to the disadvantaged population, but this has not progressed in the way that the ANC promised (Miller and Pope, 2000). After the post-apartheid constitutional transformation of 1994, the policies regarding land in of South Africa had to be revised to conform to the new constitutional order (Miller and Pope, 2000; Robinson, 2006; Yanou, 2006). Section 25 of the 1996 constitution – the property clause of the new dispensation - marked a welcome departure from the past by re-conceptualising access to land for the previously disadvantaged as a human right (Yanou, 2006). By mandating the state to take reasonable legislative and other measures “to foster conditions which enable citizens to gain access to land on an equitable basis”, it makes equity and fairness the new spirit that should underpin the rules of accessing land (Yanou, 2006: 62). There have been debates on equal distributive rights of especially the marginalized groups of society within cities. The scope for major improvements in access to land assets by the poor have great significance for the possibilities of achieving greater equality and more inclusive economic development in each country (Yanou, 2006). The following section

examines the issue of land occupation and squatting in South Africa with reference to KwaZulu-Natal.

3.3.1 Land occupation and squatting in South Africa with reference to KwaZulu-Natal

In South Africa's provinces and cities, land occupation and unequal access to land have become a contentious issue that the present democratic government is addressing. This section attempts to highlight the issue encompassing the occupation of land and squatting in South Africa. In KwaZulu-Natal, there is distinct relationship of exclusion and oppression in relation to land and space, and this accounts for present common struggles (Singh, 2005; Purcell, 2006). KwaZulu-Natal's government, have implemented policies to address the exclusion and access of land, but to no avail (Purcell, 2006). There has been no change in the spatial management of land (Bhorat and Kanbur, 2006; Purcell, 2006). Access to land is still affected by inequalities and it is mostly the marginalised individuals who are directly impacted upon. This section attempts to give an overview of what access and occupation of land entails in South Africa as well give a reasoning for the squatter developments that have become a characteristic feature in many provinces and cities due to the inability to acquire land.

In order to understand the dilemma of occupation of land, the idea of occupation needs to be unfolded. Purcell (2006: 35, 36) advocates that ““occupation” should be defined as a continuous physical presence, but excluding presence for work, sporting events, temporary presences for the use of amenities, and any presence outside of a designated area for which a person is assigned”. Occupation thus entails a physical existence of a person's residence. The White Paper on Urbanisation (1986) affirms that “occupation should be used as a deliberate measure to promote orderly urbanization, especially under conditions of rapid urbanization” (cited in Purcell, 2006: 36). The occupation restrictions mean, in other words, that the state will act to upend existing settlements of non-owners, that is, disqualified persons (Purcell, 2006). In defining occupation to exclude those poor people who move and settle in shacks, tents, or other informal structures, the occupation strategy is disadvantageous to poor groups and especially those without title rights to land (Purcell, 2006). The economically hard-pressed blacks increasingly occupy vacant land in the peri-urban areas (as well as farms) in order to access job opportunities and better facilities, formally or informally (Parker *et al.*, 1995). These people are left with few alternatives but to look for open land near their places of employment in the peri-urban areas where land

occupation occurs (Parker *et al.*, 1995). This type of land occupation is known as squatting and these individuals have no legal rights to the land.

Squatting is used to refer to invasion in the past (before politicization) and now refers to the illegal stay of people on a piece of land (Crankshaw *et al.*, 1990; Moyo, 2000). In South Africa, this type of land occupation is widely referred to as land invasion, an apartheid borne concept that sought to politically oppose the concerted effort that the disposed black South Africans have made, in order to acquire land that was taken from them (Crankshaw *et al.*, 1990; Martin *et al.*, 2000). Land occupation is the one way by which poor black South Africans, who are economically marginalized acquire land in order to earn a living and access their inalienable right to land in a situation where the system denies timely access to it (Crankshaw *et al.*, 1990; Martin *et al.*, 2000). Occupation of land in this regard is viewed in a negative light. Therefore, land invasion is a racist concept to demonise the efforts of the black people to get access to land (Crankshaw *et al.*, 1990; Martin *et al.*, 2000). It refers to the physical utilization of a piece of land by an individual or a group of people in order to fulfil their economic, social or political needs (Martin *et al.*, 2000).

About 3.5 million South Africans in urban and rural areas lost their land and rights in property through forced removals (Department of Land Affairs, 1994). Approximately 13.5% of all households (1.06 million households) live in “freestanding” squatter settlements on the urban peripheries and in backyards of formal housing units (Republic of South Africa, 1994). The enormity of apartheid’s housing backlog posed one of the most significant challenges to reconstruction and development (Royston, 1998). In 1994, there were about 2.6 million formal housing units. An estimated 1.7 million households, that is, around seven million people, were living in shacks on un-serviced sites, and over a million people were in 620 000 shacks on serviced sites (Republic of South Africa, 1994). The large and increasing housing backlog was due to low rates of formal housing provision, coupled with an increasing number of people accessing land informally, in informal settlements, backyard shacks, in overcrowded conditions in existing formal housing and most contentiously, through land invasions (Royston, 1998). The post-apartheid government has inherited the land problem (Martin *et al.*, 2000). Although the present government is trying to address these issues, especially with regards to access and occupation of land, through different policies, programmes and practices, the full execution

of these policies to benefit the marginalised population is yet to be seen. However, what policy-makers plan to achieve rarely occurs in reality (Swilling *et al*, 1991; Shatkin, 2004).

Due to the changes in population the physical landscape has been placed under major stress, since there are increased environmental pressures influencing individuals' needs and wants. Due to the inadequacy of the previous government to sufficiently cater for blacks in South Africa during the apartheid era, there are a number of informal settlements that have emerged in and around urban residential areas, where land seems to be vacant. Low income and marginalised groups are subjected to inadequate housing schemes, and therefore have subsequently been socially displaced with regards to access to land. These informal settlements have become a characteristic feature of South African cities and it has been estimated that over six million people in South Africa are accommodated in such settlements (Nel *et al*, 2003). The following section narrows the scale of examining Durban's post-apartheid urban planning strategies.

3.3.2 Durban's post-apartheid urban planning strategies

Urban planning strategies and policies that the municipal government in Durban and elsewhere have implemented have proven to be ineffective since they were and are not properly implemented (Nel *et al.*, 2003; Singh, 2005). This section examines what policies and initiatives the local authorities in the city of Durban have implemented in order to address the unequal social development amongst the races in urban and rural areas. Durban, much like South Africa's other two megacities, was planned for segregated residence, interaction, and social and economic development during the apartheid era (Schensul, 2006). In this city of 2.7 million people in 1996, approximately 63.4 percent were black, 21.7 percent were Indian, 11.4 percent were white and 3.5 percent were coloured (Schensul, 2006). The distribution of these race groups across the city shows extreme segregation. Blacks, whites, and Indians lived in very different areas, both spatially and socially (Schensul, 2006). Spatial and social distance between racial communities was huge, such that large barriers existed between the majority black population and the economic and social development enjoyed by the white population (Schensul, 2006).

Past apartheid structures represented Durban's social, economic and political patterns, however, there has been transformation to these components. The post-apartheid planning measures are being implemented to undo the apartheid legacy. Presently, the municipal

government in Durban is extensively focused on drawing foreign capital into certain areas, and therefore this has lessened their efforts to properly address social issues in Durban. Cities, like Durban are constantly changing due to unpredictable socio-political and economic dynamics (Swilling, *et al*, 1991). There are new social, economical and political initiatives that are implemented in many South African cities, especially Durban. Although apartheid policies have been largely dismantled, many South Africans are still feeling the effects of the oppressive and divisive policies such as those regarding access and occupation of land (Crush, 1992; Christopher, 2005). Usually, these effects are mostly felt by the disadvantaged and marginalised population in South Africa.

Although Durban is legally no longer racially segregated, the irregularities of the past still hamper individual opportunities, and this is what the present government is trying to rectify. The municipal government (eThekweni municipality) is trying to redefine the city. (Swilling *et al.*, 1991). However, as Purcell (2006: 54) states, “that the post-apartheid reforms have failed miserably, unless we consider the enrichment of the few a goal of the regime all along: though the gap between black and white has narrowed in the 1990s, the gulf between rich and poor has widened far beyond where it stood during apartheid”. The implementation of post-apartheid policies have somewhat not reached the height of addressing the needs of each and every individual equally, there was and there still seems to be this widening gap between the rich and the poor in spite of these new democratic policies. Shack settlements surrounding Durban are, likely, to be inhabited by the “poorest of the poor,” living in tin-roofed and paper-walled shacks in some of the most inhospitable venues in the city (Hendler, 1991; Bhorat and Kanbur, 2006; Purcell, 2006). There is a distinct hierarchy in society and the issues of those individuals that are at the bottom are less likely to be addressed compared to the issues of those individuals that are at the top of the hierarchy.

Durban has placed major importance on the economic development of the city, with respect to economic growth and thereby almost totally disregarding the social welfare of individuals especially the marginalized population. Privatization and economic expansion has allowed only certain social classes, usually the wealthiest and/or those with access to housing subsidies, are catered for (Bhorat and Kanbur, 2006; Purcell, 2006). Housing backlogs are staggering and service delivery is priced beyond the reach of the poor (Bhorat and Kanbur, 2006; Purcell, 2006). This has therefore led to many marginalized individuals in accessing make-shift housing, commonly referred to as informal settlements. Although

in the past the Illegal Squatting Act addressed the illegal occupation of land, however, the Durban municipality has acknowledged that it is illegal to move these informal settlements now, without proper alternative housing. The White Paper on Urbanisation (1986) recommends a revision of the existing influx control scheme and a repeal of the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act (Purcell, 2006). The quality of life marginalised individuals who settle in these shack dwellings need to be addressed, however, the mere removal of these individuals without any consideration is illegal.

The land question is a long-standing issue in South African politics. Land is a dynamic factor that is present within all societies. Who and how individuals access land in post-apartheid South Africa is fundamental to human rights, development and prosperity of the people. Swilling *et al.*, (1991: IX) state that “it was not simply that the planners who carved up the society into racial categories had a mistaken assumption about the nature of the society. It was more to do with the fact that the people whose communities they were carving up had their capacities to think, associate, and organize”. This section presented an overview on the account of the post-apartheid strategies that redressed the inaccuracies of the apartheid government with respect to equal opportunities and access to resources for all individuals in Durban. The significance of Durban’s transition is not about the deracialisation and reconstitution of the polity, its about the changing nature of time and urban space (Swilling *et al.*, 1991). Although the present government is addressing the issue of deracialisation and the development housing in line of squatter settlements, many argue about the effectiveness of these present government strategies. In order to understand the development of informal settlements, the subsequent section encompasses the definition, description and causes of informal settlements.

3.4 Informal settlements in South Africa

In most developing countries informal settlements have become distinct in the urban landscape for at least half a century (Singh, 2005; Huchzermeyer and Karam, 2006; Goebel, 2007). This section attempts to provide a definition of informal settlements as well as to present the reasons as to why such an occupation has occurred in many cities. Informal settlements are viewed with mixed connotations; some individuals accept these settlements while other individuals view them as a threat to their livelihoods (Singh, 2005; Borat and Kanbur, 2006). It should be ascertained that the apartheid system was a catalyst to the developments of such settlements, which has been explained in previous sections.

However, it should be stated the present South African government is trying to address the situation of informal settlements in many cities.

Huchzermeyer and Karam (2006: vii) define informal settlements as, “settlements of the urban poor developed through the unauthorised occupation of land”, they are regarded as unhealthy and overcrowded blights on the urban landscape. Informal settlements are inundated with negative conceptions and have mainly developed through the illegal occupation of land. The Cities Alliance (1999, in Huchzermeyer and Karam, 2006) describes informal settlements as slums. Cities Alliance defined slums as, “neglected parts of cities where housing and living conditions are appallingly poor. Slums range from high-density, squalid central-city tenements to spontaneous squatter settlements without legal recognition or rights, sprawling at the edge of cities” (Cities Alliance 1999, cited in Huchzermeyer and Karam, 2006: 2). The term ‘informal’ is defined as having ‘no formal planning’, and is generally not serviced by the city municipality (Ballard, 2004). The following paragraphs relate to the causes for development of informal settlements and description of these settlements respectively.

It is widely acknowledged that the apartheid government contributed to the housing crisis by providing insufficient housing in the townships to which blacks and coloureds were restricted (Browder *et al.*, 1995; Goebel, 2007). Furthermore, Guillaume and Houssay-Holzchuch (2002: 87) emphasise, “Squatting was seen as a means to attain personal independence and to gain access to private space, as opposed to the overcrowding of the surrounding townships”. Oppressed individuals, especially black South Africans sought spaces that would sustain and benefit their livelihoods. The last years of the apartheid regime resulted in a rapid growth of informal settlements in and around big cities from the second half of the 1980s (Crankshaw *et al.*, 1992; Hart, 1990; Singh, 2005). The presence of informal settlements has become a prominent characteristic feature in many cities, especially the cities in South Africa (Singh, 2005; Huchzermeyer and Karam, 2006). At first it was seen as a consequence of 1986 repeal of influx control legislation: informal dwellers, understood as new migrants were from surrounding homelands (Guillaume and Houssay-Holzchuch, 2002). As cities have expanded, so have the informally developed residential areas (Roberts, 1992; Huchzermeyer and Karam, 2006; Goebel, 2007). These informal settlements have become more prevalent over past 10-15 years.

Presently the government is addressing the occupation of land with regards to informal settlers. However, the government is allowing them to reside in these informal dwellings, until adequate solutions can be presented. Homelessness is a major feature of the South African urban landscape with well over 2.4 million people considered to have been living in informal settlements presently (South African Cities Network, 2006). The urban poor and often middle-income groups have to step outside the formal markets to gain access to land and housing (Sivam, 2002; Singh, 2005; Bhorat and Kanbur, 2006; Zebardast, 2006). In addition, the informal market, has been growing and becoming more diverse and increasingly commercialized (Baross and van der Linden, 1990; Sivam, 2002; Zebardast, 2006). Also, South African cities are characterised as having a distinct housing backlog, and therefore this backlog affects the marginalised population (Baross and van der Linden, 1990; Lawson, 1991; Singh, 2005). This factor leads to the development of informal housing, since individuals are unable to access certain opportunities and resources. The housing issue will be dealt in a future sub-section under this section.

Informal settlements also are associated with distinct characteristics, such as make-shift dwellings (refer to Appendix E, which shows pictures of the informal settlements in relation to the residents in formal housing in Clare Estate). Informal settlements consist of impoverished people living in impoverished dwellings made from scrap material, plywood and sheet of plastic (Buthelezi, 1998; Harrison *et al.*, 2003). The municipality do not plan or approve informal settlements. According to Gwebu (2003), informal settlements are most common in developing countries, and are problematic because they are not approved housing structures which can be detrimental to the individuals living in these settlements and also because they occupy land illegally. Gwebu (2003) states that the reasons for such a development may relate to the fact that these individuals are in need for urgent shelter, and also land administration and planning failed to address the needs of the whole community.

Census data tell us that 16.4% of households across South Africa live in informal settlements, mostly in the urban areas where the insecure occupation on the land enables these households to access economic opportunities, social and economic networks and basic amenities that are essential to their survival (Buthelezi, 1998; Huchzermeyer and Karam, 2006). Informal settlements are a shameful feature of poverty and inherited inequalities in South Africa (Buthelezi, 1998; Singh, 2005; Huchzermeyer and Karam, 2006). Where development has been uneven, particularly in situations large-scale

displacement, informal development has overtaken the formal, resulting in a large amount of the South African urban population residing in informal settlements (UN-Habitat, 2005). Furthermore, Ballard (2004: 5) denotes, “One form of growth of squatting was in or alongside formal black townships so that black urban areas became patchworks of formal and informal housing as squatters began ‘in-fitting’ into vacant pockets of land”. Squatting occurs everywhere, even in black townships and it is not restricted to particular areas. However, although these settlers find the unused land as prospects for a better standard of living, they have to resort to living in inhumane living conditions. These informal areas consisted of residents born in urban areas unable to live in formal areas due to chronic housing shortage, low wages and high unemployment (Crankshaw *et al.*, 1992; Singh, 2005; Zebardast, 2006). Another form was the emergence of squatting in vacant land that was close to other formal residential areas zoned for Indian, coloured and white use (Ballard, 2004) (refer to Appendix E, which shows pictures of the informal settlements in relation to the residents in formal housing in Clare Estate). These informal settlements have become features of many formal residential areas, and therefore at times pose an economic, social threat to the people and the landscape (Singh, 2005; Ballard, 2004). Informal settlements are seen as the first point of entry for rural migrants, this is associated with the ruralisation of the city (Boaden and Karam, 2000).

Informal settlements are very often located in less attractive areas and their residents are considered as a separate social category from those residing in formal settlements (Vermeulin, 2006). Informal settlement residents are at times viewed as sub-citizens, apart from the urban society (Vermeulin, 2006). Life in these settlements is described as semi-traditional and semi-rural, allowing migrants to adapt to the urban ways of living (Guillaume and Houssay-Holzchuch, 2002). These settlements are not homogenous, since they are constantly changing and are occupied by individuals for different purposes. There is a distinct dichotomy between formal and informal, which therefore causes social differences, stereotyping and disadvantages especially towards the marginalized individuals. These settlements are characterised by lower income individuals, since they face economical and social burdens. A lack of opportunity and resources means that living conditions are not always adequate for a large portion of the population, namely the lower-income population.

It should be revealed that although these marginalised individuals occupy these spaces, they have no rights to the land that they occupy. The land that they occupy is land that has

no physical buildings or structures, therefore making it prime areas to be settled on. This occupation of land in private areas is known as illegal land invasions (Saff, 1996; Saff, 2000). Most are illegal and unauthorised. According to Goodlad (1996), informal settlements houses are usually built on periphery of cities often do not have proper sanitation, electricity or telephone services. Informal settlements are mostly in South Africa are often characterised by unequal distribution of wealth (Dewar, 2001). This therefore is coupled with a lot of controversy. Many interested and affected parties especially those near to these settlements, for example, residents in formal housing and municipal authorities express rejection towards the informal settlements. Racial prejudices and hostile responses from residents in formal housing are the basis for the exclusion for these marginalised groups of individuals (Saff, 2000). Saff (2000) states that there is an attitudinal convergence across space when it comes to opposition to squatters, that this can be satisfactorily explained by referring to the mutuality of interests that relatively privileged groups, irrespective of race, have in protecting 'their' space from the encroachment of the lower order. Often in most cases the presence of informal settlements is met with rejection from residents in formal housing, since there is a type of attachment these individuals have for space they are in. Informal settlements impact on residents' sense of place and the value they have attached to the space in which they reside (which has been explained in detail in Chapter Two, Section 2.4) (Ballard, 2004). Squatter settlements were, and still are, presented as dysfunctional and problematic (Ballard, 2004). According to Maylam (1982: 10), the slums were associated with "disease, crime, drunkenness and vice". Furthermore, according to Saff (2000), the subsidised housing environment needs long-term institutional support to prevent overwhelming and economic obstacles from undermining the success of poverty-stricken neighbourhood development programmes. The Constitution supports these programmes in South Africa.

In South Africa, the Constitutional Court has accepted the rights of access to adequate housing, water, food, health care and social assistance as essential to changing our society into one where there is dignity, freedom and equality (Huchzermeyer and Karam, 2006). However, the present government is under enormous stress trying to ensure that these rights are implemented amongst the rural community, or the marginalized community in South Africa. Presently, the municipality has and is servicing many of the informal settlements in residential areas (Huchzermeyer and Karam, 2006). Individuals from these areas are able to make use of the service provision that are usually available to residents in formal housing, such as water supply, electricity and so forth. All spheres of government

have to ensure that every member of civil society attains the same benefits. According to Dewar (2001), public authorities responsible for health and welfare should play a more active role in informal settlements to mitigate against the current social problems, in informal settlements.

Informal settlements have become a characteristic feature of many South African cities. The governments need to adequately address the development of these informal settlements. However, it is not to say that the government is not addressing the issue of these settlements, but that they need to take all factors into account when addressing this form of informal development. These settlements alter the features of the physical landscape in which they are placed. In addition the following section should give light as to why informal settlements have occurred due to the housing shortage for mainly the marginalised individuals.

3.4.1 Housing

Understanding the housing issue in South Africa is essential in understanding exactly the reasons why there has been the growth of informal settlements in a number of residential areas in South African cities. Housing is a fundamental urban issue affecting South African cities in the post-apartheid era (Vermeulin, 2006). Governments are addressing the socio-spatial disparities that the post-apartheid government generated. Housing in South African cities includes a huge range of dwelling types, from shacks to top-of-the-range properties, and unequal access to facilities, services, transport and economic opportunities (Vermeulin, 2006). This section attempts to highlight the issue of how the housing shortage has in fact catalysed the development of informal settlements namely in residential areas and how the present government is currently addressing this issue. Providing sufficient housing is one of the greatest dilemmas that many governments are facing, including the South African government. Decent housing is a key to a stable society, including South Africa (Mackay, 1995; Barker, 2003). Informal or squatter settlements in South African cities are addressed directly and indirectly through a number of development instruments, at a national, provincial and municipal level (Haferburg, 2002). The present South African government is adopting strategies to further increase housing integration in many cities, this is in direct contrasts to the previous apartheid government. However, the integration process is not adequately progressing, and this is what the present government needs to address. Integration is happening through land invasion and the persistence of informal settlements (Saff, 2000).

According to a World Bank analysis of the performance of the South African housing sector within an international context, South Africa has some of the best and the worst housing in the world (Mayo, 1993). Presently (2009) there has been the development of new housing strategies in South Africa. Although the first Government of National Unity was not established until 1994, various groups had been working on the preparation of new housing policies for some time before the election (Mackay, 1995). This allowed a considerable element of continuity and for a very detailed 'Housing White Paper' to be produced only a few months after the election (Mackay, 1995). This Paper called for the implementation of the housing policy. It identified a number of potential national and local problems in the provision of building materials and services and aimed to address the housing situation in South Africa (Mackay, 1995).

In order to ensure proper housing for these marginalised individuals, aspects such as inclusiveness of the informal settlers in policy-making, the comprehensiveness and flexibility of the plan, the role of different spheres of government and the provision of adequate financial and human resources needed to be addressed (Bhorat and Kanbur, 2006; Huchzermeyer and Karam, 2006). The housing initiatives and policies that the government have formulated and implemented, addresses the poor, the needs of the poor and ensured that the rights of these most vulnerable citizens are met (Bhorat and Kanbur, 2006; Huchzermeyer and Karam, 2006). It should be noted that although the government have addressed the situations of the poor or marginalised communities, there is a distinct gap between the rights of the poor and the reality that they are facing (Bhorat and Kanbur, 2006; Huchzermeyer and Karam, 2006). Although they are protected by the constitution or allowed the same opportunities as the higher socio-economic income group, in reality they seldom benefit from this. Due to these social and economic inequalities, society is spatially divided into high-income and low income areas (Bhorat and Kanbur, 2006; Huchzermeyer and Karam, 2006). The inflation in the property market has reinforced the break between attractive areas and isolated, less attractive ones where low income housing projects are located (Vermeulin, 2006). Due to this spatial arrangement, government is tasked with addressing unequal development of certain urban and rural areas. The South African housing policy (1994) is mainly based on the promotion of fully subsidised home-ownership for the poor and seeks to eradicate informal housing, including backyard shacks (United Nations Centre for Human Settlements, 2000). Squatting seems to be a cheaper option than paying rent (United Nations Centre for Human Settlements, 2000). A few countries have progressed to develop national-level policies and programmes that aim to

deal realistically with informal settlements (Huchzermeyer and Karam, 2006). The South African *Informal Settlement Upgrading Programme* is an example of upgrading programmes in the new millennium (Huchzermeyer and Karam, 2006). While this programme emerged out of political processes at national level, it also interacts with international campaigns that have increasingly promoted informal settlement upgrading (Huchzermeyer and Karam, 2006).

One of the ways government is dealing with the housing crisis in relation to squatting is by relocating the informal settlers to alternative places. In Durban, eThekweni Municipality, Provincial Department of Housing has implemented the Slums Clearance Programme (2001) (Vermeulin, 2006), and the KwaZulu Natal Elimination and Prevention of Re-emergence of Slums Bill (2006) and the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act 52 of 1951. The Slums Clearance is an initiative of the eThekweni Municipality and is spearheaded by its Housing Unit in conjunction with the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Housing (DOH) (Grimmet, 2004). This Project aims to address a combination of housing, health and safety needs of the identified informal communities (Grimmet, 2004). The Slums Clearance Project began in October 2001 when the KwaZulu- Natal Provincial Minister of Housing, Mr. Dumisani Makhaye, approved R200 million in subsidies for the delivery of 14 000 houses (Grimmet, 2004). In conjunction with this initiative, the Provincial Department of Housing is responsible for facilitating delivery of low-cost housing and assisting households that satisfy the Provincial Department of Housing's criteria in obtaining government housing subsidies (eThekweni Municipality Durban, n.d.c). The KwaZulu Natal Elimination and Prevention of Re-emergence of Slums Bill (2006) aims to eliminate slums in KwaZulu-Natal, prevent new 'slums' from developing and upgrade and control existing 'slums' and lastly examine the performance of departments and municipalities in the elimination of 'slums' and the prevention of new 'slums' from developing (Abahlali BaseMjondolo, 2007; pers. comm., Municipal representative, 27 November 2008). The 'Prevention of the Illegal Squatting Act 52 of 1951', was initiated to control and prevent illegal squatting on public and private land (pers. comm., Municipal representative, 27 November 2008).

All of the above mentioned laws/bills/projects and acts were to control the formation of informal settlements in order to promote formal housing. However, the government has also acknowledged that the residents in informal housing can not be evicted illegally, therefore the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act 52 of 1951 was repealed in the Prevention

of Illegal Eviction From and Unlawful Occupation of Land Act No. 19 of 1998, which prohibits unlawful eviction (pers. comm., Municipal representative, 27 November 2008). Furthermore the Slum Bill (2006) has also been challenged and debated in terms of its relationship with the Prevention of Illegal Eviction From and Unlawful Occupation of Land Act No. 19 of 1998 and the constitution. These reveals give insight into the alternative way that the present (2009) government is addressing the presence of illegal occupation of land. Therefore, the government (2009) is now providing alternative serviced residences for these illegal occupants.

The eThekweni Municipality considered having a formal home as a key principle of equality, a means to become part of the society, with positive impacts on other sectors such as education (Vermeulin, 2006). The National Housing Minister at the time (2004), Lindiwe Sisulu, presented this view in a statement in November 2004: 'We are convinced that the clearing of slums and the provision of decent housing in the form of human settlements was a necessary precondition to create a quality of life which would raise the education levels of our people to enable them to play a meaningful role in both the economy and society' (Pretoria News, 2004, cited in Vermeulin, 2006: 67). This vision is admirable since it creates some sort of equality, allowing the informal settlers to attain proper housing and become formal owners.

Although relocation of informal settlements seems to be ideal, according to municipal officials, it is coupled with many disadvantages especially for the poor marginalized communities. Relocation has both social and economic consequences (Huchzermeyer, 2004; Singh, 2005). Relocation with regards to the social consequences emphasises the destruction of social networks and organisation (Huchzermeyer, 2004). The economic consequences include the loss of employment and the increase in daily travel costs (Huchzermeyer, 2004). Both these consequences are seldom taken into account in new developments, but could have a prejudicial impact on the lives of the residents of the informal settlements (Huchzermeyer, 2004). This is often the case where the alternative low cost housing is situated far from places of economic centrality and thus excludes the residents from integrating into the city.

The South African government at present (2009) is inundated with requests to solve the housing backlog which has directly led to the development of unhealthy and unliveable 'make-shift' houses for the impoverished and marginalised individuals in South Africa (Hendler, 1991; Borat and Kanbur, 2006). Although there have been measures in place to

address the housing backlog, these measures are proving to be frustrating and ineffective for the marginalised groups that are affected. Merely removing and relocating are not seen as feasible options, since these marginalised groups are not adequately taken into consideration, and many do not want to be relocated from the areas that they have already become accustomed too. Furthermore, if the government fails to provide adequate housing, informal settlements may become an aggravated issue in the future. The following section provides a chronological overview of the Clare Estate area as a space in which issues of informal housing and lack of access to land are central to resident's quality of life.

3.5 Background to study area

This section provides an overview of the study area. It also examines the groups of individuals that are present in Clare Estate, namely, the residents in formal and informal housing and interested and affected parties such as the Abahlali baseMjondolo members who have played a distinctive role in the political arena with respect to protecting the rights of the informal occupants. Furthermore, a description derived from site visits to Clare Estate will be intertwined with the presentation of the study area.

3.5.1 Clare Estate residential area

Clare Estate in Durban was established as a residential area for Indians in the early 1950's and therefore led to the development of a community which was distinctively 'Indian', with similar social and economic characteristics (eThekweni Municipality Durban, n.d.a). Clare Estate is a residential neighbourhood which is North-western relative to the city centre of Durban. It is surrounded by other neighbourhoods such as Sydenham, Sherwood, Overport, Palmiet, Parlock and Essenwood residential neighbourhoods. Refer to Figure 3.2, which shows the location of Clare Estate in relation to Durban. The neighbourhood is a fairly built-up area, with houses, schools and small to medium owned businesses. The eThekweni municipality has serviced this residential neighbourhood for many years (Singh, 2005; eThekweni Municipality Durban, n.d.a). It has a number of public services, such as, a hospital, post offices, libraries and a sports field for the residents of Clare Estate (eThekweni Municipality Durban, n.d.a). Also like other residential neighbourhoods the area is serviced by a ward councillor (Councillor Baig).

