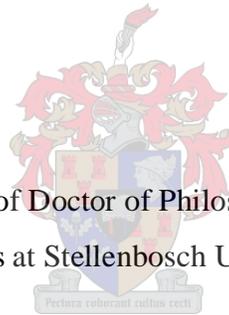


**INFORMAL SETTLEMENT UPGRADING AND THE EFFECT OF GOVERNMENTALITY
ON WOMEN'S SOCIAL NETWORKS: A CASE STUDY OF NEW REST AND MAKHAZA,
CAPE TOWN.**

By
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DECLARATION

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ABSTRACT

It is estimated that 70% of sub-Saharan Africa's urban population resides in informal settlements. Cape Town (South Africa), in particular, has a projected 223 informal settlements within its boundaries (which house almost 136 000 households). The national government has attempted to meet housing needs through the upgrading of informal settlements. *In situ* upgrading has been seen as a particularly popular route to follow. This study aimed to investigate the City of Cape Town's governmentality in the *in situ* upgrading of Makhaza and New Rest in Cape Town and explore the implications of this governmentality for women's social networks in these two settlements. The study focused on the governmentality elements of rationalities, practices and techniques and counter-conduct. A review of the literature shows little attention has been paid to the various governmentalities (practice, techniques and rationalities) that exist within informal settlement upgrading. The literature has also not paid much attention to how the governmentality of those undertaking informal settlement upgrading, relates to women's social networks (and their governmentality) within upgraded sites.

The research made use of qualitatively-driven methodologies and approaches, employing the techniques of Neighbourhood Social Mapping, Social Network Assessment (SNA), semi-structured interviews, questionnaires, transect walks, observational studies and secondary data gathering. The study found, amongst other things, that the governmentality (rationalities, techniques and practices) used by the City to plan and implement the upgrading of informal settlements differs from that of the women's social networks. The profound differences in governmentalities have meant that the settlements do not meet the needs of the women and their social networks. In response the women have redesigned their new settlement to meet the needs of their social networks. Integral Theory is used in this thesis to map and better understand the differing governmentalities and their relationship and was used to propose an Integral approach in managing differing governmentalities. The thesis suggests that, in order to understand fully and respond appropriately to the challenges faced in upgrading, those in power need to be aware of and include all perspectives and actors within their upgrading process and practice.

OPSOMMING

Daar word beraam dat 70% van sub-Sahara Afrika se stedelike populasie in informele nedersettings woon. Kaapstad (Suid-Afrika), spesifiek, het 'n beraamde 223 informele nedersettings binne die grense (wat omtrent 136 000 huishoudings huisves). Die nasionale regering het onderneem om behuisings behoefte te voorsien deur die opgradering van informele nedersettings. *In situ* opgradering is gesien as 'n besonder gewilde roete om te volg. Hierdie studie het gepoog om die City of Cape Town (die Stad) se governmentality te ondersoek in die opgradering van Makhaza en New Rest in Kaapstad. So ook om die implikasies van hierdie governmentality vir vroue se sosiale netwerke in hierdie nedersettings te verken. Die studie het gefokus op die governmentality (regeringsmentaliteit) beginsels van rationaliteite, praktyke en tegnieke en teen-optrede. 'n Oorsig van die literatuur toon min aandag is geskenk aan die verskillende governmentalities wat binne opgraderingsprojekte vir informele nedersettings bestaan. Die literatuur het ook nie veel aandag gegee aan hoe die governmentality van die onderneming van die informele nedersettings met betrekking tot vroue se sosiale netwerke (en hul governmentality) binne opgradeerde terreine.

Die navorsing het gebruik gemaak van kwaliteits gedrewe metodologie en benaderings, die gebruik van tegnieke van omgewing sosiale kartering, sosiale netwerk beraming, semi-gestruktureerde onderhoude, vraelyste, deursnee wandeling, waarnemings studies en sekondêre data insameling. Die studie het onder andere bevind dat die governmentality (rationaliteite, tegnieke en praktyke), soos gebruik deur die Stad om opgradering van informele nedersettings te beplan en implimenteer, verskil van die van die vroue se sosiale netwerke. Die diepgaande verskille in governmentalities het gelei daartoe dat die nedersettings nie voldoen aan die behoeftes van die vroue en hul sosiale netwerke nie. In reaksie daarop het die vroue die nuwe nedersetting herontwerp om in hul sosiale netwerk behoeftes te voorsien. Integrale Teorie is in hierdie tesis gebruik om die verskille in governmentalities en hul verwantskappe uiteen te sit en beter te kan verstaan en ook om die Integrale benadering in die hantering van verskillende governmentnalities voor te stel. Die tesis dui daarop dat in orde om ten volle te verstaan en toepaslik te reageer op die uitdagings wat gepaard gaan met opgradering moet die wat in beheer is van alle perspektiewe en akteurs binne die opgraderings proses bewus wees en dit in ag neem.

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Finally, this thesis is dedicated to my parents (James and Lynell Massey) who have always believed that I could do anything I set my mind to.

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	African National Congress
AQ	All Quadrants
AQAL	All Quadrants All Levels
ASGI-SA	Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative – South Africa
BNG	Breaking New Ground
CAWP	Coalition against Water Privatisation
CBOs	Community-based Organisations
CORC	Community Organisation Resource Centre
DA	Democratic Alliance
DAG	Development Action Group
DLG	Developmental Local Government
DNSP	Draft National Slum Policy
Ed(s)	Editor(s)
EMG	Environmental Monitoring Group
ESIS	Emergency Servicing of Informal Settlements
FBW	Free Basic Water
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution
GTZ	German Organisation for Technical Cooperation
IDP	Integrated Development Planning
IMP	Integral Methodological Pluralism
KWh	Kilo Watt Hour
LL	Lower Left quadrant
LR	Lower Right
MAYCO	Mayoral Executive Committee
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MIIU	Municipal Infrastructure Investment Unit
MSA	Municipal Systems Act
NDoH	National Department of Housing's
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation

NHF	National Housing Forum
NNP	New National Party
NP	National Party
NPM	New Public Management
NUAA	Native Urban Areas Act
NUAB	Native Urban Areas Bill
PAWC	Provincial Administration of the Western Cape
RDP	Reconstruction and Development
SAMWU	The South African Municipal Workers Union
SDF	Spatial Development Framework
SDI	Slum Dwellers International
SNA	Social Network Assessment
The City	City of Cape Town
UDF	United Democratic Front
UISP	Upgrading of Informal Settlement Programme
UL	Upper Left
UN	United Nations
UR	Upper Right
WCHDB	Provincial Housing Development Board

CHAPTER 1

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE THESIS

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This introductory chapter begins by providing the background to this research study. This includes an overview of the current state of informal settlements, both internationally and in Cape Town, and a brief overview of informal settlement upgrading policy and practice. The chapter also gives a short initial review of some academic literature on informal settlement upgrading. The next segment of the chapter outlines the aim and objectives of the study before moving on to the approach and methodology used in the research. The scope and limitation of the study are then presented, followed by a chapter-by-chapter break down of the thesis structure.

1.2 BACKGROUND

We have seen a rapid increase in the urbanisation of developing countries. It is expected that the urban population of Africa will surpass 750 million by 2030 (Pieterse 2009). The United Nations (UN) estimates that 10% of the world's population currently resides in informal settlements (Huchzermeyer 2008) and this percentage is expected to double by 2030. Almost 70% of sub-Saharan Africa's urban population live in informal settlements (UN-Habitat 2006). Informal settlements are areas that have been illegally occupied, exist under conditions of informal land tenure (Naidoo, Chidley & McNamara 2008) and that contravene official land use and planning standards (Angignu & Huchzermeyer 2009). These sites lack security of tenure, have insufficient access to water and sanitation (and other services), are overcrowded and are exposed to a number of social, economic and environmental dangers (UN-Habitat 2003). These settlements are well known for their multi-faceted, varied and diverse nature and are typically areas of high vulnerability and poverty (Smit 2006).

Informal settlements are particularly prevalent in South Africa. Even though the post-apartheid government delivered almost 1.5 million housing subsidy opportunities in the first ten years of democracy, a number of South African citizens remain without adequate housing. It is estimated that almost half of South Africa's population live in urban areas, with a quarter of these urban dwellers residing in informal settlements (Misselhorn 2008). More than 1.5 million households exist in informal settings (Misselhorn 2008). Cape Town is one of the largest cities in South Africa. In 2007 it was projected that 223 informal settlements existed in Cape Town housing almost 136 000 households. The

City of Cape Town approximates that 1.2 million people live in areas that lack adequate formal housing. The years between 1994 and 2007 saw government finance the development of some 8 000 housing units per year in Cape Town. This has, however, failed to meet the growing demand for housing in the city (Adlard 2006).

The end of apartheid saw South Africa left with a legacy of spatial inequality, particularly with regards to land tenure, integration, access to land and infrastructure (Huchzermeyer 1999). This inheritance has slowed the delivery of housing. Despite some progress in providing infrastructure development, services and housing in informal settlements, much of the populace remains on inequitable, congested, risk-prone and un-serviced sites (Turok 2001). A number of these informal settlements lie on marginal land far from the central business districts. This limits the residents' inclusion into the larger city structure and restricts access to social and economic prospects. What further exacerbates this problem is the lack of substance and guidance from national policy on informal settlements. The failure of national housing programmes has forced local governments into funding and implementing *ad hoc* servicing projects in order to deal with vital and urgent service and infrastructure needs within these informal settlements (Pottie 2003).

Part of the attempt by national government to meet housing and infrastructure needs has been the upgrading of informal settlements. Globally, the upgrading of settlements was put in motion in the 1980s. This was in response to a growing concern in the global community about rising levels of poverty (seen then as a process and not a physical condition) (Ley 2009). *In situ* upgrading was to be the 'magic bullet'. It was designed to ensure the maintenance of social ties and networks through avoiding relocation and resettlement. *In situ* upgrading was envisaged as an all-inclusive approach to housing practice (as opposed to a project based approach). It anticipated a process that would make the state the enabler whilst the community was involved in maximum self-management (Gilbert 2007). Various difficulties have, however, hindered this process. These include a lack of administrative capacity, a lack of skill and leadership, as well as the assumption that *in situ* upgrading is a 'fix all' solution (Huchzermeyer 2004).

South Africa's approach to informal settlement upgrading and righting the damaging legacy of apartheid has given South Africa a notable place in formalisation and upgrading literature (Huchzermeyer 2006). Academic work has focused on the provision of housing by the state and the

policies and strategies employed to address widespread informal settlements (Huchzermeyer 1999). In relation to informal settlement upgrading in Cape Town, the academic literature has tended to focus on national policy and the connection between local government/municipalities and communities (particularly at local level) (Pikholz 1997; Huchzermeyer 1999; Marx 2003; Graham 2006). Little consideration has been given to the governmentalities that exist within these local government structures. Even less attention has been given to how this governmentality relates to women's social networks (and their governmentality) or the impact that governmentalities have on informal settlement upgrading. Studies have failed to address issues of local government rationalities, techniques and practices (governmentality) that lie behind the governance employed in the upgrading of informal settlements and how this impacts upgrading and women's social networks in particular.

The literature has not yet linked governmentality and women's social networks and has so far failed to empirically explore the effect of governmentality on women's social networks in the upgrading of informal settlements in Cape Town. There is also very little research on the conflicts, contestations and counter-conducts that have developed within the newly formalised settlements. This is particularly important in relation to differing/conflicting governmentalities that exist between those who are undertaking the upgrading and residents. The failure to fully examine this area of research is a matter for concern. We run the risk of continuing to ignore the rationalities, techniques and practices (governmentality) behind governance systems and the effect that these governmentalities have on women's social networks and the formalization process.

1.3 RESEARCH AIM AND OBJECTIVES

The study presented in this thesis aimed to investigate the City of Cape Town's governmentality in the upgrading of Makhaza and New Rest in Cape Town and to explore the implications of this governmentality for women's social networks in these two settlements. The study focused on the governmentality elements of rationalities, practices and techniques and counter-conduct.

The study had the following primary research objectives:

1. To explore the City of Cape Town's governmentality (rationalities, practices and techniques) in the upgrading process of Makhaza and New Rest
2. To explore the governmentality (rationalities, practices and techniques) of the women's social networks in Makhaza and New Rest

3. Research how these governmentalities interact in the upgrading of Makhaza and New Rest
4. Study the implications of the City of Cape Town's governmentality for women's social networks in the two settlements
5. Investigate what conflicts, contestations and counter-conducts have emerged within the newly formalised settlements

1.4 APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY

The research made use of inductive approaches (grounded theory), ethnographic methodology, feminist social research and governmentality studies. The study of governmentality involves the identification and analysis of practices, techniques and programmes that aim to form, lead and govern behaviour. It also includes identification and analysis of design and technologies used for managing and directing the general population (Crampton & Elden 2007). Governmentality studies also focus on the "aims and aspirations, the mentalities and rationalities" employed to steer conduct (Crampton & Elden 2007:187). These studies encourage the researchers or scholars to analyse how various concepts and ways of seeing processes are established (Gribat 2010).

1.4.1 Case studies

The research made use of two case studies in order to develop theory inductively. These two case studies are Makhaza (in Khayelitsha) and New Rest (in Gugulethu) within the City of Cape Town. Khayelitsha is made up of both old and new informal and formal areas. Newer spaces, such as Site B, Site C, Mandela Park, Makhaza and Harare, have developed around the old formal areas built by the apartheid government. These areas include numerous informal settlements, Reconstruction and Development (RDP) houses, and informal backyard shacks. Makhaza was upgraded from an informal settlement to a formal one by the City of Cape Town in a phased approach over six years ago. Gugulethu was established in the 1960s to accommodate the overcrowding in nearby Langa, the only black residential area for Cape Town at the time. New Rest, in Gugulethu, is situated on a rehabilitated land fill site and was a buffer zone during the apartheid era (Adlard 2006). After an involved inter-governmental and departmental process the City of Cape Town began *in-situ* upgrading which continues in the area to this day.

The two study areas were chosen because the women in these study areas were part of the original informal settlements that were upgraded *in situ* and the women living within these areas have

knowledge and ethnographic timelines of the changes from the informal to the formal. The two case studies were also chosen because the informal settlement upgrading has been state-led (by the City of Cape Town) and did not occur as part of a public – private partnership or independent special project. A focus on women's social networks was chosen because these networks act to sustain household livelihoods and allow gateway access to economic activities such as informal trading. Many households in South African settlements are headed by women and their social networks are often the most affected by the upgrading process.

These case studies were not used comparatively but as examples that ground the diagnostic. The case study approach adopted the principles of grounded theory which seeks to generate theory from the data rather than begin with a predetermined theoretical framework. The case study process made use of analytical induction as it accommodated existing theories and enabled the process of movement between data collection and theory generation. The research was based on a post-positivist approach. This approach accepts that knowledge about the topic is incomplete and the outcome of the study is not absolute. In this research the focus was placed on empirical research which is nomothetic (generalising in order to arrive at an informed conclusion). This conclusion would, in essence, largely hold true in research of other related case studies.

1.4.2 Mixed methodologies

This research used mixed qualitatively-driven methodologies and approaches in order to make sense of the multidimensional intricacies and perspectives of lived experiences. The comparison of the findings and data gleaned from the multiple research methods allows one to determine the accuracy of aspects measured. The research made use of Neighbourhood Social Mapping, Social Network Assessment (SNA), semi-structured interviews, questionnaires, transect walks, observational studies and secondary data gathered between May 2011 and January 2013 in New Rest and Makhaza, Cape Town.

Neighbourhood Social Mapping included the interactive mapping of social processes, land marks and interaction within the communities. This process involved interactive mapping of social networks, processes, landmarks and social interaction within the communities, as well as the identification of boundaries (real and felt). The participant groups were asked to map elements of their community space on their paper/maps. These included areas of celebration, gathering, meetings and ritual; social groups; open spaces; people's houses in relation to each other; road and transport networks. Their

maps showed the spatial orientation and distribution of places that enable social networks to operate and relate. The women were also encouraged to add any additional elements of their community that they found important. A short questionnaire process was undertaken with women participants at the end of the workshops. Both open-ended and closed questions were included in the questionnaire. Opportunities were also given for the interviewee to provide any other comments or contributions on issues that may not have been included in the questionnaire.

The Social Network Analysis (SNA) process was used to study whole networks which contain specific relations in a defined population (Wellman & Berkowitz 1988). A hybrid network process was used which proved valuable in examining the networks. This identified networks beyond those formally identified. SNA focuses on the structure of relationships and maps and measures both formal and informal relationships. This enables one to better understand the flow of knowledge and communication between networks (Wellman & Berkowitz 1988; Hansen & Reese 2009). SNA treats individuals, organisations, and communities as distinct elements of analysis in order to understand how the structure of ties affects individuals, communities and their relationships. The SNA process was undertaken using focus groups in both communities.