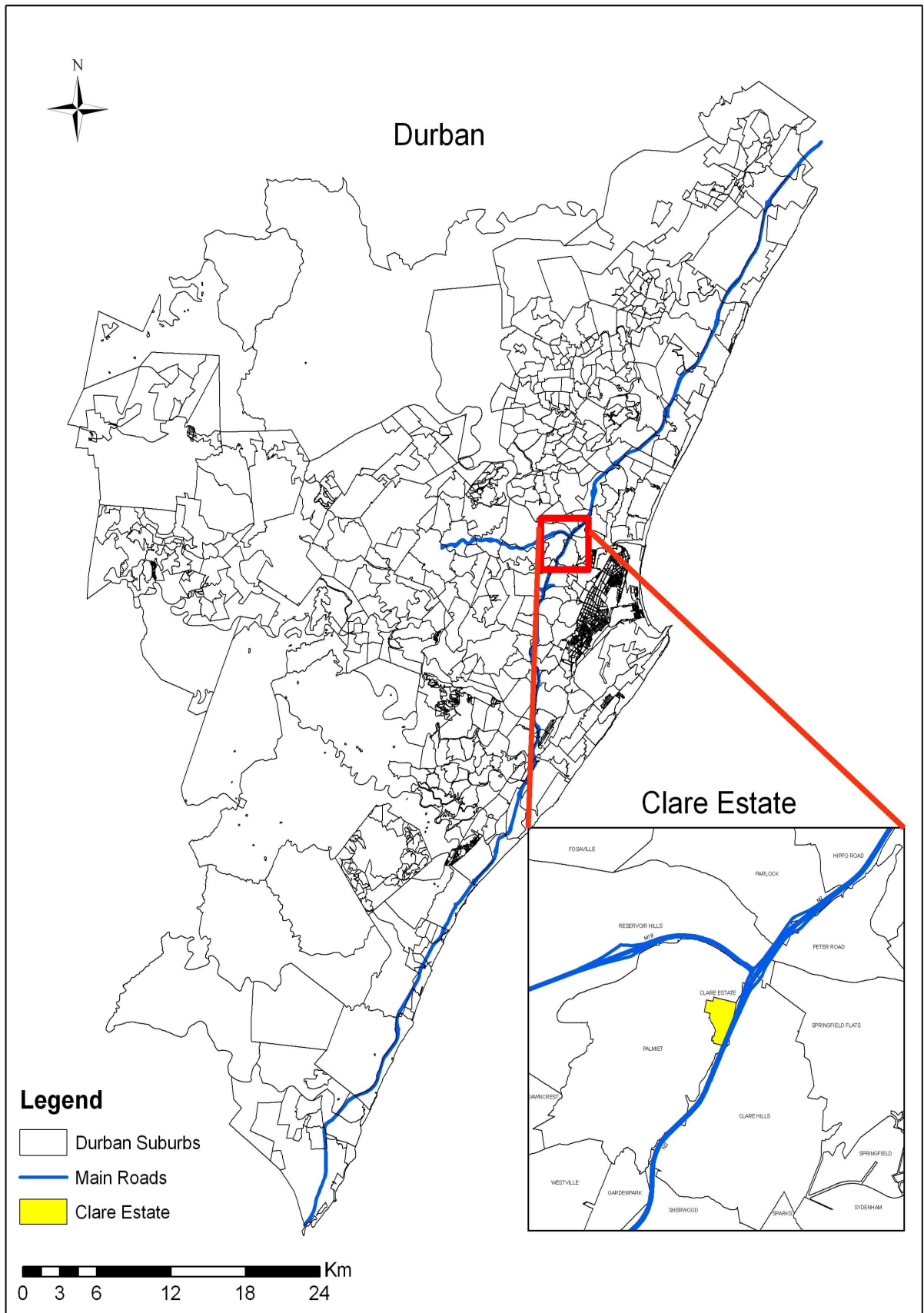


Figure 3.2: Location of Clare Estate in relation to the city of Durban.

Source: (Kortenbout, 2009)

The Clare Estate residential area is currently home to an array of race groups. The total population consists of 32926 individuals, consisting of 29% of black, 19% of coloured, 47% of Indian and lastly 5% of white residents (eThekweni Municipality Durban, n.d.b). 47% and 53% of males and females make up the population demographics in this neighbourhood (eThekweni Municipality Durban, n.d.b). With respect to the residents employment status, 48% are employed, 16% are unemployed and 36% are not economically active (eThekweni Municipality Durban, n.d.b). Although the area is a formal residential neighbourhood; however, there exists two types of housing categories, namely, formal and informal dwellings. Seventy eight percent of individuals reside in formal housing and twenty two percent of individuals reside in informal housing (eThekweni Municipality Durban, n.d.b). Refer to Figure 3.3 showing both formal and informal housing in Clare Estate.

Due to the fact that Clare Estate was not a designated 'white' residential area, it was not controlled in terms of the Prevention of Illegal Squatters Act no 52 of 1951, and therefore squatters were allowed to reside there. With the inadequate implementation of this Act during the 1980s, illegal squatting on state owned land began to increase (eThekweni Municipality Durban, n.d.a). During the 1980s there was thus an intensification of black South Africans moving from peripheral areas to Clare Estate.

The Clare Estate informal settlements, similar to many squatter communities in South Africa, were developed in the mid-80s, as a result of the weakening apartheid state and peoples desire to obtain a better livelihood (Singh, 2005; Pithouse, 2006). People moved from rural areas to the cities in search of better access to amenities such as schools, better access to employment, escaping traditional authority from rural areas, the need to experience city life, and to reunite families who were displaced because of apartheid policies (Pithouse, 2006). Another reason for such a movement was due to the desire to make a political statement to invade land, or due to fewer controls, movement into urban areas have become easier and communities have attempted to establish urban life. Overall, Clare Estate was viewed as an area to realize these opportunities for many Black South Africans. Refer to Figure 3.3 showing the formal and informal housing in Clare Estate. The informal settlements, in Clare Estate, Durban, are home to over 6,000 people (Pithouse, 2006).

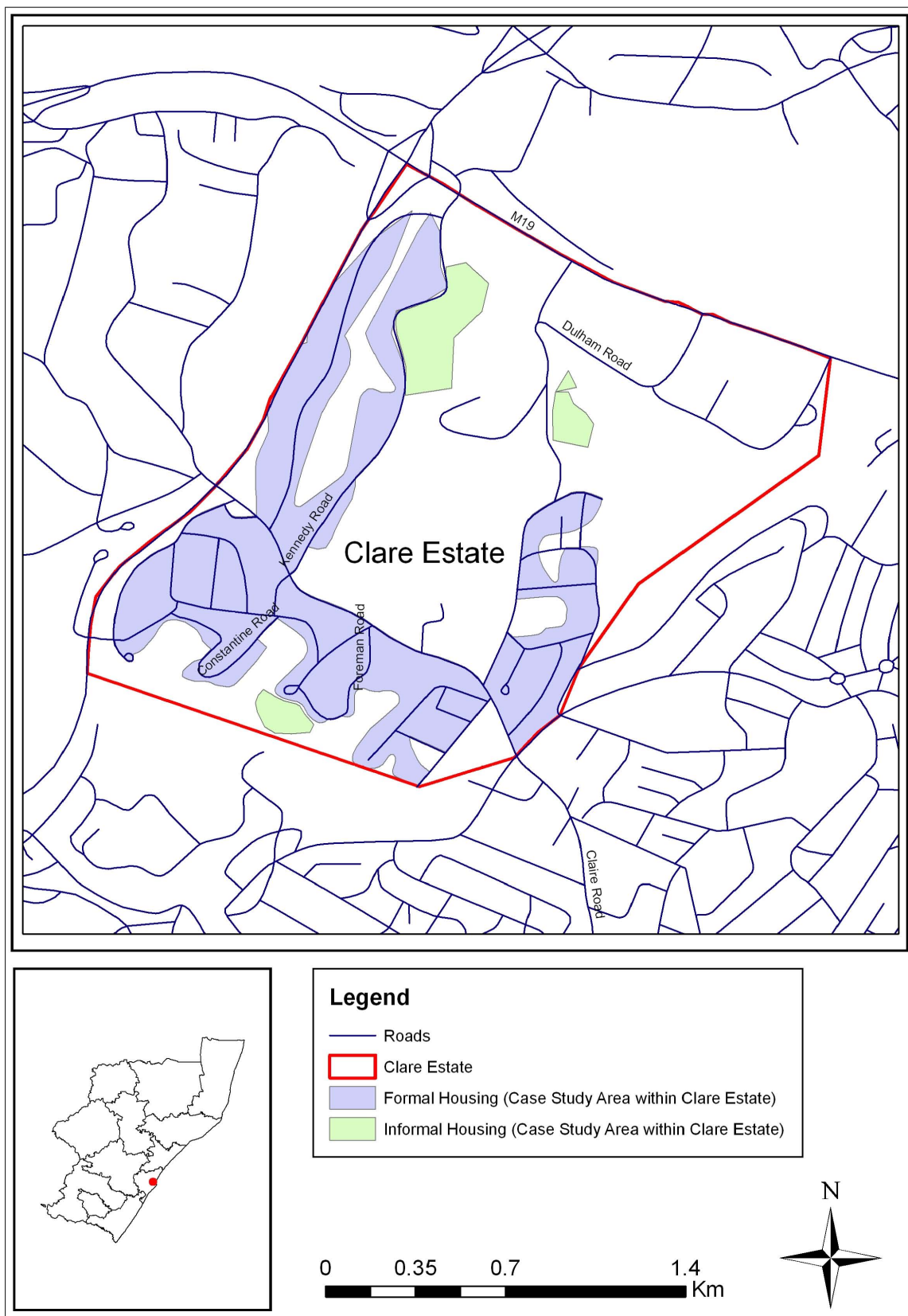


Figure 3.3: Formal and informal housing in Clare Estate, Durban.

Source: (Kortebout, 2009)

The informal settlers have occupied tracts of land within Clare Estate that are either privately or state-owned. Clare Estate is predominantly occupied by both Indian and Black residents. Both these groups, however, are spatially arranged and segregated according to their distinct socio-economic backgrounds. The majority of the residents are originally from rural KwaZulu-Natal and the Transkei (Pithouse, 2006). Access to amenities are minimal at these settlements and the individuals from these settlements are living in intolerable conditions. This has posed a threat to maintaining a safe and healthy lifestyle for the individuals living in these settlements (Singh, 2005; Pithouse, 2006). There is 'limited' electricity in the settlement, and shack fires which are a regular incidence have become an issue in Clare Estate (Singh, 2005; eThekweni Municipality Durban, n.d.a). The presence of informal settlements within the residential area of Clare Estate has become a contentious issue (refer to Appendix E, which shows pictures of the informal settlements in relation to the residents in formal housing in Clare Estate). Currently there is a substantial increase in the number and size of the informal settlements located within the Clare Estate area and due to this expansion of the settlements there has been tension with the residents in formal housings, regarding the informal occupation of land. The 'scramble' for property and land value is still an issue with the residents in formal housing of Clare Estate (eThekweni Municipality Durban, n.d.a), since many residents in formal housing are unhappy that the presence of the informal settlements has negatively impacted on the economical value of their properties. Some properties can not be sold because the re-sale value has plummeted drastically since potential buyers are cautious about living in Clare Estate.

The situation in Clare Estate has not been one without conflict. The informal occupation of land has led to a number of protests from the residents of formal housing. Many of the residents from formal housing have conveyed their dislike of the occupation of the informal settlements in their area (Singh, 2005; Nair, 2007). Some of the residents from formal housing stated that the location of these informal settlements has negatively impacted on their property values and that these settlements pose a threat to their well-being (Singh, 2005; Nair, 2007). In addition, the informal settlers have also organised protests, showing their unhappiness with municipal government efforts.

Furthermore, many of the settlers in informal settlements/housing have complained about the ward councillors in their areas. Some of the informal settlers' stated that the ward councillors, especially Councillor Baig, do not take them seriously and that the only

initiative he has taken is to bring them 'breyani', an Indian cuisine (Giles and Khan, 2007). The residents in the informal settlement view this effort as an inconsiderate attempt to rectify the problem, since supplying them with food will not get rid of their problems (Giles and Khan, 2007). Many residents want this councillor to resign and some have protested and rallied across Durban in order to make their voices heard (Giles and Khan, 2007). These protests have also led to violence (tyre burning and glass bottle throwing incidents) and in many cases the police have intervened by dispersing the crowds with water canons and rubber bullets (Abahlali BaseMjondolo, 2005). The protests from the residents were orchestrated to challenge the eThekweni municipality to address the informal housing and settlements in the area (eThekweni Municipality Durban, n.d.a).

The eThekweni municipality intervened and certain pockets of the informal residents have been allocated to new formal low cost housing elsewhere. However, the residents in informal housing refused to move, therefore causing much controversy. In addition to addressing the informal settlements in Clare Estate, a non-governmental organisation (NGO) has also rendered its services to the eThekweni municipality (pers. comm., NGO representative, 5 February 2009). This organisation like the Municipality, is trying to relocate the existing shack dwellers to proper housing units, as well as try to provide services for those that do not want to be removed (pers. comm., NGO representative, 5 February 2009).

A substantial amount of impoverished families were relocated from these informal settlements to new well-serviced houses in Parkgate (Durban) in 2003 (Dlamini, 2003). "The impoverished families were from the Clare Estate/Reservoir Hills area which has one of the largest informal settlements in the Durban region" (Dlamini, 2003: 1). It was labelled as one of the 'biggest slum clearance projects in South Africa' (Dlamini, 2003: 1). The move was the result of an initiative by former Provincial Minister of Housing, Dumisani Makhaye, who labelled the area as part of his Slum Clearance Programme to which R200 million was allocated for the province by the provincial government (Dlamini, 2003).

The programme was proposed to provide residents in informal settlements with sufficient housing. The first phase involved the emergency relocation of a cluster of high-risk informal settlements in Clare Estate (Dlamini, 2003). The sites that the residents from the informal settlements have been relocated to, according to Mr Makhaye, are serviced with

water, electricity, waterborne sewers and surfaced roads, which is an upgrade compared to the living in informal settlements (Dlamini, 2003). “These settlements include Vukani (already moved to Welbedacht), Quarry Road West, Canaan, Lusaka, Palmiet Road, Kennedy Road, Foreman Road and Wandsbeck Road” (Dlamini, 2003: 1). ‘The Parkgate housing project, located on the south western border of Verulam and adjacent to the existing residential area known as Meadowlands, was a joint initiative by the Provincial Department of Housing and eThekweni Metropolitan Housing Department under the Slums Clearance Programme’ (Dlamini, 2003: 1).

“The Department of Housing approved subsidies in the amount of R31 288 855 for the construction of services and top-structures, while the eThekweni Municipality contributed R29 741 999 to further fund the construction of services” (Dlamini, 2003: 1). The initiative was intended to provide residents in informal settlements with adequate housing but has not entirely resolved the problems associated with access to and occupation of land in Clare Estate, since there are a number of shack dwellings still present in the Clare Estate residential area (see Plate 3.1, which shows informal settlements near formal residential properties in Clare Estate). Many of the residents in the informal settlements have refused to be relocated and still reside amongst the residents in formal housing in Clare Estate.



Plate 3.1: Informal settlements near formal residential properties in Clare Estate.

The following section provides a description of community organisation in Clare Estate that has been very influential in addressing the needs and wants of the informal community.

3.5.2 Influential community organisation in Clare Estate (Abahlali baseMjondolo)

In Clare Estate, an influential organisation has developed in order to address the challenges that many marginalised individuals are faced with. This organisation challenges the chronic poverty which the marginalised black South Africans are faced with presently. They are Durban's Shackdweller's Movement. "Abahlali baseMjondolo has fought off a range of illegal attempts by the government to gag, suppress and dispossess them" (Patel, n.d: 1). The Abahlali baseMjondolo (Shack Dwellers) Movement began in Durban (early 2005) (Abahlali baseMjondolo (ABM), n.d). "Although it is overwhelmingly located in and around the large port city of Durban it is, in terms of the numbers of people mobilised, the largest organisation of the militant poor in post-apartheid South Africa" (ABM, n.d: 1).

Abahlali baseMjondolo was initiated because of the unhappiness of the local Black residents with regards to the sale of land in Durban residential areas (ABM, n.d). These individuals were unhappy that land, which was utilised by shack dwellers, was being sold to local industrialists (ABM, n.d). "The movement that began with a road blockade grew quickly and now includes tens of thousands of people from more than 30 settlements in Clare Estate" (ABM, n.d: 1). However, from 2006 till 2009 the movement has suffered more than a hundred arrests, regular police assault and ongoing death threats and other forms of pressure from members of the public (ABM, n.d).

This organisation has indirectly enforced the rights of the informal settlers, who local authorities sometimes ignore. This social movement is regarded as the backbone for the informal settlers, especially in Clare Estate. The movement also planned an extremely controversial but very successful boycott of the local government elections (March 2006) under the slogan '*No Land, No House, No Vote*' (ABM, n.d). 'Amongst other victories, the Abahlali have democratised the governance of many settlements, stopped evictions in a number of settlements, won access to schools' and 'stopped the industrial development of the land promised to Kennedy Road' Industrial Developments in Clare Estate (ABM, n.d: 1). The organisation has also forced numerous government officials, offices and projects to allow for inclusion of the local residents (especially the poor and marginalised individuals) in decision-making initiatives of Clare Estate, with regards to the informal housing in the

area (ABM, n.d). In addition, the Abahlali movement has also taken the 'Informal Settlement Eradication Act' to court since it unfairly discriminated on marginalised and poor individuals (pers. comm., Non-governmental organisation representative, 5 February 2009). They won the case at the High Court and the forced removals of individuals were not allowed (pers. comm., Non-governmental organisation representative, 5 February 2009). 'The Movement's key demand is for *'Land & Housing in the City'* but it has also politicised and fought for an end to forced removals and for access to education and the provision of water, electricity, sanitation, healthcare and refuse removal, as well as bottom up popular democracy' (ABM, n.d: 1). In some settlements the Movement has also successfully set up projects like crèches, gardens, sewing collectives, support for people living with, and orphaned by, AIDS (ABM, n.d). Although this social and political movement has been beneficial for the local marginalised groups in Clare Estate, the housing situation is still clouded by politics.

The housing situation in Clare Estate has not been without controversy. There has been a growth of informal settlements in this formal residential area, and the presence of the settlement has created much concern amongst interested and affected parties. Although the government has somewhat addressed this issue, by relocating some informal settlers and also provided better housing materials for these 'shacks', both the residents in formal and informal housing are unhappy with the government's efforts. This unhappiness has resulted in the development of the Abahlali baseMjondolo Movement, which is trying to protect the rights of the marginalised poor shack dwellers in Clare Estate.

3.6 Conclusion

The contentious issue of equal access to land has been on the agenda of many municipalities in South Africa. Understanding this informal occupation of land provides an outlook on the issues regarding the informal and formal residents in the Clare Estate residential area. This chapter examined the issues relating to inequalities and politics that surround access and occupation of land but with respect to the presence of informal settlements in formal residential areas.

The chapter discussed the structuring of South African cities during the apartheid and post-apartheid eras. This chapter also addressed how the apartheid policies and government's inadequate implementation of housing policies led to the formation of informal settlements, and how this development has become a contentious problem in many

municipalities. However, it should be ascertained that the present democratic government is trying its best to address the issues regarding the urban poor and the situation of informal settlements.

Furthermore, this chapter presented an overview of the Clare Estate residential area, presenting historical and present events of the residential area. The chapter also provided an insight into the types of residents, such as informal and formal residents. In addition it examined the relationship between the residents in formal housing and the residents in informal housing within the Clare Estate area, as well as examined the factors influencing the relationship between the two communities. In addition, it has also made reference to the social organisation (Abahlali baseMjondolo) that has protected and ensured the rights of the residents in informal housing. The following chapter, which is the methodology chapter, will provide an understanding to how the collection of data was analysed.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

The research methodology describes the methods that can be used to frame a research problem and collect and analyse the data to answer the research questions (Flowerdew and Martin, 1997). It is a systematic study of methods that are applied within a discipline (Cresswell, 1998). This chapter addresses the research methodology undertaken in order to meet the aim and the objectives of the dissertation. There was a variety of methods used in order to obtain the information needed within the study. Furthermore, the research was conducted through a research design that guided the analysis of data thereby allowing it to be systematic and thorough. The research design utilised in this research allowed for the identification of the research problem under investigation. The sections which follow incorporate the description of primary and secondary data, methods of sampling, data collection methods and data interpretation. The methodology chapter thus includes a discussion of how, where, why and when data were collected. Overall a qualitative and quantitative approach was adopted in order to obtain the type of meaning the residents in formal housing attached to their residential area, as well as to obtain information from questionnaires respectively. Furthermore, the methodology provided a framework and foundation for the research and therefore aids the other chapters in the research.

The structure for this chapter is as follows: Section 4.2 describes the general approach to the research design while Section 4.3 explains that the research utilised both qualitative and quantitative research approaches. Section 4.4 examines what type of data sources were used, namely primary and secondary data sources. Section 4.5 presents and analyses the primary data collection methods for the questionnaires, interviews, site visits, photographs and personal observation utilised. Sections 4.6 and 4.7 examine the sampling methods and how the data were interpreted respectively. Section 4.8 examines the positionality and critical reflection of the researcher with regards to the duration of the research project. Section 4.9 presents the constraints that were present when undertaking the research, and after which, the chapter is concluded in Section 4.10.

4.2 General approach to the research design

The research design helped to structure the approaches utilised in this research, allowing for the data and information collected to be analysed. There were a number of approaches that assisted the research, which will be explained below.

The overall and dominant approaches used in the research were qualitative and quantitative approaches. However, a qualitative approach was favoured more in this research, allowing for theoretical understanding of data. Both the qualitative and quantitative approaches will be discussed in the later sections (Section 4.3).

The research was also undertaken using a deductive approach. A deductive approach means that theory comes before research and that research is undertaken to interpret the data (Kitchin and Tate, 2000). The research examined specific information that contributed to the research. This approach allowed for the submission of concepts that were applicable to the research. Therefore the concepts that were used provided a basis for which the research relied on. The concepts used allowed for the interpretation of the data gathered through the research process. This framework allowed the researcher to test the research dominant concepts, which in turn broaden the research and allowed for certain ideas to be presented and analysed (Kitchin and Tate, 2000). The deductive approach was the frame of the study, and this approach was applied to understand the reality being investigated, in this case the issue of the informal settlements within the formal residential area of Clare Estate.

Data were collected using questionnaires with the residents in formal housing and thereafter interviews conducted with the residents in formal housing, municipal representatives and non-governmental organisations representatives. Additionally, the research was designed as an intensive study (Sayer, 1984). It is an in-depth type of method to extract data that is embedded with important and relevant information (Sayer, 1984). Given that it involved a small study area, it allowed for a detailed examination of data (Cloke *et al.*, 1991). It was therefore largely based on a qualitative design that studies individuals in their causal contexts, using interviews and questionnaires. Data were also collected according to the intensive case study design, thereby allowing for a relatively small number of individuals to be sampled. Although the research focuses on a small study area with only the residents in formal housing being interviewed, the data collected was meaningful, since the data focused on a particular group of individuals (residents in formal

housing, municipal representatives and non-governmental organisations representatives), therefore only analysing their information. However, this study also utilised the questionnaires that were administered to a wide range of individuals (Sayer, 1984; Cloke *et al.*, 1991).

The research design determined and assisted the approaches in this research. The following section will analyse the importance of the qualitative and quantitative research approaches.

4.3 Qualitative and quantitative research

The research was structured according to two types of research, namely qualitative and quantitative. However, as stated above the qualitative approach was favoured over the quantitative approach. This section presents and discusses both qualitative and quantitative research techniques.

The research encompassed a process of triangulation. Cohen and Manion (1994, in Wellington, 2000) explain the process of triangulation, whereby, both quantitative and qualitative methods are utilised in order to obtain data. Using more than one method is classified as triangulation. Furthermore, triangulation can be divided into data and theory triangulation Denzin (1970, in Wellington, 2000). Data triangulation basically means, collecting data at an interactive level, whereas theory triangulation entails the utilisation of any theories that explained the research.

Qualitative data, unlike quantitative data provides a theoretical understanding of data (Flowerdew and Martin, 1997). Flowerdew and Martin (1997) denote that qualitative research is reflexive and meaning is constructed through the interactions between the researcher and the researched. Furthermore, qualitative research allows for engagement with different people to ascertain how they assign meaning (Smith, 2001).

A qualitative research approach has been adopted because allows for multiple meanings and understandings of a particular problem, instead of imposing a dominant interpretation of the world onto society (Winchester, 2005). It is advantageous to social research since it is based within the interpretive realm (Winchester, 2005). Qualitative research is largely centred on the in-depth interpretative understanding of data, therefore an interpretative approach was utilised in this research. From the interviews administered with relevant stakeholders, information was obtained through this interpretative method. Utilising this

type of research, or adopting the principles adhered to by this type of research allows the researcher to be able to interpret the research in a more personal manner; however, there should be no room for biases. An advantage of doing qualitative research is that the data obtained had a “multi-dimensional” nature from which many embedded meanings can be unpacked (Robinson, 1998: 411). Adopting this qualitative research allowed for the understanding of how individuals attach meaning to their everyday lives (Flowerdew and Martin, 1997). Cloke, Cook, Crang, Goodwin, Painter and Philo (2004) denote that it is important to constantly maintain a critical stance when adopting research.

With respect to the quantitative research, some quantitative approaches were implemented to understand the similarities and differences in the community being researched. These were initiated through the questionnaires administered with relevant stakeholders. Quantitative data provide a numerical approach to understanding data (Cloke *et al.*, 2004). The interpretation of quantitative data is objective (Cloke *et al.*, 2004). Quantitative research allowed for the researcher to be objective during the data collecting process (Shaffir and Stebbins, 1991). It allowed for the manipulation and the statistical analyses of data (Wellington, 2000, Cloke *et al.*, 2004; Silverman, 2005). Furthermore, quantitative data are based on factual information and stands by the idea that facts are never changing (Shaffir and Stebbins, 1991).

Although the research used quantitative techniques, these were supplemented with the use of qualitative techniques, principally interviews with relevant stakeholders, site visits and personal observations. Qualitative research was very beneficial since it allowed for an interpretive in-depth analysis of data, allowing for the understanding of meanings in data. Furthermore, although quantitative techniques were not as extensively utilised as qualitative techniques, they were beneficial in obtaining data from the questionnaires. The following section examines the types of data sources utilised in the research.

4.4 Data sources

Both primary and secondary data were used in this study. In this section, secondary data sources will be presented first, followed by a discussion of primary data sources. The data that were collected and utilised were to test the research questions. The data obtained were analysed and interpreted, thus allowed for the drawing up of conclusions for the dissertation. The following section presents the secondary data sources.

4.4.1 Secondary data

The secondary data sources used in this research consisted of books, journal and theses. Books were obtained from the university library and other sources. The various types of books were very effective since they assisted with regards to data collection regarding the research. Relevant topics or theories were comprehended, examined and included. The journals obtained from the library and through electronic sources were also used. These journals allowed for the assimilation of various papers from various countries that were valuable to the research. A few theses were also utilised to gather information from other research related to this dissertation. In addition, newspaper articles and documentary videos also consisted of secondary data. Furthermore, secondary data were used to frame the research topic, data collection methods and allow for the interpretation of the primary data.

Only a limited number of internet sites were used, due to their potential lack of credibility, since certain internet sites can not be trusted with regards to obtaining precise and correct information. The internet sites that were used pertained to the history and geography of the present state of the study area. Also government sites relating to the research problem (presence of informal settlements on the boundaries of Clare Estate), were utilised. Only credible internet sites were used in the research. The date that the Internet sites were accessed was also given.

A literature review was initiated in order to provide a framework for the collection and interpretation of data. The purpose of the literature review was to identify what research has already been undertaken with respect to this research, and more importantly to identify the gaps in this field that need to be researched. A comprehensive and concise literature review was undertaken to present the amalgamation of main theories and concepts from the above mentioned sources. This allowed for further understanding of the research topic. A literature review was assembled with a variety of literature sources that pertained to the research. From this the theoretical framework was identified. Only appropriate theories that added credence to a research topic were utilised. The theories utilised allowed for the understanding of the research topic (Shields and Tajalli, 2006). Theory is the basis from which the research is formulated and the results analysed. The theories utilised were organised systems of accepted knowledge that incorporated facts, laws and tested hypotheses (Sayer, 1984; Johnston *et al.*, 2000). Pryke (2003) denotes that theories are

constantly changing and these ideas are what shape research. The conceptual or theoretical framework guided the research.

Documentary evidence was another form of secondary data that was utilised in this research. This section lists and examines the types of documentary data that were relevant to the research. Winchester (2005) states that texts can be grouped into three categories: documentary sources, creative texts and landscape sources. Documentary data may be in the form of maps, planning documents, reports, videos and newspapers (Winchester, 2005). The research made use of one newspaper article which reported on the feelings of residents in formal housing towards residents in informal housing. Refer to Appendix A, which shows the newspaper article relating to the devaluation of property as a result of the informal settlement in Clare Estate. Winchester (2005) stated that creative texts are in the form of poems, books, film and music. Furthermore, a documentary video was also studied to give additional background information of the informal settlement in Clare Estate. The video emphasised the plight of the residents' in informal housing with respect to inadequate housing. The newspaper article and the documentary video were used to examine the images and narrative that were portrayed in each of the roads (reasoning behind the selection of these roads is given in Section 4.6) studied in Clare Estate. Documentary sources also included maps of the Clare Estate area (refer to Figure 3.2 and 3.3 in Chapter Three). The researcher collected these types of secondary sources. The following section discusses the primary data.

4.4.2 Primary Data

Primary data were the central type of data in the research. Primary data obtained through various qualitative and quantitative data collection methods, namely interviews and questionnaires. The primary data has been directly obtained from the formal residents of Clare Estate, municipal authorities and non-governmental organizations. Personal observations of the Clare Estate area where informal housing is evident were also undertaken. Photographs of the study area also form part of the primary data gathered. From these personal visits to the study area, one is able to establish the intensity of the informal settlement in the Clare Estate area.

Both secondary and primary data sources were influential aspects in analysing the research at hand. The primary data sources were the dominant and most utilised source that was

utilised in this research compared to the secondary data sources. The sampling of the primary data is discussed in the section following the data collection methods section.

4.5 Primary data collection methods

This section describes the data collection methods for the questionnaire survey and then examines how the interviews were collected. The primary data collection was done from November 2008 to February 2009. Open and closed-ended questionnaires and in-depth interviews with individual respondents were used in this research. In this research the data was supported mainly through data that was collected orally from the subjects under scrutiny (Cloke., *et al.*, 1991; Cloke *et al.*, 2004). Both the questionnaires and interviews were used to examine the relationships between the residents in formal and informal housing; investigate how the residents in informal housing are impacting on the residents in formal housing and investigate what type of measures are in place to address the need for change within this context. In addition, to this data, data were also collected through photographs of the study area. All of the above primary data collection methods will be discussed in the following sections.

4.5.1 Questionnaires

Cloke *et al.*, (2004: 130) explain that, “questionnaires are an essential tool of social survey analysis, potentially delivering research which represents particular attributes of the sample”. It allows researchers to count up different levels of responses to questions, particularly where the questions are closed (Cloke *et al.*, 2004). One of the limitations of a questionnaire is that it restricts the answers that a respondent can give and forces the respondent to give an answer according to the options given (Valentine, 2005). However, some questionnaires can be a mixture between closed-ended and open-ended questions, therefore not restricting a respondent’s answers (Valentine, 2005).

Initially a pilot study (7th September 2008) was undertaken by visiting the site personally. This pilot study was also conducted through the administration of questionnaires to selected respondents (residents in formal housing). The questionnaire was semi-structured and the interviewees were able to talk freely about issues that they deemed important and relevant to the study (Kitchen and Tate, 2000). Before conducting interviews, a questionnaire was administered to the residents in formal housing, in the sample area. The focused questionnaire included structured and ordered questions without bias or ambiguity (Cloke *et al.*, 2004). The questionnaires included closed-ended and open-ended questions

(refer to Appendix B, which shows the questionnaire schedules used for the questionnaires conducted). The questionnaire consisted of twenty questions regarding the general information about the Clare Estate residential area. Furthermore, in order to allow for a better understanding of the research problem, a broad set of questions relating to the research were included in the questionnaire. The questions were constructed to gain information about the; personal details (income and race) of the respondents; length of stay of the respondents in the area; advantages, disadvantages of living in the area; personal description of the residential area; the influence of the informal settlements (examining aspects such as safety and security and quality of life) on the residential area; types of relationship between the residents in formal and informal housing; relocation of the informal settlements and the efficiency of the municipality to address issues relating to the presence of the informal settlements in Clare Estate.

Initially (1st December 2008) a mail-drop method was undertaken to facilitate participation in the questionnaire process. A sample size (one hundred) for the mail-drop was determined and this will be explained in the subsequent sampling section. The mail-drop method was adopted in order to determine how many respondents were interested and willing to partake in the study thereby aiding the research as well as to gather data. Responses were to be posted back to the Department of Geography and Environmental Sciences at the University of KwaZulu-Natal for the attention of the researcher. The mail-drop method involved taking all the selected questionnaires, and placing each questionnaire within a University of KwaZulu-Natal envelop and posting them to each of the selected respondents' homes with a spare envelop and stamp with which the respondents were to post them back to the University of KwaZulu-Natal (Department of Geography and Environmental Sciences).

Each envelope included a detailed introductory letter from the Department of Geography and Environmental Sciences explaining the research, a questionnaire in English and as well as a questionnaire in the isi-Zulu language (since the community in Clare Estate is multi-lingual). However, the mail-drop method was unsuccessful, since only two respondents out of one hundred selected households posted their partially completed questionnaire back.

Due to the lack of response to the mail-drop method, a second method had to be employed in order to obtain data from the respondents. Therefore, a door-to-door method was implemented, which involved visiting the homes of each selected respondents' and asking

residents there to participate in the questionnaire process. This process was administered on a very personal basis and gained the trust of the residents in formal housing. Given that visiting one hundred households was a substantial number to collect data considering the time constraints to complete the research, the sample size was reduced to fifty households (systematically choosing every second house, starting from the beginning of the road). This method proved to be very effective since all but five of the fifty selected sample of respondents agreed to participate in the process. The process was time consuming. This sampling process of the door-to-door method will be explained in the sampling section, shortly.

In addition to allowing for the initial collection of data, the questionnaires assisted in the development of the questions for the interviews, since the researcher was able to ascertain from the responses what issues seem to be of importance for the residents in formal housing of Clare Estate regarding the presence of the residents in informal housing. This allowed the researcher to gain insight into the historical and present situation in the study area, the relations between the residents in formal and informal housing as well as for a follow-up of intensive interviews with the selected fourteen residents in formal housing. The researcher was introduced to many residents in formal housing through this process of administering the questionnaires. The following section outlines/describes the interviews which followed the questionnaire process.

4.5.2 Interviews

The reason for undertaking interviews, as Cloke *et al.*, (2004) state, is that this method aids the researcher to gain access to the people's experiences and the meanings attached to those experiences. Also another reason for adopting this interview method was because the questionnaires did not provide detailed information and fundamental explanations (Cloke *et al.*, 2004). As stated earlier, questionnaires are very limiting in that they are mainly structured according with closed-ended questions forcing the respondents to choose from the options given, therefore restricting their responses (Valentine, 2005). However, the interview process allows for richly laden data that are meaningful for the researcher and the researched (Valentine, 2005). The questions in the interview process were structured on the same basis as the questions in the questionnaire (refer to Section 4.5.1). This interview process allowed the respondents to present their answers with very little limitations. The interviews allow personal and unique data to be gathered from individual responses (Cloke

et al., 2004). Therefore this allows the interviewer to 'interpret' the data as mentioned earlier (Flowerdew and Martin, 1997).

One way of interpreting data was through recording and then transcribing some of the interviews. The reason for tape-recording some of the interviews, was to ensure that a detailed interview process was undertaken (Cloke *et al.*, 2004). Recordings ensure that the researcher accurately records the interview(s)/discussion(s) (Cloke *et al.*, 2004). Recordings allow for 'play-back' of the interviews (Cloke *et al.*, 2004). Also during each recorded interview, separate handwritten notes were taken in order for the researcher to listen more carefully to each respondent's response and the transcribing of the recordings was done on a later stage (Cloke *et al.*, 2004). Each of the recordings was of good quality since these recorded interviews were done in the offices of the municipal representative and the non-governmental organization. Each of the recordings were transcribed as soon as possible after the interviews in order to make reference to the researcher's handwritten and personal notes, therefore leaving no room for lost data (Valentine, 2005). In-depth interviews were also conducted with two stakeholders, namely, a municipal representative and a non-governmental representative. However, the residents' in formal housing interviews were not tape-recorded, since all the residents were uncomfortable with the idea and therefore handwritten notes were taken. Many of the residents were scared that the recordings of their interviews may land in the hands of individuals, namely the residents in informal housing, with negative consequences for them (the interviewees). Due to this factor, the researcher developed an adept and fast method of recording the interviews, in order to limit the loss of important information. Initially this proved to be difficult because the researcher had to write down an enormous amount of information. However, as more interviews were conducted it proved to be less difficult. Conducting the research without the tape-recorder allowed for a relaxed and trusted relationship between the researcher and the researched. Each of the participant's interview process will be discussed below separately.

Structured interviews were developed as a means by which primary data were gathered and scrutinised for the use of the study. The interview schedule was drawn up in terms of the aim and objectives of the study, the theoretical framework and from observations made during the pilot study. The interview process was divided into three sections, namely the interviews of the residents in formal housing, the municipal representative interview and lastly the non-governmental interview.

The interviews of residents' in formal housing were semi-structured and based on open-ended questionnaires, allowing the respondents to freely express their feelings pertaining to particular questions. This therefore allowed for the flexible nature of the questions in case the respondents deviated from the questions presented (Dunn, 2005; Valentine, 2005). The interview process with each of these respondents was held between the 13th February 2009 to 22nd February 2009. The interviews were in-depth, in order to extract important and crucial information pertaining to the research. They were structured in an intelligent, scientific and concise manner which made the report as feasible as possible. Before each interview was conducted, an informal conversation between the researcher and researched was conducted. From the interviews, the researcher was able to examine the information gathered. Each interview took approximately one to one-and-a half hours to complete. However, the time duration of the interviews was flexible in order to accommodate the interviewees.

The interview schedule for the residents in formal housing was structured according to the five objectives in the study (refer to Appendix C, which shows the interview schedules used for the interviews conducted). Furthermore, when respondents were unavailable to participate in the interview process on a specific date, a new time schedule was arranged according to the respondents' availability. The interviews were guided by relevant and key questions (Kitchen and Tate, 2000). These questions covered issues regarding the residents' in formal housing perceptions of the informal residents, the impacts of the informal community on the formal community as well as whether their relationship was harmonious or based on conflict. These questions also examined whether the initiatives such as relocation of most of the informal settlements within the residential area resolved the tensions between the two communities. Furthermore, these questions allowed for a conversation between the interviewee and the interviewer (Ferraro, 2006). This allowed for the interpretation of the residents' (in formal housing) understandings and experiences and how they make sense of their everyday lives. This type of conversation built a pleasant interview process with the interviewees and led to each respondent being known on a personal basis. Each respondent was also issued with a letter of informed consent (refer to Appendix D, which shows the letter of consent to participate in the research project) that he/she signed (Dowling, 2005). This letter also ensured that each respondent's identity remained anonymous (Dowling, 2005).

The interviews with the representatives of the municipality and non-governmental organisation were structured differently from the interviews with the residents of Clare Estate, but had incorporated some of the questions in the residents' interviews. However, the interviews for the residents in formal housing, municipal representatives and non-governmental organisations, were designed specifically for each of them in order to obtain relevant information regarding the research. This therefore allowed for a wide range of data to be collected and analysed. Admission to both these departments (municipality and non-governmental organisation) required permission from both the municipal and non-governmental organisation representatives. Furthermore, it should be noted that both the municipal representative's and the non-governmental organisation's representative's interviews were tape-recorded, with their permission. However, the municipal representative requested to be anonymous, whereas the non-governmental organisation's representative was comfortable in disclosing his name.

The interview with the municipal representative was based on how his organisation viewed the situation of the informal settlements within the boundaries of the formal residential area, and what measures they have put in place to address this issue. Initially emails were sent to a number of municipality officials, requesting a meeting for an interview with the managers, but due to no reply, most of the municipal representatives had to be contacted via telephone. From the six municipal representatives contacted only one representative agreed to participate in the research. This municipal representative was contacted telephonically in order to schedule an interview. This interview was done on the 27th of November 2008. The researcher tape-recorded and transcribed the municipal representative's interview.

An interview with the non-governmental organisation representative was also conducted and was based on his knowledge or experience of the residents in informal housing of the Clare Estate area. Initially emails were sent to this representative to schedule a meeting, however, due to no feedback, this representative was contacted via telephone in order to schedule a formal interview. This interview was done on the 5th of February 2008. The researcher tape-recorded and transcribed the municipal representative's interview. This interview lasted approximately an hour-and-a-half. The interviews scheduled for the above stakeholders were designed specifically for them. However, in each of these interviews the relationship between the specific stakeholder and the residents in formal housing were explored, with the aim and objectives of the study guiding the questions. Furthermore, the

opinions of the residents in formal housing, the municipal member and non-governmental organisation representative have been analysed and filed for inclusion in the results and the discussion section. The following section examines other ways of obtaining primary data, namely through site visits, photographs and personal observations.

4.5.3 Site visits, photographs and personal observations

Other primary data collection methods were through site visits, photographs and personal observations made in the study area. Site visits were made on numerous occasions to enquire about the study area and the social issues under investigation (see Table 4.1, which shows the site visits to the Clare Estate residential area, from 1st January 2009 to 11th June 2009). During these site visits photographs were also taken of the surroundings of the residents in formal housing with regards to the informal settlements in their neighbourhood. Photographs were also taken during the interviews and on other personal visits to the study area (refer to Appendix E, which shows pictures of the informal settlements in relation to the residents in formal housing in Clare Estate). Personal observations were also made at the time of doing the interviews and this contributed to the primary data collected. The following section examines another form of collection of data through documents such as newspapers and videos.

Table 4.1: Site visits to the Clare Estate residential area, from 1st January 2009 to 11th June 2009

Reasons for site visits	Date of Site visits	Place
Personal observations	1 st January 2009	Clare Estate
Photographs taken of the formal and informal communities, with special reference to the proximity of the informal settlement to the residents in formal housing	12 th February 2009	Clare Estate
Personal observations and more photographs taken of the residential area	11 th June 2009	Clare Estate

These above data collection techniques provided relevant and essential for the study. The following section examines the sampling of the primary data.

4.6 Sampling of primary data

This section will address the sampling process used in the gathering of primary data. Sampling is important in any research, since the sample represents the characteristics of the communities under investigation (Flowerdew and Martin, 1997). A non-probability sample had been chosen because it was decided to be more feasible with regards to the study. A non-probability sample is the selection of sample members which is dependent on human judgment (Flowerdew and Martin, 1997). There are also no clear set measures in choosing the units of analysis (Flowerdew and Martin, 1997). Non-probability sampling is largely undertaken in qualitative research.

Furthermore, five non-probability sampling techniques to select the sample of interview respondents were used, namely purposive, random stratified, proximity, availability and snowballing sampling. Firstly, purposive sampling is a particular technique that aids the researcher in identifying individuals according to the research topic (Kitchin and Tate, 2000). The aim of this study is to investigate the experiences and conceptualisation of the residents in formal housing with regards to the informal community's access and occupation of land in Clare Estate. Purposive sampling was employed to ensure the identification of a particular group of individuals relating to the research topic, for example formal residents of Clare Estate, municipal representative, non-governmental organisation representative. This therefore allowed for relevant and necessary information to be included, since some (those that wanted to participate) of the relevant people had been included (see Table 4.2 for a list of stakeholders). The stakeholders were identified and recognised through a selection process. The residents of formal housing in Clare Estate were chosen since they are affected by the presence of the informal settlement. The municipal representative and the non-governmental organisation representative were chosen on the basis of their involvement with the informal settlement in the formal residential area of Clare Estate.

Furthermore, with regard to the residents in formal housing, a random stratified sample method was adopted. A random sampling method is choosing the samples according to chance (Flowerdew and Martin, 1997; Robinson, 1998). This was adopted in terms of allowing all potential interviewees within the sample frame to equally have a chance of being interviewed and represented. This sampling method promoted a fair and equal representation of all the potential interviewees. It should be acknowledged that the random sampling method was used in conjunction with stratified sampling method. A stratified

random sampling method is when potential interviewees are grouped according to a characteristic which the researcher wishes to use (Cloke *et al.*, 2004). The individuals were grouped according to their location relative to the informal settlement. A proximity technique was used in order to determine residents in formal housing who were in close proximity to the informal community (Cloke *et al.*, 2004). Respondents were chosen according to their physical location in relation to the informal settlements. The sample then was selected systematically from within the group (Cloke *et al.*, 2004). This method solely pertained to determining the types of residents in formal housing of Clare Estate, to be interviewed.

Residents from formal housing were also chosen according to their availability. Availability sampling can be explained whereby anybody can agree to be interviewed to become part of the research (Cloke *et al.*, 2004). This technique was feasible when the researcher needed other residents in formal housing who did not fall within the original sample size due to the rejection from other selected questionnaire applicants. In addition, other residents in formal housing were chosen according to the researcher's criteria, since these respondents were knowledgeable of the social problem, namely the presence of the informal settlements in Clare Estate.

The last non-probability purposive sampling used was the snowballing technique which allows one to obtain other contacts relevant to the study via individuals already being interviewed (Kitchin and Tate, 2000). This was evident when the municipal representative who agreed to participate suggested two other persons suitable for the research. One candidate was Councillor Baig (who was unavailable as explained earlier) and the other was the representative from a non-governmental organisation.

The sample for the questionnaire was first determined and then the sample for the interview was determined. The researcher obtained a map of the Clare Estate area from the eThekweni municipality websites that defined all the roads of the area. The case study/ area encompassed five roads in Clare Estate, because they were closest to the informal residents. These roads were Foreman Road, Rosemary Road, Constantine Road, Kennedy Road and Dodoma Road. Questionnaires and interviews were conducted in each of the above mentioned roads. This sample for the questionnaire process was determined according to the planning of the study area, by examining the total number of houses within the area and working out the total sample size. A total number of fifty houses were

selected for the questionnaire process. The researcher began selecting the sample by selecting every second house, starting from the beginning to the end of the above mentioned roads.

Furthermore, it should be ascertained that the researcher had a system/plan when the selected residents did not want to participate with regards to answering the questionnaires. This system/plan therefore chose any resident to the right of that 'refused participant' to be allowed in the research. Therefore fifty questionnaires were included in the mail-drop and the door-to-door sample. However, this sample size of acquiring fifty respondents was not realized, since all the original residents that were in the sample did not want to participate. Given that the researcher enlisted other residents who did not fall within the original sample, a total 45 questionnaires were administered.

After the sample for the questionnaire was determined, the sample for the interview was determined. Thereafter from the questionnaire process, some participating residents in formal housing were systematically divided and chosen to participate in the in-depth interview process. From this, 11 households were chosen, however the researcher additionally through subjectivity chose 3 more households (that did not fall in the sample) since these residents had additional information regarding the research topic, which was beneficial. Therefore a sample size of 14 formal residents was interviewed. This was acquired by gathering all 45 questionnaires and choosing every fourth questionnaire to be chosen as a sample for the interview process. The reason for using a sample size of 14 is justified since the research is attempting to examine the experiences and perceptions of the residents in formal housing with respect to the location of the informal settlements on their residential boundary. Furthermore, due to the time constraints of completing this research, and since the research utilises the interviews from the residents in formal housing instead of residents in informal housing, the size of the study is appropriate.

The sample of the municipal official was derived through the purposive sampling technique. Six municipal officials were chosen according to information gathered with relevance to the study. However, from these six municipal officials only two municipal officials were well acquainted with Clare Estate. From these two municipal officials only one chose to be interviewed (and requested to remain anonymous). The representative from the non-governmental organisation had background information relating to the presence of the informal settlement towards the residents in formal housing in Clare Estate.

Refer to Table 4.2, which shows stakeholders and interviews conducted in Clare Estate from 27th November to 22nd February. This table presented information regarding, the date of the interviews, the types of respondents participating in the interview, the organisation, for which the respondents were representing in the interview and the place where the interviews were conducted.

Table 4.2: Stakeholders and interviews conducted in Clare Estate from 27th November to 22nd February

Date	Respondents	Organisation	Place
27 th November 2008	Municipal representative	Municipality	eThekwini Municipality offices Shell House 13 th floor 221 Smith Street
5 th February 2009	Non-governmental Organisation representative	Non-governmental Organisation	Liberty Building 269 Smith Street
13 th February 2009	Respondent 1	Resident	Foreman Road
19 th February 2009	Respondent 2	Resident	Foreman Road
18 th February 2009	Respondent 3	Resident	Foreman Road
17 th February 2009	Respondent 4	Resident	Foreman Road
17 th February 2009	Respondent 12	Resident	Rosemary Road
10 th February 2009	Respondent 5	Resident	Constantine Road
17 th February 2009	Respondent 6	Resident	Constantine Road
11 th February 2009	Respondent 7	Resident	Constantine Road
18 th February 2009	Respondent 8	Resident	Constantine Road
20 th February 2009	Respondent 9	Resident	Foreman Road
21 st February 2009	Respondent 10	Resident	Kennedy Road
22 nd February 2009	Respondent 11	Resident	Dodoma Road
22 nd February 2009	Respondent 13	Resident	Kennedy Road
22 nd February 2009	Respondent 14	Resident	Kennedy Road

Non-probability sampling provided certain techniques, such as purposive, random-stratified, snowballing, proximity, availability sampling and systematic that aided this research. These techniques allowed for the selection of specific individuals to participate in this research, therefore allowing for the analyses of the data. The next section examines how data was interpreted and analysed.

4.7 Data interpretation

This section examines how data was interpreted in the research. Interpreting data was very important in the research, since it dealt with the analysis of the data collected.

The data presented were interpreted both qualitatively (analysing the interviews) and quantitatively (by analysing the data obtained and sorting information into tables and graphs). Although the research largely relied on interpreting the qualitative data, both the qualitative and quantitative data were examined and presented. The qualitative data was analysed on an interpretative basis. Data were interpreted from the information obtained from both the questionnaires and interviews. Both these primary data sets were analysed by identifying important themes or sub-themes developed from the data set (Kitchin and Tate, 2000). Thereafter the data obtained from the interviews were interpreted (Kitchin and Tate, 2000). A set of thematic categories were based on the objectives (Kitchin and Tate, 2000). The data analysis or interpretation involved a process to extract useful data that aided the research presented. In interpreting the data allowed the researcher to identify the different patterns from the collected.

The interviews conducted were recorded in the form of handwritten notes and tape-recorded, which will both be explained shortly. The analysis of these interviews will follow Dey's (1993, in Kitchin and Tate, 2000) and Robinson's (1998) approach to interpreting data. Dey (1993, in Kitchin and Tate, 2000) states that the data should be dismantled into parts and thereafter these parts must be analysed together (Kitchen and Tate, 2000). There are three ways to interpret data. Firstly, this involves a description of data. Secondly, a classification of data and thirdly connecting the concepts across categories (Dey 1993, in Kitchen and Tate, 2000). This type of method allows for a coherent analysis of qualitative data. This was the structure that was adopted in the research to interpret the data. Lastly, Robinson (1998) states that initially the data need to be read, then categorised into themes and finally the data need to be interpreted allowing for a wholesome understanding of data. Therefore the data collected from the study were

described, read, classified, categorised and interpreted according to Dey (1993, in Kitchin and Tate, 2000) and Robinson (1998).

The data obtained were organized and classified into themes. Furthermore, where the themes were interrelated, they were compared and cross tabulated with each other, thereby allowing for an in-depth analysis of data. Through this process of gathering and organisation of data, the researcher was allowed to analyse data, which presented a clear understanding of what the data contained. The central aim and objectives of the study guided the data. The types of data that were available and collected were guided by the researcher with regards to obtaining information from relevant participants who have volunteered to assist in completing the questionnaires and interviews. The results obtained were analysed from the in-depth questionnaires and interviews that the relevant stakeholders completed.

Initially each questionnaire was coded and thereafter recorded in a code book. The coded data were then compiled into a spread sheet and then analysed using a programme called Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). This is where all the data were analysed and presented in a table form, allowing one to understand the differences and correlations between the themes collected throughout the data collection process. The differences and correlations were determined with the use of the cross-tabulation tool available on this programme. From this the researcher was able to present data in different themes, making the interpretation meaningful. The researcher with the use of this programme determined the interrelationships between variables. Thereafter from the information in the tables, relevant graphs were developed to present the information in a clear and concise manner to be understood.

With respect to the interviews, each interview was analysed according to the research questions and objectives of the study. Thereafter the data collected were grouped into broad useful themes. The data collected were in the form of handwritten notes, tape recorded voice files, newspaper articles, documentary and creative texts, such as videos. The interviews with the formal residents were not recorded but they were handwritten and were retyped after the conclusion of each interview and stored in a safe location, for later interpretation. This was done to ensure the legibility and detail of the data collected (Crang, 2005). The researcher recorded and transcribed only two interviews, one with the municipal representative and one with the non-governmental organisation representative.

During the tape-recorded interviews, handwritten notes were made during each interview to ensure an in-depth classification of data at a later stage (Crang, 2005). Both these interviews were analysed and thereafter common themes were identified.

With each objective in mind, categories were developed, since the interview questions were structured according to these objectives. In total there were 14 interviews that were conducted with the residents in formal housing, and these interviews were subject to both a qualitative and quantitative approach. The developing of these categories used a quantitative approach since each category or theme needed to be determined and coded. This categorizing of data aids in the organization of data so that the relationships between data can be presented and analysed (Crang, 2005). The development of categories is very subjective (Crang, 2005) since these categories were developed by the researcher. The categorising of data is known as a coding process, and it sometimes allows the researcher to be as rigorous as possible (Jackson, 2001). Once each of the categories was determined and presented, the researcher was able to merge certain categories that had similar themes. The researcher was able to sift out themes that related to each other and therefore form connections between categories. Also, lastly a research book was utilized to capture important information pertaining to the research, such as times for interviews, personal notes and important information when editing the individual chapters in the research.

Furthermore, it should be noted that interpreting data and presenting data is not static and therefore in order for a coherent data set to be interpreted and presented, the process of referring back to the data set is necessary (Kitchen and Tate, 2000). This was also adopted in this research. The following section examines the positionality and critical reflections of the researcher.

4.8 Positionality and critical reflection

This section examines the reflection and the positionality of the researcher with regards to the duration of the research project. This section further examines the thoughts of the researcher throughout the whole process of the research, with regards to conducting questionnaires, interviews, and personal visits to the study area of Clare Estate.

From the commencement of this research the researcher was given advice on how to conduct research and the type of position the researcher should adopt with regards to being objective. However, although the researcher at times tried to be objective, subjectivity also

influenced the research process. This research was influenced by value judgments of the researcher. Cloke *et al.* (2004: 364) stated that 'human geographical research can never be viewed as value free' and should be viewed rather as a social process. Furthermore, Drapeau (2002), emphasised that subjectivity is a positive characteristic of research which allows one to understand the objective of the research as well as to access truth and knowledge while conducting the research. Subjectivity therefore aids any research, and this was adopted in the research.

With regards to the position of the researcher, Cloke *et al.* (2004) state that the researcher's position is not fixed and constantly changing. Due to this changing position the researcher at times can be put in a vulnerable position. The position of the researcher being an 'insider' or an 'outsider' in the research process affects the outcome of the research. According to Mohammad (2001), a researcher can either be 'insider' or 'outsider' depending on the political characteristics in a country. The 'insider' and 'outsider' attributes are not fixed and are dependent on the positionality of the researcher in that particular political and temporal context (Jackson, 1993; Mohammad, 2001). Since this research was conducted in Durban, South Africa, the researcher re-evaluated her position with regards to the changing political context of this country and highlighted her situatedness of her, in the research. Due to the fact that Clare Estate is a predominantly Indian community, and because the researcher is of Indian origin, access to these residents was unproblematic. According to Mohammad (2001) and Archer (2003), race, sexuality and gender influences research and they determine the structure of everyday interactions with people when doing research. Furthermore, through the action of conducting in-depth interviews with the residents in formal housing, the researcher presented herself as one who identified with the causes and plight of the residents in formal housing.

With regards to reflexivity, Rose (1997) states that reflexivity requires the researcher to look inward at his/her identity as well as to look outward at the relationship between the researcher and researched. Furthermore, Rose (1997) emphasises that researchers should never presume and fully understand the position of the research subjects and that the researcher must adopt a more modest approach, and this was also taken into account while conducting this research. Rose (1997) further states that, the researcher needs to be aware of the linkage between power and knowledge, since these can exclude, intimidate and not represent people properly. Dowling (2005) states, that in any social research, both the researcher and the researched occupy different positions in the research process, since they

are characterised by the power relations that exist at that time. Dowling (2005) states that, the relationship between the researcher and the researched can be equal, where they both have similar positions and experience the same benefits and costs from the research. However, Dowling (2005) further states that in most cases, the relationship is unequal, which favours either the researcher (an exploitative relationship) or the researched (an asymmetrical relationship). Therefore, in order to avoid this unequal relationship in this research, a style of reflexive thinking ('critically reflexive') that kept questioning the researcher's position (Jackson, 1993; Dowling, 2005), was adopted in this research. This was adopted to ensure that the researched (people) are acknowledged, respected and are not taken advantaged off. This research was reflexive and that the researcher's position was constantly scrutinised (Dowling, 2005).

Before and while conducting this research the researcher had to constantly examine her position as a researcher with regards to those being researched. The researcher wanted to undertake this topic because too much research has been done with regards to the plight of the individuals living in informal settlements, and very little research has been done on the perceptions of the residents in formal housing with regards to the presence of informal settlements in residential areas. The next aspect that the researcher needed to reflect on was the ethics of the research that she was undertaking.

Ethics and moral values are very important aspects in any research process, in order to value and safe-guard those being researched. Cloke *et al.* (2004) state that researchers need to be sensitive to the people who are being researched. This outlook of doing research was integral to the researcher's research, since the researcher did not just want to do research on the residents' in the formal community, but the researcher wanted to assist them as well by working 'with them and for them' (Cloke *et al.*, 2004). The researcher also hoped to represent the individuals who participated in the research fairly and honestly.

However, at many times the aspect of ethics was questioned since on many occasions some of the residents from formal housing were uneasy with the note-taking and some questions, since they required personal information. Thus the researcher had to continually assure these residents, that their responses were highly confidential and that their responses will be analysed by the researcher only. Also, some of the residents from formal housing assumed that this research would immediately address the issue of the informal settlements in their neighbourhood. Thus the researcher had to constantly remind these residents that

this research was a requirement for the researcher to obtain a Masters Degree only and this research was not conducted by the eThekweni Municipality to address the issue of the presence of informal settlements in Clare Estate. A compulsory letter of informed consent was drawn up by the researcher (see Appendix D, which is a letter of consent to participate in the research project), and an ethics form filled out by the researcher in accordance with the rules of the Faculty of Humanities at UKZN. Prior to the interviews, each respondent was required to sign the letter of consent. Some of the respondents were suspicious of this form, while others were nonchalant about it. The ethics form allowed the researcher to consider any ethical challenges that could arise during the research.

On reflection, it was realised that this research was important to undertake since it examines the complexities regarding who has access to land and on what basis and what social tensions are visible from the perspective of the residents in formal housing with regards to the presence of the informal settlements. However, this research only added to a field of knowledge and therefore like other research at Masters Level in the geography field, was unable to bring about change. This is further acknowledged by Pain (2003), who stated that many social and cultural geographers only study the area, without bringing about change. As a researcher, the idea of not solving the issue and bringing about change was problematic on a personal basis. The researcher constantly asked questions such as: 'What is the purpose of this research?', 'how is this research helping the residents in formal housing with regards to the presence of the informal community?' and 'will the issue of the presence of the informal settlements in Clare Estate be solved by the eThekweni Municipality?' Pain (2003) states that bringing about change and these types of questions are issues that many geographers face.

It was thus important for the researcher to acknowledge the position that she had taken in the research and to recognise the outlook that she brought with into the research. The researcher has attempted to make reference to her position and reflection in the research. The following section will examine the constraints experienced when undertaking this study.

4.9 Constraints

There were a number of constraints to undertaking this research. These will be elaborated in the following paragraphs. It should be stated that undertaking research of this nature

does not come without disadvantages; there are pros and cons to every research. And each of these 'cons' should be overcome.

The first and most important constraint was that of change in supervision. There were two researches undertaken. The first research commenced in January 2007 and because of unfortunate and unforeseen reasons, the research had to be terminated. Therefore, a second research, began in January 2008, under a new supervisor. As a researcher this placed enormous stress on me and I, at times, in the initial stages wanted to discontinue my Masters research. However, with much encouragement from my family members, close friends I decided to look at it as a challenge that I needed to overcome. After the change of supervisor I was content with the direction in which the research has grown.

Another constraint involved safety issues. This aspect is particularly relevant in all research, since the protection of one's self is important. The research was conducted in a formal residential area, where informal settlements are located, and since the researcher is unfamiliar with the residential area, necessary precautions were undertaken. I was always with friends or family members, and they accompanied me to the residents' homes to ensure my safety.

Initially there was a problem about getting access to the area, but this was overcome, as contacts were provided by previous researchers of the area. The first constraint was when none of the selected formal residents responded to the questionnaires that were placed in their post boxes (mail drop method). However, this was overcome when I undertook a door-to-door approach and visited each of the selected households. However, although this was more personal, some of the selected households did not want to participate in the research. Also, on some occasions, I felt uncomfortable with some of the individuals within my sample. Therefore they were eliminated from the interview process, because I feared for my personal safety. My supervisor Ms Houghton, was also concerned and requested that I do not go back to those houses, in the sample. In these cases, the households to the right of those initially chosen were included.

With respect to the tape-recorder during the interview process, all of the residents in formal housing did not want their interview process to be recorded (Cloke *et al.*, 2004) and therefore handwritten notes had to be undertaken. All of the residents in formal housing raised the safety issue and how the tape-recorder would jeopardise their safety. Although

on numerous occasions it was explained to them that the tape-recorder will only be used by me and no one else, they still refused. Therefore in order to conduct the interviews with the residents in formal housing the tape-recorder was not used. I also found it a challenge initially with writing down the responses, however, this proved easier with time. Not using the tape-recorder did not hinder the research, since the trust between me and the formal residents was maintained.

Some of the residents in formal housing, during the interview process, tended to deviate from the questions given to them, however, I was able to re-ask the question and allow them to answer it again to the best of their ability. Although this deviation of the questions, can be irritating to some, it was not irritating to me, in that the formal residents and I had already formed a good relationship. Issues regarding the positionality of the researcher also influenced the information obtained from the interviewees, therefore the researcher had to be sensitive to various issues concerning the development of knowledge (Ferraro, 2006).

From the interview process I found that some of the residents in formal housing were not able to express themselves well and some of the questions were difficult for them to understand. However, it should be ascertained that some of these problems were sorted out during the pilot survey. However, although new questions were developed many of the formal residents had not completed their school education, and still had difficulties in understanding some questions. I therefore had to rephrase and explain the questions in detail, during the interview process. Also another issue was that each interview process lasted approximately an hour to an hour-and-a-half, and some residents showed their unhappiness since they had other commitments.

The availability of interviewees such as residents in formal housing in Clare Estate, municipal representatives and the non-governmental organisation representative became an issue; therefore my time had to be structured according to their availability. On many occasions certain respondents would phone and say they could not meet for the interview on the scheduled day, and their only available time was now. I had to cancel all my appointments and meet with them in order to ensure that the interview was done. Also, on other occasions, I was unable to meet some residents due to prior commitments. This was overcome by scheduling other available times for me and the respondents.

Lastly, another limitation was the fact that I could not gain an interview from the residential area Councillor (Councillor Baig). This was necessary in order to establish the councillor's position with regards to addressing the presence of informal settlements in Clare Estate. On numerous occasions he was unavailable to participate and therefore I had to acquire information from a municipal official. This therefore meant that I could not get his views about the problem under investigation.