Semi-Structured Interviews were conducted with women who attended the neighbourhood mapping workshops. In depth interviews were also held with various directors and programme managers of the City of Cape Town Housing Directorate (one from each of the following Departments: Informal Settlements (Director and Manager); New Housing, Existing Housing and Land and Forward Planning) and the Anti-Land Invasion Unit. Interviews were also held with a representative from each of the following Community-based Organisations (CBOs) and Non-governmental Organisations (NGOs): the Western Cape Anti-eviction Campaign, Abahlali baseMjondolo, the Social Justice Coalition, the Isandla Institute, Slum Dwellers International, Community Organization Resource Centre (COURC), the Environmental Monitoring Group (EMG), The Informal Settlements Network, The Mandela Park Backyarders Association and the Mitchell's Plain Backyarders Association. These interviews were semi-structured using open-ended questions to guide the conversations. Transect walks were undertaken with women from the community. Secondary data showed the current understanding of various issues and revealed the changes that had occurred in the settlement. It showed actual and potential relationship between variables and allowed the verification of primary data gathered.

1.4.3 Ethical considerations

Ethical clearance was obtained from Stellenbosch University prior to undertaking the research. Voluntary, informed consent was received from participants. The research also made sure that participants understood they were free to participate or not. They were also assured that they could withdraw from the research at any point. All information was kept anonymous and confidential. Local leadership representatives in each of the settlements were contacted and the proposed research process and uses of the research were presented before undertaking the primary research. The research purpose was set out at the start of each focus group, workshop and interview. It was also explained that the research was voluntary and unpaid. Permission was asked from the participants before photographs were taken or interviews were recorded.

1.5 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

This research was limited to the case study sites of Makhaza and New Rest in Cape Town. While other governmentalities exist in the upgrading of informal settlements, the study focused only on the governmentality of the City of Cape Town and the women's social networks. The investigation was undertaken between 2011 and 2013 using qualitative and quantitative research methodologies. The research focused on *in situ* upgrading that was state-led and not upgrading that was part of a public-private partnership or independent special project.

1.6 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

Chapter 2 constitutes the literature review section of the thesis. It gives a summary of the state of international and national informal settlements and offers an overview of the international policy, practice and literature on informal settlements. It also discusses informal settlement upgrading in Africa with an examination of policies and practices used over the years to manage and upgrade informal settlements. Chapter 2 also provides an overview of policy, practice and the literature on informal settlement upgrading in South Africa as a whole and in Cape Town in particular. The penultimate section of the chapter provides a synopsis of gender, housing and informal settlement upgrading literature and concentrates on social networks and their value. The chapter ends with an examination of governmentality studies and informal settlement upgrading, including a review of the use and nature of governmentality studies and their relation to urban space and related academic literature.

Chapter 3 focuses on Foucault's concept of governmentality. The chapter begins with a definition of governmentality and its related rationalities, techniques and practices. This includes a discussion on how they connect power and forms of knowledge. The section that follows is an overview of governmentality and space and then a discussion on governmentality and power. Chapter 3 then moves on to the topic of power and resistance in the form of 'counter-conduct', a concept Foucault links to governmentality. Governmentality studies are also discussed in this chapter, followed by a critique of both the concept of governmentality and governmentality studies.

Chapter 4 contains the methodologies, approaches and applications used in the research study. The chapter begins with an outline of the main aims, objectives and research questions of the study and then presents the methodological premise and research design used. This is followed by a focus on the primary and secondary data-gathering process. The chapter closes with an overview of the data analysis, strengths and weaknesses and ethical considerations of the research methodology.

Chapter 5 presents and discusses the results of the primary and secondary research and data gathering process which was focused on both the City of Cape Town's governmentality (rationalities, practices and techniques) in the upgrading process of Makhaza and New Rest and the governmentality of the women's social networks operating in these sites. This section of the research also examines how these governmentalities interact in the upgrading of these two areas. The chapter begins with an overview of the history and demographics of Khayelitsha (including Makhaza) and Gugulethu (together with New Rest). The next segment delivers results on the techniques and practices of the City of Cape Town in the upgrading process and presents the rationalities behind these practices. The governmentality of the women's social networks is also presented and discussed. The research illustrates that the governmentality of the women's social networks and that of the City's Housing Department differ. This is unpacked and discussed in full, making reference to key literature and theoretical debates.

Chapter 6 shows some of the outcomes and consequences of the differing governmentalities presented in Chapter 5 and presents the conflicts, contestations and counter-conducts that have emerged within the newly formalised settlements. Governmentality and space are also discussed as well as issues related to power.

Chapter 7 begins with an overview of the contributions the research has made and highlights some unresolved questions that remain in the literature. The chapter proposes the use of an integral approach through the use of Integral Theory and the AQAL framework (All Quadrants, All Lines) as a tool to address these questions. Two methods are presented by which the questions posed can be answered. The first is through the use of Integral Theory and AQAL in the mapping and understanding of differing governmentalities (rationalities, techniques and practices) and their relationship, the second through the use of Integral Theory and AQAL in proposing an integral approach to managing differing governmentalities. The remainder of the chapter is divided into two sections. The first is a theoretical overview of Integral Theory and the AQAL framework and the second is an example of how the practical application of this theory could be applied to the planning and process of informal settlement upgrading.

1.7 SUMMARY

This introduction provided the background to the thesis and an overview of informal settlement upgrading internationally and in Cape Town. It also provided a brief synopsis of the literature and gaps that exist. The aim and objectives of the study were then presented. The chapter ended with an outline of the approach and methodology used in the research and data gathering, followed by the scope and limitations of this study and an overview of the structure of the thesis.

CHAPTER 2

INFORMAL SETTLEMENT UPGRADING AND GOVERNMENTALITY: A LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This literature review begins with an overview of the state of informal settlements both internationally and nationally, highlighting the extent to which urban populations have increased and the subsequent rise in the number of informal settlements present in cities. It is crucial that we differentiate between the use of the word ‘slums’ and the use of the words ‘informal settlement’. The next section of the literature review, therefore, explains the difference between the two definitions and the consequences of the incorrect use of these words. This is followed by an overview of the international policy, practice and literature on informal settlements. This segment provides some background on past and present practices and policies on informal settlement eradication and upgrading, before moving on to a review of the academic literature on this topic.

The chapter then proceeds to discuss informal settlement upgrading in Africa. It examines the policies and practices used over the years to manage and upgrade informal settlements on the continent. Significant academic contributions are then discussed which include the work of Macharia 1992; Macoloo 1994; Huchzermeyer & Karam (2006); Gulyani & Bassett (2007) and Okpala (2011), to name a few. The next section of the chapter discusses policy, practice and the literature on informal settlement upgrading, reviewing both apartheid and post-apartheid plans and programmes. The post-apartheid analysis includes both first generation (the Reconstruction and Development (RDP) Programme) and second generation (Breaking New Ground (BNG) and the Upgrading of Informal Settlement Programme (UISP)) housing and upgrading policies. Much of the academic literature on informal settlement upgrading in South Africa tended to pay attention to either the methods and practices of upgrading or the associated legislation and policy (Huchzermeyer & Karam 2006). The next section will discuss this statement and review the relevant literature on informal settlement upgrading in South Africa.

The second half of this Chapter shifts the focus to Cape Town and the informal settlement upgrading legislation and approaches in this city. The section starts off with an overview of the state of informal

settlement in Cape Town. It then moves on to a discussion of the City of Cape Town's (referred to as the City) structures and systems, providing a brief historical overview of the City's political background and arrangement. The next segment discusses informal settlement upgrading policy and practice in Cape Town and then moves on to an overview of the academic literature on upgrading in the city. This part of the chapter is followed by a synopsis of gender, housing and informal settlement upgrading.

The penultimate section of the chapter concentrates on social networks and their use. Finally the chapter ends with an examination of governmentality studies and informal settlement upgrading. It reviews the use and nature of governmentality studies and relates them to urban space and related academic literature. The focus of this thesis is on informal settlement upgrading which includes the provision of access to water, sanitation, electricity, road infrastructure, housing and secure tenure, therefore the literature review did not focus too heavily on the wider housing literature.

2.2 THE STATE OF INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS INTERNATIONALLY AND NATIONALLY

The rate of urbanisation in developing countries has been exponential. Between 1985 and 2003 the urban population in developing countries rose from 1.2 billion to 2.1 billion (Tannerfeldt & Ljung 2006). It is anticipated that the urban population in Africa will surpass 750 million by 2030 (Pieterse 2009). According to United Nations (UN) statistics, 10% (100 million) of the world's population currently lives in informal settlements (Huchzermeyer 2008). This figure is set to double to 2 billion people by 2030. The UN further estimates that two out of five of Africa's informal dwellers live in life-threatening conditions (Huchzermeyer 2008).

Informal settlements are a part of almost every city in the southern hemisphere. Nearly 70% of sub-Saharan Africa's urban population lives in informal settlements (UN-Habitat 2006). Within South Africa the situation is particularly serious. Despite government having delivered 1.5 million housing subsidy opportunities in the first ten years of democracy, many urban South Africans remain without suitable housing. Almost half of South Africa's 44 million people live in urban centres and a quarter of those living in major urban centres, live in informal settlement situations (Misselhorn 2008). It is difficult to accurately determine the actual informal settlement backlog in South Africa; however, it is

likely that this figure is in excess of 1.5 million households. This figure is supported by data from the 2007 'State of the Cities Report' (Misselhorn 2008).

The concept of informal settlement is an expansive one and can potentially include rural communities, backyard shacks and the illegal occupancy of inner city buildings. The main focus of this work, however, is on 'conventional' informal settlements (often referred to as 'slums' or 'shack settlements'). These are typically located within, or adjacent to, urban areas and major cities and the nature and dynamics of such settlements may vary considerably (Misselhorn 2008). Informal settlements are formally defined in this thesis as settlements of communities that are housed in self-constructed shelters under conditions of informal land tenure (Naidoo, Chidley & McNamara 2008). They are settlements that are unauthorised in that there is no consent from the land owner for occupation. The occupation of the site contravenes official land use and planning standards and the informal structures are developed contrary to building regulations (Angignu & Huchzermeyer 2009).

These settlement sites lack security of tenure, have inadequate access to water and sanitation, are overcrowded and are exposed to various social, economic and environmental risks (UN-Habitat 2003). Informal settlements are complex, diverse and varied. They have high levels of vulnerability and poverty, overcrowding and little access to government services and resources (Smit 2006). Governance arrangements also differ between informal settlements, municipalities and provinces; including the ability to access public participation processes (Angignu & Huchzermeyer 2009). While these settlements are considered informal in the eyes of the state, there are a number of complex, often very formal, sets of social norms and standards within the settlement. A number of community groups and organisations are active within these settlements with many an informal group or individual running small businesses and functional social support networks.

The first global audit of slums was undertaken by the United Nations Human Settlements Programme in 2003 (Davis 2006). This report, '*The Challenge of Slums*', was the result of a collaboration between more than one hundred researchers and used case studies, comparative data sets (for two hundred and thirty seven cities gathered by the UN-Habitat Urban Indicators Programme) and global household survey data (Davis 2006). This provided, for the first time, an accurate picture of the scale of informal settlements. Davis (2004) expanded on the UN-Habitat's 2003, '*The Challenge of Slums: Global Report on Human Settlements 2003*', report in his 2004 paper, arguing that slums are an important part

of the increased growth in urbanization (particularly in the South). Davis' 2006 book, *'Planet of Slums'*, provides a thorough overview of the difficulties faced by those in informal settings and gives an insight into the current problem of slums and slum upgrading in cities of the developed and developing world. This book discusses the different approaches to informal settlements taken by groups such as the World Bank and the United Nations (ranging from eradication through to various forms of upgrading). His book has, however, been criticised as being anti-urban, dualist and an oversimplification of the complex urban systems that exist and continually evolve (Angotti 2006).

2.3 'SLUMS' VS 'INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS'

It is important to differentiate between 'informal settlements', 'slums' and 'squatter camps'. 'Slum' refers to the physical housing condition and 'squatter' or 'informal settlement' refers to the legal (unlawful) status of the settlement or houses (Ley 2009). The UN-Habitat operational definition of slums combines physical and legal elements of settlements and includes: the inadequate access to safe water, inadequate access to sanitation and related infrastructure, poor structural quality of houses, overcrowding and insecure residential status (UN-Habitat 2003). The word 'slum' has, however, proven to have negative connotations internationally and academics have worked to ensure a move away from the term. Slums are not the same as informal settlements but their definition overlaps as a number of slum dwellers are also unable to access formal housing and therefore live in informal settlements (Ley 2009).

This thesis makes use of the phrase 'informal settlements' which is used internationally and encompasses both physical and legal components of settlements (including access to water, sanitation, electricity, road infrastructure, housing and secure tenure). Part Three of the National Housing Code considers informal settlements as illegal, located on inappropriate sites with limited public or private sector investment and high levels of poverty and vulnerability, as well as social stress (including crime and drug abuse) (National Department of Human Settlements 2009). The overview of the literature in this thesis, however, also includes work that uses the word 'slums' because of the overlap in definitions and the way that the words 'informal settlement' and 'slums' are used interchangeably.

2.4 INTERNATIONAL INFORMAL SETTLEMENT UPGRADING: POLICY, PRACTICE AND LITERATURE

The idea that the informal settlement was a key urban problem, and its solution was ‘clearance’ or ‘eradication’, first began during nineteenth century British colonialism and was central to the methodology of governments right up until the late 1970s (Maylam & Edwards 1996). Some, including Turner (1968; 1977), were opposed to the eradication approach to informal settlement management and saw the settlements as part of the solution within the challenge of housing provision. Turner (1967) and Abrams (1966) were the first to promote the concept of ‘self-help’ housing and the need for autonomy within settlements. Scholars like Turner (1967) and Turner & Fichter (1972) insisted on a move away from marginalising the poor.

While this thesis is not focused on ‘self-help’ housing, it is important to understand the perspectives on housing that the literature provides and the approaches to eradication of settlements that have existed within different schools of thought. This is particularly pertinent because the Turner/Abrams school of thought (self-help) influenced housing planning through to the 1970s and 1980s. This resulted in the recognition of informal settlements as part of the city and led to project-oriented upgrading (tenure regulation and service provision) (Ley 2009) including the provision of housing through state provided structures, housing subsidies and self-help housing projects (Ntema & Marais 2010; 2013).

Informal settlement upgrading gained momentum in the 1980s as the global concern for levels of poverty grew. Poverty was seen as a process and not a physical condition (Ley 2009). *In situ* upgrading was seen as the new magic bullet; a way of maintaining social ties, avoiding relocation and protecting social capital. The Habitat Agenda internationally advocated this strategy for poverty alleviation. *In situ* upgrading intended to take on a comprehensive approach to the housing process (as opposed to a project based approach). The state was to act as an enabler and maximum community self-management was sought (Gilbert 2007). A lack of capacity within managing administration and a lack of skill, leadership and analysis, meant that these complex/‘fix all’ programmes failed. Alternative approaches and support based interventions have been sought which have not included external designers and implementers. These have included government based initiatives and civil society based interventions with empowerment agendas (Huchzermeyer 2004).

Two international schools of thought have evolved around *in situ* upgrading. Huchzermeyer (2004: 53) understands them in the following way. The first school of thought is primarily concerned with technological deficiencies and packages and once-off physical intervention, also referred to as comprehensive externally designed upgrading. The other is a more socially focused approach primarily concerned with the citizens who are involved in the numerous and changing dimensions of poverty (referred to as support based intervention). The second model has been used in a number of countries including Zambia, Sri Lanka and Brazil. This approach requires a major paradigm shift for government structures and policy makers and can be more time consuming than the first, formal and technological, model (Pithouse 2009).

The World Bank has moved away from advocating the first model; however, it continues to finance these types of projects and interventions which remain common in many countries. While the inclination towards upgrading over relocation has been internationally welcomed, it has been argued that it is limited in its progress. Verma (2002) argues that India's Draft National Slum Policy (DNSP) of 1999, which advocated *in situ* upgrades, was riddled with inevitable failure. Despite all the participatory rhetoric it failed to challenge inequitable land distribution (Verma 2002). There has also been a vigorously contested (Angotti 2006; Abahlali base Mjondolo 2007; Gilbert 2007) return to the old language of the 'slum'. The return of this term is often traced back to the Habitat 2 progress meeting in Vancouver (1999) at which the UN-habitat and the World Bank formed the Cities Alliance.

The 1999 the World Bank and UN-Habitat '*Cities without Slums*' initiative revived the historically loaded and dangerous word 'slum' in the vocabulary of informal settlement work (Huchzermeyer & Karam 2006; Gilbert 2007). The use of the word 'slum' threatened to renew many of the misgivings about the poor that years of research had managed to dispel. It was used to attract funding and incite a sense of urgency among politicians and practitioners (Gilbert 2007). The campaign name also gave the impression that cities are able to (and should) strive to eradicate informal settlements in their jurisdiction. This 'call to action' by the World Bank and UN has been adopted in varying (and sometimes) dangerous ways. In an effort to eradicate 'slums', a number of cities have taken it upon themselves to demolish informal settlements without making allowances for those who call these settings home.