4.10 Conclusion

Deciding which methodology framework to use in a research was a very difficult and time-consuming process. However, the methodology section had to be precise in order to structure the other sections in the research, especially the data analysis section. Only methods and techniques that were applicable to the research were used therefore adding to the dissertations credibility. The methodology provided a framework and foundation for the research and therefore aids the other chapters in the research.

This chapter of the dissertation illustrated how the data were collected. The research aimed to investigate the experiences and conceptualisation of the access and occupation of land for informal settlements by the residents in formal housing in Clare Estate. The research was largely influenced by a qualitative study framework. However, it did utilise quantitative methods to collect and analyse data. Data were obtained through a number of ways, such as questionnaires, face-to-face interviews, personal observations and photographs, and lastly through documentary and creative material such as newspaper articles and video materials.

The sampling method that was used was an amalgam of five non-probability sampling techniques; purposive, random stratified, proximity, availability, snowballing sampling. Purposive sampling was used to identify relevant stakeholders to the research; random stratified sampling, allowed for the inclusion of residents in formal housing equally and fairly, a systematic manner. Proximity sampling allowed for the inclusion of residents in formal housing close to the informal settlements. Availability sampling included residents in formal housing that were willing to participate according to their availability. Snowballing was utilized to identify other potential candidates from initial contacts pertaining to the research. Both primary and secondary data were useful in the research.

The data analysis section examined how both the questionnaires and interviews were analysed. The questionnaires were coded and the codes were entered in a code book for further analysis and lastly they were analysed using the Microsoft Excel and SPSS programmes. Data based on the interviews were divided into categories and codes, to establish relationships.

The researcher's position with regards to interviewing the selected individuals had to be maintained as a facilitator, since the researcher knew that data could not be biased, therefore not jeopardising the data collection process. There was a mutual relationship that was based upon trust between the interviewees and the researcher, especially the residents of Clare Estate. This therefore allowed the researcher to attain 'rich' data.

Finally, there were a number of constraints experienced with respect to the interview process. Some respondents did not want to participate in the research and therefore the researcher had to select other interviewees. The next chapter discusses the results found in this study. The data collected are analysed and presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE
PERCEPTIONS OF RESIDENTS IN FORMAL HOUSING, IN CLARE
ESTATE WITH REGARDS TO THE PRESENCE OF THE
INFORMAL COMMUNITY

5.1 Introduction

The purpose of the study was to investigate the experiences and conceptualisation of the access and occupation of land for informal residents of Clare Estate. The research is specifically focused on the Clare Estate formal residential area. Inadequate post-apartheid housing schemes and a history of inequality have resulted in the development of informal settlements within and around private properties. This has resulted in oppositions from residents in formal housing in this neighbourhood.

This chapter examines the perceptions of residents in formal housing on the informal community. It investigates whether fear among residents in formal housing plays a role in the conceptualisation of the informal community. Furthermore, this chapter also investigates the importance of the formal residents' 'sense of place' and whether the informal community situated within Clare Estate threatened their 'sense of place'. In the results present an array of themes that were interpreted from the data that relate to each objective.

The perceptions of residents in formal housing on the presence of the informal settlement in Clare Estate were an important issue to examine since it provides an understanding as to how individuals stereotype individuals who are different. The types of images that are developed from these perceptions help exclude the low-income and marginalised groups from society. Thus these images that were constructed influence the type of relationship that these two different groups have with each other. The evidence presented was obtained from open and closed ended questionnaires with 45 residents (formal) and in-depth interviews with 14 residents (formal) from the Clare Estate area (refer to Figure 3.1 and Figure 3.2, in background chapter). Evidence from the in-depth interviews with one municipal representative and one non-governmental organisation representative were also presented. In addition to these sources, personal observations, internet sites regarding the history of the area and site visits also provided sources of data.

The results consist of two chapters, Chapters Five and Six, which are interrelated. Chapter Five is divided into four sections, which are as follows. Section 5.2 presents the respondents' description and characterisation of the informal community and settlement. This section gives evidence of how the residents (formal) view the informal community as the 'other', 'impoverished', 'criminals', 'honest', 'dishonest' and lastly 'invaders'. Section 5.3 investigates how the role of 'fear' influenced the respondents' perceptions of the informal community. Section 5.4 examines the respondents' idea of a 'sense of place', with respect to the experience and conceptualisation of the informal settlements in Clare Estate. Lastly a conclusion to this chapter is presented in Section 5.5. The following section presents the information gathered on the residents' (formal) description and characterisation of the informal community.

5.2 Clare Estate: Respondents' description and characterisation of the informal community and settlement

This section will first examine the personal and intimate conception that the residents in formal housing in Clare Estate have of the informal community. The portrayal that the residents in formal housing have of the informal community is helpful because the attributes that are associated with the informal communities assist in understanding the relationship that exists between the two different societal groups. This section is divided into four sections. Firstly, the description of the informal community as the 'other' will be presented in Section 5.2.1. Secondly, in Section 5.2.2 the perception of the informal community as impoverished and criminals will be highlighted. Thirdly, a description of the informal community as honest and dishonest individuals will be presented in Section 5.2.3, and lastly, in Section 5.2.4 the perception of the informal community as 'invaders' will be presented.

5.2.1 Social differences- Sense of 'othering'

Society is strongly divided according to socio-economic differences (van Kempen, 1998; Sachs-Jeantet, 2000; Thorns, 2002; Scheinsohn and Cabrera, 2009). This division has resulted in the segregation of certain individuals and the exclusion of others (Moser and McIlwaine, 1999; Hamnett, 2001; Cox and Watt, 2002; Thorns, 2002; Iyenda, 2005; Fernandes, 2007; Kjellstron and Mercado, 2008; Scheinsohn and Cabrera, 2009). Furthermore, these 'differences' are enhanced by the perceptions that individuals have of each other. van Kempen (1998) further illustrates that where there are two groups of different socio-economic backgrounds, unwanted perceptions are accompanied with them.

This section attempts to present information of how social differences and the sense of 'othering' are interrelated. In addition, this section also attempts to provide evidence of how these stereotypical labelling made by the residents in formal housing on the informal community influence individuals' perceptions of, or engagement with, each other.

Firstly, the sense of stereotyping becomes evident with respect to the description that the residents in formal housing constructed of the informal community in Clare Estate. Nine from the fourteen formal residents interviewed indicated that the informal community were socially and economically different from the formal residents (Respondent 2, 19 February 2009; Respondent 5, 10 February 2009; Respondent 6, 17 February 2009; Respondent 7, 11 February 2009; Respondent 8, 18 February 2009; Respondent 10, 21 February 2009; Respondent 11, 22 February 2009; Respondent 12, 17 February 2009; Respondent 14, 22 February 2009) and therefore 'labelling' was evident. This stereotypical labelling was established through the following statements from the respondents. One respondent stated, "I just don't like them, they are not like us" (Respondent 5, 10 February 2009). Individuals have expectations of other individuals and therefore these expectations need to be fulfilled in order to be accepted in a particular social group. Another respondent stated that, "These people are not my kind" (Respondent 6, 17 February 2009). The informal community is described as being different (Respondent 6, 17 February 2009). In addition to this another respondent stated, 'they are not like us' (Respondent 14, 22 February 2009). This respondent emphasises that they do not share any common attributes with the members of the informal community. Furthermore, although this 'labelling' has been presented, the effects of the 'labelling' will be presented in the next paragraph.

This 'labelling' referred to above has enhanced the separation between the residents in the formal and informal community. Two respondents emphasised that due to the socio-economic difference of the informal community, they socially exclude the informal community from their community (Respondent 5, 10 February 2009; Respondent 12, 17 February 2009). This was evident with regards to the following responses. One respondent stated, "Try my best to keep my distance, don't get involved, they are different, have different values and low standards" (Respondent 12, 17 February 2009). Some of the respondents keep their distance from members of the informal community because of their different socio-economic backgrounds. Another respondent expressed that, "Just don't want to associate with them, they are not like us" (Respondent 5, 10 February 2009).

Residents in formal housing do not want to associate with the informal community and therefore socially exclude them because they 'label' them as being different.

From the evidence presented above, it is evident that 'labelling' plays a significant role with regards to how individuals perceive each other. Furthermore, this type of 'labelling' has emphasised the social separation and disassociation between the formal and informal communities. The residents (formal) have created a standard conception of the informal community. There is a certain 'label' that one group of individuals place on the other because of economical, political and social differences (Sibley, 1995; Wratten, 1995; Hecht, 1998), which is evident from the evidence given above. Stereotyping permits generalisations to be made based on the features of an individual or groups in society (Hecht, 1998). In addition, Santana (2002) further expresses that class, race, and social and moral standing in society determine the types of perceptions and relationships that an individual has with another. This was evident when the respondents stated that the informal community are "not like them", "not their kind" (Respondent 5, 10 February 2009; Respondent 6, 17 February 2009; Respondent 14, 22 February 2009). Examining the quotes above, one can ascertain that there is the creation of the 'other'. Individuals are from the outset placed into groups of similar characteristics (van Kempen, 1998; Sibley, 1995; Wratten, 1995; Hecht, 1998). Thereby highlighting the notion of a 'divided city'.

Preconceived stereotyping has negative outcomes for certain individuals in society, especially the poor marginalised communities, in this case the informal community in Clare Estate, since this 'labelling' excludes and displaces them from society. This is evident in both respondent 5 and 12s' responses (10 February 2009; 17 February 2009). This type of stereotypical 'labelling' is fostered through the social differences that are present in modern societies (van Kempen, 1998; Sachs-Jeantet, 2000; Thorns, 2002; Scheinsohn and Cabrera, 2009). Given that there are differences in society, individuals do not have the same wealth and status, and this therefore results in social differences and divisions which are evident. Therefore, from the evidence provided above, the respondents encourage a separation between communities of different social and economic backgrounds (Low and Gleeson, 1998). The informal community in Clare Estate is grouped according to their social, economic and political worth (Smith 1999, in Cloke *et al.*, 1999). The 'others' are seen to 'threaten' social lives and are therefore excluded (Sibley, 1995; Wratten, 1995; Hecht, 1998). Two respondents talked about "distancing themselves" and "not associating with the informal community" (Respondent 5, 10

February 2009; Respondent 12, 17 February 2009). In short, they were influenced by the conceptions that they have of the informal community. These stereotyped conceptions are divided into 'good' and 'bad' conceptions (Sibley, 1995). However, it is usually the 'bad' stereotypical 'labels' that were emphasised (Sibley, 1995), This was evident from the above quotes since the formal resident view these informal settlers in a negative light (Respondent 5, 10 February 2009; Respondent 6, 17 February 2009; Respondent 14, 22 February 2009). Furthermore, this stereotypical 'labelling' has encouraged the segregation and the polarisation of the different communities in Clare Estate, with regards to the responses analysed (Respondent 5, 10 February 2009; Respondent 12, 17 February 2009).

It is thus evident that amongst the respondents and the informal communities in Clare Estate, there were social differences between individuals of different social economic backgrounds, and these differences has enhanced the types of stereotypical perception that the respondents have of the informal community. However, it became evident that in the Clare Estate neighbourhood that these stereotypical 'labellings' resulted in stigmatisation and judgement of the marginalised informal community. Furthermore, this stereotyping behaviour was extremely disadvantageous to the 'other' group, which in this case is the informal community, since they were wrongfully characterised and therefore socially displaced and excluded from the respondents' lives.

This idea of social differences and the 'sense of othering' have principally influenced how people view 'other' people who are socially and economically different from one another. In addition to this development of the 'other', the next section describes the informal community and presents how the residents in formal housing have placed stereotypical 'labels', such as impoverished, criminals, and 'honest' and 'dishonest', and 'invaders' on the informal community in Clare Estate. The next section examines how the residents in formal housing view the informal community as impoverished and criminals.

5.2.2 Respondents' perceptions of the informal community, in Clare Estate, as impoverished and criminals

Preconceived perceptions influence the types of characterisation and descriptions that certain individuals place on other individuals. Each respondent from the formal community had a different perception of the members of the informal community. This section examines how the respondents categorise the informal community into; impoverish individuals and dangerous criminals. These different perceptions will be discussed below.

A majority (eight out of fourteen) of the respondents interviewed placed emphasis on the fact that the informal housing were impoverished individuals. These perceptions were evident with the following quote; “Poor, don’t have the same benefit as us” (Respondent 13, 22 February 2009). Here most of the respondents noticed that these informal occupants were economically disadvantaged compared to their own economic status (Respondent 13, 22 February 2009). They mentioned that the informal residents did not have the same access to resources and opportunities that they have (Respondent 13, 22 February, 2009). In addition, Respondent 3 (18 February 2009) expressed, “they are poor people, they can’t afford accommodation like us”. Due to the impoverished nature of the informal residents, they are unable to afford proper and basic housing and are therefore forced to live in the conditions that they are presently in (Respondent 3, 18 February 2009). Respondent 2 (19 February 2009) also shared the same sentiments as Respondent 3, in that this respondent also stated that these informal settlers cannot afford basic needs like the residents in formal housing in the residential area. Furthermore, Respondent 12 (17 February 2009) stated that, “most come from rural areas, they are poor, therefore they come here to look for jobs and places in order to live better, which is hard to get”. The reason for the informal community’s land occupation is due to the fact that they are poor and they migrate to formal residential areas in order to obtain access to opportunities which are not obtainable in their places of origin (Respondent 12, 17 February 2009). Therefore, it is evident that there exists inequalities in society, and that the least advantaged individuals have encountered these inequalities.

From the above analysis, it can be ascertained that there was a social and economic divide and this divide is evident in the Clare Estate community, where there exist two categories of persons, namely, the higher income and the lower income groups, this is in keeping with the earlier work of Best and Struver, 2000; Butler and Hallows, 2002 and Maharaj, 2002. Furthermore, it can be established that the formal residents ‘label’ the informal community as impoverished individuals, therefore highlighting the development of the ‘other’ (Sibley, 1995). Furthermore, the development of the ‘other’ highlights the divisions in society that has exacerbated the inequalities faced by the marginalised members in society by not allowing them to share in and acquire the same benefits and opportunities as the ‘self’. Society is constructed on the basis of economic, political and social divisions and therefore this influences an individual’s access to a certain opportunity or resource (Cloke, *et al.*, 1991; Low and Gleeson, 1998; Radcliffe, 2004). With regards to this ‘social and economic divide’, inequalities between individuals are emphasised. This is clearly evident with

regards to the responses given by respondents 2, 3, 12 and 13 (19 February; 22 February 2009; 17 February 2009; 18 February 2009) above. Only a few enjoy benefits that are available, while the majority of the population are excluded (Sibley, 1995; Wratten, 1995; Low and Gleeson, 1998; Radcliffe, 2004). With reference to the data presented above, it became apparent that the respondents from the formal residential area place a noticeable distinction between themselves and the informal community. This was evident when all of the above respondents emphasised that the informal community did not have the same access and opportunities to resources as them, and that the residents in the informal settlements were economically disadvantaged (Respondent 2, 19 February; Respondent 3, 22 February 2009; Respondent 12, 17 February 2009; Respondent 13, 18 February 2009). In addition to these inequalities, the residents in the informal settlements were displaced from society and were unable to access the same opportunities and resources as the residents in formal housing. In accordance with this finding, Santana (2002) states that poverty and social exclusion are largely related and it is usually the poor and marginalised who were displaced in society. These lower income individuals were mostly disadvantaged because of the positions that they occupied in society (Low and Gleeson, 1998). Furthermore, van Kempen (1998) and Sachs-Jeantet (2000) stated that in many spaces where unequal land access and occupation occurred and different social groups occupied the same space, social inequalities arose.

The above inequality has implications for achieving social justice in society (Coleman and Morris, 1998; Heywood, 1999; Visser, 2001; Smith, 2004; Clayton and Williams, 2004), and the social injustices were evident in Clare Estate due to the unequal access of resources and opportunities on the part of the marginalised population, as stated by all of the respondents (Respondent 2, 19 February; Respondent 3, 22 February 2009; Respondent 12, 17 February 2009; Respondent 13, 18 February 2009). Due to the social hierarchy, society is divided into the 'haves' and 'have nots', and this division enhances the inequalities that the poor and marginalised individuals experience (Heywood, 1999; Clayton and Williams, 2004; Mitchell, 2003). These inequalities create differences among the different individuals and therefore this tends to influence the perceptions and the relationship that exist among them (van Kempen, 1998; Sachs-Jeantet, 2000). In addition to this conception of the informal community as being impoverished, the respondents in formal housing further emphasised that this impoverished nature resulted in most of the informal settlers to becoming criminals. This will be explained in the following paragraphs.

It was evident that the majority (eight of the fourteen) of respondents emphasised that due to the impoverished situation of the informal community they resorted to criminal behaviour. Many respondents emphasised that the informal settlers resort to crime because they have no alternative means of earning a living and that they did not have the same opportunities as them in the neighbourhood. Thus, one respondent stated; “They are poor and because they are in that situation they have resorted to crime” (Respondent 1, 13 February 2009). Given that the residents in the informal settlements were regarded as impoverished, there was the general conception that because of their ‘poor’ status they resorted to criminal activities. Another respondent stated that, “They are poor, so they resort to crime to get things they don’t have, that we do” (Respondent 14, 22 February 2009). The formal residents acknowledged that there was an uneven divide between the ‘haves’ and ‘have nots’ and it was usually the ‘have nots’ who resorted to criminal behaviour in order to gain access to certain resources and opportunities. These occupants of informal housing have resorted to alternative means in order to earn a living, in short they have resorted to criminal activities in order to support themselves and their families. Furthermore, another respondent stated that they were dangerous criminals, thus engaging in stereotyping these residents. Respondent 7 (11 February 2009) stated, “If I had to look at them, they are poor, they’re all rouges. Always drunk, they look terrible”. Due to the fact that these individuals are poor, they were labelled as ‘criminals’. Furthermore, this labelling has a negative connotation attached to it, because these individuals were seen as a lower socio-economic group of individuals.

With reference to the above statements it was evident that the respondents in formal housing recognised that there were differences between them and the informal community present in their neighbourhood. Society is embedded with divisions, and these divisions are escalated through the social hierarchies thereby enhancing inequalities (Cloke, *et al.*, 1991; Low and Gleeson, 1998; Smith, 1999, cited in Cloke *et al.*, 1999; Radcliffe, 2004). The inequalities present in society lead individuals to carry out unwanted activities (Low and Gleeson, 1998). This was evident with respect to the above quotes, were the respondents recognised that the impoverished nature of the informal community has resulted in criminal behaviour (Respondent 1, 13 February 2009; Respondent 14, 22 February 2009; Respondent 7, 11 February 2009). Evident here, is that the respondents emphasised that being poor resulted in criminal behaviour, which conformed with the stereotypical label (Sibley, 1995; Wratten, 1995; Hecht, 1998). Stereotypical labelling of the informal community on part of the respondents in formal housing in Clare Estate has

resulted in generalisations being made about that community (Respondent 1, 13 February 2009; Respondent 14, 22 February 2009; Respondent 7, 11 February 2009). The idea of being poor was seen in a negative way, and linked to negative activities (crime). However, Sibley (1995) denoted, that there are 'good' and 'bad' stereotypical representations, and with regards to Clare Estate the respondents had a 'bad' representation of the informal community in their area. Examining the responses above, it was evident that there was an exaggerated stereotyped labelling of the informal community, since their impoverished circumstances were used in the negative 'labelling' of them being criminals (Respondent 1, 13 February 2009; Respondent 14, 22 February 2009; Respondent 7, 11 February 2009). This negative labelling, led to the formation of the 'other' and the social exclusion of the informal community by the formal community.

The social inequalities that were present within Clare Estate have influenced the nature and outcome of community engagements and perceptions of individuals, especially the formal community's perceptions of the informal community in Clare Estate. Inequalities are largely present within societies; however, some people tend to ignore the effects that are caused by these inequalities that lead to social divides. In this neighbourhood there are residents from formal housing on one side, who are of the low-middle to middle income group; and the residents from informal housing on the other side, who are of the low income group. There was a certain stigma that individuals attach to 'other' individuals, and this is evident through the perception of viewing the informal community as criminals because of their impoverished nature or status. This stigma has a negative 'label' which strengthened the social exclusion of the informal community from the community living in formal housing. Although the residents in formal housing perceived the residents in the informal settlements as impoverished and labelled them as criminals, the following section examines how some of the residents in formal housing had mixed (positive and negative) perceptions of the informal community in Clare Estate. The following section examines how the respondents characterise the informal community as honest and dishonest individuals.

5.2.3 Respondents' perceptions of the informal community, in Clare Estate, as honest and dishonest individuals

There were mixed perceptions and feelings about the types of individuals that occupied these informal dwellings. This section examines the residents (formal) perceptions of the informal community. Some of the residents (formal) emphasised that the informal

community consisted of both decent/respectable individuals that try to earn an honest living, and difficult individuals who can never be trusted because of their dishonesty. Six of the fourteen residents interviewed, placed emphasis on the 'dishonesty' category compared to the 'good/honest' category of the informal community (Respondent 5, 10 February 2009; Respondent 6, 17 February 2009; Respondent 7, 11 February 2009; Respondent 8, 18 February 2009; Respondent 9, 20 February 2009; Respondent 11, 22 February). These mixed perceptions will be discussed below.

Approximately fifty percent of the respondents interviewed stated that the informal residents were "Dishonest people" (Respondent 5, 10 February 2009; Respondent 6, 17 February 2009; Respondent 7, 11 February 2009; Respondent 8, 18 February 2009; Respondent 9, 20 February 2009; Respondent 11, 22 February). These respondents clearly stated that the residents in informal housing only consisted of bad, non-trustworthy individuals who are a hindrance to their social well-being. This perception highlighted the negative attributes that the respondents attach to the informal community within their formal residential neighbourhood. This is evident by Respondent 8's (18 February 2009) response, "They are dishonest people, we cannot trust them because of who they are". The issue evident here is the non-trustworthy nature of the informal community. In addition to this response, Respondent 9 (20 February 2009) expressed that they were, "Dishonest, can not trust, you will never know what will happen if you do". Respondents were cautious to trust the informal community because of their perceived dishonesty (Respondent 9 20 February 2009).

Only a few (four out of fourteen) respondents characterised the informal members as consisting of both honest and dishonest individuals, they had mixed feeling towards the informal community (Respondent 5, 10 February 2009; Respondent 6, 17 February 2009; Respondent 9, 20 February 2009; Respondent 11, 22 February 2009). Although these respondents described that some of the individuals comprise of good and honest people, they were quick to indicate that there were dishonest and untrustworthy people that occupied the informal dwellings (Respondent 5, 10 February 2009; Respondent 6, 17 February 2009; Respondent 9, 20 February 2009; Respondent 11, 22 February 2009). The 'dishonesty' attribute was highlighted relative to describing the residents in informal housing as good/honest individuals. This was evident by the following statement: "Some of these are good people. Some are our worst nightmare" (Respondent 5, 10 February 2009). Another resident to emphasise this dualistic characteristic, highlighted: "Well they

are not so bad, there's the odd few who will purposely intimidate you, and lie to get what they want" (Respondent 11, 22 February 2009). Therefore, it was notable that the residents in informal settlements were perceived to consist of both honest and dishonest individuals. This highlighted the fact that the informal community were perceived as both honest and dishonest individuals.

The residents in formal housing thus categorised the informal community into impoverished individuals, criminals and a mixture of good (honest) and bad (dishonest) individuals. It was evident here that the majority of the residents (formal) observed that these residents (informal) were poverty stricken and that they resorted to criminal activities. The residents in formal housing were divided on the basis of the types of individuals that they associated with (van Kempen, 1998). Individuals were segregated by ethnicity and socio-economic differences (van Kempen, 1998). This was evident with respect to the respondents' perceptions about the informal community. The divisions that were emphasised highlighted the stigmatisation that many individuals associate with 'others'.

Individuals become disassociated from society because of the perceptions that the other individuals have of them. It was evident that the respondents placed stereotyped 'labels' on the informal community and this labelling were associated with a negative perception of the informal community (Sibley, 1995; Wratten, 1995; Hecht, 1998). Present amongst the respondents was the exaggeration of the stereotypical labelling, as Sibley (1995) mentions. Although the 'good' perceptions of the informal community were mentioned, they were overshadowed by the 'bad' perceptions.

In conclusion, the respondents perceptions of the informal community were attributed to the stereotypical 'labelling' that individuals have of others (Sibley, 1995; Wratten, 1995; Hecht, 1998). These conceptualisations of individuals can also be attributed to the social differences that were distinct amongst the different social groups in Clare Estate. The next section analyses the reason why the respondents in formal housing perceive the residents in informal housing in Clare Estate as 'invaders'.

5.2.4 Respondents' perceptions of the informal community, in Clare Estate, as 'invaders'

It has already been established that the informal community in Clare Estate has been characterised as 'outsiders'. However, individuals have a certain attachment to the place in which they reside (Dikec, 2005; McCreanor *et al.*, 2006). This section examines how the preconceived stereotyping of individuals and attachment to place influenced stereotypical 'labels'. Therefore, this section attempts to examine why the respondents in formal housing in Clare Estate perceive the informal community as 'invaders'. This will be discussed below.

A substantial number of respondents emphasised that they perceived the residents in the informal housing as 'invaders' and that this was not their residential land to claim (Respondent 12, 17 February 2009; Respondent 5, 10 February 2009; Respondent 8, 18 February 2009; Respondent 10, 21 February 2009; Respondent 11, 22 February 2009). Five out of fourteen formal residents interviewed stated that the informal residents were unlawfully occupying this space and were not supposed to be in their neighbourhood. One formal resident stated that, "This is not their real homes, they must get out" (Respondent 8, 18 February 2009).

Due to the illegal occupation of land in the formal residential neighbourhood, most of the respondents wanted them to be moved since they regarded this area as their own and not belonging to the members of the informal community. In addition to this, another formal resident stated, "They are not supposed to be here" (Respondent 12, 17 February 2009). This respondent described the residents in the informal housing as having unlawfully occupied this area and therefore should not be present in their neighbourhood (Respondent 12, 17 February 2009). (See Plate 5.1 and Plate 5.2). Both Plates 5.1 and 5.2 show the illegal informal occupation of land in the formal residential area of Clare Estate.



Plate 5.1: Informal settlements in Clare Estate, Durban (2009)



Plate 5.2: Presence of the informal settlement on formal residential properties in Clare Estate, Durban (2009)

These respondents perceived the residents in informal housing in Clare Estate as ‘invaders’ and therefore were unhappy with their proximity of their homes to the informal settlements. The respondents stereotyped the residents in informal housing as ‘invaders’ (Respondent 12, 17 February 2009; Respondent 5, 10 February 2009; Respondent 8, 18

February 2009; Respondent 10, 21 February 2009; Respondent 11, 22 February 2009). Therefore it was evident that the respondents viewed the informal community as the 'other' or 'outsiders' (Sibley, 1995; Wratten, 1995; Hecht, 1998). This type of 'labelling' is disadvantageous to the informal community since it displaced and excluded them from society (Sibley, 1995; Wratten, 1995; Hecht, 1998; Scheinsohn and Cabrera, 2009). The respondents attached a negative description to 'other' individuals who were socially and economically different from them (Sibley, 1995). Furthermore, the respondents stated that these areas were not the informal community's real homes and that they were wrongfully situated in the Clare Estate residential area (Respondent 8, 18 February 2009; Respondent 12, 17 February 2009), emphasising the social exclusion of the informal community. These residents wanted to maintain 'their' group, and therefore patterns of segregation and exclusion were present in Clare Estate. From this analysis it is obvious that there were social tensions and politics surrounding the occupation of space with respect to the respondents' responses. This was evident from the statements made regarding the proximity of the informal residences to the formal residences.

Spaces are moulded by social, cultural and economic and political relations (Ley and Duncan, 1993). Within society there are distinct groups of individuals, one that is at a higher order (formal community) of the hierarchy, one that is at the middle order of the hierarchy and the one that is on the lower order (informal community) of the hierarchy. Due to the fact that there are uneven power relations in society, and the higher order group of individuals are usually favoured, social tensions arise between these groups. At this juncture one can notice that the respondents were unhappy with the proximity of the informal community, and this in turn highlighted the politics surrounding space (Oelofse and Dodson, 1997), since the respondents stated that "they must get out" (Respondent 8, 18 February 2009). The residents in formal housing have developed a 'sense of belonging' to their neighbourhood, and this 'sense of belonging' has been impacted upon because of the presence of the 'invaders', the informal community. Social tensions within societies arise due to the make-up of different socio-economic characteristics of individuals, and this therefore exacerbates the perceptions that individuals place on one another thereby influencing the types of experiences and relationships that individuals have with one another. Furthermore, politics are attributed to the meanings that individuals attach to space (Dikec, 2005; McCreanor *et al.*, 2006), in this respect the unlawful and close proximity of the informal community to the formal residences. Who has rights to land and

where they have rights to land have become an issue especially to the residents in formal housing in Clare Estate, therefore exacerbating the social tensions in the neighbourhood.

Space and who occupies space are important to understand how relationships are developed and how people perceive others (Smith 1999, cited in Cloke *et al.*, 1999). Individuals within a particular area or neighbourhood want individuals of similar attributes that can relate to them economically, culturally, politically and socially (van Kempen, 1998; Moser and McIlwaine, 1999; Cox and Watt, 2002; Iyenda, 2005; Fernandes, 2007; Kjellstron and Mercado, 2008; Scheinsohn and Cabrera, 2009). These aspects impact on the relationships among individuals. The reasons for this are due to the stereotyping of the nature of individuals onto others. This is particularly evident in Clare Estate where the majority of respondents showed a dislike to the close proximity of the informal community to the formal residences. Social and political tensions are prominent because of the proximity of the informal community. The respondents were more comfortable with individuals that are of their socio-economic class, and therefore they were not impressed with the location of the informal community within 'their' boundary. This residential area is a highly segregated area, with the formal community on one side and the informal community on the other. The divisions between the formal and informal community were very noticeable. This society is characterised on the basis of socio-economic differences.

Individuals construct spaces which amplifies the social differences within society, where only a certain few benefit (Smith 1999, cited in Cloke *et al.*, 1999). These differences not only enhance the distinctions and separateness among individuals but also the stereotyped misconceptions that individuals have of each other. The respondents viewed the informal community in a negative light, 'labelling' them as 'other', 'criminals', 'dishonest' and 'invaders'. Furthermore, this negative 'labelling' emphasised the disassociation between two socio-economic groups within this society, namely, the residents in formal and informal housing in Clare Estate. The next section examines how the role of 'fear' influences the respondents' perceptions of the informal community.

5.3 Clare Estate: The influence of the role of 'fear' in the respondents' perceptions of the informal community.

The previous section examined the residents in formal housing description of the informal community. It was imperative to investigate whether 'fear' influences the respondents perceptions of the informal community. This section will present evidence regarding the

respondents' 'fear' of the informal community in Section 5.3.1. In Section 5.3.2 the respondents' perception of 'fear' with respect to the close proximity of the informal settlement in Clare Estate will be presented.

5.3.1 Respondents' sense of 'fear' of the informal community

The respondents in formal housing gave an overwhelming response, that their fear of the informal community has altered their view of their residential neighbourhood. Many of the respondents in formal housing stated that they have become fearful of the informal community (Respondent 2, 19 February 2009; Respondent 3, 18 February 2009; Respondent 5, 10 February 2009; Respondent 6, 17 February 2009; Respondent 7, 11 February 2009; Respondent 8, 18 February 2009; Respondent 9, 20 February 2009; Respondent 11, 22 February 2009; Respondent 12, 17 February 2009; Respondent 13, 22 February 2009; Respondent 14, 22 February 2009). This fear is attributed to the perceptions on crime and feelings of being unsafe. These will be discussed below.