The search for “instant solutions to insoluble problems” (Gilbert 2007: 697) has rendered the practice of a forceful eradication of informal settlements tempting, even though past experience shows this is a futile endeavour. Marie Huchzermeyer’s (2011) book, *‘Cities with ‘Slums’: From informal settlement eradication to a right to the city in Africa’*, speaks directly to the impact of the phraseology of *‘Cities without Slums’* and the impact of this initiative. The book also addresses the inept communication of the UN’s Millennium Development Target (to improve, significantly, the lives of one hundred million slum dwellers by 2020) and how this has been misinterpreted as a call to free the city of slums (particularly in African countries). This misinterpretation, says Huchzermeyer (2011), is a result of current urban policy and the intensive focus on city competitiveness. The difficulty of the UN’s Millennium Development Target aimed at slum dwellers, is also discussed in Pieterse (2007).

The World Bank, the United Nations and the United States Agency for International Development, as well as a number of allied donors, NGOs and research institutes, have since created an international set of both shared ideas and practices around housing policy and practice (Pithouse 2009). A number of governments, however, do not accept this policy consensus, and produce independent and autocratic approaches. These can be progressive, as with the 1997 Kaantabay sa Kauswagan Ordinance (Partners in Development Empowerment Ordinance) in Naga City in the Philippines, but can also be profoundly reactionary, as with the 2005 Operation Murambatsvina (Operation Drive Out Trash) in Zimbabwe (Pithouse 2009). Examples have shown that some countries have progressed from repressive to transformative policies and others have fallen back into repressive strategies even though informal settlement policy has been the arena of continuous political contestation within civil society groups (Huchzermeyer & Karam 2006: 7).

There have been a number of academic contributions which have focused on analysing and critiquing upgrading process and practice, as well as discussing some of the lessons learnt. In 2002 Abbott provided an analysis of informal settlement upgrading and critiqued the existing methodological approaches used. Werlin (1999) also analysed informal settlement upgrading methods by looking at the approach of the World Bank during the 1970s and 1980s. The paper discusses the role that John F. C. Turner played in influencing the informal settlement upgrading methodology of the World Bank which included minimising the role of the State. It also discusses the doubts raised about this approach stating that this approach is unable to adequately address the difficulties associated with informal settlements. Werlin’s (1999) paper argues that more attention should be paid to ensuring a combination of

government and humanistic administrations. Pieterse's 2008 book, '*City futures: Confronting the crisis of urban development*', also analyses approaches to informality and settlement upgrading and focuses on the initiatives of the World Bank and the UN.

There are a number of literary contributions which provide lessons learnt with regards to informal settlement upgrading. Imperato & Ruster (2003) discuss the lessons learnt from slum upgrading and participation in Latin America, while Handzic (2010) provides an overview of informal settlement upgrading and land tenure lessons gained from the Rio de Janeiro's Favela Bairro Programa. Syagga, Mitullah & Gitau (2001) give insight into experiences from Nairobi, Kenya's, upgrading process. Burra (2005) describes the lessons learnt from Mumbai, India, developments.

2.5 INFORMAL SETTLEMENT UPGRADING: POLICY, PRACTICE AND LITERATURE IN AFRICA

In Africa, a marked increase in informal settlement during the 1950s and 1960s meant that African cities reacted with increased regulation, administration and enforcement (Payne 1989). During this time informal settlements were seen purely as areas of poverty, illegality, crime and disease and were a direct offence to the modernist direction that African governments were aiming for. African governments sought adequately developed and planned cities with formal neighbourhoods and areas for commercial investment and revenue collection. This came with stringent planning regulations, by-laws and policy to protect formalisation and dampen growth and urban in-migration (Kubale, Palmer & Patton 1988). It included policy and practice that led to the demolition of informal settlements in an attempt to provide formalised housing.

During the 1970s the Kenyan government implemented slum clearance policies in Nairobi as well as campaigns to discourage urbanisation such as *Turudi mashambani* ("Let's return to the rural areas") (Macharia 1992; Alder 1995). Many governments also attempted to provide housing through national housing corporations. These settlements were state-built, high-rise and proved unsuitable for those who occupied them (Stren 1990; Macoloo 1994). They were expensive, often poorly build and scarce (Cohen 2001; Ogu & Ogbuozobe 2001). Political interference also became an impediment to the allocation of available housing units. Houses were distributed to upper income, elite groups or to those aligned with a particular political party (Temple & Temple 1980).

A shift in policy and attitude began in the 1970s and informal settlements were recognised as an active part of the city and a legitimate response to the difficulties of housing shortages. Planners began providing informal settlement residents with security of tenure and basic services and infrastructure in order to support informal dwellers in their current self-build state. The recognition of informal settlements as an important part of the city meant that policy changes were made and the elimination of informal settlements was curtailed in a number of African cities. The elimination of informal settlements has, however, still taken place recently in parts of South Africa (particularly Johannesburg) and Zimbabwe (Harare) (Pithouse 2009).

This shift in policy meant that African governments no longer directly built and delivered houses but rather focused on settlement improvement through infrastructure, land tenure and technical and financial/credit services (Keare & Parris 1982). The urban informal settlement focus moved to site and service schemes and *in situ* upgrading. Most projects at first involved large and which included overly ambitious plans that covered large areas which include multiple foci (water, sanitation, electricity, community development, economic opportunities, etc.). Most of these projects happened in places such as Zambia, Kenya, Botswana, Tanzania and Senegal (Solo 1991). These projects were often instigated, supported and funded by the World Bank which also set up local government capacity building systems.

The failure of these large-scale multi-sector projects with their ambitious plans meant that more recent interventions have tended to focus on smaller scale objectives and neighbourhoods (only addressing issues such as water or electricity supply) (Huchzermeyer 2006). This more focused approach has also been brought on by the involvement of new groups (Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), Community Based Organisations, and Aid agencies) in the upgrading process (Campbell 1990; Solo 1991). A number of failures have been identified with this system of upgrading. These include difficulties in ensuring consistent operation and maintenance of services and infrastructure, in providing land tenure and in releasing available/suitable land for development (Solo 1991; Bassett 2001).

There have also been significant academic contributions to the literature on informal settlement upgrading by academics such as Huchzermeyer. Her (2006) book, '*Informal Settlements: A perpetual challenge*', co-edited with Karam, provided a series of papers on informal settlement upgrading

(particularly in Africa). It provided a clear overview of the challenges of upgrading under the discourses of various countries. Her work on informal settlement upgrading in Africa is particularly significant. The 2011 book, *'Cities with 'Slums': From informal settlement eradication to a right to the city in Africa'*, challenges the UN Millennium Development Goals and its *'Cities without Slums'* initiative. It warns about the dangers of using these to justify slum eradication operations. This Chapter will return to the work of Huchzermeyer under the section on South African upgrading literature.

More general academic literature has been written on African informal settlement upgrading by authors such as Bassett, Gulyani, Farvarque-Vitkovik, & Debomy (2003), who have worked on lessons learnt from informal settlement upgrading in Sub-Saharan Africa for the World Bank and Gulyani & Bassett (2007), who focused on Sub-Saharan Africa upgrading policy and practice. Gulyani & Bassett's (2007) paper drew on upgrading project experiences and literature over a thirty-year period in order to understand what has worked in slum upgrading in Africa. The paper outlines the importance of project-based learning and micro-level innovations and proposes a programmatic approach to upgrading which links informal settlements to the larger city systems through government involvement and community participation. Okpala (2011) has also worked on understanding the processes and dynamics of informal settlement upgrading in developing countries.

Much of the academic literature produced on the upgrading of informal settlements has been undertaken on a case study basis (Macharia 1992; Macoloo 1994; Bassett 2001 and Kigochie 2001). A significant number of these case studies come from Kenya, South Africa and Zambia. The Kenyan work has been undertaken, particularly in Nairobi, by Macharia (1992) and Bassett (2001) as well as Chana (1984) who all focused on informal settlement upgrading projects (with a particular focus on housing and policy). Research on Nairobi settlement upgrading has also been conducted by Kigochie (2001) and Macoloo (1994) who concentrated on the economic side of the upgrading process. Of particular interest are the work of Ogero (1997) and Ogero, Omwando & Bassett (1992) who provided background papers on the Kenyan experience in urban upgrading under the German Organisation for Technical Cooperation (GTZ) Small Towns Development Project. Otiso (2003) wrote of State, voluntary and private sector partnerships for slum upgrading in Nairobi. Their paper focuses on the upgrading process in the Mathare 4A area of Nairobi, Kenya and shows the strengths and weaknesses of partnerships. Bassett & Jacobs (1997) and Bassett (2001) have also written on informal settlement upgrading and land tenure in Kenya.

Gulyani & Conners (2002) provided a comprehensive summary of urban upgrading in Africa through an assessment of ten countries (Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Cote D'ivoire, Ghana, Mali, Namibia, Senegal, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia) for the World Bank. This assessment focused on policy and practice and highlighted lessons learnt within each of these countries. This assessment highlighted, in particular, the importance of partnerships. Bamberger, Sanyal & Valverde (1982) delivered early work on Lusaka in Zambia and work on informal settlement upgrading in Botswana was undertaken by Datta (1995; 1996). The next section will focus on informal settlement upgrading and South Africa.

2.6 INFORMAL SETTLEMENT UPGRADING POLICY, PRACTICE AND LITERATURE IN SOUTH AFRICA

2.6.1 Policy and practice under the apartheid government

During the apartheid years the housing of urban residents was closely linked to the securing and controlling of black-African labourers (Maylam 1990; Parnell 1994). Mining areas, such as Kimberley and Johannesburg, grouped black-African workers in closed compounds in order to keep a strict control over their behaviour and movement. Those not working on the mines lived in informal slum yards (Newton 2008). Until the 1920s strict urbanization regulations and legislation were non-existent because of the limited number of black-African people living in cities. The growth of the manufacturing sector, however, drew large numbers of people to the cities. The ruling party saw the need to establish control over this workforce and in 1923 the Native Urban Areas Act (NUAA) was enforced. This Act is still seen as a cornerstone in the establishment of 'high-apartheid' which took place from the 1950s to the 1980s (Maylam 1990). Parnell (1994) points out two further pieces of important legislation that affected the policies of apartheid at this time. These were the 1918 Native Urban Areas Bill (NUAB) and the 1919 Public Health Bill. NUAB allowed for strict control by the ruling party over black-African and 'coloured' populations.

A National Housing and Planning Committee was formed in 1944 (Maylam 1990). In 1948 the National Party (NP) came to power. By this time many of the tools and policies that ensured a segregated and racist society were firmly in place. Existing regulation was tightened under the new party's rule (including forced removals and influx control). The groundwork for control by the NP was already in place through NUAA which was reinforced and strengthened under the new party's rule (Newton 2008). The 1950 Group Areas Act gave the NP the opportunity to strengthen the principles set out in NUAA. The Group Areas Act was debatably the most significant 'new' planning device at the

time. It ‘explicitly designated geographic zones according to race – that is, induced compulsory urban segregation’ (Angelini 2003: 15).

One of the most pervasive impacts of the Group Areas Act was the forced removals to established or newly developed ‘locations’/‘townships’ (often on the periphery of major centres) (Maylam 1995; Robinson 1996; Angelini 2003). Under strict supervision and due to employers’ complaints of increased transport costs for their workforce, the NP began to subsidize black-African workers’ housing through low-cost mass housing projects and other measures. The control of the ruling party, however, could not be guaranteed and black-African townships became centres of resistance against apartheid; including numerous high profile strikes and protests such as the Soweto uprising in 1976 (Newton 2008).

Throughout the 1980s the principles of apartheid were fiercely contested and openly rejected, particularly by black-Africans, by their refusal to pay for services and housing rental. Influx control policies and pass laws no longer had the desired effect and people began migrating towards the cities. This led to a severe housing crisis. 1986 saw the end of influx control activities and the ruling party published new policy on urban planning (RSA 1986). The government used schemes such as site and service to deal with the crisis, however these schemes did not provide adequate housing and were opposed (Tomlinson 1998). In 1992 the National Housing Forum (NHF) was formed which aimed to negotiate a new non-racial housing strategy. One of its first missions was the need to restructure government institutions and move away from racially-based departments towards a National Housing Board. One of the Forum’s core concerns was to reconsider the housing subsidy policy to allow for the equal distribution of funds. With the run up to the 1994 democratic elections, politicians made numerous and elaborate promises of housing for the poor. This was, however, foreseen as impossible during the discussions held in the NHF (Newton 2008).

2.6.2 Post-apartheid process and practice

Since the end of apartheid and the start of a new government system in 1994, South Africa has had to deal with the inheritance of unequal distribution of land tenure as well as the race-based control of infrastructure and a lack of integration in cities (Huchzermeyer 1999). This has given South Africa a prominent place in the literature on upgrading and the provision of housing by the state, as well as the strategies employed to address widespread informal settlements (Huchzermeyer 1999). This section

reviews this literature and discusses post-apartheid policies and practices in informal settlement upgrading.

Apartheid planning and policy has had a significant effect on South African cities and a ‘knock on’ effect for the approaches of the post-apartheid government. South Africa’s history ensured that both infrastructure and resources as well as social and economic opportunities were centred in and around prime land reserved for those categorized under apartheid as ‘white’ (Davies 2009). Those considered ‘non-white’ were excluded and forced into un-serviced peripheral land. At the same time considerable urbanization had taken place, and continues to take place, as groups of people sought the perceived economic and social benefits of urban life. This influx has resulted in peripheral townships that have developed rapidly into vast informal settlements. Coupled with this are significant problems of poverty, risk and vulnerability (Yose 1999; Saff 1994).

1994 saw the launch of the Housing White paper. This White Paper detailed the right of citizens to adequate housing. The provisions of this document were legislated by the Housing Act of 1997 (Act No. 107 of 1997). This replaced all previous legislation and laid out the principles of housing delivery and the role of various government departments (Ley 2009). The Act highlighted the need to prioritise the poor and undertake a housing process that was integrated and inclusive (Ley 2009).

As part of its 1994 election manifesto, the African National Congress (ANC) adopted the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). This resulted in the RDP White Paper which showcased the ideas of civic and liberal nationalisation (that all citizens are part of the nation regardless of race, gender, religion, etc.) (Kagwanja 2009). The RDP was in line with the state’s focus on growth, reconstruction and redistribution, however, on closer inspection the RDP White Paper showed a substantial conciliation towards a neo-liberal rationality (Satgar 2008). The RDP White Paper led to the launch of the RDP Office in 1994 which served as a type of national development planning agency.

The RDP office, however, lacked the capacity or authority to contribute in any meaningful way. It was closed in 1996 (Harrison, Todes & Watson 2008). This coincided with the state’s move towards neo-liberalism as demonstrated in the draft National Growth and Development Strategy in 1996 and later in the same year the Growth, Employment and Redistribution strategy (GEAR) (Fieuw 2011). Bond (2003) sees GEAR as a nail in the coffin of recognising integrated and compact cities and the move

towards competitive cities. The Urban Development Framework reflected this move towards competitive cities and laid out the government's policy on urban development and reconstruction. This included the mandating of cities, through various governance systems, to become 'world class' cities and integrate into the international/global economy (Fieuw 2011).

The RDP conveyed a developmental state model that focused on the redistribution and meeting of basic needs (Mabin 2006) but the move from the RDP to GEAR meant a change from delivery towards empowering private sector development. This also saw a change in the role of the government from one that was technically oriented and administrative to one of policy co-ordinator and mediator (Chipkin 2002). The public sector reform that was introduced came about through South Africa's interest in the international debate on New Public Management (NPM) (Pieterse & Meintjes 2004). Development responsibility was passed through to local government and the role of government was redefined as Developmental Local Government. This involved the transfer of economic and redistributive roles to local government who were expected to deliver in co-operation with the non-state sector (Ley 2009). The constitutional mandate of Developmental Local Government (DLG) has been to organise and manage its administration, budgeting and planning process with the aim of prioritising the basic needs of the community. This includes the promotion of both community social and economic development (RSA 1998).

DLG has been characterised by four core features. These included the maximising of economic growth and social development (including cooperative and intergovernmental governance) and the incorporation and organisation of development activities (which include state and non-state actors) (de Visser 2009). It also encompassed participatory and democratic development and the prioritisation of social capital and solution oriented local development (de Visser 2009). The White Paper on Local Government (1998), however, failed to address the inconsistencies and contradictions between the RDP and GEAR. This skewed the institutional and organisational mandate of the DLG (Wilkinson 2004; van Donk & Pieterse 2006).

Despite the large number of housing units built through the subsidy system during the first five years after apartheid, there was not a decline in the number of people living in shacks. Residents in inadequate and informal living conditions were afforded the legal grounds on which to demand adequate housing provision. The landmark 'Grootboom case' in 1998 was a well-documented

demonstration of residents taking legal action against the State. In the ‘Grootboom case’ the courts ruled in favour of the residents, forcing the state to extend formal housing to them (Huchzermeyer 2003).

During 2001 (a year after the launch of the United Nations Millennium Development Project) former president Thabo Mbeki mandated the Department of Housing to eradicate informal settlements (Huchzermeyer 2008: 12). The late Dumisani Makhaye, then Minister of Housing in KwaZulu-Natal, promptly introduced a Slum Clearance Programme in that same year. In 2006 hundreds of shack residents in Kenville blocked major roads in protest against their relocation. The police responded with force and many residents were left seriously injured (Goldstone 2006). This was, however, not an isolated incident. From 2004 a number of community-led protests began to issue an urgent challenge to the state (Pithouse 2009).

In 2004, in response to the increase in community led protests and continued unrest, the Department of Housing released ‘Breaking New Ground: A Comprehensive Plan for the Creation of Sustainable Human Settlements’ (BNG). ‘Breaking New Ground’ (BNG) acknowledged that informal settlements had grown since 1994 (Angignu & Huchzermeyer 2009). It planned to embark on promoting a paradigm shift in response to informal settlements, from one of conflict and neglect, to one of incorporation and cooperation. BNG was the result of the South African neo-liberal framework that was adopted through neo-liberal economic policy (including the Growth, Employment and Redistribution framework (GEAR) in 1998) (Gunter 2011). It was the second generation of housing policy for the country.

The BNG housing policy was based on a neo-liberal approach to housing provision. While it did not limit or eliminate the role of the State, it did adopt a market driven housing solution (Gunter 2011). The neo-liberal approach of BNG, from a Foucauldian perspective, could be seen as a reforming of the ‘social’ and the ‘political’ with a particular focus on the technology of power and the legitimisation of the rationality of an unregulated market. Neo-liberalism is a particular political rationality that attempts to make the social arena, economic and increase the role of personal responsibility and self-care in light of a reduction in the welfare service based state (Fieuw 2011).

BNG was a major advance over the subsidy system, however, the failure to implement BNG has been perceived as the failure to take an adequate political approach to the urban crisis (Pithouse 2009). In some parts of South Africa local municipalities have routinely acted towards the poor in unlawful and unconstitutional ways. This has involved illegal and violent evictions, demolitions, forced removals and repression of poor people's community based organisations (COHRE 2008; Huchzermeyer 2008). At all levels of government, and in all parts of South Africa, there has been a universal and systematic breakdown in the implementation of the basic principles of BNG (COHRE 2008; Huchzermeyer 2008). Turok (2001), among others, has described the negative impacts of formalisation (particularly in failing to spatially reintegrate the city). It often keeps residents in areas that are on the periphery of the city where communities continue to lack access to economic opportunities that might address issues of continued poverty.

The BNG led to the development of the Upgrading of Informal Settlements Programme (UISP). The UISP aimed to apply the ideals of participation and empowerment to relocation where upgrading was not possible. Social inclusion and community participation were encouraged as well as systems that enable *in situ* upgrading where possible (Angignu & Huchzermeyer 2009). UISP favoured *in situ* upgrading over relocation in order to avoid the uprooting of social networks (Yose 1999; Huchzermeyer 2006). Funds were made available for rehabilitation and land acquisition where existing land was deemed unsuitable. This was undertaken in order to prevent sustained marginalization through relocation to peripheries (Department of Housing 2004). It appears, however, that state-led *in situ* upgrading has failed to spatially reintegrate the city. Peripheral settlements continue to lack access to economic opportunities and social networks (Turok 2001). The UISP aimed to be a multifaceted and interconnected policy that ensured security of tenure, health, safety and empowerment (Tshikotshi 2009), grounded in global best practice (Department of Housing 2004). The 'Principles of the Programme' include twenty principles required for best practice upgrading (Tshikotshi 2009).

Despite BNG and the UISP, the upgrading processes and housing developments, more often than not, have taken a top down and authoritarian approach (COHRE 2008). Informal settlements are still viewed by Provincial and Municipal government as being the result of deliberate criminal activity and are treated with a zero tolerance response. This has been seen in KwaZulu-Natal particularly, where the Elimination and Prevention of Re-emergence of Slums Act was passed into law in 2007 (Pithouse 2009). This approach was included in the resolutions of the ANC's 52nd National Conference in

Polokwane (ANC 2007) despite opposition from community groups and non-governmental organisations. Part of this approach is based on the international shift towards a security driven approach to the urban poor (Zibechi 2007). South Africa's National Government has also committed itself (under the United Nations Millennium Development Goals) to the eradication of all slums by 2014 (Angignu & Huchzermeyer 2009; Tshikotshi 2009). This has further complicated the approach to informal settlement upgrading and has left the policy and practice of upgrading unclear and contradictory while criminalizing informal settlements and the collective invasion of land.

The new environment and residential settings created through the upgrading process have also given the illusion of modern urbanity but have not provided its benefits (Smit 2000). It has allowed for greater state control over access to basic services and other livelihood assets and a number of residents have lost informal economic opportunities. Residents are often required to pay high rates for services. This has added economic pressure to households (Smit 2000). There has also been increasing concern that imported models of urbanity and upgrading practice ignore the complexities of African cities (for example see Adebayo 2000). Charlton (2009) also argues that while the large scale provision of housing seems to have been effective on a national scale, at a household level, the poor quality of housing and the limited degree to which these houses can be utilized as an asset, have hindered the growth of sustainable livelihoods. Upgrading has also resulted in the disruption of social networks and extended family set-ups both through housing allocation practices and through the small size and design of new houses provided (Smit 2000).

2.6.3 The literature on informal settlement upgrading in South Africa

Much of the work on informal settlement upgrading has focused either on the methods and practices associated with informal settlements or on the related legislation and policy (Huchzermeyer & Karam 2006). Huchzermeyer (2004) has researched informal settlements and urban policy in South Africa and has also undertaken an assessment of the contributions and constraints of South African informal settlement upgrading (Huchzermeyer 2006). Huchzermeyer, Baumann & Mohamed (2004) provided a background report on informal settlement practice in South Africa's Metropolitan Cities for the (then) Department of Housing. Charlton & Kihato (2006) provided a thorough analysis of the evolution of South Africa's housing programme which included work on informal settlement upgrading methods, practice and policy. This analysis featured in '*Democracy and delivery: Urban policy in South Africa*', edited by Pillay, Tomlinson & du Toit (2006). Abbott (2002) also provided an analysis of informal

settlement upgrading and critiques the existing methodological approaches. This paper by Abbott (2002) built on the 2001 Abbott & Douglas, Water Research Commission report.

An overview of the South African housing sector, including the upgrading of informal settlements, was undertaken by Gardener in 2003 while Misselhorn expanded on this in 2008 with a position paper on informal settlement upgrading for Urban LandMark. Marx (2003) wrote on supporting informal settlements in '*Housing policy and practice in Post-Apartheid South Africa*', edited by Khan & Thring (eds) (2003). Literature has also been produced which highlights the challenges and methodologies used in urban housing and upgrading (Du Plessis 2000). Work was also undertaken by Pikhholz (1997) and later by Pottie (2003) on addressing the challenges of upgrading settlements in South Africa (particularly with regards to the role of local government in low-income housing delivery). Oldfield (2002) undertook work on partial informal settlement formalization and its implications for community governance. Smit also delivered a paper at the '*Nordic Africa Institute Conference on the Formal and Informal City – What Happens at the Interface?*' in Copenhagen in 2000 which made an important contribution to understanding and assessing the impact of the transition from informal housing to formalized housing in South African low-income housing projects in South Africa.

Case study work on informal settlement upgrading in South Africa has been conducted by Huchzermeyer (2009; 1999) in Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal and the Western Cape. Marshall, Stevens, Kimmie and Rule (2001) researched the upgrading of Gauteng's informal settlements with particular focus on Albertina, Eatonside, Joandea and Soshanguve South Extension 4. These studies have provided important information on lessons learnt and best practice in informal settlement upgrading. Van Horen (1999) has worked on the growth and change of informal settlements in Durban. Beall, Crankshaw & Parnell (2002) have researched participatory planning and informal settlement upgrading in Diepsloot. Marais & Krige (1997) have explored the upgrading of Freedom Square informal settlement in Bloemfontein and provided some lessons learnt for future low-income housing in the Free State Province and South Africa as a whole. Marais and Ntema (2013) have also recently provided a review of informal settlement in South Africa. Charlton (2006) provided lessons learnt from the experiences of informal settlement upgrading in Kwazulu-Natal. Her research discusses the informal settlement upgrading that took place over a fourteen year timeframe and argues that a reflection on past experience can assist in providing useful insights into future upgrading work (Charlton 2006).

2.7 SETTLEMENT UPGRADING LEGISLATION AND APPROACHES WITHIN CAPE TOWN

Cape Town is considered to be South Africa's most segregated city (Huchzermeyer, Baumann & Mohamed 2004). In 2007 there were an estimated 223 informal settlements in Cape Town and the City of Cape Town municipality estimated that these settlements had 136 000 dwelling units. The Solid Waste Department of the City, however, physically counted almost 200 000 shack dwellings within these informal settlements (these, however, did not include isolated shacks and small pockets of settlements) (Adlard 2008). In 2001 the Census data indicated an average occupancy rate of three people per dwelling, putting the current population at 450 000 residents (Statistics South Africa 2001). The City of Cape Town now estimates that 1.2 million people live in areas without adequate formal housing. From 1994 to 2007 government financed the development of 8 000 housing opportunities per year in Cape Town, however this has proved inadequate as it amounts to less than half of the annual growth in demand (Adlard 2006).

Cape Town is currently experiencing a rapid increase in urbanization. It is estimated that every year 48 000 people migrate to the city causing a backlog in the delivery of formal housing. This is estimated to be in excess of 27 000 houses each year (City of Cape Town 2004). The legacy of apartheid planning and unequal access to land and resources has slowed the delivery of housing. A large number of Cape Town residents still live in informal dwellings and in un-serviced settlements. Informal settlements have historically been located on peripheral and environmentally exposed land. The location and nature of these settlements has also led to a number of social and economic risks (Morrissey & Taylor 2006).

Despite improvements in infrastructure development, services and housing to residents of informal settlements, much of the population continues to live in inequitable, overcrowded, risk prone and un-serviced settlements (Turok 2001). Many of these settlements are placed on marginal land outside of the city centre and have limited infrastructure and servicing. Many residents live far away from economic and social opportunities available to many urban residents. With the national policy lacking substance and guidance on informal settlements and the failure of the national housing programme in its quest to address informal settlement growth, local governments have been obliged to fund and implement *ad hoc* servicing projects that address urgent service and infrastructure needs in these settlements (Pottie 2003).

2.7.1 The City of Cape Town structure and systems

At the end of 2000 the historically racialised authorities in Cape Town joined to form one Unicity of the City of Cape Town (the City). The City of Cape Town (the City) brought on board an Executive Mayoral system under the Municipal Systems Act (MSA) and the Council was divided into twenty sub-councils, each with six to eight wards, with statutory advisory powers to the main Council (Huchzermeyer, Baumann & Mohamed 2004). Sub-councils are made up of geographically clustered wards. Each ward has a Ward Committee (also with an advisory role) who are drawn from community leaders, local and civic organizations (Ley 2009). Ward Committees are officially recognized by the City. They are seen as the primary medium for giving effect to the requirements for participatory governance under the Municipal Structures Act (Parnell, Pieterse, Swilling & Wooldridge 2004). Political decisions regarding informal settlements in Cape Town are made by the Mayoral Executive Committee (MAYCO). This power previously lay with the Housing Portfolio Committee of the full Council but now the MAYCO Housing Portfolio member makes most of these decisions. The Housing Portfolio Committee still exists, but its power is weak and negligible in comparison to that of MAYCO (Adlard 2006).

The 2000 municipal elections saw the African National Congress (ANC) lose its majority rule to the Democratic Alliance (DA) which both stopped the ANC policy plans and brought a new neo-liberal governmentality to the City (Fieuw 2011). The result was a monetarily conservative administration led by business and financial ideals. The ANC, however, regained their majority in 2002 due to the national floor-crossing process (permitted at local government level at that time). This change in administration brought vast political and strategic restructuring to the City but did not bring about the promised redistribution of resources to the poor (Jolobe 2006). It, instead, concretised the neo-liberal governmentality that existed under the DA government on the premise that Cape Town needed to continue being internationally economically competitive (Jolobe 2006). Planning shifted from “planning aimed at urban integration and redistribution ... to a view of planning as integral to ‘global positioning’ and ‘entrepreneurial’ government” (Watson 2002: 1). Integrated Development Planning (IDP) (which is based on monetary growth and development) was the chief guide to planning policy and practice in Cape Town.

It is important to note that the literature on the 'regime' and 'regulation' schools of thought links the changes in the existing political-economic arrangement to the regulation, control and development of

urban space. Logan & Molotch (1987) recognized the continuous realignment of key urban policies to achieve a 'market edge' with the aim of accumulating economic capital. City officials and governing systems have therefore utilized urban planning (through land regulations, location control, the cost and access to infrastructure and the state of urban environs) as a pivotal means by which economic capital and so called 'desirable' residents can be attracted (Wilson 1995; Lauria 1997). Urban planning therefore plays a critical role in both the institutional and policy development setting which mediate between both economic capital and the community's daily lives. Other literature on this analysis of the state, urban planning and the accumulation of economic capital control can be found in the work of Sandercock (1995), Baum (1996) and Flyvbjerg (1996).

Local government has been pushed to be commercially innovative through private sector investment and participation. The local sector has been encouraged to take on market-based approaches to their tasks and mandates (Miraftab 2007; 2005). The City, has therefore, strategically positioned itself to think and operate as a private sector actor which has included the contracting out and privatising of basic services in order to shed responsibilities and ensure an economically viable bottom line through the collection of user fees (Miraftab 2010). This has been combined with a strong focus on obtaining world-class city status which is able to attract international business and economic prospects.

Dispute continues concerning the extent to which neo-liberalism has been included in local level government structure, policy and practice, particularly in Cape Town (Parnell, Pieterse, Swilling & Wooldridge 2002). The City has embraced neo-liberal policies since the days of ANC rule. This has been strengthened under the DA leadership and concretised by parallel national and international policy orientations (McDonald & Smith 2004). The City has adopted a market-based system based on a financial bottom line and run according to business principles (McDonald & Smith 2004). This has taken place under pressure from the national government which requires local government to operate under strict national and international requirements and encourages the commercialisation of municipal services (McDonald & Smith 2004). These actions have been guided by a number of policies and programmes including: the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) framework, the Municipal Infrastructure Investment Unit (MIIU) and the Municipal Systems Act (Miraftab 2004).

Another component of the City's current approach is its understanding of the Millennium Development Goals. Huchzermeyer (2011) is clear that governments and governance systems in the global South

have misconstrued the Millennium Development Goal (MDG). Goal Seven, Target 114 (*Cities without Slums*) has been particularly misunderstood. A combination of misunderstanding the MDGs, the drive to attract global monetary investment and the push to become a world class city has meant that the City has been hesitant to completely understand and engage with informal settlements (Fieuw 2011). This is evident through the formation of the City of Cape Town's Anti-Land Invasion Unit in 2009. This Unit operates through the courts to clear illegal informal settlements and evict residents from vacant land (Fieuw 2011). This has led to difficulties with the strategic planning functions of the City which in turn has resulted in disorganized and *ad hoc* crisis management based decision making (Turok 2001).

2.7.2 Informal settlement upgrading policy and practice in Cape Town

Officials in the Western Cape have come to the realization that the development of subsidised formal housing will not eliminate the housing backlog nor eliminate informal settlements. Incremental upgrading has thus been presented as a practical response to the scale of the informal settlement situation. This long-term incremental servicing programme continues to be hindered by the lack of an appropriate policy instrument as well as by political opposition. Despite any clear policy path, the City of Cape Town has taken it upon itself to undertake *ad hoc* servicing initiatives (Van Niekerk & Hugo 2002). The Grootboom judgment signalled a shift in the Municipality's attitude towards informal settlements. Basic servicing now exists as a legal obligation and in late 2003 a meeting was convened with ward councillors and officials (and later with community representatives) to discuss the implementation of an incremental upgrading policy. A city-wide basic service provision project started in early 2004 (Huchzermeyer, Baumann & Mohamed 2004).

A common condemnation of the City's informal settlement interventions is that there is no strategic, guiding policy. This is both in terms of the objectives of upgrading and also the location of new permanent settlements. The Municipal Systems Act of 2000 dictates that this type of spatial and developmental guidance is to come from the Integrated Development Plan (IDP) of the municipality. The IDP '...recognizes informal settlements as an intrinsic, legitimate part of Cape Town...' (City of Cape Town 2003: 23) and outlines *in situ* upgrading as one of its six development strategies. These plans, however, do not correspond with the political opinions of the wider population. Slum clearance is essentially still seen as the preferred model and receives political support over and above *in situ* upgrading processes (Huchzermeyer, Baumann & Mohamed 2004). The *In situ* upgrading process is

seen by officials as slow, cumbersome and one that does not promote adequate densification in prime urban locations.