Firstly, from the questionnaires administered, 68.9 % of respondents indicated that they felt unsafe in their neighbourhood and 24.4 % of respondents indicated that they felt partially safe in their neighbourhood. Furthermore, only 2.2 % of respondents indicated that that they did feel safe in their neighbourhood. However, with regard to the interviews, eleven of the fourteen formal residents interviewed were in consensus that their view of their neighbourhood has changed due to the fact of the growth of the informal settlements (Respondent 2, 19 February 2009; Respondent 3, 18 February 2009; Respondent 5, 10 February 2009; Respondent 6, 17 February 2009; Respondent 7, 11 February 2009; Respondent 8, 18 February 2009; Respondent 9, 20 February 2009; Respondent 11, 22 February 2009; Respondent 12, 17 February 2009; Respondent 13, 22 February 2009; Respondent 14, 22 February 2009). Many of the respondents have resorted to constantly keeping a watchful eye for any unwanted activities that are a danger to their lives. This was evident by the following statement; "Demoralised, it's shameful. All the time I'm looking and seeing who stealing" (Respondent 4, 17 February 2009). This respondent was burdened with constantly inspecting their area for unwanted criminal activities. Another respondent stated that they felt; "We have to lock up all the time, before we leave, can't leave anything unlocked, they are scary" (Respondent 1, 13 February 2009). They have to constantly be aware of their surroundings and have to take security measures in order to secure themselves and their homes. In addition another respondent stated that, "We hardly see people now. Before we use to go out, it use to be safe. Now no one walks, we afraid to

go out because of them” (Respondent 3, 18 February 2009). Formal residents no longer go out because they are afraid of the informal community. In addition to the above quotation, Respondent 3 (18 February 2009) expressed, “Even our social life has changed, we don’t go out at night because of them”. Respondents’ lives have changed since the establishment of the informal settlement, and most of them prefer to stay in doors instead of going out (Respondent 3, 18 February 2009). Many formal residents state that “anxieties have increased” because of the presence of the informal community (Respondent 7, 11 February 2009). Respondent 5 (10 February 2009) also stated that, “One cannot trust this nation”. Many of the respondents have become ‘fearful’ of the informal community and this has influenced the way in which the respondents perceive the informal community.

The above evidence substantiates the respondents fear of the informal community. In relation to this fear, another issue was evident and that was the ‘fear’ of crime that the respondents have experienced. The fear of being unsafe was prevalent and an overall concern amongst all the respondents interviewed in Clare Estate (Respondent 1, 13 February 2009; Respondent 2, 19 February 2009; Respondent 3, 18 February 2009; Respondent 4, 17 February 2009; Respondent 5, 10 February 2009; Respondent 6, 17 February 2009; Respondent 7, 11 February 2009; Respondent 8, 18 February 2009; Respondent 9, 20 February 2009; Respondent 10, 21 February 2009; Respondent 11, 22 February 2009, Respondent 12, 17 February 2009; Respondent 13, 22 February 2009; Respondent 14, 22 February 2009). One respondent stated, “We feel unsafe to be outside, because of the crime here” (Respondent 9, 20 February 2009). It’s best to sit indoors because once one exposes oneself, one is exposed to crime (Respondent 9, 20 February 2009). Furthermore, in order to highlight the severity of this issue another resident stated, “I feel unsafe here, the crime here is because of them” (Respondent 1, 13 February 2009). This respondent emphasised that the residents in the informal community has heightened their fear of crime and therefore they feel unsafe in this neighbourhood (Respondent 1, 13 February 2009). In addition Respondent 9 (20 February 2009) stated, “It’s our kind, who feel unsafe because of these people”. This illustrated that the residents in formal housing are the ones who are negatively impacted upon by the close proximity of the residents in the informal community (Respondent 9, 20 February 2009).

It was therefore evident that the presence of the informal settlement resulted in increased anxieties of fear for the respondents in Clare Estate. These residents already have a negative attitude towards these informal settlements, which in turn influences their

perceptions of residents in informal housing. Here again the ideas behind stereotyping become paramount, since the stereotyping labelling plays an important part with respect to the perception of society (Sibley, 1995; Wratten, 1995; Hecht, 1998). In most cases individuals that have the most social and economic power typecast individuals that are less fortunate (Sibley, 1995; Wratten, 1995; Hecht, 1998), in this study, these persons are the residents in informal housing. Sibley (1995) further stated that this stereotyping also tended to allow individuals to become obsessed, in most cases 'paranoid' or 'fearful' with regards to individuals who are socially and economically different from them. This was clearly evident in Clare Estate where the majority of the respondents emphasised their fear of residents in the informal community. These residents in formal housing assume that all the residents in informal settlements are 'bad apples' that impact on their quality of life. This was expressed when respondents described them as being "scary" and that they were "afraid to go out because of them" (Respondent 1, 13 February 2009; Respondent 3, 18 February 2009). The respondents in the formal residential areas have attached negative attributes to the residents in the informal housing areas. This in turn has exacerbated their sense of feeling 'scared' and their perceptions of the residents in the informal housing areas. Furthermore, this sense of fear has resulted in suspicion and paranoia of the residents in the informal community, since most of the respondents have become paranoid with feeling safe. These respondents constantly lock their house doors and are watchful of any unwanted criminal activity (Respondent 4, 17 February 2009; Respondent 1, 13 February 2009). This labelling of the 'other' has influenced the anxieties and fear that the respondents in formal housing have of the residents in the informal community in Clare Estate.

It was evident from respondent 5 and 9s' (10 February 2009; 20 February 2009) quotations on the impact on 'our kind' and 'can't trust this nation', that their fellow Indian residents were the ones who were targeted and that the black community that resides in the informal dwellings were not trusted. The issue of race was highlighted here and was important to examine. The respondent made reference to 'our kind', which indirectly placed some distinction between the two groups of occupants in Clare Estate. Division exists in all societies, where groups of individuals are divided according to socio-economic status (Smith 1999, cited in Cloke *et al.*, 1999). This division showed itself between the residents in formal housing and those in informal housing (Low and Gleeson, 1998). Furthermore, due to the stereotypical 'labelling' and the anxieties and 'fear' that have developed from

these 'labels', the residents in formal housing of Clare Estate have made enormous efforts to safeguard their homes.

The respondents blamed their sense of feeling 'scared' on the presence and proximity of the informal community. This sense of fear was largely attributed to the negative and stereotypical 'labels' that the respondents have attached to the residents in the informal community. This type of 'labelling' has negatively impacted the perceptions the residents in formal housing have on the residents in the informal community in Clare Estate. This perception was negative because of the experiences that they have had with some of the members of the informal community. The following section discusses how proximity influenced the respondents' perceptions of the informal community in Clare Estate.

5.3.2 Respondents' perception of fear with respect to the close proximity of the informal settlement in Clare Estate

This section examines how proximity of the informal settlements to the houses of respondents exacerbated the respondents' sense of fear and influenced their perceptions of the former.

The majority of the respondents were unhappy about the situation/location of the informal community so close to their homes, or even in their neighbourhood (Respondent 2, 19 February 2009; Respondent 3, 18 February 2009; Respondent 6, 17 February 2009; Respondent 7, 11 February 2009; Respondent 9, 20 February 2009; Respondent 13, 22 February 2009; Respondent 14, 22 February 2009). The respondents were divided in their perceptions. Six respondents stated that due to the close proximity of the informal settlements, their perception of fear was heightened. This perception of fear was highlighted through the following quotation, "It is very bad, don't like it, scared of them because they are so close" (Respondent 7, 11 February 2009). The respondents were scared, because they perceive this informal community as posing a threat to their social well being (Respondent 7, 11 February 2009). Furthermore, another formal resident stated, "very sad, not good at all, feel scared of them, they will fight with us" (Respondent 14, 22 February 2009). Another respondent stated, "Wish they would move them, they are so close, we constantly live in fear, I don't feel safe at night (Respondent 2, 19 February 2009). The respondents wanted the residents in informal housing to be relocated to other areas because of the sense of fear that they attach to this informal community (Respondent 2, 19 February 2009). The formal residents contended that due to the close proximity of the

informal community they have become more frightened (Respondent 2, 19 February 2009; Respondent 3, 18 February 2009; Respondent 6, 17 February 2009; Respondent 7, 11 February 2009; Respondent 9, 20 February 2009; Respondent 13, 22 February 2009; Respondent 14, 22 February 2009).

With reference to stereotypical labelling, Hecht (1998) and Sibley (1995) elaborated that certain individuals within a community tend to typecast certain groups of individuals that are not of the same social standing as them. This therefore results in discrimination and those that are participating in this typecast system tend to discriminate against those that are different from them. This was clear in Clare Estate, with respect to the above statement relating to 'fear' of the informal community. There were insecurities with respect to the close proximity of the informal settlements to the formal residents; thus one respondent stated that they were "scared of them because they are so close" (Respondent 7, 11 February 2009). This fear that the informal community comprised individuals who might threaten the well-being of the residents in formal housing has been imprinted in the minds of the respondents. Furthermore, this fear has been exaggerated due to the closeness of the informal housing to the residents in formal housing.

The residents in formal housing were unhappy with the close proximity of the informal community, because of the 'anxieties' that were associated with them. This was evident when respondent 14 (22 February 2009) stated that they were scared of them and that the informal community will fight with them. Furthermore, with the concept of fear at hand, some of the respondents stated that the informal community should be moved (Respondent 2, 19 February 2009). This was attributed to the fact that some residents in formal housing had created a 'territorial' attachment to the place in which they resided (Brown and Wemer, 1985; Sack, 1986; Grosby, 1995, Jacobson, 1997). This attachment has exacerbated the social politics that are embedded within this neighbourhood (Oncu *et al*, 1997; Cresswell, 2004).

The proximity of the informal settlements to the residents in formal housing provided an understanding of the residents' fearful perceptions of the informal community. Therefore. It was not surprising that the respondents supported the idea of the removal of the informal settlements from their neighbourhood.

There was an overwhelming response that safety and security in the Clare Estate area was a major issue that needed to be addressed. None of the respondents felt safe in their neighbourhood because of the close proximity of the informal settlements to their homes. The sense of fear provided information on the perceptions that the residents in formal housing have of the informal community as well as the type of relationship that exists between the formal and informal communities in Clare Estate.

5.4 Respondents' idea of 'sense of place', with respect to the experience and conceptualisation of the informal settlements in Clare Estate

The idea of the 'sense of place' is relevant in this study, since individuals attach meaning to certain places and once this attachment is impacted upon, the individuals' sense of place is disturbed. Individuals are social beings and therefore attach social and personal meaning to certain places that are of relevance and importance to them (Cresswell, 2004; McCreanor *et al.*, 2006; Hernandez *et al.*, 2007). Agnew (1987) states that there is a subjective and emotional attachment people have to a place (cited in Cresswell, 2004). 'Sense of place' is one of the ways in which many geographers have attempted to address the complex linkages between individuals' well-being and physical location (McCreanor *et al.*, 2006). It allows one to understand the linkages that people have with regards to physical locations. This section examines how the respondents were attached to their places in Clare Estate area. This conceptualisation of place and attachment to place is impacted upon the presence of the informal community in Clare Estate.

This section examines how the presence of the informal settlements has changed the composition and the positive characteristics of the residential area into an area with negative characteristics. The residents in formal housing in Clare Estate looked at the residents in informal housing in a negative 'light'. The types of attachments that residents in formal housing placed on physical landscapes give insight into the type of relationship that the residents in formal housing have with the informal community in Clare Estate. 'Sense of place' allows one to understand how far the residents in formal housing attach meaning to places and whether these meanings are symbolic for individuals. Furthermore, this section is divided into two sections, firstly an analysis of the way the respondents in formal housing view their neighbourhood in comparison to other neighbourhoods, will be provided in Section 5.4.1 and secondly, Section 5.4.2 analyses the threat to the respondents' 'sense of place', with respect to the presence of the informal community in Clare Estate.

5.4.1 Respondents' description of Clare Estate with other residential neighbourhoods

This section examines how the residents in formal housing compare their neighbourhood to other neighbourhoods in Durban. From the questionnaires administered, 15.6% of respondents indicated it was a good neighbourhood, 31.1% of respondents indicated it was a relatively 'good' neighbourhood and 53.3% of respondents indicated that it was a 'bad' neighbourhood. However, from the interviews conducted, eleven respondents emphasised they were displeased with the area compared with the other neighbourhoods they visited (Respondent 3, 18 February 2009; Respondent 4, 17 February 2009; Respondent 5, 10 February 2009; Respondent 6, 17 February 2009; Respondent 7, 11 February 2009; Respondent 8, 18 February 2009; Respondent 9, 20 February 2009; Respondent 10, 21 February 2009; Respondent 11, 22 February 2009, Respondent 12, 17 February 2009; Respondent 13, 22 February 2009). The remaining (three) respondents from the area stated that they were pleased and had no problems with the area when compared with other neighbourhoods that they were aware of (Respondent 1, 13 February 2009; Respondent 2, 19 February 2009; Respondent 14, 22 February 2009).

With regards to the respondents' feeling of displeasure towards their residential neighbourhood, one respondent stated, "If you looking at Sherwood its smart, Reservoir Hills its neat, our neighbourhood is liveable, but terrible because of the squatters, it's not what it was" (Respondent 10, 21 February 2009). The informal settlements negatively impacts on the individual's perception of their place. The respondents have associated negative aspects such as crime with the informal settlement and this in turn influences their description of their neighbourhood (Respondent 10, 21 February 2009). In addition, another respondent stated that, "It is the worst neighbourhood in the whole of Durban, it's not what it was" (Respondent 4, 17 February 2009). This resident emphasised how the presence of the informal community within their neighbourhood has influenced their 'sense of place' (Respondent 4, 17 February 2009).

Other neighbourhoods that are not in close proximity to the informal settlements are better off compared to the individuals in Clare Estate. Places be it in any form, for example the Clare Estate residential neighbourhood, are constructed on a set of social relations (McCreanor *et al.*, 2006). Places are entities that people attach meaning too. Places have unique identities that can be understood through broader social relations from which they are created (Massey, 1997; McCreanor *et al.*, 2006). Places are therefore important to peoples' identities. However, it is evident that the respondents in Clare Estate who

participated in this study have a weak 'sense of place' (Respondent 4, 17 February 2009; Respondent 10, 21 February 2009). The respondents stated that the residential area "is not what it was", which emphasises that the residential area has deteriorated because of the presence of the informal community (Respondent 4, 17 February 2009; Respondent 10, 21 February 2009). This discontent largely encompasses the weak attachment that the respondents have to their places. Due to societal changes many individuals experience a sense of 'placelessness' (McCreanor *et al*, 2006). This is what the residents in formal housing in the study area of Clare Estate are presently experiencing. These places give rise to various levels of belonging. These individuals don't see Clare Estate as offering the same advantages as in the past and therefore their 'sense of place' has weaken or eroded.

This section outlined of the negative 'image' that the respondents have of their residential area relative to other residential areas in Durban. In short, the respondents have a weak 'sense of place' of their residential area. The following section examines how the informal community has further threatened the respondents' 'belonging' or attachment to Clare Estate.

5.4.2 Threat to the respondents' 'sense of place', with respect to the presence of the informal community in Clare Estate

The residents in formal housing in Clare Estate have a weak 'sense of place' which is largely attributed to the presence of the informal settlements. This section attempts to examine how the residents' 'sense of place' is threatened and how the 'growth' of the informal settlement has enhanced this threat. Firstly, from the questionnaires administered, 46.7% of formal residents indicated that they were happy living in their area, while 26.7% indicated that they were not happy living in their area and 26.6% indicated that they were both happy and unhappy living in the area. However, all fourteen of the respondents interviewed have stated that the informal settlement has definitely threatened their 'sense of place' and they were not happy living in their area (Respondent 1, 13 February 2009; Respondent 2, 19 February 2009; Respondent 3, 18 February 2009; Respondent 4, 17 February 2009; Respondent 5, 10 February 2009; Respondent 6, 17 February 2009; Respondent 7, 11 February 2009; Respondent 8, 18 February 2009; Respondent 9, 20 February 2009; Respondent 10, 21 February 2009; Respondent 11, 22 February 2009, Respondent 12, 17February 2009; Respondent 13, 22 February 2009; Respondent 14, 22 February 2009). All these responses will be discussed below.

One respondent stated, “There is no place for them here, look at what they have done to our place” (Respondent 1, 13 February 2009). This respondent does not like the impacts that the informal community had on their residential neighbourhood (Respondent 1, 13 February 2009). In addition to this statement, Respondent 12 (17 February 2009) stated, “Before we use to see this place as enjoyable and peaceful, now it is not”. The informal settlement has negatively impacted on the tranquillity of the residential area (Respondent 12, 17 February 2009). Another respondent stated, “ We are afraid to go out, our area is different now, compared to before, much worse” (Respondent 3, 18 February 2009). This respondent blamed the negative change in their area on the informal community (Respondent 3, 18 February 2009). It was evident that the respondents were unhappy with the characteristic of their residential area.

The respondents also stated that there has been an increase in the size of the informal settlement and showed their rejection of the informal settlements within their neighbourhood (Respondent 1, 13 February 2009; Respondent 2, 19 February 2009; Respondent 3, 18 February 2009; Respondent 4, 17 February 2009; Respondent 5, 10 February 2009; Respondent 6, 17 February 2009; Respondent 7, 11 February 2009; Respondent 8, 18 February 2009; Respondent 9, 20 February 2009; Respondent 10, 21 February 2009; Respondent 11, 22 February 2009, Respondent 12, 17 February 2009; Respondent 13, 22 February 2009; Respondent 14, 22 February 2009). In order to substantiate this claim one respondent stated; “It has gotten bigger, definitely at least larger than by another 2000, and worse, making our area ugly” (Respondent 2, 19 February 2009). The informal settlement has definitely grown by approximately 2000 individuals from what it was (Respondent 2, 19 February 2009). Also, compared to the past, this informal settlement has become worse because of the uncontrolled development which has impacted negatively on the residential area (Respondent 2, 19 February 2009). In addition to this another resident stated; “More and more are coming in. Every December when they go home they bring more and more, very bad compared to before, this is not our area anymore” (Respondent 3, 18 February 2009). The informal settlers encouraged other friends and family members to come live with them and therefore this led to the uncontrolled growth in the number of individuals in this settlement (Respondent 3, 18 February 2009).

From these statements above we observe that the process of the occupation and access to land by the residents in informal housing does influence the perceptions that individuals

have on place. All the respondents in the Clare Estate area show their unhappiness with regards to the change of their residential area given the presence of the informal community (Respondent 1, 13 February 2009; Respondent 2, 19 February 2009; Respondent 3, 18 February 2009; Respondent 4, 17 February 2009; Respondent 5, 10 February 2009; Respondent 6, 17 February 2009; Respondent 7, 11 February 2009; Respondent 8, 18 February 2009; Respondent 9, 20 February 2009; Respondent 10, 21 February 2009; Respondent 11, 22 February 2009, Respondent 12, 17 February 2009; Respondent 13, 22 February 2009; Respondent 14, 22 February 2009). Places are socially constructed (Cresswell, 2004), and because on this 'social construction' individuals have a certain attachment and belonging to place. The residents' in formal housing 'sense of place' has been weakened with regards to the presence of the informal community; however, this is not to say that it has been eroded. Individuals have a sense of belonging to an area, and therefore they attach a symbolic meaning to place (McCreanor *et al.*, 2006; Hernandez *et al.*, 2007). Furthermore, this symbolic attachment has also given rise to 'territorial' distinctions (Brown and Wemer, 1985; Sack, 1986; Grosby, 1995, Jacobson, 1997). This was evident when Respondent 1 (13 February, 2009) stated, "Look at what they have done to our place". Territorial distinctions are determined by social constructions of meaning to a particular place (Brown and Wemer, 1985; Sack, 1986; Grosby, 1995, Jacobson, 1997).

The growth of the informal settlements had a negative influence on the respondents' vision of their 'sense of place'. The growth of the informal community has brought about social tensions especially amongst the residents in Clare Estate. This type of social tension exists in places which are characterised by diverse groups of individuals (Cresswell, 2004). All of the respondents emphasises that the growth of the informal settlements has worsen over the years much to their disadvantage (Respondent 1, 13 February 2009; Respondent 2, 19 February 2009; Respondent 3, 18 February 2009; Respondent 4, 17 February 2009; Respondent 5, 10 February 2009; Respondent 6, 17 February 2009; Respondent 7, 11 February 2009; Respondent 8, 18 February 2009; Respondent 9, 20 February 2009; Respondent 10, 21 February 2009; Respondent 11, 22 February 2009, Respondent 12, 17 February 2009; Respondent 13, 22 February 2009; Respondent 14, 22 February 2009).

With respect to the evidence above, the respondents had a sense of attachment to the area, a sense of belonging (Cresswell 2004; McCreanor *et al.*, 2006), that has now been disrupted by the presence of the informal community. Their sense of place has become

impacted upon (McCreanor *et al.*, 2006; Hernandez *et al.*, 2007). This was evident when Respondent 3 (18 February 2009) stated that, “This is not our area anymore”. The presence of the informal settlement impeded the permanent residents’ ability to fully enjoy the advantages that can promote their social lives. It is evident that presently (2009) the formal community feels unsettled within their own neighbourhood. They emphasised that this unsettled feeling was largely due to the presence of the informal community. Their sense of place has drastically been altered, and therefore their ‘sense of belonging’ has been threatened (Cresswell, 2004).

In both these sections above, the respondents perceptions of their place has weakened and changed for the worse because their ‘sense of place has been threatened by the informal community. Furthermore, it is evident that the respondents, who have attached meanings to their place, tend to negatively perceive the informal community, since they have altered their attachment and value of their neighbourhood.

5.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, society is characterised with regards to different spatial arrangements of individuals and these spatial arrangements have intensified the social divisions that are present within society. There are divisions in all cities between the rich and poor or even between the locals (hosts) and newcomers (outsiders) (Breslin, 2005). These divisions instead of contributing to social cohesion, leads to social segregation, polarisation and exclusion of mainly the marginalised poor groups in society (Scheinson and Cabrera, 2009). These divisions exacerbate the social differences in society which in turn structure the way people feel about each other (Sibley, 1995; Wratten, 1995; Hecht, 1998; van Kempen, 1998).

There is a noticeable division in Clare Estate, with the residents in formal housing on one side of the residential area, and the residents in the informal settlements on the other (Sibley, 1995; Wratten, 1995; Hecht, 1998; van Kempen, 1998). The respondents in this study have attached a negative image to most of the residents from the informal community. This perception has structured the way in which the respondents view the informal community and the types of interactions and relationships that these two groups have with each other. These prejudices serve to exclude the members of the informal settlements from those in the formal settlements. From the evidence gathered and analysed it is evident that there is a sense of ‘othering’ that the residents in formal housing have

developed towards the informal community. The residents in formal housing emphasised that the informal community was different and not similar to their social and economic make-up. This sense of 'othering' led to unwanted perceptions of the informal community. In short, the respondents viewed the informal community as 'outsiders', 'invaders', 'impoverished', 'criminals', and as both 'honest' and 'dishonest' individuals. Furthermore, the respondents' negative perceptions created a 'sense of fear' for residents of the informal community. Due to the poor stereotyped 'labels' and misconceptions of the informal community the respondents have developed insecurities which impeded on their enjoyment of living in Clare Estate. Additionally, the respondents emphasised their dislike of the informal community as well as their dislike of having the informal community within their neighbourhood. In addition, these preconceived negative 'labels' led to the exclusion of the informal community, since they were seen as a 'threat' (Smith, 1999, cited in Cloke *et al.*, 1999; Thorns, 2002; Scheinsohn and Cabrera, 2009).

Given the respondents' negative perceptions of the informal community, the respondents emphasised that their 'sense of place' had been threatened. Individuals have a territorial attachment to places and this attachment is embedded with meaning (Brown and Wemer, 1985; Sack, 1986; Grosby, 1995; Jacobson, 1997; McCreanor *et al.*, 2006; Hernandez *et al.*, 2007). The respondents viewed the informal community as 'outsiders', 'invaders', 'criminals' and 'dishonest', therefore having them within their residential area impacts on their 'sense of place'. The respondents felt that the presence of the informal community resulted in a 'threat' to their 'sense of place' (Cresswell, 2004; McCreanor *et al.*, 2006; Hernandez *et al.*, 2007). Their sense of belonging to Clare Estate has been impacted upon by the presence of the informal community. Furthermore, the respondents' negative perceptions exaggerated the negative feelings that they have towards the informal community (Sibley, 1995; Wratten, 1995; Hecht, 1998; van Kempen, 1998).

The exaggerated negative perceptions and feelings towards the informal community have enhanced the breakdown in the relations between the residents in formal and informal housing. This has impeded the social cohesion between the two communities in Clare Estate. The following Chapter 6 examines the experiences and relationship of the residents in formal housing with regards to the informal community.

CHAPTER SIX
EXPERIENCES AND RELATIONSHIP OF RESIDENTS IN FORMAL
HOUSING, IN CLARE ESTATE WITH REGARDS TO THE
PRESENCE OF THE INFORMAL COMMUNITY

6.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to understand the nature of the relationship between the residents in the formal and informal housing areas in Clare Estate. Furthermore, this chapter will also provide insights into the impacts that the residents in formal housing have encountered since the occupation of the informal community in their neighbourhood. Analysing these impacts will provide information on the type of relationship that exists between the formal and informal communities in Clare Estate.

This chapter is divided into the following sections: Section 6.2 presents the impacts of the informal community on the neighbouring residents in formal housing in Clare Estate. Section 6.3 examines the pressure the respondents in formal housing placed on the local government to resolve this issue of informal settlements in their area. Section 6.4 explores the current nature of the relationship between the residents in both formal and informal housing in Clare Estate, examining the perceptions from the respondents in formal housing. Personal experiences of the respondents in formal housing in Clare Estate, Durban, in relation to the informal settlements within their residential neighbourhood, will be discussed in Section 6.5. Section 6.6 explores whether the respondents in formal housing want the informal community to be relocated. Section 6.7 examines the impacts on the respondents in formal housing of recent actions to relocate and upgrade the living conditions of the informal community in Clare Estate. Lastly, a conclusion to this chapter will be provided in Section 6.8.

6.2 The impacts of the informal community on the respondents in Clare Estate

The residential neighbourhood is very important for the social well being of the formal residents in formal housing in Clare Estate. However, due to the presence of the informal community, the social and economic lives of the residents in formal housing have been severely impacted upon. These impacts in turn shape how the formal residents perceive and associate with the members of the informal community. From the questionnaires administered, 88.9% of respondents indicated that the informal community did indeed

negatively impact on their neighbourhood, while 6.7% of respondents indicated that the informal community had both a negative and positive impact and 2.2% did not indicate their choice. The information obtained was solely based on the respondents' perspective of the impacts caused by the informal community in their residential area. However, the impacts of the informal occupation differs from one road to another. On some roads the respondents complained more about the increasing levels of crime, and in other roads some respondents pointed out that the devaluation of property is a major concern. This section discusses the effects of the presence of the informal community on the lives of the residents in formal housing, socially, culturally and economically. There were numerous impacts that the informal settlements posed on the lives of the residents in formal housing. The key issues of concern were divided into two aspects, namely, impacts on the quality of life of the respondents in formal housing (Section 6.2.1) and impacts on the social lives of the respondents in formal housing (Section 6.2.2).

6.2.1 Impacts of the informal community on the quality of life of the respondents in formal housing, in Clare Estate

The impacts on the quality of life of the residents in formal housing were important to examine and analyse since it indirectly provided information about the type of relationship that existed between the formal and informal communities. This section presents evidence of the impacts that the residents in formal housing have encountered because of the presence of the informal community within their neighbourhood.

From the questionnaires administered, 77.8% of respondents indicated that their quality of life was worse and 4.4% of respondents indicated that their quality of life was changeable (sometimes better and sometimes worse). Furthermore, 6.7% of respondents indicated that there had been no change with respect to their quality of life and lastly 6.7% of respondents indicated that they were neutral to this aspect. The information gathered above from the interviews slightly differed compared to the interviews undertaken with fourteen formal residents in Clare Estate. All fourteen respondents emphasised that their quality of life had been impacted upon (Respondent 1, 13 February 2009; Respondent 2, 19th February 2009; Respondent 3, 18 February 2009; Respondent 4, 17 February 2009; Respondent 5, 10 February 2009; Respondent 6, 17 February 2009; Respondent 7, 11 February 2009; Respondent 8, 18 February 2009; Respondent 9, 20 February 2009; Respondent 10, 21 February 2009; Respondent 11, 22 February 2009, Respondent 12, 17 February 2009; Respondent 13, 22 February 2009; Respondent 14, 22 February 2009). In view of the fact

that to the majority of the respondents perceived the informal community as an impact to their quality of life, their responses, from the interview process, will be analysed below. These respondents felt quite strongly about the impact of the informal settlement on their quality of life. These impacts on their quality of life can be attributed to the following issues: crime in the area, untidiness of the area, and lastly, the nuisance and disturbances within the area. These issues will be dealt with below.

With respect to crime, there was a general consensus amongst all the respondents in Clare Estate that the informal settlements impacted on their safety and security, thus in turn impacting on their quality of life. All fourteen respondents emphasised that there was such an impact (Respondent 1, 13 February 2009; Respondent 2, 19th February 2009; Respondent 3, 18 February 2009; Respondent 4, 17 February 2009; Respondent 5, 10 February 2009; Respondent 6, 17 February 2009; Respondent 7, 11 February 2009; Respondent 8, 18 February 2009; Respondent 9, 20 February 2009; Respondent 10, 21 February 2009; Respondent 11, 22 February 2009, Respondent 12, 17 February 2009; Respondent 13, 22 February 2009; Respondent 14, 22 February 2009). Many of the respondents felt that it was very unsafe living next to the informal community. This was elaborated by the following responses. Respondent 9, (20 February 2009) stated, “I was hijacked in my driveway, while my mother and I were sitting outside. We were dragged inside by these men. We have to be behind bars, to be safe, the area has become bad”. Members of the informal community attacked this respondent and now they have to be indoors to feel safe (Respondent 9, 20 February 2009). Another respondent stated, “One of the guys swore my daughter and hit my dogs and they also threatened to rape my daughter, this area is terrible” (Respondent 5, 10 February 2009). The members of the informal community have become negative towards the residents in formal housing (Respondent 5, 10 February 2009). In addition, to these acts, respondents were also unimpressed with the police involvement in addressing the issue of crime within their area (Respondent 5, 10 February 2009). “The police don’t do anything. They know and have knowledge about the crime, but won’t do anything about it” (Respondent 5, 10 February 2009). The residents in formal housing are constantly exposed to crimes on part of the informal community and the police have not adequately addressed this situation (Respondent 5, 10 February 2009).

Due to their constant victimisation, the residents in formal housing have decided that they needed alternative means of protecting themselves from the informal community. One resident stated, “Recently I got hijacked and shot at in the house. Unhappy with the police.