In 2004 only eight of the city's one hundred and seventy settlements had been earmarked for full services (City of Cape Town 2004) and the identification of 'upgradeable' settlements relied on a technical, mechanical, and allegedly apolitical concept of whether land is 'encumbered' or not (Huchzermeyer et al. 2004). Political plans for the eradication of informal settlements and the resettlement of residents to "Greenfield" serviced sites has found favour with officials and politicians in the municipality. These processes are technically easier to plan and faster to implement. "A political directive for much higher densities in upgraded settlements closer to the city, has forced officials to abandon plans for *in situ* upgrading in favour of higher-density housing forms such as four-storey 'walk-ups'" (Huchzermeyer et al. 2004: 70). Shifting political imperatives, the lack of authentic support for informal settlement upgrading and the lack of a considered approach to informal settlements, contradict and undermine the City's stated objectives for settlement upgrading (City of Cape Town 2003).

One of the crucial issues affecting informal settlement upgrading in Cape Town is the legacy of political instability in the City and Province. The City of Cape Town's political and administrative interface has been a complex relationship of power and inter-dependence between senior officials and senior councillors. The Western Cape and the City of Cape Town have had a number of changes of government since 1994. In 2003 the ANC came to power in both the Western Province and Cape Town (Huchzermeyer et al. 2004). Many of the key officials in the City of Cape Town urban development bureaucracy were held over from the pre-1994 era or were hired by the New National Party (NNP) and or DA administrations. This could account for much of the conservatism and 'technical' bias of the City of Cape Town's urban development and housing bureaucracy. The DA came to power in the Province and the Cape Town again in 2009 (Van Niekerk & Hugo 2002).

Neither the NNP nor the DA felt able to undertake the kinds of evictions in Cape Town that had happened in Johannesburg and did not devote resources to developing new original policies and mechanisms to address informal settlement problems (Van Niekerk & Hugo 2002). Instead they were inclined to look to the Province to drive the housing programme. It was left to the Provincial Legislature to provide enough new 'opportunities' to reduce both Cape Town's housing backlog and

the scale of informal settlements (Huchzermeyer et al. 2004). The Provincial Administration of the Western Cape (PAWC) provided the strength and assertiveness needed for its Provincial Housing Development Board (WCHDB). The PAWC works within the National Department of Housing's (NDoH) housing guidelines, but fundamentally it makes its own urban policies and guidelines (Smit 2006). PAWC believes that policies approved by the WCHDB do not need to be approved by the NDoH.

Over this period of instability two trends in particular affected power and regulation with regards to informal settlements (Huchzermeyer et al. 2004). The first was the introduction of the ANC's developmental agenda. This made informal settlements one of the City's major priorities and the City dedicated significant funds to the Emergency Servicing of Informal Settlements (ESIS) Project. The ESIS Project was the first phase of a three-phase incremental upgrading plan outlined in the City's Framework for Upgrading Informal Settlements (City of Cape Town 2004). It aimed to provide basic services (water, sanitation and refuse removal) to all informal settlements within the city (Graham 2006). The second trend was the centralization of decision-making power to the Executive Mayor and her Mayoral Executive Committee (MAYCO) (Huchzermeyer et al. 2004). The result has been that high-level politicians have become further involved in determining specific forms of informal settlement upgrading projects (Huchzermeyer et al. 2004).

2.7.3 Informal settlement upgrading literature and Cape Town

Much of the literature pertaining to informal settlement upgrading in Cape Town (and in South Africa as a whole) focuses on national policy and on the relationship between local government/municipalities and communities (including NGOs) at project level (Pikholz 1997; Huchzermeyer 1999; Marx 2003; Graham 2006). Local government is an important player in the upgrading of informal settlements but the factors that affect and inform policy interpretation, governance and settlement design are often neglected in the literature (Graham 2006). Little attention is paid to the rationalities and practices/techniques (governmentalities) that exist within local government and women's social networks. It is these factors that often determine what track the informal settlement upgrading takes and what effect this has on those living within the upgraded settlements.

Of particular importance is the work of Graham (2006) who researched informal settlement upgrading in Cape Town, investigating the challenges, constraints and contradictions within local government.

Graham's 2006 study focused on the Emergency Servicing of Informal Settlements (ESIS) Project undertaken by the City. This is the City's first phase of a larger plan for *in situ* upgrading. The ESIS Project is used by Graham as a case study to understand the complex factors motivating and restricting the City and their response to informal settlement upgrading. He argues that the challenges and constraints faced by the City stem from various contradictions that exist within local government and that will affect *in situ* upgrading. These include the "political vision for the City, the governance of informal settlements projects, and the struggle between bureaucrats and politicians over power to shape the city" (Graham 2006: 233). Graham, however, fails to address the issue of the local government/City's governmentality in the upgrading of informal settlements. What rationalities, mentalities, etc. lie behind this governance of informal settlement projects and how does it impact upgrading and women's social networks in the formalized settlements?

Smit (2006) also conducted research on the upgrading of informal settlements in Cape Town which sought to understand the complexities of the formalization process. This study discusses lessons learnt from the work of the housing NGO, Development Action Group (DAG), who work with the complexities of informal settlement in Cape Town (Smit 2006). Smit uses the sustainable livelihoods framework in order to understand informal settlements including the social dynamics and vulnerabilities that exist. There is, however, little reference to the social networks that exist. What is useful about this paper is that it covers a good spread of informal settlements in its case study approach including Marconi Beam, Imizamo Yethu, Freedom Park, Morkel Cottage, Mocke Road and Kayamandi Zone F. Smit's (2006) paper also informs this thesis in its use of participatory social mapping (neighbourhood social mapping) as applied in the Freedom Park case study. This is a useful tool in understanding social dynamics (Smit 2006).

Yose (1999) and Fieuw (2011) have also investigated informal settlement upgrading in Cape Town. Yose (1999) examined space usage and social change in informal settlement upgrading in Cape Town in general while Fieuw (2011) explored the upgrading of informal settlements in Cape Town by undertaking case study work on the Hangberg settlement. Fieuw's work is particularly useful to this study as it focused on local government and urban governance, however, it failed to fully explore the nuances of governmentality and the differences in the governmentality between the residents and local government (the City). Other work on informal settlement upgrading in Cape Town has been undertaken by Van Niekerk & Hugo (2002), who focused particularly on the improvements made to

Joe Slovo informal settlement and Cross (2006) who researched the experiences of the communities involved in the upgrading of Crossroads community and those involved in the N2 Gateway project. Oldfield (2000) has also contributed to the literature on housing and upgrading in Cape Town with her work on community capacity in State low-income housing provision in Cape Town.

Case studies have been undertaken on informal settlement upgrading in New Rest. These include Adlard (2006), who undertook an evaluation of the New Rest informal settlement upgrade, while Abbott (2004) provided an overview of the New Rest upgrade, giving the political context and background and critiquing the approaches and methodologies used in the process. Work on the upgrading of Makhaza remains scarce and there is no evidence of work having been done on governmentality, women's social networks and upgrading in these two areas. Investigations have also been undertaken into the upgrading of Freedom Park through the work of the Development Action Groups (DAG) (2009) and studies have been conducted by Khan (2004) on the upgrading of the N2 informal settlement pilot project. A gap in the literature remains with regards to governmentalities in informal settlement upgrading and the effects of these governmentalities on the women's social networks in Cape Town's upgraded settlements.

2.8 GENDER, HOUSING AND INFORMAL SETTLEMENT UPGRADING

International housing policy and development models have gone through various phases since the end of the Second World War (Venter & Marais 2005). These have been categorized as: state driven public housing, self-help housing (based on the theories of Turner (1967)) and macro-economic reform, the enablement approach and the whole-sector approach (Venter & Marais 2005; 2006). In the early 1990s (at the beginning of the enablement approach) gender was mainstreamed in housing and urban development (Venter & Marais 2005). "Until the mid-1980s and early 1990s, international gender theory and urban and housing development theory had developed separately" (Venter & Marais 2005: 1). Housing policy development and gender formed two separate sets of research (Venter & Marais 2006) and the housing literature had no clear feminist viewpoint in terms of the housing debate (particularly in developing countries) (Moser & Peake 1994).

Gender issues were largely ignored in urban and housing policy until the 1970s. The modernisation period in particular was seen as a period that was gender-blind (Venter & Marais 2006). Modernisation was a housing period that focused on state-driven process and practices (Moser & Peake 1994) and was

based on the fundamental notion that modernity constituted the taking on of Western traits. In the early stages of modernization, urban research was focused on racial and class based inequity and marginality (Moser & Peake 1994; Venter & Marais 2006). From the 1970s onward, however, the work of feminist researchers began to focus on the gender differences in the needs of urban dwellers (Moser 1987; Moser & Peake 1994; Chant 2003) and feminists started to question the need for women and female-headed-households to be recognized as part of the household unit (Venter & Marais 2006).

Much of the growing work focusing on the “analysis of women’s activities and experience and the nature of their oppression in urban areas” (Little, Peake & Richardson 1988: 1) was established by feminist geographers concerned with the male bias in their field (also see Jones, Nast & Roberts 1997; Miranne & Young (eds) 2000). Feminists such as Garber and Turner (1995) have assisted in our understanding of women and their relationship with the city (Miranne & Young (eds) 2000) as have Andrew & Milroy (1988) who provide a feminist analysis both of how and why urban areas are structured. Andrew & Milroy (1988) focus, in their text, on the construction of urban structures and processes by dominant interests. Much of this work, however, remains focused on Western cities and urban spaces.

Current literature has pulled through some important themes including the theme that women and men have different experiences of the city and that these differences centre on inequality. It has also highlighted the understanding that the active use of space and time by women can change both the spatial and social structure of the city (Miranne & Young (eds) 2000) and that these structural changes can influence gender relations. This sparks a discussion, which is central to this thesis, around looking critically at how women use (act in) and change their inhabited space within cities (Miranne & Young (eds) 2000). A number of authors have provided insight into gender and planning process and practice such as Sandercock & Forsythe (1992) and Little (1993).

Schlyter’s 1996 edited book made a particularly useful contribution to the literature as it addressed gender research on housing in Africa, highlighting the need for more detailed work on cities in developing countries. The book covered issues of participation in housing policy and practice, access and equity in countries such as Zambia and Botswana in chapters by Datta (1996) and Lee-Smith (1996). Work has also been undertaken by Chant (1996) on gender, urban development and housing under the United Nations Development Programme. Her book highlights the core elements of gender

and housing and how these affect low-income developing-country women in urban settlements. It also highlights gender specific constraints and problems associated with experiences of shelter. Chant (1996) emphasises the importance of taking gender into account in urban planning, policy and process.

Moser has been a particularly prolific researcher in the field of women, urban development and housing. Her 1989 paper discusses the ability of various housing interventions to deal with gender needs. It also delivers an evaluation of different policy methods used by women in development (within the context of gender planning). Moser, along with Peake, edited '*Women, Housing and Human Settlements*' in 1987 which was one of the first attempts at putting discussions of gender and housing onto the research agenda. Moser (1987) contributed a chapter in this edited book which provided a conceptual framework for analysis and policy making with regards to gender and human settlements. In 1993 Moser produced a particularly useful paper on gender planning and development examining theory, practice and training in the current housing climate. In 1995 Moser provided a three decade overview of the challenges for current and future housing research agenda with regards to women, gender and urban development policy. Work still remains outstanding on the effect of informal settlement upgrading on women's social networks with particular reference to power and governmentality in South Africa and Cape Town.

2.9 SOCIAL NETWORKS AND UPGRADING

In this thesis a social network is seen as a shared structure made of individuals (or organizations) called 'nodes'. These are tied or connected by one or more specific types of interdependencies (Liu & Besser 2003). This can include: friendship, kinship, financial exchange, or relationships of beliefs or knowledge. People have used the idea of 'social networks' loosely for a number of years to denote a complex set of relationships between members of social systems at all scales (Sander 2002). Research has shown that social networks operate on many different levels, from families up to the level of nations. They play a critical role in determining the way problems are solved, organizations are run, and the degree to which individuals succeed in achieving goals. The social network can also be used to measure social capital (that is the value that an individual gets from the social network) (Coleman 1988).

There is a commonly held perception that informal settlements tend to make for strong communities. The literature highlights a number of key characteristics of informal settlements that promote social

cohesion and the formation of social networks (Davies 2009). Service provision in shared public space also acts to promote social interaction (Yose 1999). Spatial flexibility of informal dwellings enhances social network formation, as residents can construct buildings in proximity to friends and relatives (Yose 1999; Davies 2009). High settlement density creates informal socialization and a level of intimacy between residents (Yose 1999). A lack of financial capital leads to an increase in the reliance on social capital and the sharing of livelihood assets.

The temporary nature of the informal settlements discourages investment into homes and possessions (Yose 1999). This leads to a homogenized expression of economic standing which increases social cohesion (Wilsworth 1979; Cohen & Shinar 1985). Informal self-organization as a survival technique is employed amongst a number of residents with 'stokvels' and joint saving schemes an active part of these settlements' social networks. In order to find creative ways of managing resource scarcity, communities are known to form social groups and community forums to give 'voice' and bring security in this asset scarce situation. Economic pressures and unemployment can, however, hinder social cohesion within ethnically diverse settlements. This became apparent in May 2008 when xenophobic attacks occurred in a number of South African informal settlements (BBC 2008).

There are a number of case-studies that point to an increase in the importance of social networks in informal settlements (Moser 1996); however, the governance, nature of development and social change in settlements after formalisation remains poorly informed by academic research (Davies 2009). Furthermore the understanding of women's social networks after the upgrading process has not been explored for Cape Town and little is known about the dynamics of these networks in the so-called developing world. The focus on power, governmentality and social networks in this thesis adds another dynamic to the study of informal settlements upgrading and formalisation.

2.10 GOVERNMENTALITY STUDIES AND INFORMAL SETTLEMENT UPGRADING

Governmentality is concerned with the mentalities of government; how government is formulated, how it is problematized and what techniques and rationalities it uses. It seeks to understand how government operates and what practices it employs in governing (Dean 1999). This section provides an overview of governmentality studies, urban governmentality and related literature. The next chapter will provide more detail on the theory of governmentality.

2.10.1 Governmentality studies

The study of governmentality encompasses the analysis of practices and programmes that aim to form, lead and govern behaviour as well as the design, capacity and technologies used in managing and directing the populace (Crampton & Elden 2007). Such studies also focus on the aims and aspirations, the mentalities and rationalities employed to steer practices of conduct. Governmentality studies understand government as technical and focus on various and diverse means, practices and techniques used in governing. They highlight the practical components of government (including the division of space) (Dean 1999). They also refer to conduct, or more specifically the ‘conduct of conduct’, as the central notion of ‘government’. The focus of governmentality studies on practices rejects universals as starting points for analysis (Gribat 2010).

Government is best understood as a collection of interlinking and interdependent ‘regimes of practice’ and the relationship between practice, method, technologies, understanding and beliefs. Governmentality studies therefore aim to decipher these assemblages and ascertain how these assemblages are created by governmental rationalities (Gribat 2010). This is particularly useful in making sense of how women’s social networks in upgraded informal settlements are governed (as an assemblage) and allows for processes, practices and rationalities to be studied and analysed as part of government (Hacking 1991).

An examination of practices and rationalities takes on two interconnected functions. It first demonstrates how things came to be and then questions their structure. Rationalities are considered relative to their circumstance or situation and tie practices together (Gribat 2010). Foucault (2000a: 88) also sees the study of governmentality as answering a “dual purpose” or, as Burchell (1993) understands it, “a ‘contact point’, where techniques of domination – or power – and *techniques of the self* ‘interact’” (Burchell 1993: 268). In governmentality studies, researchers and scholars are encouraged to analyse how various concepts and ways of seeing particular processes are established. In other words, how they emerge as recognised and accepted forms of knowing, being and acting on their context. Understanding the two sides of governmentality, power and subjectivity (and their interrelationship) and the technologies of power and forms of knowledge, are key to governmentality studies (Gribat 2010).

One of the central foci of modern governmentality studies is the analysis of how forms of political rule have evolved from mainly authoritarian to largely liberal (or advanced liberal) structures of rule and the impact of this on governed individuals or communities (Gribat 2010). Of particular interest has been the concern over too much government and the way in which subjects are active in their own self-government. In this context Foucault's notion of liberalism as "a distinctive form of political reason" (Hindess 2001: 93) can be employed to understand how liberal governments function through encouraging and acting upon the self-governing capacity of citizens as an approach to regulation. It must be noted, however, that this does not suggest a shift in governance by the state to uniform self-government of independent subjects.