We have ADT now to secure us” (Respondent 14, 22 February 2009). Certain respondents emphasised their unhappiness with the police department and have therefore resorted to acquiring other forms of security (Respondent 14, 22 February 2009). Another resident, in order to highlight the severity of this issue, stated “Unsafe area. We have to be more conscious now and have to have sufficient fencing around our property” (Respondent 3, 18 February 2009). Residents have to secure their properties through extreme measures in order to feel safe in their homes (Respondent 3, 18 February 2009). Some residents have also resorted to hiring security guards from time to time in order to secure their homes (Respondent 4, 17 February 2009). Another resident explained their unhappiness with the expenses that they have to go through in order to protect themselves, their families and their homes, “It’s hard to secure my house, I have so many expenses, for example, remote gate, high walls, it goes on....” (Respondent 10, 21 February 2009). Acquiring all these security measures are expensive and have therefore put a strain on many respondents’ social and economic lifestyle (Respondent 10, 21 February 2009). All of the respondents in the formal residential area in Clare Estate have taken some measure to secure their homes, even though this has placed a lot of expense on them.

Not only has the informal community contributed to the increased crime in the area, but they have also contributed to the untidiness and noise in the area. With respect to the untidiness of the area on the part of the informal community, seven formal residents interviewed, emphasised that the informal community has contributed to the area being unkempt and untidy (Respondent 1, 13 February 2009; Respondent 2, 19 February 2009; Respondent 3, 18 February 2009; Respondent 4, 17 February 2009; Respondent 5, 10 February 2009; Respondent 6, 17 February 2009; Respondent 12, 17 February 2009). One respondent stated, “We get a horrible stench, these people mess everywhere. These people go to the loo on people’s properties” (Respondent 2, 19 February 2009). The informal residents are seen to have polluted the neighbourhood and have poor hygiene standards since they utilise the established residents’ properties as a toilet (Respondent 2, 19 February 2009). Another respondent emphasised that his/her quality of life was affected by the untidiness of the area, which is as a result of the informal community (Respondent 12, 17 February 2009). The untidiness of the area was an issue for formal residents. (See Plate 6.1 and Plate 6.2). Both Plates 6.1 and 6.2 show the litter around formal housing in Clare Estate, caused by the residents in the informal settlements. The following section examines how the informal community has become a nuisance to the residents in formal housing in Clare Estate.



Plate 6.1: Dirt around formal housing in Clare Estate, Durban (2009)



Plate 6.2: Rubbish along the side of the road near informal settlements in Clare Estate, Durban (2009)

In addition, seven respondents regarded the informal community as a nuisance to their quality of life (Respondent 4, 17 February 2009; Respondent 7, 11 February 2009; Respondent 8, 18 February 2009; Respondent 9, 20 February 2009; Respondent 10, 21 February 2009; Respondent 13, 22 February 2009). Thus one respondent stated, "... They are just a rowdy bunch" (Respondent 10, 21 February 2009). Another respondent who highlighted this issue stated, "Don't like it at all. On Sunday they have services so loud, their music is so loud, there's no peace here. Very noisy." (Respondent 9, 20 February 2009). The noise factor was an issue since some residents in the formal residential area enjoy a quiet neighbourhood. Furthermore, another respondent, emphasised on the impacts from the informal community, "Changed drastically. It's dirty, filthy because of the squatters. The noise and the pollution are unbearable" (Respondent 4, 17 February 2009). Ever since the informal settlers occupied land in Clare Estate, the neighbourhood has changed for the worse (Respondent 4, 17 February 2009).

In addition to the impacts such as crime, untidiness and nuisance and disturbances of the residential area, the respondents emphasised that these impacts result in a decrease of their property value (Respondent 1, 13 February 2009; Respondent 2, 19 February 2009; Respondent 3, 18 February 2009; Respondent 4, 17 February 2009; Respondent 5, 10 February 2009; Respondent 6, 17 February 2009; Respondent 7, 11 February 2009; Respondent 8, 18 February 2009; Respondent 9, 20 February 2009; Respondent 10, 21 February 2009; Respondent 11, 22 February 2009, Respondent 12, 17 February 2009; Respondent 13, 22 February 2009; Respondent 14, 22 February 2009). This paragraph provides an understanding of the impacts of the occupation of land on the property values of the residents in formal housing. It examines in economic terms whether the presence of informal settlements in formal residential areas is beneficial or not to the formal residents who reside in Clare Estate. All fourteen of the formal residents interviewed were in concurred that the informal settlements in their areas impacted negatively on the value of their property, namely, through the devaluation of their properties (Respondent 1, 13 February 2009; Respondent 2, 19 February 2009; Respondent 3, 18 February 2009; Respondent 4, 17 February 2009; Respondent 5, 10 February 2009; Respondent 6, 17 February 2009; Respondent 7, 11 February 2009; Respondent 8, 18 February 2009; Respondent 9, 20 February 2009; Respondent 10, 21 February 2009; Respondent 11, 22 February 2009, Respondent 12, 17 February 2009; Respondent 13, 22 February 2009; Respondent 14, 22 February 2009). The devaluation of property was emphasised through the following quote, "My property value has decreased tremendously. What was earned

over the years means nothing” (Respondent 9, 20 February 2009). In addition to this claim, another respondent emphasised, “It has decreased, the squatters are to blame. There is no resale value in this area” (Respondent 10, 21 February 2009). This respondent blames the informal community for the decrease in value and retail of his/her property.

It is clear that from the statements above that the respondents perceived that their properties had decreased drastically in value over the years, and much of the blame is attributed to the occupation of land in the neighbourhood on the part of the informal community. The respondents from Clare Estate emphasised that because the informal community consisted of ‘unwanted’ activities their property values decreased and potential buyers were cautioned about buying in this area. This situation largely influenced and negatively impacted, on the value residential property in Clare Estate.

From the evidence provided above, the respondents highlighted that crime, untidiness/litter and noise from the informal community have become an issue for the residents in formal housing in Clare Estate (Respondent 2, 19 February 2009; Respondent 4, 17 February 2009; Respondent 9, 20 February 2009; Respondent 10, 21 February 2009; Respondent 12, 17 February 2009). The concept of ‘sense of place’ becomes emphasised in this section. People have a symbolic attachment to a particular place (McCreanor *et al.*, 2006; Hernandez *et al.*, 2007). Therefore the value of place is of significance since it helps determine how comfortable individuals are with that place. Furthermore, when examining the above responses it became apparent that the respondents were not content with their area or the informal community within their area (Respondent 1, 13 February 2009; Respondent 2, 19th February 2009; Respondent 3, 18 February 2009; Respondent 4, 17 February 2009; Respondent 5, 10 February 2009; Respondent 6, 17 February 2009; Respondent 7, 11 February 2009; Respondent 8, 18 February 2009; Respondent 9, 20 February 2009; Respondent 10, 21 February 2009; Respondent 11, 22 February 2009, Respondent 12, 17 February 2009; Respondent 13, 22 February 2009; Respondent 14, 22 February 2009). The informal community was seen to be contributing to the physical degradation of the area which in turn is affecting the respondents’ ‘sense of place’. The threat to a ‘sense of place’ was evident when certain members of the formal community expressed that, “the area has become bad” (Respondent 9, 20 February 2009), “unsafe area” (Respondent 3, 18 February 2009), “there’s no peace here” (Respondent 9, 20 February 2009), “Dirty, filthy because of the informal community” (Respondent 4, 17 February 2009), “These people go to the loo on people’s properties” (Respondent 2, 19

February 2009) and lastly “these people mess everywhere” (Respondent 2, 19 February 2009). Furthermore, the respondents also indicated that due to the impact on the quality of life through issues such as crime, untidiness/litter, noise and disturbances within the area, their property values had decreased, which in turn impacted on how they perceived and ‘valued’ their properties. Not only has the social value of the residential area been impacted on, but also the economic value as well. The respondents perceived that the social and economic value that they had attached to their area has decreased drastically. Therefore, one noted that the level of satisfaction that the respondents had in respect of their residential area has decreased, therefore indirectly impacting on their sense of belonging (Cresswell, 2004; McCreanor *et al.*, 2006; Hernandez *et al.*, 2007). Thus, contributing to a threat to ‘sense of place’ (Cresswell, 2004; McCreanor *et al.*, 2006; Hernandez *et al.*, 2007). Utilising Cresswell’s (2004) idea of a threat to ‘sense of place’, it became evident that the respondents felt displaced in their area due to the impacts resulting from the informal community. These impacts negatively affected the level ‘value’ that the respondents placed on Clare Estate.

Crime, filth and litter and nuisance from the informal community are amongst the most important issues that the respondents raised in the Clare Estate neighbourhood. Also, there existed some tension between the residents in the formal and informal communities. This tension was attributed to the impact of the informal community on the respondents’ quality of life. The respondents displayed resentment towards the informal community. This was emphasised when Respondent 10 (21 February 2009), stated that they were a ‘rowdy bunch’. This tension is fostered through the ‘territorial’ attachment that the formal residents have to their place (Brown and Wemer, 1985; Sack, 1986; Grosby, 1995, Jacobson, 1997). Space is constructed by power relations and therefore those in power characterise the type of space in which they reside. Furthermore, any change or disruption to a particular place results in socio-political tensions (Oncu *et al.*, 1997; Cresswell, 2004). This was evident when the respondents viewed the informal community as a threat to their space and their quality of life. This tension was exaggerated by the social and political interests that existed between the formal and informal communities within Clare Estate (Massey, 1997; Watson, 1999; Dikec, 2005). This tension was also demonstrated when the formal residents complained about the poor efforts of the police to eradicate or control crime in the area (Respondent 5, 10 February 2009).

From the responses obtained one denotes that crime was regarded as a major issue that needs to be addressed. In addition, nuisances and disturbances have also been recognised as aspects that impacted on the residents' quality of life. All these aspects have impacted on the residents' 'sense of place' (Cresswell, 2004; McCreanor *et al.*, 2006; Hernandez *et al.*, 2007). Moreover, this threat to the respondents' 'sense of place' resulted in tension amongst the formal community in Clare Estate. The following Section 6.2.2, examines the impacts of the informal community on the social lives of the respondents in formal housing.

6.2.2 Impacts of the informal community on the social lives of the respondents in formal housing, in Clare Estate

This section examines the impacts the informal community had on the residents in formal housing in Clare Estate. The general and overall consensus was that the location of the informal residents, impacted on the respondents social life. Thirteen out of fourteen respondents stated that the informal settlement impacted on their social lives in the residential area (Respondent 2, 19 February 2009; Respondent 3, 18 February 2009; Respondent 4, 17 February 2009; Respondent 5, 10 February 2009; Respondent 6, 17 February 2009; Respondent 7, 11 February 2009; Respondent 8, 18 February 2009; Respondent 9, 20 February 2009; Respondent 10, 21 February 2009; Respondent 11, 22 February 2009, Respondent 12, 17 February 2009; Respondent 13, 22 February 2009; Respondent 14, 22 February 2009). These respondents felt quite strongly about this aspect. However, only one respondent stated that there was no impact resulting from the informal community on their social life. The impact that was recognised in this section were the feeling of social isolation of the respondents.

Only six of the thirteen respondents described in detail the type of impact that the informal community had on their social lives. These six respondents emphasised that they felt socially isolated because of the establishment of the informal settlement in their neighbourhood (Respondent 5, 10 February 2009; Respondent 8, 18 February 2009; Respondent 9, 20 February 2009; Respondent 10, 21 February 2009; Respondent 13, 22 February 2009; Respondent 14, 22 February 2009). They blamed the informal community for feeling socially isolated, because friends and family members were scared of the informal community and did not wish to visit them anymore (Respondent 5, 10 February 2009; Respondent 8, 18 February 2009; Respondent 9, 20 February 2009; Respondent 10, 21 February 2009; Respondent 13, 22 February 2009; Respondent 14, 22 February 2009).

This was substantiated by the following statements. One resident stated, “Can’t have a social life, we can’t have friends around, they break into their cars. People don’t want to come here. We had a 21st party here and these informal settlers invited themselves and scared the guests” (Respondent 5, 10 February 2008). Another respondent expressed, “People don’t visit us, if they do, they are out before dark” (Respondent 10, 21 February 2009). If the residents in formal housing entertain visitors it’s only for a short time, because the visitors insist on leaving early to avoid any problems with the individuals from the informal community (Respondent 10, 21 February 2009). Another respondent stated that females feel more unsafe, “People that use to come visit, don’t visit anymore, especially ladies. My nieces and aunts find it unsafe to come see us. Unbearable.” (Respondent 9, 2008). The issue of gender is highlighted in this statement since; their female guests feel intimidated by the individuals in the informal settlement and therefore refuse to visit because of the safety issues (Respondent 9, 2008), which in turn impacts on the respondents’ social lives.

It is notable here that the informal community was blamed for the limited visitation from family members and friends of the respondents. The respondents felt socially isolated because the residents in informal housing hinder outside visitation. The responses above, for example; “people don’t want to come here” (Respondent 5, 10 February 2008), “visitors out before dark” (Respondent 10, 21 February 2009) and “we can’t have friends around” (Respondent 5, 10 February 2008), were all influenced by the idea of stereotyping. These visitors have attached a certain stereotyped ‘label’ on the residents in informal housing (Sibley, 1995; Hecht, 1998). The negative images have created negative perceptions of the individuals in the informal settlement (Sibley, 1995), and has controlled and decreased the visits of family and friends to Clare Estate. Prejudices and stereotypes have played an enormous role in the characterisation of places (Sibley, 1995; Wratten, 1995). This section further highlights that stereotypical ‘labels’ are not restricted to the residents in formal housing only but also reinforced by the visitors to Clare Estate. Furthermore, when examining Respondent 9’s response, it can be established that women highlighted the stereotypical ‘labels’ more, since women were scared to visit friends and family in Clare Estate. The ‘labels’ that the visitors have attached to the informal community centres on fear. In addition to feeling socially isolated, the respondents emphasised that because of the establishment of the informal settlement, they have placed pressure on government to try to resolve the problems in their area.

It is evident from the above issues that the feeling of socially isolation was a concern for the respondents in Clare Estate. The respondents in Clare Estate were unable to enjoy their social lives because of their and their visitors' perceptions of the informal community. These perceptions impacted negatively on their social lives.

This research shows that the majority of the respondents blamed the informal community for their change of perception of the neighbourhood. The presence of the informal community has negatively impacted on the social and economical aspects of the lives of the respondents. Many of the respondents were discontent with these impacts because they impeded on their full enjoyment of living in the neighbourhood. Therefore, from identifying these impacts, the subsequent section will examine what type of pressure the respondents have placed on the local government in order to address this issue of informal occupation.

6.3 Pressure placed on the eThekweni Municipality to resolve the issue of having the informal settlements in Clare Estate

Due to the impacts and the negative experiences that the respondents in Clare Estate have encountered because of the illegal occupation of land in their area, the respondents have tried to pressurise the eThekweni Municipality to address the issue of informal housing. This section focuses on the pressure placed on the local government to resolve the issue of the informal settlement in Clare Estate.

Ten out of the fourteen residents interviewed stated that they tried to place pressure on the local government (Respondent 2, 19 February 2009; Respondent 4, 17 February 2009; Respondent 5, 10 February 2009; Respondent 6, 17 February 2009; Respondent 9, 20 February 2009; Respondent 10, 21 February 2009; Respondent 11, 22 February 2009; Respondent 12, 17 February 2009; Respondent 13, 22 February 2009; Respondent 14, 22 February 2009). However, the majority felt that the issue had not been adequately addressed and that in most cases, their requests were ignored. Some of the responses were: "Yes, but the government don't take anyone seriously" (Respondent 2, 19 February 2009). Although the residents in formal housing have taken the initiative to try to address the situation of the presence of the informal community, the local authorities were not involved in trying to address this problem. Another respondent stated that since none of the municipal members were addressing their needs, they have, over the years, lost interest in this issue (Respondent 11, 22 February 2009). Another respondent in order to highlight

his/her annoyance with the councillors of the area stated, "... We can't contact Baig, he doesn't care. God knows why he has that job" (Respondent 5, 10 February 2009). The councillors were never available to address the needs of the formal residents. Furthermore, from the questionnaires administered, 81.0% of residents in formal housing indicated that the eThekweni municipality was not adequately addressing their needs, while 14.3% of respondents indicated that the municipality was partially addressing their needs and 4.8% of formal residents indicated that the municipality was addressing their needs.

Specific spheres of state have an important role with regards to addressing the social problem in Clare Estate, that is, the informal residents' illegal occupation of land in Clare Estate. However, respondents described this role as useless and unhelpful. The municipal official⁵, stated that their task was to upgrade housing and relocate many of the existing informal settlements, and that in 2007, 18 000 informal residents in the whole of Clare Estate were resettled (pers. comm., Municipal representative, 27 November 2008) (see Plate 6.3). With reference to Plate 6.3, many of the informal settlements have been replaced with serviced tin houses, until they are relocated to proper government housing. The municipal member further stated that their task was to address the informal settlement in Foreman Road, in the short term (pers. comm., Municipal representative, 27 November 2008). Furthermore, he stated that there are many legal and policy initiatives that were put into place to address the presence of the illegal squatting, such as KwaZulu-Natal Slum Bill and Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act of 1951 and both of these polices give some rights to the informal settlers (pers. comm., Municipal representative, 27 November 2008).

The municipal official stated that it was evident that socio-economic differences influenced their relationship between the residents in formal and informal housing in Clare Estate. However, his department had nothing to offer to address the strained relationship. He also further stated that his department dealt largely with the informal community members of the Abahali civic organisation and not with the complaints from the residents in formal housing. The municipal official further stated that the residents in formal housing were required to deal with Councillor Baig, who advised that he was unable to participate in this research due to work commitments (pers. comm., Municipal representative, 27 November 2008).

⁵ The municipal official, did not want to disclose his/her name for personal reasons.



Plate 6.3: Many of the existing informal settlements have been upgraded to these tin houses in Clare Estate, Durban (2009)

The respondents in formal housing feel disaffected because officials and the Ward Councillor are not able to address their concerns regarding the informal settlements in their area. Many of the respondents felt hopeless about their situation, the neighbourhood and the municipal officials and politicians who were ‘supposed’ to assist them. The respondents felt ignored and excluded from the decisions that government makes about their neighbourhood. Their ‘sense of belonging’ or ‘sense of place’ and identity had been impacted upon (McCreanor *et al.*, 2006; Hernandez *et al.*, 2007). The respondents of Clare Estate had sought the unsuccessful assistance from the municipality in order to try to maintain their sense of place and the tensions with the informal settlements were not adequately addressed by the local municipality. Clearly, this evidence highlights social injustices that the residents in formal housing perceive themselves as having suffered because of the proximity of the informal community to their housing (Heywood, 1999; Daniels, 2003; Freeman, 2003; Smith, 2004). Although the technical aspects of relocation of some of the informal community was underway, the residents in formal housing still felt let down by their local politician and the local state (Respondent 2, 19 February 2009; Respondent 5, 10 February 2009; Respondent 11, 22 February 2009).

It is evident that from the perspectives of the respondents and the municipal official regarding addressing the needs of the formal residents, that these formal residents needs

are not met or addressed adequately. The majority of the respondents highlighted their unhappiness with the local authorities in the area. They seemed to have 'given-up' because their issue was not adequately addressed by the local authorities. Although the residents in Clare Estate have tried and are continuously trying to be heard, the local authority did not take them seriously nor did it deal adequately with their concerns. The municipal official indicated that his section dealt principally with the technical aspects surrounding the relocation of the residents in the informal settlements and the provision of basic infrastructure to the informal community. The next section will explore the current nature of relationship between the formal and informal communities.

6.4 Exploring the current nature of the relationship between the residents in formal and informal housing in Clare Estate

The following section examines the type of relationship that existed between the residents in formal and informal housing in Clare Estate. These relationships are presented according to the perceptions and experiences of the respondents in formal housing.

This research showed that, 2.2% of respondents indicated that there was a harmonious relationship, while 13.3% of respondents indicated that there was a conflictual relationship and 75.6% of respondents indicated there was no relationship with the informal community. The remaining 4.4% indicated that they were apathetic towards the relationship with the informal community and 4.5% of the respondents did not specifically disclose the type of relationship with the informal community and selected the option 'other' in the questionnaire survey. However, with respect to the interviews undertaken with the respondents, seven respondents interviewed stated that it was a terrible relationship, four that there was no relationship, and three that there was a good relationship with the informal community (Respondent 1, 13 February 2009; Respondent 2, 19 February 2009; Respondent 3, 18 February 2009; Respondent 4, 17 February 2009; Respondent 5, 10 February 2009; Respondent 6, 17 February 2009; Respondent 7, 11 February 2009; Respondent 8, 18 February 2009; Respondent 9, 20 February 2009; Respondent 10, 21 February 2009; Respondent 11, 22 February 2009, Respondent 12, 17 February 2009; Respondent 13, 22 February 2009; Respondent 14, 22 February 2009).

Of the fourteen respondents living in formal housing in Clare Estate who were interviewed, seven showed that their relationship with the informal community was not a satisfactory one (Respondent 2, 19 February 2009; Respondent 4, 17 February 2009; Respondent 5, 10

February 2009; Respondent 8, 18 February 2009; Respondent 9, 20 February 2009; Respondent 12, 17 February 2009; Respondent 14, 22 February 2009). This was substantiated with the following statement; “Well there is a relationship, it’s not a good one. I just don’t want one, they have nothing in common with us” (Respondent 2, 19 February 2009). Since the relationship was not a good one some respondents did not want any involvement with the informal community. Another respondent stated; “Not nice one. We try to speak to them to make peace. Sometimes we risk our lives to speak with them to make peace; we don’t know how they are” (Respondent 4, 17 February 2009). Respondents felt comfortable speaking to the informal settlers; however, they were forced to speak to them, to avoid any problems. In addition, some of the other respondents stated that they do not engage in conversation with the informal settlers (Respondent 9, 20 February 2009). The following section examines the reasons why the respondents chose not to have any relationship with the informal community.

Four of the fourteen residents interviewed stated that there was no relationship between them and the informal community (Respondent 6, 17 February 2009; Respondent 7, 11 February 2009; Respondent 10, 21 February 2009; Respondent 11, 22 February 2009). This was emphasised with the following statement, “We have no relationship, they are not the type of people I would like to call friends. We have nothing in common” (Respondent 11, 22 February 2009). The residents in informal housing were different from the residents in formal housing, therefore the interviewees chose not to have a relationship with them (Respondent 11, 22 February 2009). Another interviewee, stated, “Don’t at all. I am very careful who I talk with, they are different” (Respondent 7, 11 February 2009). The interviewee did not associate with individuals who were different from them. In addition to these statements, many of the respondents stated that they rather keep to themselves than associating with the informal community (Respondent 6, 17 February 2009).

Although the majority of respondents stated that they had a terrible and non-existent relationship with the residents in the informal residences, a few of them emphasised that their relationship was satisfactory. Three from the fourteen formal residents interviewed stated that they had had no problems with the informal community (Respondent 1, 13 February 2009; Respondent 3, 18 February 2009; Respondent 13, 22 February 2009). For example, Respondent 1 (13 February 2009) stated, “Have no problems with them. We always talk to them, wish them”. There ere no issues with the informal community and the residents in formal housing always conversed with them (Respondent 1, 13 February

2009). Another respondent stated, “They greet us and we greet them, so it’s ok” (Respondent 3, 18 February 2009). These respondents have a cordial relationship with the individuals of the informal community.

From the evidence above, it is apparent that the interviewees were quite divided in how they described their relationship with the informal community. These differences were based on how they perceived the members of the informal community and indicative of Smith’s idea on the examination of relationships in terms of the spatial and social divisions in society (Smith, 1999, cited in Cloke *et al.*, 1999). All neighbourhoods, like Clare Estate, were organised according to economic, political, cultural and social variables (Cloke *et al.*, 1991; Massey *et al.*, 1999; Scheinsohn and Cabrera, 2009). Furthermore, this organisation has emphasised the social and economic differences within society which in turn restrict individual engagements with one another (Cloke *et al.*, 1991). Within Clare Estate, there were noticeable divisions that influenced an individual’s behaviour with another individual (Smith, 1999, cited in Cloke *et al.*, 1999).

This case study showed that there existed social differences between the formal and informal communities which acted as barriers to forming relationships. Social divisions structure relationships in every society (Smith, 1999, cited in Cloke *et al.*, 1999). Furthermore, these social divisions exacerbate the perceptions of other individuals which limit a good cordial relationship (Sibley, 1995; Wratten, 1995; Hecht, 1998). Social and moral standing in society determine the types of perceptions and relationships that the residents in formal housing have with the informal community (Santana, 2002). This was evident with regards to how the residents in formal housing perceived the informal community. Thus, the respondents ‘labelled’ these informal settlers as ‘outsiders’ and assumed that they had nothing in common with them; therefore they either had a terrible relationship with them or refused to have a relationship with them. This was expressed by the following statements, “Don’t want one, they have nothing in common with us” (Respondent 2, 19 February 2009), “We don’t know how they are” (Respondent 4, 17 February 2009) and “They are different” (Respondent 7, 11 February 2009). All of the above quotations encompass the idea behind social division and stereotyping. In addition, respondents also associated negative and ‘bad’ ‘labelling’ with the informal community thereby exacerbating the divisions between these two communities. Respondent 4 (17 February 2009) stressed this by stating that they were fearful of the informal community because they do not know the character of the individuals from this settlement. It is evident

that the respondents preferred to be segregated which in turn socially excluded the informal community. by Sibley (1995), Wratten (1995) and Hecht (1998), emphasised this by stating that in most cases interaction between group members is often limited to being 'intergroup' excluding other individuals. This exclusion therefore characterised the type of relationship that was present between the residents in formal and informal communities.

However, a minority of the interviewees emphasised that the social differences that existed within society did not alter or characterise the types of relationships that they had with the informal community. Although these differences structure and characterise relationships, in some cases they are overlooked (Cloke *et al.*, 1991). Thus, Respondent 1 (13 February 2009) and Respondent 3 (18 February 2009), overlooked their differences with the informal community, enhancing social cohesion and integration between the two different communities in Clare Estate (Beall *et al.*, 2002; Thorns, 2002).

The unsatisfactory and non-existent relationships that the respondents had with the informal community were attributed to the social differences and stereotyping that were present amongst the residents in the formal and informal communities in Clare Estate. Furthermore, from the evidence above, the marginalised poor, in this case the informal community in Clare Estate, are socially displaced from society. The following section examines the personal experiences of the formal residents with respect to the forms of contact that the formal residents have had with the informal community in Clare Estate.

6.5 Personal experiences of the respondents in formal housing in Clare Estate, Durban, in relation to the informal settlements within their residential neighbourhood

There are two types of contact that the respondents have highlighted with regards to the experiences that they have had with the informal community. These are: positive and negative contact, which will be examined in their specific sections. Section 6.5.1 examines the types of positive contact and Section 6.5.2 examines the types of negative contact that the respondents in formal housing had with the informal community. This section also highlights the type of relationship that has developed with respect to the types of contact the respondents in formal housing have had with the informal community.

6.5.1 Types of positive contact of the respondents in formal housing with the informal community

Understanding the personal (positive contact) experiences was valuable in order to determine the type of relationship that existed between the formal and informal communities. This section analysed whether the residents in formal housing in any way aided or helped the informal community. A substantial number of respondents highlighted that there has been positive contact between the informal community and them in some way or the other. For example, ten out of the fourteen respondents interviewed explained that there has been a positive experience and that they had in some way aided the informal settlers (Respondent 1, 13 February 2009; Respondent 2, 19 February 2009; Respondent 3, 18 February 2009; Respondent 4, 17 February 2009; Respondent 5, 10 February 2009; Respondent 6, 17 February 2009; Respondent 9, 20 February 2009; Respondent 12, 17 February 2009; Respondent 13, 22 February 2009; Respondent 14, 22 February 2009). The remaining four respondents stated that there has been no positive contact with the informal community (Respondent 7, 11 February 2009; Respondent 8, 18 February 2009; Respondent 10, 21 February 2009; Respondent 11, 22 February 2009). The respondents have provided employment opportunities and assisted with distributing basic necessities to the informal community. These forms of positive contact will be presented below.

Some of the respondents stated that they have provided employment opportunities for the informal community. Two respondents stated that they have provided job opportunities for the informal settlers (Respondent 1, 13 February 2009; Respondent 6, 17 February 2009). One respondent stated; “We always give them part-time jobs” (Respondent 1, 13 February 2009). The jobs are not permanent. Another respondent emphasised, “Do give them gardening job from time to time” (Respondent 6, 17 February 2009). Most of the respondents required the informal settlers to undertake low paid casual jobs, such as gardening (Respondent 6, 17 February 2009). This type of working relationship is mutually beneficial to both the formal and informal communities. On the one hand, the respondents were able to acquire readily available employees, and on the other hand, the informal residents were able to acquire some of income in sustaining themselves.

In addition to the provision of job opportunities, the respondents have also helped the informal community by distributing food and clothing and building materials in times of emergency. Eight out of the ten respondents stated that they have provided such assistance to the informal community (Respondent 2, 19 February 2009; Respondent 3, 18 February

2009; Respondent 4, 17 February 2009; Respondent 5, 10 February 2009; Respondent 9, 20 February 2009; Respondent 12, 17 February 2009; Respondent 13, 22 February 2009; Respondent 14, 22 February 2009). This was evident when an uncontrolled fire destroyed a majority of the informal shack dwellings. One respondent stated, “Last time their homes burnt down, I went over to help. I gave them building materials, carpets and clothes” (Respondent 2, 19 February 2009). Also, in other instances, some respondents assisted some of the informal residents with donations and spiritual guidance.

The types of positive contact above centred on empathy and kindness towards the informal settlers. Also there was a sense of compassion and care for the informal community. The residents in formal housing recognised that these individuals are socially displaced and are low-income in need of assistance. From the evidence above, it was evident that the respondents noticed that there is an uneven divide between the formal and informal community and that residents in the informal settlements needed assistance (van Kempen, 1998). Furthermore, Smith (1999, cited in Cloke *et al.*, 1999) emphasised that the least powerful and disadvantaged individuals are located in worst locations, therefore having unequal access to resources and opportunities compared to the most powerful or advantaged, who are located in the best locations having access to resources and opportunities (Smith 1999, cited in Cloke *et al.*, 1999; Moser and McIlwaine, 1999; Cox and watt, 2002; Scheinsohn and Cabrera, 2009), this is clearly evident in Clare Estate. Due to the inequalities that the informal community is faced with in Clare Estate, they seek assistance from the residents in formal housing in Clare Estate (Coleman and Morris, 1998). Due to their marginalised status, the informal communities in Clare Estate were subjected to unequal access to resources (Honderich, 1980; Heywood, 1999). The jobs and the provision of basic necessities from the residents in formal housing highlighted the inequalities in society.

Due to their impoverished situation the informal community sought assistance from the residents in formal housing in Clare Estate. The following section will examine the forms of negative contact that the respondents have had with the informal community of Clare Estate.

6.5.2 Types of negative contact of the respondents in formal housing with the informal community

Subsequent to asking respondents about the positive contacts that they had with the informal community, it was necessary to ask them if they experienced any negative contact with the residents of the informal community. Understanding the personal negative contact experiences was beneficial in order to determine the type of relationship that exists between the formal and informal communities. This section analysed whether the residents in formal housing experienced negative contact with any members of the informal community. Ten out of fourteen respondents stated that there was some sort of negative contact (Respondent 1, 13 February 2009; Respondent 2, 19 February 2009; Respondent 4, 17 February 2009; Respondent 5, 10 February 2009; Respondent 7, 11 February 2009; Respondent 8, 18 February 2009; Respondent 9, 20 February 2009; Respondent 11, 22 February 2009; Respondent 12, 17 February 2009; Respondent 14, 22 February 2009). However, it should be presented that only four formal residents interviewed stated that there was no negative contact with the informal community (Respondent 3, 18 February 2009; Respondent 6, 17 February 2009; Respondent 10, 21 February 2009; Respondent 13, 22 February 2009). There are two negative types of experiences that these respondents have been exposed too. Firstly, there was negative contact as a result of the informal community resorting to crime. Secondly, there was negative contact as a result of verbal abuse on part of the members in the informal community. Both these factors will be discussed in the subsequent paragraphs.