Foucault (2008) understands liberalism as "a form of critical reflection on governmental practice" (Foucault 2008: 321). This is different from the more common use of this word as a political viewpoint or philosophy. Foucault sees liberalism as a critical evaluation of too much government. Burchell sees liberalism as constructing a rapport between government and the governed which hinges on the "ways in which individuals are required to assume the status of being the subjects of their lives ..." (Burchell 1996: 29). Government progressively imposes on individuals, their relationships and their conduct (Burchell 1993). The 'freedom' of liberally governed subjects assumes that they are active in governing themselves (Burchell 1993).

One of the characteristics of governmentality studies that has followed the work of Foucault, is the use of neo-liberalism and advanced liberal government in order to better recognise modern-day governmental techniques and rationalities (Dean 2010). Larner (2000: 6) sees neo-liberalism as "a political discourse about the nature of rule and a set of practices that facilitate the governing of individuals from a distance". Neo-liberal rule seeks to transform the conduct of individuals and institutions in order for them to become more competitive, efficient and effective (Dean 2010: 268).

Neo-liberalisation can often disregard variances (Gribat 2010). This disregard of diversity also incapacitates the particular form of critique that the governmentality perspective provides: "describing diverse contemporary regimes or rationalities as neo-liberal... tends to blunt one of the cutting edges of governmentality – its specificity in how government is formulated, how it problematizes, what techniques it uses" (Rose, O'Malley & Valverde 2006: 97). It can be argued that a focus on conflicting practices relating to the constitution of subjects by neo-liberal forms of government, provides a useful

and palpable method to improve the ‘cutting edges’ that a governmentality perspective may provide (Gribat 2010). Neo-liberalism is seen to be naïve in that it posits that it is neither necessary nor important to give answers to questions of a social nature. It believes that these social questions and the split between the private domains of the market and that of the public authority should dissolve (Dean 2010).

2.10.2 Governmentality studies and urban space

For Geography, the mid-1990s saw an increase in the fruitful involvement of space in governmentality studies (see: Elden & Crampton 2007; Hannah 2007 for a discussion on this phenomenon). These studies were also concerned with the different roles space plays in government structures. The work on governmentality and space in developing nations has, however, been limited. Most work has focused just on governance (for example: Huchzermeyer 2004; Jones 2009) within the upgrading of South African informal settlements but neglects to investigate fully the techniques, practices and rationalities or ask key questions of governmentality: how people govern or are governed within upgraded settlements. However, some authors such as Amin & Graham (1997); Amin & Thrift (2002) and Dierwechter (2002) (informal economies) have paid particular attention to governmentality within South African post-apartheid settlements with an emphasis on ‘systemized networks’ and spatialities.

A number of urban studies have also used an analysis of Foucault’s governmentality to examine and understand urban social orders (including Larner 2000; Appadurai 2001; Gotz & Simone 2001; Merry 2001; Larner & Walters (eds) 2004; and Robins 2002). These studies have gradually become preoccupied with the administration of space as opposed to the discipline or punishment of urban offenders (Merry, 2001). Robins’ (2002) paper examines the ‘rationality’ and efficacy of spatial governmentality in Cape Town. Robins highlights the attempts made by the state in areas, such as Manenberg, to reinstate governance systems by using various forms of spatial governmentality. He draws attention to the confines of these attempts to manage space through state control.

Appadurai (2002) explored urban governmentality in terms of NGOs and democratic practices in an Indian context. In Appadurai’s (2002) paper he speaks of the conflicting rationalities that exist and the fact that differences must be acknowledged and embraced, as society, by its nature, is not homogeneous and there is not one single existing public interest that exists. Appadurai (2002) cites the work of Watson (2003) who examines conflicting rationalities and the implications of this conflict for planning

theory and ethics. Watson's (2003) work argues that the current planning theories continue to ineffectively comprehend the clash of rationalities which occurs frequently in planning and development endeavours. This happens particularly when these projects interact with the real lived experiences and livelihoods of communities and individual households. Watson (2003) further points out that in various interactions (social, economic and political) numerous cultures are at play, which include various grouping of people each with their own way of seeing and knowing; and with their own backgrounds and interests. These interactions involve complex power relations, which may result in a conflict of people's rationalities and interests (Appadurai 2002; Watson 2003).

Work has also been undertaken with regards to competing rationalities in housing policy and practice by Murdoch (2000). Murdoch (2000) takes on Foucault's understanding of government as the 'conduct of conduct' in an attempt to examine how the state 'governs at a distance' (Murdoch 2000). Murdoch (2000) identifies rationalities and techniques of governance as the core ways in which the state creates domain 'networks'. A number of conflicts can materialise around these rationalities and techniques which Murdoch examines. He uses a British case study and highlights the conflict between the governmental rationalities associated with developmentalism and those associated with sustainable development.

Charlton (2009) also discusses competing rationalities posing the question as to whether or not they constrain reform in urban housing programs. She highlights the positive and negative outcomes of the National Housing Programme from the viewpoints of the nation, the city and the household. Charlton (2009) contends that it is essential that we understand the 'competing rationalities' that are evident in these three viewpoints as they are one of a number of factors that is constraining ultimate transformation. An understanding of 'competing rationalities' can assist in explaining the on-going problems in the housing programme (Charlton 2009). We have not yet seen in the literature, work that specifically focuses on empirical work associated with South African informal settlement upgrading and the governmentalities and conflicting rationalities and techniques that exist between women's social networks and local government.

2.11 SUMMARY AND REVIEW OF THE GAPS IN THE LITERATURE

From this literature review one can see that work has been undertaken by a number of academics on upgrading informal settlements which has focused on varying elements of the formalization process.

Work of this nature has been undertaken on a global scale as far back as the late 60's when academics such as Turner (1967; 1968; 1977) and Abrams (1966) researched and authored work on the eradication approach to informal settlement management, seeing informal settlements as a part of the housing solution rather than a barrier. Both Turner (1967); Abrams (1966); Turner & Fichter (1972) promoted the notion of 'self-help'. The governance elements of upgrading and the effect that the formalisation process had on livelihoods (particularly those of women) were, however, largely ignored in this work. More recent contributions to the global perspective on informal settlement upgrading have come from authors such as Davis (2006); Pieterse (2008) and Huchzermeyer (2011). The methodologies used in the upgrading of informal settlements and the lessons learnt are reviewed by Werlin (1999); Syagga, Mitullah & Gitau (2001); Abbott (2002); Imperato & Ruster (2003); Handzic (2010) and Burra (2005). These 'lessons learnt studies' tended to focus on public participation, land tenure and economic systems.

In the sphere of African informal settlement upgrading literature, contributions have been made by Huchzermeyer & Karam (ed.) (2006) (who provide an edited collection of papers on formalization) and Bassett et al. (2003) (who have worked on lessons learnt from informal settlement upgrading in Sub-Saharan Africa). Other contributions have been made by Gulyani & Bassett (2007) and Okpala (2011), Gulyani & Connors (2002), who focused on the processes and dynamics of informal settlement upgrading in Africa. Within South Africa much of the literature focuses on either methods and practices or related legislation when investigating informal settlement upgrading. Some of the literature includes work by Huchzermeyer (2004); Huchzermeyer, Baumann & Mohamed (2004); Charlton & Kihato (2006) and Abbott (2002) who all provide an analysis of informal settlement upgrading while critiquing existing methodological approaches. Much of the work on upgrading in South Africa, in terms of addressing the challenges and methodologies used in policy and practice, has been undertaken by Gardener (2003), Misselhorn (2008) and Du Plessis (2000) as well as Pikhholz (1997) and later Pottie (2003). In terms of governance, Oldfield (2002) has contributed research that focuses on community systems.

Work on informal settlement upgrading in Cape Town has tended to centre on national policy and the relationship between local government/municipalities and communities (including NGOs) particularly at local level (Pikhholz 1997; Huchzermeyer 1999; Marx 2003; Graham 2006). Little attention has, however, been given to the governmentalities that exist within these local government structures. Even

less attention has been paid to how this relates to women's social networks and what impact governmentalities have on the upgrading of the informal settlements. Research has been conducted by Graham (2006) and Smit (2006) who sought to understand the intricacies of the upgrading process. Case study work in Cape Town has been undertaken by Fieuw (2011) in Hangberg; Van Niekerk & Hugo (2002) in Joe Slovo; Cross (2006) in the Crossroads community; Adlard (2006) and Abbott (2004) in New Rest and Khan (2004) who worked with the N2 informal settlement upgrading pilot project. These studies and the general literature of formalization in Cape Town have, however, failed to address the issue of the local government/City's governmentality in the upgrading of informal settlements. What rationalities, mentalities, etc. lie behind this governance of informal settlement projects and how does it impact upgrading and women's social networks in the formalized settlements?

On the gender and urban front we have seen academics such as Garber and Turner (1995); Miranne & Young (eds) 2000 and Andrew & Milroy (1988) promote the need for women-centred urban planning and settlement upgrading in their work. Others, including Schlyter (ed.) (1996), have undertaken work on housing and gender research in Africa which covered issues of policy and practice, access and participation. Women in low-income, developing countries living in urban settlements were the focus of Chant's (1996) work which emphasised the importance of gender in urban planning, policy and process. Of particular importance in the realm of gender, housing and planning, is the work of Moser (1987; 1989; 1993; 1995) whose work has primarily discussed the role that housing interventions can play in meeting gender needs and evaluating policy methods and policy development. Women and social networks in informal settlements was also researched by Moser (1996), however, issues of governmentality were not raised in this work nor was the effect of differing governmentalities on these networks.

While the work of governmentality and space in developing nations is limited, there are a few studies that have focused on this link within the South African context. These include the work of Amin & Graham (1997); Amin & Thrift (2002); Dierwechter (2002) and Robins (2002). Research on understanding urban social orders through the lens of governmentality has been undertaken by Larner (2000); Appadurai (2001); Gotz & Simone (2001) and Merry (2001). Work on conflicting rationalities and the differences in governmentalities (with regards to space) has been undertaken to a limited extent in South Africa. Those who have tackled this particular topic include Watson (2003); Charlton (2009) and to some extent, Ley (2009). Outside South Africa, these academics include Appadurai (2002) and

Murdoch (2000). The link between women's social networks and the effect of differing governmentalities in the upgrading of informal settlement still needs to be addressed.

In short, the literature to date has covered issues of policy (local and national), practice and methodology in the upgrading of informal settlements. Research has taken place in South Africa and in Cape Town in particular, that has focused on governance and participation with some limited work examining social networks and the effect of formalization on women within settlements. Limited work has also been undertaken on governmentality and space. However, the literature has yet to link governmentality with women's social networks and has failed to empirically investigate the effect of governmentality on women's social networks in the upgrading of informal settlements particularly in Cape Town. If we fail to fully investigate this area of research, we run the risk of continuing to ignore the (sometimes subtle) rationalities, techniques and practices (governmentality) behind governance systems and the effect that these governmentalities have on the formalization process. Research also remains sparse on the conflicts, contestations and counter-conducts that have emerged within the newly formalised settlements, particularly in relation to differing/conflicting governmentalities that exist between those who are undertaking the upgrading and residents.

CHAPTER 3

FOUCAULT AND THE CONCEPT OF GOVERNMENTALITY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on Foucault and his concept of governmentality. It begins with a definition of governmentality as the various techniques and practices used by the state and non-state agencies to conduct the conduct of others (Gabardi 2001). These practices and techniques are guided and made internally stable by various rationalities (Gribat 2010). It focuses on ‘how’ government governs (Jeffreys & Sigley 2009) and how it attempts, through various mentalities, rationalities, practices and techniques, to create citizens who best fulfil its policies (Mayhew 2004). The chapter discusses these rationalities, techniques and practices and how they connect power and forms of knowledge. The chapter then provides an overview of governmentality and space, an important topic in light of the aims and objectives of this thesis. Huxley (2008) believes space is a critical component of the rationalities of government as well as its techniques and practices.

The next section of the chapter focuses on governmentality and power. Foucault sees power as productive, not possessed or located, functioning through technologies of the self and as a relational entity (Gore 1995). Power and resistance cannot be separated. The chapter, therefore, also discusses the concept of ‘counter-conduct’, a concept discussed by Foucault under governmentality. Counter-conduct is undertaken by groups who seek a different system/form of conduct in pursuit of other intentions and using other techniques and/or practices (Foucault 2007a). The final part of this chapter focuses on a critique of governmentality and governmentality studies. Two of the main critiques are that governmentality studies tend to neglect the ‘effects’ of government (O'Malley, Weir & Shearing 1997; Legg 2007) and that rationalities and techniques/technologies of government tend to be messier than these studies considered them to be (Valverde 1996; Stenson 1998).

3.2 DEFINING GOVERNMENTALITY

The concept of governmentality was developed by Michel Foucault in the late 1970s and has been used since the early 1990s as a useful research perspective in a number of different disciplines including sociology, geography, economics and politics. Foucault’s lectures, delivered at the Collège de France in 1978 and 1979, focused on the ‘genealogy of the modern state’ and led to the concept of

‘governmentality’, i.e., the linking of governing (‘governor’) and modes of thought (‘mentalité’) (Jeffreys & Sigley 2009). The term was first published in print in ‘*The Will to Knowledge*’. This was Foucault’s first volume in ‘*The History of Sexuality*’ (Gordon 1991).

Governmentality refers “to the complex array of techniques - programs, procedures, strategies and tactics—employed by both non-state administrative agencies and state institutions to shape conduct of individuals and populations” (Gabardi 2001: 82). It can be understood as the manner in which governments attempt to create citizens best suited to fulfil its policies through various mentalities, rationalities, practice and techniques (Mayhew 2004). In essence it is concerned with how government is amassed or assembled by varied practices, programmes, projects, techniques and technologies which are made internally stable and are guided by various rationalities (Gribat 2010). It is focused not on how government ‘should’ govern but on ‘how’ it governs (Jeffreys & Sigley 2009).

Dean developed the concept of governmentality further and incorporated the work of Hunt & Wickham (1994) and Kerr (1999) (who understands the term to be a shortened form of governmental rationality). He (Dean) sees governmentality as “how we think about governing others and ourselves in a wide variety of contexts...” (Dean 1999: 212). Dean posits that to analyse government is to analyse the devices it uses in its attempt to shape, fashion and mobilise the choices, wishes, ambitions, aspirations and wants of both individuals and the population (Dean 1999: 12). Dean's primary influence has been to break down the term governmentality into ‘govern’ and ‘mentality’ (or mentalities) of governing thereby drawing attention to the ‘how and why’ of governing. Dean (1999) stresses that a comprehensive definition of governmentality must include government in terms of the state and in terms of any directing of conduct (Dean 1999) as well as the mentalities, attitudes (which are collective and part of a population’s culture) and the ways in which conduct is governed (Dean 1999). It is therefore not possible to examine technologies of power without exploring the mentalities of governing behind them (Dean 1999).

In exploring the notion of governmentality, it is important to identify what is understood by the term government. Government is seen to be the “conduct of conducts” (Foucault 1982: 220) and entails the intentional and deliberate action taken by various authorities and/or agencies. These actions make use of a number of different techniques and types of knowledge in an attempt to shape conduct (generally through the wishes, ambitions, interests and philosophies of different actors). The actions taken often

have varying and unpredictable consequences and effects (Dean 2010). Governmentality is any effort that seeks to shape the thought aspects of our conduct according to specific sets of norms and for an array of ends (Dean 2010). It works in particular ways using some notion and form of truth (or rationality) in attempting to impact the way in which people act or think of both their situation and themselves (Gribat 2010).

It is important to note that Foucault does not equate government with just the State (Foucault 2007a). It is also the manner in which individuals conduct/govern themselves and how groups may be directed. This aspect is significant for this thesis as it examines governmentality both within women's social networks and within local government (the City of Cape Town). Government is a way of modelling behaviour in accordance with a particular combination of models, norms and standards (Dean 1999). Therefore an analysis of government is interested in the broader questions of how government practices and conduct (including that of self-government) develop, and are shaped and structured across various governing structures.

A close examination of government is essential in understanding clearly how the systems of practices function, in order to better understand forms of power, freedom and autonomy and to further understand how these are opposed and resisted (Dean 2010). Dean (2010) sees an analysis of government as one that examines (qualitatively and quantitatively) the various types of governing authorities or agencies and the differing forms of knowledge, techniques, rationalities and other ways used to govern. This includes an enquiry into how this governing is conceived, how the ends are sought and what the outcomes and consequences of this governing are (Dean 2010). It is concerned, therefore, both with how we govern and how we are governed (for example, the governing within women's social networks and the way they are governed by the City of Cape Town). It is also interested in how these systems develop and change and under what conditions (for example, that of resistance and counter-conduct). Government is understood to be internally and externally volatile, various, open to change and constantly in a state of flux and instability (Rose et al. 2006).

3.3 RATIONALITIES, TECHNIQUES AND PRACTICES

Government is seen to be instituted by a collection or assemblage of rationalities, practices, techniques and technologies. Rationalities and practices are understood to connect power and forms of knowledge and are therefore both equally important and need to be considered. Even though they are analysed and

discussed separately in this thesis, one should take care not to see the two as separate. Foucault (2002a) sees them as implicitly interrelated and inseparable. “Practices don’t exist without a certain regime of rationality... If I have studied ‘practices’, ... it was in order to study [the] interplay between a ‘code’ which rules ways of doing things ... and a production of true discourses which serve to found, justify and provide reasons for these ways of doing things” (Foucault 2002b: 230).

Practices are the means and/or methods, and rationalities are the reasons behind them. Examining both the practices and rationalities therefore allows one to understand how particular phenomena came about and interrogate their structure and make-up (Gribat 2010). When combined with an analysis of practice, rationality is seen to be relational to its setting and often ties practices together (Rose et al. 2006). Practices do not exist without a system of rationality and therefore an understanding of the role rationalities play in practices is crucial. One might even say that they create each other – practices develop rationalities that then inform further practice.

Rationalities undergo continual changes as they face new problems and/or solutions; however, they retain a certain mode of thought and technological inclination (Rose et al. 2006). Rationalities are, therefore, always in a process of modification and metamorphosis as are the accompanying practices, techniques and technologies. They adjust to changes, problems and conflicts but continue to keep a particular broad construct. This is the same for techniques and practices. These are modified with the change in social, political and economic landscape and continue to be informed by certain rationalities or constructs (Gribat 2010).

It is important to understand that the relationship between practice or techniques and rationalities is not the same as that which exists between physical practices and paradigms (Valverde 1996). In the case of governmentality, practices, technologies and techniques “do not *express* or *implement* a previously constituted arrangement of knowledge/power but rather help to constitute both the theory of the power and the power of the theory” (Valverde 1996: 358). Various practices and technologies are used for diverse means and can have different meanings which are dependent on their rationalities (Valverde 1996). Rationalities render various features of government understood as assemblages of technologies and practices of power as well as forms of knowledge that are internally stable and consistent (Gribat 2010).

In terms of space, an analysis of spatial rationalities of government is rooted in an examination and understanding of the relationship between “the subjects and spaces that inform the *aspirations* of government to transform ‘what is’ into ‘what ought to be’” (Huxley 2005: 92). This is made visible through techniques and practices of government such as mapping and statistical surveys. Maps, in particular, plot out spatial boundaries and make the seemingly invisible visible. Map making is a technique or practice of government that is informed by a particular rationality (or aim to conduct other’s conduct) be it one of social control or discipline. Maps are an example of a rationality made visible through practices, technologies or techniques. Osborne & Rose (2004) discuss the efforts of Charles Booth and Patrick Geddes and show how even though the same areas and aspects of the city were mapped and surveyed, they had different interventions or rationalities. Booth’s surveys of spaces, for example, are seen to be undertaken in order to control conduct in particular spaces while Geddes’ maps aim to enable citizens to reconsider their current and future environment (Osborne & Rose 2004).

3.4 GOVERNMENTALITY AND SPACE

Huxley (2008) understands space as an essential component of the rationalities of government and one that can play a role in the examination of government through a focus on the way in which different types of space are established as objects and target of government and how they feature in the programmes and practices of government. Space can also be used as a method of rule in order to transform and control the populace (Huxley 2008). Governmental rationalities render the various components of government implicit as an assembly of technologies of power and systems of knowledge that are internally constant (Gribat 2010). Therefore, in terms of space, government operates with particular spatial rationalities that then realise certain effects. It is therefore important to uncover how we think about how space should be and how spatial causality is imagined (Huxley 2007). Space can operate both as technique or technology and as an object or aim of government. It can be used as a way of achieving a desired effect or response (Gribat 2010).

Governmentality as the ‘conduct of conducts’, with its objective to both produce and guide suitable departments and behaviours, is made up of varied and different series and assemblages of practice, regulation, values and beliefs (Crampton & Elden 2007). Key Foucauldian viewpoints and developments on the techniques, practices and rationalities of government have taken place in a context void of a full and detailed exploration of space/power relations and have shown little regard for spatial elements as a component of governmental thought (Crampton & Elden 2007). Space is fundamental to

power and the conduct of conducts and therefore “spatial and environmental causality can be examined as central elements in the thought of government” (Crampton & Elden 2007: 199).

The interaction between space and its inhabitants is central to the spatial rationalities of government. Osborne & Rose (1999) show how the city is instituted as a body of government in response to increasing ‘ungovernability’. Spaces, however, also contribute to creating, instituting and establishing certain subjects of government. Space can be utilised in government as an apparatus to realize certain outcomes and can comprise of the disciplinary use of space with the aim of producing passive, governable and useful subjects through control and segregation (as Foucault (1991) describes in *Discipline and Punishment*). Huxley (2007) sees space as productive; producing specific and preferred effects on both individuals and the larger population. We need to examine both the causal and productive influences of spaces in catalysing what are seen as appropriate conduct and subjectivities. This is crucial if we want to expand our understanding of the manner in which space features in the rationalities of government (Huxley 2007). Particular spaces and spatial arrangements, therefore, are intended to result in particular effects on the population (both on the social structures and the individuals) (Osborne & Rose 1999).

In Geography the work of Foucault is useful in that it understands space as “fundamental in any exercise of power” (Foucault 2002c: 361). Foucault sees power as productive in that it produces reality as well as territories of entities or objects (Foucault 1991). Space only exists because it is produced by power; power that is everywhere and comes from everywhere (Foucault 1978). Power is understood to determine space and an analysis and understanding of space opens up a better understanding of power. This is, however, a complex exercise. ‘Entanglements’ of control and opposition are played out in a number of spaces (Sharp, Routledge, Philo & Paddison 2000) and the setting out of space associates with the existence of power to carry out various undertakings and actions (Hirst 2000). Power requires space as a facilitator and catalyst to trigger its existence (Gribat 2010). Spaces can be earmarked for a number of different purposes including those of power, order and discipline and, in many cases, to manage the effects of social process (Osborne & Rose 2004).

3.5 GOVERNMENTALITY AND POWER

Foucault’s chief contribution to the study of politics has been re-thinking the basics of power and power relations. He sees power as productive and not merely repressive; it is not held by a particular

group or individual (i.e., it is not possessed or located), it occurs in action, frequently functions through technologies of the self, is relational and uses specific systems of knowledge (Gore 1995). As Philo (1992) and Ransom (1997) have pointed out, Foucault explicitly avoids offering a theory of power. He is quoted in Lotringer (1996: 360) as saying: “when I examine relationships of power, I create no theory of power. I examine how relationships of power interact”. Instead of developing a theory of power he develops analytical tools intended to assist in understanding various singularities. He developed the concept of ‘governmentality’ in order to provide a different way to conceive of power and move away from a focus on domination (Burchell, Gordon & Miller 1991). Foucault prefers to focus on how power is used, in what settings and with what impact. The effectiveness of implementing power, therefore, depends on the involvement of those who have the power exercised over them.

For Foucault (2006) power is seen not to be housed in a principal body, (for example, the State) but distributed throughout society. The State is seen to simply be a specific set of linkages through which power can be applied or implemented over other power relations that exist. Foucault (2006) sees power relations as changeable and unstable. For them to exist, there needs to be a degree of freedom on both sides of the relationship (Foucault 2000b). It is important to note that Foucault (2000b) speaks of power relations not in a master/slave manner but as a relationship (however brief or lasting) where one attempts to control the conduct of another. These power relations occur at varying levels, take diverse forms and are mobile. Foucault is quoted as saying: “power is relations; power is not a thing” (Lotringer & Hochroth 1997: 155).

In short, for Foucault (2000a), ideas of power are based on notions of power relations. He refers in his work on governmentality to an interaction or relationship that exists to control the conduct of another. This is a relationship that occurs at various levels, takes various forms and can be altered or transformed. It assumes that for power relations to operate there must be some point or form of freedom for both parties. The existence of this freedom makes both the opportunity and likelihood of resistance conceivable (Foucault 2000b: 291-292). One cannot separate relations of power and the possibility of resistance (Rose et al. 2006). The likelihood, therefore, of resistance or ‘counter-conduct’ is always present.

3.6 COUNTER-CONDUCT AND RESISTENCE

Foucault developed the idea of counter-conduct as part of his work on governmentality. He describes it as “the will not to be governed thusly, like that, by these people, at this price” (Foucault 2007b: 75). This does not, however, entail a complete or total rejection of government but a resistance against the processes employed for conducting others (Foucault 2007a). Counter-conduct is seen to be practices, techniques or technologies of a group or an individual to resist government conduct and/or mentalities. It aims to influence the society or system it is part of (Dean 2010). This includes the social environment, individual and group behaviour, livelihood activities and space where various ‘forces’ may have the ability to alter relationships and their outcomes (Gribat 2010). Counter-conduct is understood as the after-effect of power and power relations, the battle against the techniques and mentalities used to conduct behaviour or the conduct of others (both individuals and structured groupings) and as a form of governmentality itself (Foucault 2007a).

At the core of counter-conduct is the desire to be conducted differently, with other techniques and approaches and towards other objectives (Foucault 2007b). Foucault sees government and the counter-conduct it is opposed to as intimately related (2007a) and, therefore, does not involve a broad or complete rejection of government. Instead, counter-conduct uses the government’s own techniques against it while adopting a different/its own rationality. It generally emerges in relation to current governmental rationalities and is rarely based on suggesting radically different approaches (Gribat 2010). It is important to note though that these techniques and practices are generally taken on without consciously thinking about the rationalities and mentalities behind them. They can be adopted as practical solutions to problems faced, such as those brought on by state-led settlement upgrading. This reactive, informal and often unconscious counter-conduct is born out of a need for survival and self-governance.

Power restricts the ability of a group or set of individuals to various conducts and/or types of behaviour. In an effort to be conducted differently, new norms may be generated. Counter-conduct is seen to be both productive and malleable and can produce new norms, principles and ideals (Gribat 2010). Counter-conduct can both resist and fortify systems of power and regimes of government (Death 2010). The techniques, practices and different forms of conduct are constructed internally but can prompt the creation of various government practices and procedures that react in response to newly assembled conducts. Counter-conduct is closely linked to the systems of power it opposes. Practices of

government are therefore formed by and evolve through the method in which they are resisted (Death 2010). Structures of government are consequently always being produced, are ever evolving and under continual construction.

Resistance and counter-conduct generally exist at a small-scale/micro-level as opposed to taking on the form of a larger revolution or war. In other words it can take place in the in the disobedience and contestation of social norms or the disruption of the status quo (Kulynych 1997). Counter-conduct is developed in correlation to the conduct it is opposed to (Foucault 2007a) and can therefore be seen as an integral part of both government and governance. Assemblages of government or governance conduct can shift (particularly over times of elections and ‘floor-crossing’) and what is generally considered normal conduct can turn into counter-conduct (Foucault 2007a). Counter-conduct does not always aim to be counter-conduct (Gribat 2010). It can simply be an effort to manage a particular problem (such as a shortage of space or a disruption of social networks and livelihoods). It can be an effort made to govern, participate and find solutions (Death 2010). Just like structures of government, counter-conduct and resistance presumes systems of knowledge and acts to make them more concrete or real. It relies on these systems of knowledge to make them legitimate, real and valid (as Death (2010) suggests with regards to protests). These sets of knowledge are guided by rationalities of their own and are undertaken using varying techniques and practices (or governmentalities). Rationalities of governing direct the techniques and practices of those who govern and their conduct. This is the same for the techniques and practices of counter-conduct. These and other elements are often the subject and focus of governmentality studies.

3.7 CRITIQUES OF GOVERNMENTALITY AND GOVERNMENTALITY STUDIES

The work on governmentality and governmentality studies has been useful in a number of fields but has sparked some controversy and drawn critique (Kerr 1999; Lemke 2000). It has been heralded as a way to offer insight into the manner in which various modern-day authorities have pursued the shaping and regulating of society, but has been critiqued as being based on both "top-down" and dualist conceptions of power (Kerr 1999). Kerr (1999) points out that this conception of power “externalizes and marginalizes contradiction” (Kerr 1999: 173) leaving it unable to become a theory of transcendence but rather one of social reproduction (Kerr 1999). This section will provide an overview of some of the critiques of Foucault’s theory of governmentality.

One of the first criticisms is put forward by Lemke (2000), who finds Foucault's understanding of power lacking in structure and depth. He claims it has led to a flat ontology that remains at the surface level of power relations (Lemke 2000). The approach taken by Foucault towards power and power relations is seen to be top-down and one that down plays subjectivity, contradictions and struggle. Foucault's take on power, therefore, becomes what Kerr (1999) sees as a positive theory of social duplication rather than originality or beyond the norm. Kerr (1999) also argues that governmentality simply assumes and replicates top down origins of social reproduction and therefore gets rid of social subjectivity and suggest that society can never rid itself of power systems or governmentality. Kerr maintains that Foucault's work on governmentality is characterised by a lack of a notion of social stratification and hierarchy of structures of power. This is also reflected in Foucault's failure to accept the critical importance of the state in ordering the social domain (Kerr 1999; Lemke 2000). Kerr (1999) proposes that this has led to theoretical limitations in the use of governmentality which undermines its usefulness.

In analysing both governmentality and power, Foucault does not understand the state as a specific social form and separates state and government. The state is seen in a reduced form and as a generally vague institution (Kerr 1999). Dean (1994) defends Foucault on this matter, stating that this simply shows Foucault's anti-statism which acknowledges the central organising role of the state and questions the need for this role. This demonstrates an important limit in the work on governmentality and leaves critics asking why governmentality is necessary (Kerr 1999).

Kerr (1999) also critiques governmentality as appearing to be politically neutral with its object being an immaterial population which needs positive governing and where the state (negative) can be relegated. He (Kerr) sees the core problem within governmentality as a lack of knowledge, rather than that of contradiction (Kerr 1999). Kerr (1999) also finds governmentality abstract and without conceptual boundaries, which leads to various uncertainties. Rose sees the newest form of governmentality, neo-liberalism, as seeking to "degovernmentalise the state and to destatise practiced of government" (Rose 1996: 41). 'The social' has been transformed into government-constituted and commercial subjects who do not need the state and its link to negative power (Kerr 1999). What is seen to be required is impartial and positive government. Neo-liberalism is seen to provide a freedom based on the discipline of the market (Dean 1992), which we see has been unsuccessful, particularly in developing countries.

There are two types of critique of governmentality studies in the literature (Gribat 2010). Firstly it proposes that governmentality studies are inclined to disregard the ‘effects’ of government (O'Malley et al. 1997). Secondly, the critique is that rationalities and techniques/technologies of government are generally far messier than generally characterised (Valverde 1996; Stenson 1998). The O'Malley et al. (1997) critique is based on the inclination in governmentality studies to pay too much attention to rationalities and technologies and not enough to the difficulties of the ‘messy actualities’ of social interactions. A further criticism of governmentality studies themselves is the heavy attention paid to governmental rationalities. This creates an overly resolute and deterministic explanation of government as the ‘conduct of conducts’. Further, it fails to scrutinise sufficiently the struggles and contestations that solidify the uncertainties of government. Despite these criticisms, governmentality remains a useful theoretical base from which to work, especially within the context of informal settlement upgrading.

3.8 SUMMARY

Governmentality is concerned with the mentalities of government; how government is formulated, how it is problematised and what techniques and rationalities it uses. It seeks to understand how government works and what practices it employs in its governance process. Governmentality can be used as a critical tool to examine space and power (particularly in the context of the urban environment). Space can be used as a technique or technology of government in order to control and exercise power over individuals and populations. To focus on the relationships that are drawn between certain spaces and their subjects, means to look at spaces as certain vehicles to achieve particular effects. For all the useful elements of governmentality, however, it has been critiqued as lacking in its understanding of social stratification and the hierarchy of structures of power, as well as its failure to participate and engage with the complexities of lived experience.

The next chapter presents the approaches and methodologies used in this research. It discusses the main aims, objectives and research questions of the study and provides both the methodological basis and research design of this work. The primary and secondary data gathering process is presented along with the data analysis, strengths, weaknesses and ethical considerations of the research methodology.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY: INFORMAL SETTLEMENT UPGRADING, GOVERNMENTALITY AND WOMEN'S SOCIAL NETWORKS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter examined the concept of governmentality and the work of Foucault. In this chapter the methodologies, approaches and applications related to this study on informal settlement upgrading, governmentality and women's social networks in Makhaza and New Rest, are presented. This chapter begins by providing the methodological premise and research design. This is followed by a focus on the primary and secondary data-gathering process. The chapter then discusses the data analysis, strengths and weaknesses and ethical considerations of the research methodology.

4.2 METHODOLOGICAL PREMISE

The research was based on a number of methodological principles, including the use of inductive approaches, the use of grounded theory, ethnographic methodology, feminist social research and governmentality studies.

4.2.1 Inductive research

An inductive approach was used in this research. This begins with detailed observation and moves to abstract generalisations and ideas. As one observes, one refines the concepts and develops empirical generalisations as well as preliminary relationships. The theory is built from the ground up. As one researches further, one can expand the research focus and refine concepts, thereby generating empirical generalisations. Eventually a theory is developed (Neuman 2003). Duneier (1999) observed, in his research, that in much of social science, "(in) both quantitative secondary analysis research and qualitative field research, a researcher develops a theoretical understanding only after the data have been collected" (Neuman 2003: 51). Most researchers who adopt this approach use grounded theory.