Theft was an important factor that contributed to the negative experience that the respondents had of the informal community in Clare Estate. Nine respondents stated that they had some sort of negative contact with the informal community. This was illustrated by the following quote, “Broken into my house and cars, stole our belongings. They broke in twice” (Respondent 1, 13 February 2009). There were numerous break-ins and these were constant. Another resident stated that they have a steel business and the raw materials were left outside and that the residents in the informal settlements help themselves to these, impacting on their own livelihood (Respondent 12, 17 February 2009). Furthermore, one respondent stated that his/her four year old child was hijacked and the perpetrator was someone that lived in the informal settlement (Respondent 11, 22 February 2009). Most of the negative impact was the result of criminal activities that the informal community had resorted too. This issue had become of paramount concern since it influenced how they

interacted with the informal community in their neighbourhood. The subsequent paragraph examines verbal abuse as a sign of negative contact.

Only one respondent stated that there was some sort of verbal abuse that they encountered from the informal community (Respondent 5, 10 February 2009). This respondent stated that there were four individuals from the informal settlement who swore her daughter after she shouted at them for throwing stones at her dog (Respondent 5, 10 February 2009). This respondent stated that these individuals also made a remark about raping her daughter to scare her (Respondent 5, 10 February 2009). From these responses it is evident that the respondents are concerned about their well-being and that of their families and themselves.

From these forms of negative contact it was evident that the majority of the respondents viewed their contact in a negative way because of the experiences they had with certain members of the informal community. Most of the respondents have become victims of crime related incidents and these contributed to the negative contact that they had with the informal community. Many of these respondents showed their discontent with the experiences they had with these informal residents. However, certain respondents emphasised that they preferred a lack of contact with the informal community due to personal reasons.

Few (four formal residents) respondents expressed that they have no contact and prefer not to have any contact with the informal community because of personal reasons (Respondent 3, 18 February 2009; Respondent 6, 17 February 2009; Respondent 10, 21 February 2009; Respondent 13, 22 February 2009). While some residents assisted the informal community during times of need, these four respondents stated that they preferred not to help the informal community. This was largely due to their sense of fear that these residents in formal housing have of the informal community. One respondent stated that they are, "Frighten to bring them home to help" (Respondent 8, 18 February 2009). This respondent was concerned about the repercussions that may result from helping the informal community. Another reason for the lack of contact was the lack of empathy. One respondent stated that they, "Just don't care about them" (Respondent 10, 21 February 2009). In this case there were no compassionate feelings towards the members of the informal community.

One can conclude that fear was seen as a factor that influenced one's choice to help. There was a sense of maintaining a sense of security. The formal residents in formal housing were either scared to render their help or did not care to help these residents from the informal settlement, due to the problems that may arise from such assistance. Furthermore, referring to Respondent 8's (18 February 2009) fear of the informal community, refers back to the idea of the 'other' (Santana, 2002). Some respondents were scared and therefore displayed a lack of concern towards the members of the informal community. Furthermore, the respondents tended to associate with individuals that had similar backgrounds and this therefore impeded any type of relationship with the informal community.

The experiences that the respondents shared provide insight into the type of relationship that existed between the two socially economically different communities in Clare Estate. With regards to the positive contact, most of the respondents emphasised that they have helped the informal community in some way and did not mind helping them in the future. However, with respect to the negative contact, most of the respondents emphasised their unhappiness with some of the experiences that they have had with the informal community. The negative contact indirectly provides insight into the strained relationship that existed between the formal and informal communities in Clare Estate. Also some of the respondents preferred not to have any relationship with the members of the informal community because of the social differences between them and also to avoid any negative repercussions that they may encounter. The following section analyses why the respondents wanted the informal community to be relocated to another location.

6.6 Relocation

This section explores the aspects that are embedded in the stance, 'NIMBY'. 'NIMBY' is not just a stance but a form of protest against certain activities that are not accepted in a community. When an activity or development impacts on an individual's private place, individuals adopt the 'NIMBY' stance in order to emphasise the impacts that these activities or developments impose on their neighbourhood (Wolsink, 1994). This was evident in Clare Estate where the residents in formal housing acknowledged the impact that the informal community had on their lives. They therefore emphasise that the residents in informal housing should be relocated to another location.

From the questionnaires obtained, 93.3% of residents in formal housing wanted the residents in the informal settlements to relocate, 2.2% of formal residents were neutral about the decision of relocating the informal settlement to another area and 4.5% of formal residents had no commented about the relocation of the informal settlement. Following this questionnaire, interviews were administered with fourteen formal residents of Clare Estate. In addition to this, all fourteen of the respondents in Clare Estate stated that the informal settlements should be relocated elsewhere, away from their residential area (Respondent 1, 13 February 2009; Respondent 2, 19 February 2009; Respondent 3, 18 February 2009; Respondent 4, 17 February 2009; Respondent 5, 10 February 2009; Respondent 6, 17 February 2009; Respondent 7, 11 February 2009; Respondent 8, 18 February 2009; Respondent 9, 20 February 2009; Respondent 10, 21 February 2009; Respondent 11, 22 February 2009; Respondent 12, 17 February 2009; Respondent 13, 22 February 2009; Respondent 14, 22 February 2009). There were five prominent reasons for the desire that the informal settlements should be relocated: ‘Insufficient place for the informal settlement’, ‘reducing the negative impacts from the informal community’, ‘upgrading of the area’, ‘improving the informal community’s social well-being’ and lastly, ‘the need for the informal community to take responsibility’. These will be discussed below.

Firstly, a majority (eight residents) of the respondents wanted the informal settlement to be relocated because of the negative impacts that are associated with these settlements (Respondent 2, 19 February 2009; Respondent 4, 17 February 2009; Respondent 5, 10 February 2009; Respondent 6, 17 February 2009; Respondent 7, 11 February 2009; Respondent 8, 18 February 2009; Respondent 13, 22 February 2009; Respondent 14, 22 February 2009). This was emphasised by the following statement, “Won’t be congested and will therefore decrease crime, noise and pollution” (Respondent 4, 17 February 2009). The removal of the residents in informal housing will allow for the decrease in crime related issue and any other type of disturbances. Another respondent in order to highlight this reasoning stated, “All will benefit, less crime, area will be pleasant to live in and feel safe when you walk elsewhere” (Respondent 5, 10 February 2009). Residents in formal housing will feel free and safe once the residents in informal settlements are relocated to other areas. Another respondent stated; “Who wants to have them on their door-step? They interfere with us, break into our homes, they must go!” (Respondent 14, 22 February 2009). This respondent did not want the informal community so close to their homes because they posed a social and economic threat to their well-being. Furthermore, another

respondent highlighted that once the informal community was relocated, their property value will be restored to what it was (Respondent 2, 19 February 2009). Since the establishment of the informal settlement, many of the residents in formal housing have been negatively impacted upon, because their houses lost their retail value and they were not able to sell them at reasonable prices.

Secondly, two respondents stated that the informal community should be relocated elsewhere because there was insufficient space in their neighbourhood to sustain them (Respondent 1, 13 February 2009; Respondent 10, 21 February 2009). This was emphasised by the following statement: “Well they need to! There’s no place here” (Respondent 1, 13 February 2009). Clare Estate was not a spacious residential area, and the informal community was located on the boundaries of the formal residential area. The informal settlement has increased in an uncontrolled manner over the years and occupied the vacant land, private and public (eThekweni Municipality Durban, n.d.a). The respondents showed their discontent with the occupation because the residents in the informal community were trespassing onto their private properties.

Thirdly, in addition to the above issues, the residents in formal housing emphasised that the relocation of the informal community will help in the upgrading of their area. Two respondents stated that the informal community should be relocated so that the area can be upgraded (Respondent 11, 22 February 2009; Respondent 12, 17 February 2009). This was emphasised by the following quote: “To upgrade the area to what it was”. The neighbourhood can regain its previous good image, once the residents in informal settlements have been removed. The removal of the informal settlements will create a better impression for the residential area (Respondent 11, 22 February 2009). The respondents have associated the bad upkeep of the area as a result of the occupation of the informal community.

Fourthly, respondents highlighted that the removal of the informal community from their neighbourhood will improve their social well-being and that of the residents in informal housing. One respondent stated that the informal community should be relocated in order so they can acquire better living conditions and socio-economic opportunities that will benefit their social well-being (Respondent 3, 18 February 2009).

Lastly, one respondent was annoyed at the fact that the informal community lived on the land for free with no costs, and wanted the residents in the informal settlements to assume financial responsibility for their services (Respondent 9, 20 February, 2009). Respondent 9 (20 February 2009) stated, “We’re waiting for that. We pay rates on our land, they are lying on it for free. It’s time they have some responsibility”. The informal community did not pay for anything; they have no financial responsibilities for services and were, unlike the residents in the formal community, who pay for electricity, water and property taxation. On examining the reasons for the relocation of the informal community one noticed that the residents in formal housing have some attachment towards their neighbourhood. The types of attachment people have to their place depended on the actions of those individuals to maintain the area as well as the meaning that is embedded in the area. The respondents’ ‘sense of place’ was threatened and therefore they adopted the ‘NIMBY’ stance in order to protect that space (Cresswell, 2004; McCreanor *et al.*, 2006; Hernandez *et al.*, 2007). Dear (1992), stated that individuals adopted this position to protect their own property (social space). This was evident in Clare Estate where the respondents want the residents in the informal settlements to be removed and allocated land elsewhere away from their residential area. Embedded here was the nature of the uneasy relationship that existed between the residents in the formal and informal areas.

Furthermore, the ‘NIMBY’ stance was extremely significant since it is associated with the idea of a ‘sense of place’. ‘NIMBY’ largely focuses on the relationships between individuals and the spaces that they occupy. Individuals were unhappy with the location of the informal settlement (Wolsink, 1994; Watson, 1999). The residents in formal housing in Clare Estate adopted a NIMBY position since they held the view that the informal settlements were not advantageous to them. Individuals put their needs and wants first, and did not want these impacted upon. This stance largely place individual’s interests first before community interest. Interests of local residents are entangled with their behavioural motives (Wolsink, 1994; Watson, 1999). Although the individuals of informal settlements were displaced and marginalised, they were seen in a negative light, and were therefore unwelcomed in the Clare Estate area. The residents in formal housing associated the informal community with negative impacts such as crime, devaluation of property, degradation and the litter in their area. Therefore in order to remove these impacts, they emphasised that the informal community should be relocated.

All the residents in formal housing wanted the informal residents out of their residential area. This was attributed to the attachment and meaning that the residents in formal housing already had about their neighbourhood. Given that their meaning of, and attachment to their place had been impacted upon, these residents wanted the causes of those impacts to be removed, and their area restored to its original state. This is where the NIMBY attitude became apparent. The NIMBY attitude also allowed the analysis of the perceptions of the residents in formal housing on the informal community and the type of relationship that exists. The following section examines the feelings of the respondents with respect to the changes to the status quo of the residents in informal housing.

6.7 Impacts on the respondents in formal housing of recent actions to relocate and upgrade the living conditions of the informal community in Clare Estate

There have been many changes taking place in Clare Estate especially with regard to the relocation of a number of residents in informal housing to other areas to live in. This section examines the changes that have affected the formal community, in Clare Estate.

The changes that were taking place in Clare Estate centred on the informal community and involved the provision of better housing and access to facilities in their present location, or relocating them to areas that supported and sustained their livelihoods. Recently the state intervened and selected informal residents were allocated to new formal low cost housing elsewhere, under the slums clearance programme (Dlamini, 2003). However, some of the residents refused to move impeding state's effort to address this issue adequately. Therefore, state has provided the settlements with proper housing material to ensure a better living standard for the community (Dlamini, 2003). However, the state has emphasised that this is only a temporary measure, and that these communities maybe moved in future (Dlamini, 2003).

The information obtained was based on the perspectives of the residents in formal housing of the impacts arose due to the improvements in housing in the informal settlements in their formal residential area. The majority of the respondents stated that changing the residential conditions of the community had not impacted on their social well-being. Most residents adopted a pro-relocation stance, favouring the movement of the informal residents out of their neighbourhood to another area allocated for state low-cost housing. However, one can ask ones self, if the reason why the formal community is not upset by government giving free housing and hand-outs to the informal community, because they

have a hidden agenda? Or are they genuinely happy for the betterment of these lower-income individuals? This will be examined further in this section.

Examining how the residents in formal housing felt about the changes taking place in Clare Estate provided insights as to whether they had a positive or negative feeling towards these changes. It was evident that changing the status quo of these informal settlements did not impact on them, socially, politically, environmentally and economically in Clare Estate. The majority of the respondents demonstrated compassion towards the situation that the residents in informal housing encountered. This was illustrated in the following quotation, “These people need proper homes, why would I resent them? Plus they need to go” (Respondent 7, 11 February 2009). They were worried about the well-being of the residents in informal housing and therefore stated that it was best to allocate them into better housing. However, another respondent stated; “Well they need better housing and we need them out of here” (Respondent 5, 10 February 2009). Another respondent emphasised that the residents in informal housing should not be living under unhygienic conditions and that having the informal community there caused them suffering; hence they needed to move (Respondent 6, 17 February 2009). However, there was one respondent that showed their resentment towards the changes taking place, in particular, the free hand-outs given to the residents in informal housing, while they had to work hard to attain things. He also stated that he wanted them out (Respondent 11, 22 February 2009).

From the above discussion, it was clear that the respondents acknowledged that the informal community lived in unhygienic conditions. They were also quick to emphasise that these individuals needed to be moved out of their neighbourhood to another area. Examining respondent 7’s (11 February 2009) and respondent 5’s (10 February 2009) responses, “they need to go” and “we need them out of here”, respectively, provides insight into the types of attachment that these residents in formal housing have to their residential area. The respondents of Clare Estate have a personal attachment to Clare Estate (McCreannor *et al*, 2006; Hernandez *et al*, 2007). Places are physical objects that people have strong bonds to (McCreannor *et al*, 2006; Hernandez *et al*, 2007). The residents in formal housing regard Clare Estate as ‘their’ neighbourhood and therefore perceive the informal community as a ‘threat’ (Cresswell, 2004). Although, some of the respondents acknowledged that the informal community need proper housing and better access to amenities (Respondent 5, 10 February 2009; Respondent 7, 11 February 2009), they

emphasised the need to relocate the informal community. From the above responses, the 'NIMBY' stance is adopted. Due to the resentment and the fact that the formal residents perceive the informal community as a 'threat', the residents in formal housing do not want them in their neighbourhood (Wolsink, 1994; Watson, 1999). The 'need' to remove the informal community is a request put forward by the residents in formal housing to emphasise that the informal community do not belong in their neighbourhood. The respondents strong sentiments regarding the relocation of the residents in informal housing highlights the social exclusion and divisions that existed between the formal and informal communities in Clare Estate (Sibley, 1995; van Kempen, 1998; Sachs-Jeantet, 2000). The informal community are regarded as 'outsiders' by the formal residents and therefore they need to be relocated (Sibley, 1995; Hecht, 1998).

The understanding of the nature of the impacts on the formal residents regarding the improved housing for the residents in informal housing and their access to land in Clare Estate was extremely important, since it provided for understanding the characteristics that influenced the relationship between these individuals. These impacts amplified the politics that individuals who are socially and economically different faced. It was evident that the majority of the respondents were unhappy about the changes taking place in the area. Although some respondents were concerned about the well-being of the informal settlers and providing them with proper housing and infrastructure, the important aspect emphasised was that the respondents wanted the residents in the informal settlements relocated to other available low cost housing land and out of their formal residential neighbourhood. The following section (6.8) presents the conclusion to the chapter.

6.8 Conclusion

This chapter provided insight into the experiences and conceptualisation of formal residents with respect to the informal community's occupation and access of land, and how these have influenced the relationship between these two different social groups. This study found that the relationship was strained and that most of the residents in formal housing excluded the residents in informal housing from their social life, out of fear. This strained relationship was highlighted due to the negative images and experiences that the residents in formal housing encountered because the informal community stayed in close proximity to them. The majority of the respondents emphasised that living near the informal settlements was problematic with majority of the respondents attaching a criminal image to them. This stereotypical attachment was disadvantageous to the informal

community, since the respondents disassociated and segregated themselves from the residents in the formal informal settlements (Sibley, 1995; Wratten, 1995; Hecht, 1998). The respondents assumed the role of 'victims', through living next to the informal community and being exposed to all the negative impacts associated with them.

The social impacts that the respondents in formal housing encountered were a loss of belonging and identity that they once had of their neighbourhood before the presence of the informal community. These residents in formal housing in Clare Estate lived here for many years and the presence of the informal community had impacted on their 'sense of place' (Cresswell, 2004; McCreanor *et al.*, 2006; Hernandez *et al.*, 2007). The sense of fear, increased crime and insecurity were some of the negative feelings and experiences that the residents in formal housing developed since the informal community started occupying land. The residents in formal housing viewed their neighbourhood as a 'crime infested' area (Respondent 3, 18 February 2009), that no longer resembled its positive attributes. Many of the residents have become victims of crime or have had negative experiences with the informal community and therefore have some type of resentment towards the individuals of the informal community. Due to these perceptions and negative experiences, the residents in formal housing felt unhappy in their own neighbourhood and resented the presence of the informal community. Their attachment and image of the neighbourhood has drastically changed for the worse. Furthermore, the residents in formal housing emphasised that their area has also encountered negative physical changes such as litter/pollution, noise and disturbances due to the presence of the informal community. The economic impacts experienced by the formal residents mainly centred on the devaluation of their property. The residents in formal housing are unable to sell their properties because the retail value has decreased drastically and their area was no longer attractive to potential purchasers.

In order to address these issues and their impacts, the respondents, placed enormous pressure on the local authorities to address this issue of the unlawful occupation of land. Many of the residents also have adopted a 'NIMBY' stance (Dear, 1992; Wolsink, 1994), in order to support the removal of the informal settlements from their neighbourhood. Although some formal residents have stated that these informal communities need to be relocated elsewhere into better housing schemes for a better life, this perspective masked the residents in formal housing desire to regain their 'rights' over 'their' land, and to regain their 'sense of belonging' over the neighbourhood. The local state addressed the issue of

illegal squatting by removing some of the informal settlers to other vacant property; however, some of the informal community have rejected this initiative and still reside in the informal settlement in Clare Estate (Dlamini, 2003). Therefore the local authorities were forced to provide these communities with better housing in Clare Estate (Dlamini, 2003). Because of this action from the informal community, many of the formal residents felt that the local authority's initiatives with regards to the removal of the informal community were inadequate. Therefore the feeling of being displaced within their own neighbourhood is also exacerbated by the state's inability to fully address the needs and issues of the formal community.

Finally, all of the respondents preferred not to have any engagement with the members from the informal community due to the fact that these individuals were different from them with nothing in common, and secondly that these individuals contributed to problems in their neighbourhood. The social differences exclude individuals especially the marginalised individuals from society (Santana, 2002). This in turn disrupts the 'social order'; since there is an unequal divide between the groups in society. Moreover, the social differences were distinctly present in the Clare Estate area, between the formal and informal communities. This divide, as van Kempen (1998) states, exacerbated the problem of integration and affected the way individuals interacted with one another. Chapter five examined the perceptions and conceptualisation of the formal residents with regard to the informal community and Chapter six explored the experiences and relationship of the formal residents in Clare Estate with regard to the informal community.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

Access to and occupation of land has become a notable issue especially in developing countries. Who is occupying land, what type of occupation and where this occupation is have become key questions debated amongst many individuals. Land was a resource that was not been equally accessible to all in past in South Africa, and is also proving to be inaccessible within South African cities (Crush, 1992; Christopher, 2005). This inaccessibility emanated through the apartheid government's actions that generated inequalities. There were distinct physical geographic divisions between the different race groups, and racial mixing was discouraged (Swilling *et al.*, 1991). It was mostly the poor and marginalised (black) individuals who were affected. However, although the oppressive laws of the apartheid government have been dismantled, the effects of these laws are still present today (2009-2010). The present democratic government has not adequately addressed this issue of access to and occupation of land, with serious negative consequences for the marginalised population.

Due to the inaccessibility of land there has been a movement of individuals, especially the marginalised poor, from the outskirts of cities to the city centres and urban residential areas in search for better social and economic prospects. This migration has resulted in an influx of informal settlements in and around the boundaries of formal residential areas (Vermeulin, 2006). The main reason for this type of unmanaged and illegal informal settlements in formal residential areas was a result of inadequate housing initiatives that were available to the economically poor of the country (Maasdorp, and Haarhoff, 1983; Nel *et al.*, 2003). Another reason for the development of these settlements, was that most of the informal communities in found it advantageous to live in these areas due to easy access to job opportunities, access to resources and basically a better standard of living relative to the rural areas from where they have come (eThekweni Municipality Durban, n.d.a). Furthermore, this unmanaged movement and illegal occupation of land has resulted in many problems (Huchzermeyer and Karam, 2006). Addressing urban housing requirements is widely regarded as one of the greatest challenges facing South African cities in the post-apartheid era (Kok and Gelderblom, 1994). The informal settlements have become an urban management challenge for many municipalities, especially the municipality of Durban. The presence of these informal settlements has become a contentious issue especially amongst municipal officials and residents in formal housing in

the city (Huchzermeyer and Karam, 2006). The informal settlement has socially and economically impacted on formal residential neighbourhood where the formal residents have resided for many years. In the light of these developments, this study investigated the experiences and conceptualisation of the residents in formal housing with regards to the informal community's access and occupation of land in Clare Estate. This chapter concludes this study.

The research objectives that underpinned this study were: 1) To examine how the residents in formal housing perceive the informal community. 2) To investigate if and how fear plays a role in the perceptions of the residents in the informal community amongst the residents in formal housing. 3) To investigate the importance of a 'sense of place', with respect to the experience and conceptualisation of informal settlements amongst residents in formal housing in Clare Estate, relative to the establishment of informal settlements in their neighbourhood. 4) To outline the nature of the relationship between the residents in formal and informal housing in Clare Estate. The outline was generated from the perspective of the residents in formal housing. 5) To explain the impacts of the illegal/informal occupation of land on the neighbouring residents in formal housing in Clare Estate.

The literature that was utilised and explored in this thesis was described in Chapter Two. This chapter helped answer the aim and objectives of the research. The theoretical framework in this study first briefly investigated the broader issues around the notion of a 'divided city'. This notion was described as the foundation of the theoretical framework of the study upon which the other concepts were developed. Society is structured as a pyramid, where on one side there are individuals who are at the top of the hierarchy (wealthy, benefiting from capitalistic opportunities) and individuals who are at the bottom of the social hierarchy (underclass, marginalised and excluded) (van Kempen, 1998, Sachs-Jeantet, 2000). There is a social and economic hierarchy in society that has indirectly resulted in social and economic division amongst individuals. Due to the fact that society consists of low, middle and high income groups, access to resources and opportunities by these distinctive groups are differently obtained. There is an uneven and unequal distribution of resources or access to certain opportunities in society (Smith, 1999, cited in Cloke *et al.*, 1999) because of this social and economic division. Individuals have different wants and needs, and these enhance inequalities which is disadvantageous mostly for the

marginalised population in society. This stratification of the city is important to unpack, since the decisions made within a city only benefit a few.

Smith (1999), (in Cloke *et al.*, 1999) put forward that society is mapped into space and spatial arrangements are a reflection of social divisions. This in turn emphasises that, space influences society. Smith (1999), (in Cloke *et al.*, 1999) argued that as a way of examining the relationship between different communities, spatial patterns should be viewed as a reflection of the social structures that influence social relations.

Additionally, segregation, marginalisation, exclusion and polarisation are more prevalent than social cohesion (Sibley, 1995, Knox, 1995, van Kempen, 1998). Society is fragmented according to segregation by ethnicity and socio-economic differences (van Kempen, 1998). In order to maintain these divisions, stereotypical perceptions and prejudices are developed (van Kempen, 1998, Sibley, 1995). In most cases the negative perceptions are of the marginalised populations in society. Due to this stereotypical labelling, the marginalised populations are excluded from enjoying the same benefits as the higher order groups in society (Sibley, 1995). Therefore, social injustices are embedded within society since all individuals are not able to enjoy the same benefits (Coleman and Morris, 1998; Heywood, 1999; Visser, 2001). Society is constructed on the basis of inequalities, individuals are valued differently and unequally (Smith, 2004). Some individuals will always have more than other individuals. Due to this uneven social structure that is present within many societies, there is a struggle for power over political and economic agendas. There are differential power relations in space that shape the production of space (Dikec, 2005).

Space is embedded with conflict, especially when two different social economic groups are present (Dikec, 2005). One of the reasons for conflicts in society is how individuals value their physical landscape. Sense of place is one of the ways in which many geographers have attempted to address the intricate linkages between individuals' well-being and physical location (McCreanor *et al.*, 2006). Places are assembled on a set of social, political, economic and cultural relations and have different levels of attachment for individuals (McCreanor *et al.*, 2006). This in turn makes places important for peoples' identities (McCreanor *et al.*, 2006, Hay, 1998). There is a sense of belonging that individuals' have attached to places and thus, these individuals are opposed to anything that may hinder full enjoyment of their landscape or impact on their sense of belonging to a particular place.

Finally, the notion and stance of NIMBY was discussed. This is an important consideration, since the attitudes of the individuals to a particular development or change becomes relevant. NIMBY is a stance that many individuals adopt if they are not satisfied with a certain development within their area. Having a development like an informal settlement in one's area is regarded as a disadvantage and therefore individuals from that area tend to support the relocation of those informal communities and the promote the exclusion of certain individuals (Wolsink, 1994).

Chapter Three describes the context of the study. This chapter presents the circumstances and events surrounding the social issues presented in the research. The chapter examines South Africa and Durban's apartheid geography and as well issues of land access. The apartheid and post-apartheid spatial restructurings gave insight into the physical structuring of South African cities. These sections provided an understanding of some of the social injustices and inequalities that the majority of South Africans faced. Furthermore, it examined whether the post-apartheid government is adequately addressing these injustices. Relevant literature examining the spatial development of the cities in South Africa as analysed and presented. Secondly, the chapter presented a discussion of informal settlements in order to understand what these settlements entail. The development of such settlements is a phenomenon that many countries and cities are faced with. The presence of informal settlements is of significance since it occurs in many municipalities, including the eThekweni Municipality (Huchzermeyer and Karam, 2006). The chapter also included a background to the study area (Clare Estate) and highlighted the issues that the residential area currently faced with regards to the presence of the informal settlements. This study found that there existed two types of communities in Clare Estate, namely the formal community and the informal community. The Clare Estate area during the apartheid era was established to accommodate only the Indian population (eThekwini Municipality Durban, n.d.a). However, due to the previous apartheid government's incapability to enforce the prohibition of 'illegal squatting', there was an influx of informal settlements in and around the boundaries of the Clare Estate residential neighbourhood (eThekwini Municipality Durban, n.d.a). However, although the apartheid government has been replaced, the present government is also equally to blame for this influx of informal settlements into the formal residential neighbourhoods.

In Chapter Four, the research methodology was described. A qualitative and quantitative methodology was used in this study. A quantitative methodology was used to provide

general insight into the situation regarding the informal settlement in Clare Estate. Thereafter a qualitative methodology was used to collect primary data relating to the experiences and perceptions of the residents' in formal housing regarding the informal settlements in their area. This methodology was used in order to interpret the multiple meanings that the residents in formal housing attached to their neighbourhood (Winchester, 2005). In-depth interviews with fourteen residents and important stakeholders, such as the municipal official and a non-governmental organization official, enabled the researcher to gather rich data. Documents and texts were also collected and personal observations involving an analysis of the residential area enabled a rich database to be accumulated.

Five non-probability sampling techniques to select the sample of interview respondents were used, namely purposive, random stratified, proximity, availability and snowballing sampling. The purposive technique enabled the researcher to select the specific stakeholders required. With regard to the residents in formal housing, a random stratified sample method was adopted. This was adopted in terms of allowing all potential interviewees within the sample frame to equally have a chance of being interviewed (Cloke *et al.*, 2004). Furthermore, it should be acknowledged that the random sampling method was used in combination with stratified sampling method, where the individuals were grouped according to their location relative to the informal settlement. Other types of sampling techniques used in the study were: availability and proximity sampling. A proximity technique allowed the researcher to analyse residents in formal housing who were in close proximity to the informal community (Cloke *et al.*, 2004). The sample then was selected systematically from within the group (Cloke *et al.*, 2004). With regard to availability, residents from formal housing were also chosen according to their availability. This technique was practical when the researcher needed other residents in formal housing who did not fall within the original sample size due to the rejection from other selected questionnaire applicants. Lastly the snowballing technique provided the researcher with access to important municipal officials and non-governmental organisation officials through personal contacts. Furthermore, the data collected were analysed through a systematic thematic analysis which allowed for the teasing out of relationships through categorising and coding the data (Kitchin & Tate, 2000). In addition confidentiality and trust were maintained with regards to all of the interviewees, therefore aiding in the collection of data.

The research aim and objectives of the study were answered Chapter Five and Six. Chapter Five presented the perceptions of residents in formal housing in Clare Estate with regards

to the informal community. Chapter Six presented the experiences and relationship between the formal and informal communities in Clare.

The study only focused on the perceptions and experiences of the formal community with the informal community. Both the perceptions and experiences of the informal community were interconnected since they shaped the types of relationship that existed between the formal and informal communities. From the data collected and the literature reviewed it was found that the informal occupation was disadvantageous to the formal community in Clare Estate. The residents in formal housing emphasised that the informal settlements in Clare Estate, negatively impact on them in multitude of ways. These negative implications were guided by how the formal residents viewed the informal community and, secondly, by the impacts that the informal community had on the formal community. Firstly, there were preconceived stereotypical 'labels' that people placed on people who were different, in particular, the stereotypical images that the residents in formal housing placed on the residents in informal housing. Secondly, the negative implications of the informal settlements influenced the type of experiences and relationships that the residents in formal housing had with the residents in the informal settlements.

The residents in formal housing have attached negative images such as 'invaders', 'criminals', 'dishonest' and 'outsiders', to most of the residents from the informal community. This conception and stereotyped 'labelling' has structured the way in which the residents in formal housing perceived the informal community. Furthermore, it has influenced the types of interactions that these two groups have with each other. This type of stereotypical 'labelling' tends to exclude certain individuals and therefore enhances the divisions within society (Sibley, 1995; Wratten, 1995; and Hecht, 1998). The residents in formal housing regard the residents in the informal settlements as 'outsiders' who are associated with negative attributes (Sibley, 1995; Wratten, 1995; Hecht, 1998; van Kempen, 1998; Sachs-Jeantet, 2000). van Kempen (1998), Best and Struver (2000), Sachs-Jeantet (2000), Butler and Hallows (2002), Maharaj (2002), Thorns (2002), Scheinsohn and Cabrera (2009) state that due to these 'labels' and socio-economic differences, segregation of distinct groups in society is enhanced and the 'others' are socially displaced from society. This social displacement is noticeable in this neighbourhood in Clare Estate where there was segregation of the particular groups, namely the residents in formal and informal housing. Negative perceptions were usually emphasised and exaggerated (Sibley, 1995). This sense of 'othering' led to unwanted perceptions and these perceptions were

usually accompanied by negative attributes (Sibley, 1995; Wratten, 1995; Hecht, 1998). In keeping with the exaggeration of the negative perceptions, the residents in formal housing perceived these residents in the informal settlements as criminals and dishonest individuals who were devaluing their neighbourhood. In addition, because of these perceptions the residents in formal housing became fearful of the informal community (Sibley, 1995; Wratten, 1995; Hecht, 1998). Fear has further influenced the way the residents in formal housing have perceived the informal community in Clare Estate and has resulted in many of the residents in formal housing becoming paranoid and suspicious of the informal community. It was evident from the findings that the formal residents have developed anxieties towards the informal community. Furthermore, these images exacerbated the impacts and the type of relationship that the residents in formal housing had with the informal community.

With regards to the social impacts, the residents in formal housing stated that their quality of life and their social lives have been negatively impacted upon because of the close proximity of the informal community. The intensity of crime, litter/pollution and disturbance within the area has become an issue for the formal community in Clare Estate. Most of the residents stated that they felt unsafe in their neighbourhood. The majority of the residents in formal housing have become victims of crime, either being hijacked or having their belongings stolen, and they all attributed this to the people who live in the adjacent informal settlement. The feeling of not being safe as common for these residents in formal housing. Furthermore, some of the residents in formal housing emphasised that having these informal settlers near their home was a nuisance, since according to them these individuals are a disturbance. Therefore, from these impacts and perceived stereotypical images of the informal community, the residents in formal housing felt resentment towards the informal community. In addition to the social impacts, the residents in formal housing also experienced economic impacts. This largely focused on the devaluation of their fixed property. The decrease in the retail value of residential properties in the area has placed an economic hardship on residents wanting to sell these properties in order to relocate to other places. Therefore the relationship between the communities in formal and informal housing was strained. Due to the perceptions and the experiences that the formal community had with the informal community, negative relationship existed between these two communities. Furthermore, as van Kempen (1998), Moser and McIlwaine, 1999, Best and Struver (2000), Sachs-Jeantet (2000), Butler and Hallows (2002), Cox and Watt, 2002, Maharaj (2002), Thorns (2002), Scheinsohn and Cabrera

(2009) state that due to social divisions embedded within society, certain relationships are influenced by social, political, cultural and economic forces that impede or develop certain relationships. This was noticeable in Clare Estate, where social exclusion and negative perceptions negatively impacted on the type of relationship that the residents in formal housing have with the informal community in Clare Estate. Massey (1997), Watson (1999) and Dikec (2005) emphasised that relationships become strained due to the type of position that particular groups of individuals occupy within space. This was evident in Clare Estate in regard to residents in the formal and informal communities.

This study drew on residents' in formal housing perceptions of the informal community as well as the experiences they have had with the informal community. This attachment that the residents in formal housing had to their residential area was essential to examine since it gave insights into the types of relationships and experiences that the residents in formal housing had with the resident in the informal settlements.. A 'sense of place' is influenced by 'place identity' or by people's associations with the physical and social dimensions of a location (Proskansky *et al.*, 1983 in McCreanor, 2006; Hernandez *et al.*, 2007). The residents in formal housing have experienced a loss of belonging and identity that they once had of their place due to the establishment of the informal community in their area. Their 'sense of place', together with their intimate investments in that particular place, had been impacted upon (Mazanti, 2007). Due to this impact, the residents in formal housing have labelled the residents from the informal settlements as 'invaders' thereby socially displacing certain groups in this society. The residents in formal housing in Clare Estate have imposed a territorial attachment to their neighbourhood (Brown and Wemer, 1985; Sack, 1986; Grosby, 1995; Jacobson, 1997). In keeping with the literature regarding territoriality, Grosby (1995) and Jacobson (1997) stated that particular individuals impose social and political boundaries on physical spaces in order to benefit a certain few. Furthermore, it is this distinction that excluded the 'others' from being part of that space (Brown and Wemer, 1985; Sack, 1986; Grosby, 1995; Jacobson, 1997). Due to the residents in formal housing perceiving the informal community as 'invaders' and also due to the negative experiences that the formal community had of the informal community, their attachment and image of the neighbourhood has changed for the worse. The establishment of the informal settlements in the residential area has threatened the formal residents' 'sense of place'. The residents in formal housing felt that their sense of belonging has been impacted upon because of the situation of the informal community within their neighbourhood.

In addition to the type of perceptions and experiences that the residents in formal housing have of the informal community, one can ascertain that the relationship was very strained. All the residents in formal housing emphasised that they did not intend to have any contact with the informal community because of the negative implications that were associated with them. Many of the residents in formal housing highlighted that the informal communities needed to be relocated elsewhere. The main reason for this relocation was that the residents in formal housing wanted to 'reclaim' their rights and belonging to their residential neighbourhood. Dear (1992) stated that individuals adopt a 'NIMBY' stance to protect their own property (social space). In response the residents in formal housing, the state tried to address the issue of illegal squatting in Clare Estate, by removing some of the informal settlers to other suitable land; however, some members of the informal community have rejected the relocation process and still resided in their informal settlement in Clare Estate. This has therefore resulted in many residents in formal housing feeling ignored by the municipality.

This research highlighted the perceptions of the residents in formal housing on the residents in informal housing in Clare Estate. Social division was prevalent in this neighbourhood with the formal and informal communities segregated. This disparity exacerbated tensions over land in Clare Estate. The formal community had a negative image of the informal community, thereby influencing the type of relationship that they have with them. Furthermore, the formal community was unhappy with the government's efforts to relocate the informal settlements. Although there have been some removals, there was still a number of informal settlements in the Clare Estate area. The local state is faced with major challenges with regards to the relocation of these informal settlements. Whether government is going to adequately address this issue of informal squatting is yet to be known.

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Respondent 12, Resident, Rosemary Road, 17 February 2009.

Respondent 5, Resident, Constantine Road, 10 February 2009.

Respondent 6, Resident, Constantine Road, 17 February 2009.

Respondent 7, Resident, Constantine Road, 11 February 2009.

Respondent 8, Resident, Constantine Road, 18 February 2009.

Respondent 9, Resident, Foreman Road, 20 February 2009.

Respondent 10, Resident, Kennedy Road, 21 February 2009.

Respondent 11, Resident, Dodoma Road, 22 February 2009.

Respondent 13, Resident, Kennedy Road, 22 February 2009.

Respondent 14, Resident, Kennedy Road, 22 February 2009.

Site Visits

Site Visit 1: Clare Estate Residential Area, 1st January 2009.

Site Visit 2: Clare Estate Residential Area, 12th February 2009.

Site Visit 3: Clare Estate Residential Area, 11th June 2009.

APPENDIX A

Newspaper article relating to the devaluation of property as a result of the informal settlement in Clare Estate



UNDER SHACK SIEGE

Homes and vacant properties in Foreman Road, Clare Estate, have been invaded by informal settlers, resulting in the remaining residents living under siege

Picture: NINEY RUTHNAM

YOGAS NAIR

"ALL of this land belongs to us. Move out or we will kill you."

That was the recent ultimatum to a Foreman Road, Clare Estate, family by a group of illegal squatters who have already invaded several Indian-owned homes and vacant properties in the area.

Gloria Babdhan, 55, and her family have been under siege and targets of armed robbers. They also faced death threats because they refused to vacate their home, like several other families had done.

When **POST** visited Babdhan at her home yesterday, I wretched in horror at the unbearable stench of human faeces in plastic packets, urine, rotting food and huge piles of rubbish strewn across the yard. Babdhan said their lives had been a living hell since the squatters "invaded" Foreman Road, 13 years ago. She said they were constantly intimidated and harassed. "They defecate in packets, throw them into my yard, and refer to me as a coolie. They stone our house almost every night with rocks and stones to try and drive us off the property. I have huge holes in my roof and several windows are shattered but I refuse to be driven off my property. I will not allow them to intimidate me."

She said they had been victims of several armed robberies, the last incident occurring at the end of last year. "Two robbers hid behind a wall and pounced on me as I opened my front door. They held a gun to my head and demanded money. I managed to press the panic button and they fled with only a CD player."

Babdhan, who lives less than half a metre away from the nearest shack, said their telephone lines were often cut and they were exposed to unbearable noise levels at night and pollution from fires.

"I have sent several letters to the eThekweni Municipality but my pleas have fallen on deaf ears. They say the shacks are situated on private properties and it was not their responsibility to intervene or relocate the shack dwellers."

The last straw was when one of the shack dwellers stole her dog in December, and offered to return it - at a price!. The dog is still missing.

"They also throw dirt into my yard and have the audacity to say they will remove it if I pay them. This is extortion. We worked hard for our home and I will not walk away without a fight."

Meanwhile, members of the Bakerville Gardens Ratepayers' Association are up in arms after the eThekweni Municipality's housing department recommended that 97 families living in an informal settlement, in Peter Road, Sea Cow Lake, be relocated to State-owned land in nearby Centre Road.

According to a document in **POST**'s possession, the department sought council approval for the "urgent temporary relocation" of the Peter Road informal settlement onto "State-owned land within the Sea Cow Lake area". The Peter Road land, which belongs to two private landowners and the National Roads Board, is set for business development, valued at over R40 million. According to the document which was signed off by City Manager Mike Sutcliffe and Deputy City Managers Dereck Naidoo and Krish Kumar, the settlement "has been earmarked for relocation according to the housing unit's informal settlement programme; featured in the next phase of the Slums Clearance project; and has been planned for relocation in the short term". The report stated that there were already 540 informal settlements in the Durban area.

A fuming Association Chairman Robin Lalla said they were upset that proposals were being put on the table without consultation with residents. "The housing department claims this will be a temporary move. But we all know that's hogwash. This will become a permanent feature."

He said they were concerned about pollution and the possible increase in the crime rate if the settlement was relocated. "Criminals do hide out in these settlements and this could spell disaster for residents. There is also no adequate water or toilet facilities." He suggested the municipality should rather spend money on giving the shack dwellers permanent homes instead of "moving them around like a herd of cattle".

Deputy Mayor Logie Naidoo said the housing department would investigate the claims by Lalla and Babdhan. However, he stressed they would not "interfere" with the Foreman Road shacks because it was situated on private property. "We sympathise with the families under siege and will ask Metro police and the SAPS to intervene and try and restore harmony."

Attempts to obtain a comment from housing director Kogilan Pather were unsuccessful.

Source: Nair, Y. (14-18 March 2007): "Under Shack Siege", *Post*: 1.

APPENDIX B

The questionnaire schedules used for the questionnaires conducted.

- Information of the researcher
- Brief overview of the research
- Questionnaire A: Formal residents (English)
- Questionnaire B: Formal residents (Zulu)

Information of the researcher



**There are two questionnaires (one in isiZulu and the other in English).
Choose your language preference.**

**Please can you fill in the questions and send the answered questionnaire
to me:**

1) Post: Address is included on the envelope

**(I have included a stamped envelope with the address, so there is no cost
to you)**

2) Fax: 031 260 3073 (Environmental Science Department, Howard College)

**Please can you send your completed questionnaire within a week of receiving this
letter.**

Thank you for your participation!

Brief overview of the research

My name is Naadira Nadasen and I am currently doing a masters thesis in Geography and Environmental Management in the School of Environmental Sciences. My research investigates the relationship between formal and informal residents in the Clare Estate District. This research aims to investigate the experiences and conceptualisation of access and occupation of land for informal settlements by formal residents of Clare Estate.

The research draws on formal residents experiences with regards to the presence of the informal settlements in their formal residential area. In this research I will attempt to examine the type of relationship that exists between the formal and informal residents as well as the municipal officials. I will therefore conduct interviews with municipal officials as well as the formal residents of Clare Estate.

The research also attempts to examine how municipal officials have attempted to address this issue of the presence of informal settlers in Clare Estate. Although there have been some removals, there is still a number of informal settlements in the Clare Estate area, which have not been relocated. The municipality is faced with major challenges with regards to the reallocation of these informal settlements. Therefore the research also attempts to provide some insight into the context for decision-making which may be used in determining how to address this situation in the future.

Your anonymity will be ensured at all times and personal details provided in the study will be kept confidential. You are free to withdraw from the research at any time without any negative or undesirable consequences.

If you would like to discuss anything pertaining to the research please contact any of the following individuals:

1) Jennifer Houghton (supervisor for the research) - School of Environmental Sciences (Westville Campus)
Work number: 031 2601444
Email address: houghtonja@ukzn.ac.za

2) Naadira Nadasen (masters student- conducting the research)
Department number: 031 2602416
Cell number: 0727566786
Email addresses: 202516243@ukzn.ac.za OR naadiranadasen@yahoo.com

Questionnaire A: Formal residents (English)

My name is Naadira Nadasen and I am doing a masters thesis which investigates the relationship between formal and informal residents in the Clare Estate District. This research aims to investigate the experiences and conceptualisation of the residents in formal housing with regards to the informal community's access and occupation of land in Clare Estate. The research also attempts to examine the municipality's involvement in addressing the issue of the presence of informal settlers in the formal residential area of Clare Estate.

Your anonymity will be ensured at all times and personal details provided in the study will be kept confidential. You are free to withdraw from the research at any time without any negative or undesirable consequences.

Section A: General Information Regarding the Clare Estate Area

1. For how many years have you been living in this area?

<input type="checkbox"/> < 1 year	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 – 5 years	<input type="checkbox"/> 5 – 10 years	<input type="checkbox"/> > 10 years
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2. Are you originally from Clare Estate?

<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No
------------------------------	-----------------------------

3. How many people live in this household, including yourself? _____

4. In your own words how would you describe this residential area?

5. State 3 advantages of living in this area?

1) _____

2) _____

3) _____

6. State 3 disadvantages of living in this area?

1) _____

2) _____

3) _____

7. How would you compare the quality of neighbourhood with other neighbourhoods in Durban?

Good	Relative	Bad
------	----------	-----

If other please explain below

8. Are you happy living in this area?

Yes	No	Partially
-----	----	-----------

9. What type of influence does the informal settlement have on your neighbourhood?

Positive	Negative	Both	None
----------	----------	------	------

Explain your choice:

10. How would you describe your relationship with the residents' of the informal settlement?

Harmonious (everyone gets along with each other)	Conflictual	Apathetic	No relationship exists	Other
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If other, please explain below.

11. How has the quality of life in the residential area changed due to the occupation of land by the informal settlement?

Better	Relative	Worse	Changeable (Sometimes better and sometimes worse)	No change	Neutral
--------	----------	-------	--	-----------	---------

Explain your choice:

12. Do you feel safe in your neighbourhood?

Yes	No	Partially
-----	----	-----------

Explain your choice:

13. Would you like the informal community to be relocated?

Yes	No	Neutral
-----	----	---------

Please explain:

14. a) Are you involved in any community organizations?

Yes	No
-----	----

14. b) If yes what is your level of involvement?

Very involved	Sometimes involved	Not involved at all
---------------	--------------------	---------------------

15. What is the name of the organization?

16. Are all your needs and concerns about the presence of the informal settlement in your neighbourhood being addressed by the municipality?

Yes	No	Partially
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17. Of the concerns that you have which is most important for the municipality to address?

18. Race? _____

19. How much do you earn monthly?

< R5000	R5000 – R 10 000	> R10 000
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20. Any additional comments?

Questionnaire B: Formal residents (Zulu)

Umbuzo obhekiswe kulowo oyisakhamuzi

Igama lami ngingu Naadira Nadasen, kanti ngenza izifundo ze Masters thesis kweze Geography and Environmental Management esikoleni se-Environmental Sciences. Ucwangingo lucubungula mayelana nobuhlobo phakathi kwabantu abangabahlali basemijondolo/ basezakhiweni yase Clare Estate kanye nezakhamizi zakhona. Inhloso yalolucwaningo ukuthola ulwazi mayelana nokuthi kubaphatha kanjani labo abayizakhami ukuba khona kwabahlali basemijondolo/ basezakhiweni endaweni yase Clare Estate.

Imininingwane yakho angeke ivezwe obala iyohlala iyimfihlo ngokunjalo nolwazi olutholakale kulolucwaningo. Unelungelo lokuzikhipha kulolucwaningo ngaphandle kwenzinqinamba noma imiphumela emibi

Isigaba A: Ulwazi mayelana nendawo yase Clare Estate

1. Sekuneminyaka emingakhi uhlala kulendawo?

< Unyaka-1	1 – 5 Iminyaka	5 – 10 Iminyaka	> 10 Iminyaka
------------	----------------	-----------------	---------------

2. Ingabe ungowokuzalwa e-Clare Estate?

Yes	No
-----	----

3. Bangaki abantu abahlala kulendlu kuhlenganisa nawe? _____

4. Ngokwako ungayichaza kanjani lendawo?

5. Yisho izinto ezintathu ezinhle ngokuhlala kulendawo?

1) _____

2) _____

3) _____

6. Yisho izinto ezintathu ezenza kube kubi ukuhlala kulendawo?

- 1) _____

- 2) _____

- 3) _____

7. Ungalinganisa kanjani izinga lempilo kulendawo uma uqhathanisa nezinye izindawo eThekwini?

Lihle	Likahle	Libi
-------	---------	------

Uma lingokunye chaza:

8. Ingabe uthokozile ukuhlala kulendawo?

Yebo	Cha	Kancane
------	-----	---------

9. Ingabe inhloboni yesimo esidalwa ukuba khona kwabahlali basemijondolo/ basezakhiweni endaweni?

Sihle	Sibi	Kokubili	Akukho lutho
-------	------	----------	--------------

Chaza umbono wakho:

10. Ungabuchaza kanjani ubuhlobo phakathi kwakho kanye nabahlali basemijondolo/ basezakhiweni?

Bule wonke umuntu uyezwana	kunezinxushunxuxhu	abuthokozisi	Akukho buhlobo	okunye
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Uma kungokunye chaza.

11. Ingabe ishintshe kanjani impilo yesakhamuzi ngenxa yokusetshenziwa komhlaba abahlali basemijondolo/ basezakhiweni?

Ingcono	Ikahle	Imbi		Akukho ushintsho	Akunalutho
			Iyashintsha shintsha ngesinye isikhathi ingcono kanti kwesinye isikhathi kubi		

Chaza ngombono wakho:

12. Ingabe uzizwa uphephile kubantu ohlalisene nabo?

Yebo	Cha	Kancane
------	-----	---------

Chaza umbono wakho:

13. Ungathanda abahlali basemijondolo/ basezakhiweni bathuthelwe kwenye indawo?

Yebo	Cha	Akunalutho
------	-----	------------

Chaza umbono wakho:

14. a) Ingabe kukhona inhlangotho yomphakathi oyilunga layo?

Yebo	Cha
------	-----

14. b) Uma kunjalo ingabe ugxile kangakanani?

Kakhulu	Ngesinye isikhathi	Angigxilile nakancane
---------	--------------------	-----------------------

15. Liyini igama lenhlangotho?

16. Ingabe umasipala uyahlangabezana nezidingo kanye nezikhatho zakho mayelana nobukhona kwabahlali basemijondolo/ basezakhiweni endaweni?

Yebo	Cha	Kancane
------	-----	---------

17. Phakathi kwezikhatho onazo isiphi okuyisona esimqoka kunezinye ongadinga ukuba uMasipala abhekane naso?

18. Ubuzwe? _____

19. Uholo malini ngenyanga?

< R5000	R5000 – R 10 000	> R10 000
---------	------------------	-----------

20. Ingabe kukhona okunye ongafuna ukukuchaza?

APPENDIX C

The interview schedules used for the interviews conducted.

- Interview A: Questions for the formal residents
- Interview B: Questions for the city planners (municipal officials)
- Interview C: Questions for the non-governmental organisation

Interview A: Questions for the formal residents

My name is Naadira Nadasen and I am doing a masters thesis which investigates the relationship between residents in formal and informal housing in Clare Estate. This research aims to investigate the experiences and conceptualisation of the residents in formal housing with regards to the informal community's access and occupation of land in Clare Estate. The research also attempts to examine the municipality's involvement in addressing the issue of the presence of informal settlers in the formal residential area of Clare Estate.

Your anonymity will be ensured at all times and personal details provided in the study will be kept confidential. You are free to withdraw from the research at any time without any negative or undesirable consequences.

Section A: General Information Regarding the Clare Estate Area

1. Race and gender?
2. Approximately how much is your household income per month?

< R5000	R5000 – R 10 000	> R10 000
---------	------------------	-----------

3. For how many years have you been living in this area?
4. Are you originally from Clare Estate, or have you moved here?
5. How many people live in this household, including yourself?
6. In your own words how would you describe this residential area?
7. What are the advantages of living in this area?
8. What are the disadvantages of living in this area?
9. How would you compare your neighbourhoods with other neighbourhoods in Durban?
10. In the future, do you see this residential area providing you with opportunities for a good quality of life? Explain.

Section B: In-depth Analysis of Clare Estate

Description of the area and the informal residents

11. What historical relationship do you have with Clare Estate?
12. What do you know about the political history of Clare Estate? Explain.

The following questions relate to the presence of the informal settlements in the formal residential area of Clare Estate.

13. Did you live in Clare Estate before the informal settlement existed?
14. To your knowledge when did the residents in the informal settlements start occupying parts of this residential area?
15. Why do you think there has been an establishment of informal settlements in your area?
16. How has the informal settlement changed over time?
17. Can you please describe the kinds of people who live in the informal settlement?
18. How do you feel about an informal settlement being situated within the boundaries of your residential area, in such close proximity?
19. Has your view of the neighbourhood been changed with regards to the growth of the informal settlements? Explain.

Impacts of the informal settlements in Clare Estate

20. How does the informal settlement impact on your residential area? Explain.
 - Quality of life-
 - You and your family's social life-
 - Safety and security-
 - Your property value-
 - Other problems or concerns-
 - Positive impacts of having the informal settlement in your neighbourhood-
21. Are there any other concerns that you feel about the informal settlement being in close proximity to your home?

Relationship between the formal and informal residents of Clare Estate

22. How would you describe your relationship with the residents of the informal settlement? (Explain.)
23. From personal experience has there been any positive contact that you or someone you know has had with the informal residents? For example, have you or any other residents in formal housing helped the residents in the informal settlements in anyway, how?
24. Can you give me examples of any negative contact that you have had with the informal residents?
25. Would you like to engage more with the informal community? Why or why not?

Section C: Addressing the presence of the informal settlements in Clare Estate

26. Have you or any residents done anything to resolve the issue of the presence of the informal settlement? Explain?

27. Are you aware of any type of protests regarding the informal settlement? Can you explain what they were about?

28. What is your opinion of these protests?

29. Do you think that the residents in informal housing are mobilized enough, with regard to addressing land access and housing?

30. Were you involved in any way, with regards to the protests?

What role has the municipality played in managing the informal settlements in Clare Estate?

31. Are the local authorities effectively addressing the issues regarding the informal settlements in Clare Estate?

32. To your knowledge have the residents in formal housing of Clare Estate placed pressure on local authorities (in this case the municipality) with respect to the presence of the informal settlements in Clare Estate?

33. Has the municipality acted as a mediator between residents of formal and informal housing, by trying to resolve the issue of informal occupation of land?

34. Do you think the municipal officials have influenced any decisions by residents to resolve this issue of presence of the informal settlements?

35. Do you belong to a community based organisation, if yes, does this organisation involve itself with issues related to the informal settlement?

36. Do you think all stakeholders are being equally included and involved in the decision-making process, with regard to addressing the issue of the presence of the informal settlements in Clare Estate?

37. a) Has municipality forcibly removed any of the squatter settlement?

37. b) Has this resulted in any conflict? Explain.

38. Has there been any anger or resentment by residents in formal housing towards the changes taking place in Clare Estate, with regard to the relocation of the informal settlers?

39. Would you like the informal community to be relocated elsewhere? Why?

40. Additional comments?

Interview B: Questions for the city planners (municipal officials)

My name is Naadira Nadasen and I am doing a masters thesis which investigates the relationship between residents in formal and informal housing in Clare Estate. This research aims to investigate the experiences and conceptualisation of the residents in formal housing with regards to the informal community's access and occupation of land in Clare Estate. The research also attempts to examine the municipality's involvement in addressing the issue of the presence of informal settlers in the formal residential area of Clare Estate.

Your anonymity will be ensured at all times and personal details provided in the study will be kept confidential. You are free to withdraw from the research at any time without any negative or undesirable consequences.

Section A: General

1. What do you know about the recent history of Clare Estate?
2. Was this a planned area for informal settlement?
3. Why is there a presence of the informal settlement in Clare Estate?
4. What is the role of the municipality in Clare Estate, especially with regard to the informal settlement in the residential area?
5. What has been your personal role with regards to addressing the presence of informal settlements in this formal residential area?

Section B: Politics

6. How has the municipality dealt with settlement problems of Clare Estate in the past?
7. Does the municipality have further plans to address the informal settlement problems in Clare Estate in the future? What are these plans?
8. Do you think racial and socio-economic differences influence the relationship between the two different communities? How?
9. a) Have there been any concerns or complaints like crime, property value decrease, violence, safety and security and so forth that the formal residents put forward because of the presence of the informal settlements in Clare Estate?
9. b) If so, can you state what types of concerns or complaints have been put forward?
10. How has the municipality dealt with these concerns?
11. Are you aware of any type of protests that the residents in the informal settlements have initiated?

12. Why do you think these protest have occurred?
13. How did the municipality deal with these protests?

Residents' communication/engagement with the municipality

14. How has the municipality influenced the relationship between the two different communities?
15. What type of relationship does the municipality have with both the formal and informal residents of this area?
16. Do you liaise with any community organisations in Clare Estate, if so, how?
17. a) Has the municipality acted as a mediator between the two different communities, by trying to resolve this issue of occupation of land by the informal settlement?
17. b) If so, what links has the municipality created between the two communities?
18. Have the formal residents contacted the municipality in any way regarding the issue of the presence of the informal settlements in Clare Estate? Explain.
19. Is there a conflictual relationship between the two different communities? Explain.
20. What is the nature of conflict, if any, between these communities?
21. Is conflict resolution between communities seen as a task for the municipality?

Section C: Addressing the presence of the informal settlements in Clare Estate

22. What policies or laws are in place to address the issue of the presence of informal settlements in the formal residential area?
23. Are there any policy development or public forums in place? Explain.
24. How will issues of access to housing in Clare Estate be addressed?
25. What are the planning approaches, specifically those designed to include public participation by the state to address the issue of informal settlement in Clare Estate?
26. Are both the residents in formal and informal housing included equally in the decision-making process, with regards to addressing this issue?
27. Do you see the relocation of informal settlement to another area as one of the strategies to solve this issue? Explain.
28. Has the municipality forcibly removed any of the squatter settlement in the area?
29. Have any forced removals resulted in conflict? How has the municipality dealt with this?
30. Have there been any complaints from the residents in formal housing that the process of relocation for the informal settlers is unfair? Explain.

31. What do you believe is the major challenge facing the planners with regards to addressing the presence of the informal settlements in Clare Estate?
32. Additional comments?

Interview C: Questions for the non-governmental organisation

My name is Naadira Nadasen and I am doing a masters thesis which investigates the relationship between residents in formal and informal housing in Clare Estate. This research aims to investigate the experiences and conceptualisations of the residents in formal housing with regards to the presence of informal settlements in Clare Estate. The research also attempts to examine the municipality's involvement in addressing the issue of the presence of informal settlers in the formal residential area of Clare Estate.

Your anonymity will be ensured at all times and personal details provided in the study will be kept confidential. You are free to withdraw from the research at any time without any negative or undesirable consequences.

Section A: General

1. What do you know about the recent history of Clare Estate?
2. Was this a planned area for informal settlement?
3. Why is there a presence of the informal settlement in Clare Estate?
4. What is the role of the NGO in Clare Estate, especially with regard to the informal settlement in the residential area?
5. What has been your personal role with regards to addressing the presence of informal settlements in this formal residential area?

Section B: Politics

6. How has the NGO dealt with settlement problems of Clare Estate in the past?
7. Does the NGO have further plans to address the informal settlement problems in Clare Estate in the future? What are these plans?
8. Do you think racial and socio-economic differences influence the relationship between the two different communities? How?
9. a) Have there been any concerns or complaints like crime, property value decrease, violence, safety and security and so forth that the formal residents put forward because of the presence of the informal settlements in Clare Estate?
9. b) If so, can you state what types of concerns or complaints have been put forward?
10. How has the NGO dealt with addressing these concerns?
11. Are you aware of any type of protests that the residents in the informal settlements have initiated?

12. Why do you think these protest have occurred?

13. Have you dealt with the protests, how?

Residents' communication/engagement with the municipality

14. How has the NGO influenced the relationship between the two different communities?

15. What type of relationship does the NGO have with both the formal and informal residents of this area?

16. Do you liaise with any community organisations in Clare Estate, if so, how?

17. a) Has the NGO acted as a mediator between the two different communities, by trying to resolve this issue of occupation of land by the residents in informal settlements?

17. b) If so, what links has the NGO created between the two communities?

18. Have the formal residents contacted the NGO in any way regarding the issue of the presence of the informal settlements in Clare Estate? Explain.

19. Is there a conflictual relationship between the two different communities? Explain.

20. What is the nature of conflict, if any, between these communities?

21. Is conflict resolution between communities seen as a task for the NGO?

Section C: Addressing the presence of the informal settlements in Clare Estate

22. Do you know of any policies or laws that are in place to address the issue of the presence of informal settlement in the formal residential area? Have you put any policies or laws forward to address this issue of informal occupation of land?

23. Are there any policy development or public forums in place, regarding the presence of the informal settlements? Explain.

24. How will issues of access to housing in Clare Estate be addressed?

25. What are the planning approaches, specifically those designed to include public participation to address the issue of the informal settlements in Clare Estate?

26. Are both the residents in formal and informal housing included equally in the decision-making process, with regards to addressing this issue?

27. Do you see the relocation of informal settlement to another area as one of the strategies to solve this issue? Explain.

28. Has the NGO forcibly removed any of the squatter settlement in the area?

29. Have any forced removals resulted in conflict? How has the NGO dealt with this?

30. Have there been any complaints from the residents in formal housing that the process of relocation for the informal settlers is unfair? Explain.

31. What do you believe is the major challenge facing the planners with regards to addressing the presence of the informal settlements in Clare Estate?
32. Additional comments?

APPENDIX D

Letter of consent to participate in research project

Naadira Nadasen is currently conducting her masters research through the University of KwaZulu-Natal. The research aims to investigate the experiences and conceptualisation of access and occupation of land for informal settlements by formal residents of Clare Estate.

Participation in the study is undertaken with the understanding that:

- Participation is voluntary and a participant may withdraw from the study at any time
- Any data acquired from participants will be treated in a confidential manner and any limits imposed on confidentiality of materials will be complied with
- The name and organisational association of respondents will be used only with their permission

I,, hereby consent to participate in the abovementioned research project conducted by Naadira Nadasen.

Signed.....

Date.....

Please direct any queries regarding the study or participation in the study to the researcher or the supervisor of the project:

Naadira Nadasen

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APPENDIX E

The informal settlements in relation to the residents in formal housing in Clare Estate



a) Informal settlements in Clare Estate, Durban (2009)



b) Informal settlements in Clare Estate, Durban (2009)



c) Informal settlements in Clare Estate, Durban (2009)



d) Informal settlements adjacent to housing in Clare Estate, Durban (2009)