4.2.2 Grounded theory

Grounded theory forms part of an inductive approach whereby researchers develop ideas and theoretical generalisations through the creative examining of the data. Theory is developed from data or, in other words, grounded in data. Duneier (1999) sees it as similar to the medical practice of

observing many symptoms and then arriving at a diagnosis. Grounded theory is widely used in qualitative research. It is “a qualitative research method that uses a systematic set of procedures to develop an inductively derived theory about a phenomenon” (Strauss & Corbin 1990: 24). Grounded theory’s function is to build theory that concurs with the evidence and it is a method for developing new theory. The researcher sees micro-level evidence as the building blocks for more macro-level explanations (Neuman 2003). Grounded theory shares similarities with positivist oriented theory. The usefulness of grounded theory is that it allows qualitative research to be more flexible and allows data and theory to interrelate. Grounded theory formed the basis of this research.

4.2.3 Ethnographic research

This research uses ethnographic methodology in its investigation. Ethnography can be viewed as the study of groups of people and their conduct, through participation in their lives and everyday experiences (Neuman 2003). Through the attempt to understand how people both cope with and resist structural constraints and complexities in their everyday lived experiences, postmodern ethnography shows elements of and highlights the questions of power and resistance (Smith 1992). Ethnographic research seeks to understand the lives of people, paying particular attention to past experiences, history, culture, beliefs and spatial elements (Smith 1992). Ethnomethodology, which stems from ethnography, places particular importance on participation, observation, contextualisation and the interpretation by communities, of their situations and experiences (Neuman 2003). This, therefore, places an emphasis on the use of storytelling and narrative methods within the research.

4.2.4 Feminist social research

The emphasis on women and their social networks, in this research, requires a focus on the use of feminist methodologies. Feminist studies are known to have a wide critique of positivism, offering alternatives that focus on interpretive and critical social science (Neuman 2003). Feminists tend to see positivism as a male perspective that is objective, logical and task focused and tends to reflect a male emphasis on individuality, competition, control and domination. Feminist research sees the world as an interconnected web of human relations with people linked together in communities. Feminist research methodology is focused on trust and mutual cooperation and is process-oriented, inclusive and action-oriented (Neuman 2003). Characteristics of feminist social research are: advocacy of female values, position and perspective, sensitivity towards gender, control and power and the rejection of sexist

assumptions and concepts. Feminist researchers interact and collaborate with those they study (Neuman 2003).

4.2.5 Governmentality studies

The study of governmentality encompasses the identification and analysis of practices, techniques and programmes that aim to form, lead and govern behaviour, as well as the design and technologies used for managing and directing the general population (Crampton & Elden 2007). Such studies also focus on the aims, mentalities and rationalities that are used to steer conduct. These mentalities or rationalities of government are framed within “regimes of truth” which inform the thought concealed in projects and programmes of rule (Crampton & Elden 2007: 187). Governmentality studies understand government as technical and focus on the various techniques and mechanisms used to govern. “These concepts emphasize the practical features of government which might include the division of space, kinds of quantitative and qualitative calculation, types of training and so on” (Dean 1999: 212). In governmentality studies, researchers and scholars are encouraged to analyse how various concepts and ways of seeing particular processes are established. In other words, how they emerge as recognised and accepted forms of knowing, being and acting on their context (Gribat 2010).

4.3 CASE STUDIES

Case studies are a rich and empirical description of a particular instance that is typically based on a variety of data sources (Yin 1994). The core notion in the use of case studies is the basis from which to develop theory inductively (Eisenhardt & Graebner 2007). Since it is a theory-building approach that is well-embedded in rich empirical data, building theory from case studies is likely to produce theory that is accurate, interesting, and testable (Eisenhardt & Graebner 2007). This research made use of two case studies: Makhaza (in Khayelitsha) and New Rest (in Gugulethu) within the City of Cape Town (shown in Figures 4.1, 4.2, 4.3).

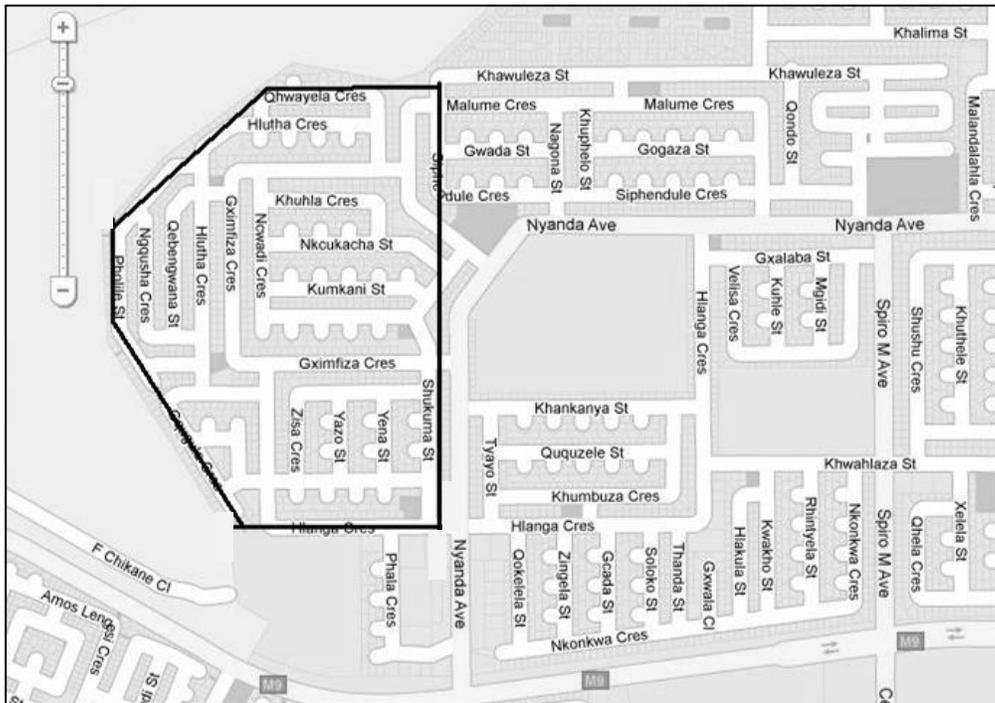


Figure 4.3. Map of Makhaza research area (Google Maps 2011)

A number of settlements in the area could have been used as case studies. The two study areas were chosen specifically for the following reasons:

- The women in these study areas were originally part of the settlements that were upgraded *in situ* during the past seven years.
- The women in these study areas have remained in the same geographical location (as the previous informal settlement) but have been moved into a formal setting.
- Women living within these areas have knowledge and ethnographic timelines of the changes from the informal to the formal set up.
- The informal settlement upgrading has been state-led (by the City of Cape Town) and not as part of a public-private partnership or independent special project (such as those lead by Slum Dwellers International (SDI) and Community Organisation Resource Centre (CORC)).

Two case studies were used in this research to create more robust theory. These case studies were not used comparatively, but as examples that ground the diagnostic. The propositions are more deeply grounded in varied empirical evidence and constructs and relationships are more accurately delineated (Eisenhardt & Graebner 2007). Particular focus was placed on women and their social networks and

how they use these networks to assist in the acquisition of economic capital through small businesses and savings schemes. This is of particular interest as many informal settlement households are headed up by women, with men making up much of the migrant labour force. More women are also beneficiaries of formal housing through their status as heads of some households and are often the more 'permanent' residents of informal settlements.

Turner (1967) argued that each individual and household had different priorities and needs and was made up of a uniform system with traditional, adult-headed-households consisting of a husband and wife (the husband was usually the bread winner). This is no longer the case (as shown in Beall 1996 and Hassan 1999). Economic needs (and in South Africa, the political climate) have resulted in the split of dual-adult-households with one member (usually the man) migrating to urban areas to seek work (Datta 1996 & Miraftab 1997). Traditional gender roles no longer feature as strongly in households and single, female-headed-households have become prevalent. This has also occurred because of the prevalence of the HIV/Aids pandemic and the resultant increase in orphans. Female-headed-households have become a common feature of the urban landscape particularly in informal settlements. In South Africa the number of female-headed-households has grown from 37,8% in 1996 to 41,9% in 2001 (Statistics South Africa 1998; Statistics South Africa 2001).

Women are also often already operating within social networks in informal settlements. These women sustain their livelihoods through their social networks which allow them gateway access to economic activities such as informal trading. However, a small sample of men was also included in the research process, because the temporally and spatially specific relations between men and women are a crucial part of understanding women's networks and the effect the upgrading has had on them. It is also crucial to understand the (govern) mentality within these networks and how this (govern) mentality is affected by gender divisions and the role men play in the society of these settlements.

The case study approach adopted the principles of grounded theory. This sought to generate theory from the data, rather than begin with a predetermined theoretical framework. The case study undertaken, used an iterative research process where the data collection frequently overlaps data analysis. In order to develop theory that is empirically grounded, an inductive methodology was selected. In this case study, analytical induction was chosen as it accommodated existing theories. This enabled the process of going back and forth between data collection and theory generation. A sector

case study approach was selected for this study. It ensured a diversity of practices and contexts and thus increased the potential for the strength of the theory induced from the results.

The research accepts that knowledge about the topic is incomplete and the outcome of the study is not absolute. In this research the focus was placed on empirical research which is nomothetic, in other words generalising in order to arrive at an informed conclusion. This conclusion would, in essence, generally hold true in research of other similar case studies. The research used a mixed methods approach (gathering quantitative and qualitative data), understanding the complexities of this process as discussed in Johnson & Onwuegbuzie (2004). The research used case studies with multiple survey techniques. This was done in order to triangulate the data gathered and build on the internal validity of the research findings. The research was based on the descriptive approach to case studies, i.e. what took place and why?

4.4 SAMPLING

Townships are hierarchical and guarded by nature. They are led by community leaders who are chosen by those within the community and anyone who wishes to engage with the community, must first engage with these leaders. These leaders settle disputes, manage interpersonal relationships and act as a go-between for local councillors, City officials, ‘outsiders’ and the community. Local community leaders are chosen to represent women, the youth and men, through an informal process. It was crucial therefore that the case study areas were approached in a very specific and case-sensitive way. Community leaders had to first be consulted before the women of New Rest and Makhaza could be approached to participate in the research. The research assistants had access to some of these community leaders in the two settlements through prior interactions on other projects. They were introduced to the other leaders and then introduced me and this research.

Community leaders opened the participation opportunity to the women in the community through their informal communication structures, asking if women would be willing to talk about their experiences in the upgraded settlements during a Saturday morning workshop. Women who wished to be involved in the workshop came forward, adding their names to a contact list. It was mentioned that lunch and childcare would be provided for the Saturday morning (catering was arranged through women in the settlement). It was mentioned that they may be asked to participate in a longer individual interview at a later stage. Women who wished to participate, had to have been part of the previous informal

settlement (before it was upgraded *in situ*) and needed to be willing to speak about their lives in their new upgraded settlement. Participants at the Saturday morning (neighbourhood mapping) workshop filled out a registration form. These registration forms were then used later in the study, to randomly select and contact participants for the individual semi-structured interviews. Part of the semi-structured interview process was to ask them if there were any other people they suggested I speak with.

The government and institutional interviews and the interviews with community leaders, nongovernmental and community-based organisations, were all undertaken using a snowball sampling technique. This multi-stage technique requires referrals to be made by those interviewed. These referrals are then interviewed and further recommendations sought (Neuman 2003). Snowball sampling fits well with the notion of social networks and the inter-linkages between different individuals and groups. By one person referring me to another, I could already see a network that had formed. Everyone is linked by either a formal or informal/direct or indirect linkage or connection.

4.5 THE PRIMARY RESEARCH

The primary research took place between May 2011 and January 2013, in New Rest and Makhaza, Cape Town. The research made use of Neighbourhood Social Mapping methodology, Social Network Analysis and Semi-structured interviews to gather data.

4.5.1 Neighbourhood social mapping

A social mapping process was carried out with women and men in the communities (Table 4.1). This included the interactive mapping of social processes, land marks and interaction within the communities. Social mapping involves asking people to plot how they see their 'space' (including its boundaries). This social mapping process included the interactive mapping of social networks, processes, landmarks and social interaction within the communities. This methodology allowed for the collection of qualitative data, whilst engaging a limited number of people in an informal group discussion. This was designed as a flexible and fluid process and assisted in highlighting issues not previously considered by the researcher in the methodology design process. Participants were able to interact as a group, discuss and debate key elements and issues of their community, settlement and space.

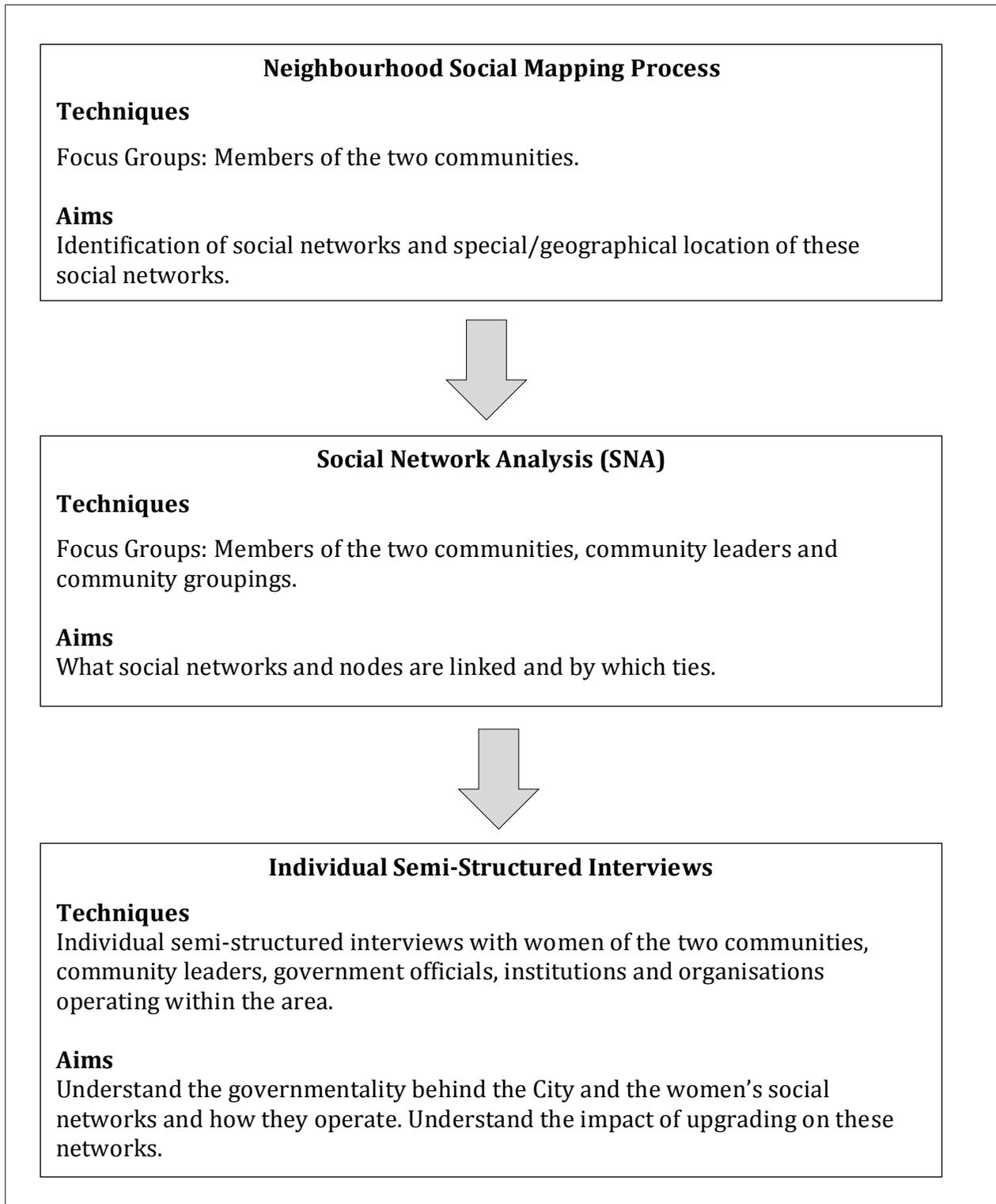


Figure 4.4. The research framework (own design)

Community leaders were approached in each settlement (as is the due protocol when wanting to conduct research in these areas) through the research assistants. Community leaders forwarded the participation opportunity on to women in the community. Women who wished to be part of the workshop added their names to a contact list. Women were assured that lunch and childcare would be provided for the Saturday morning workshop. Three research assistants helped with the workshops (two isiXhosa speaking (one male and one female) and one English speaking research assistant (male)). They were briefed ahead of the workshops.

Table 4.1. Neighbourhood social mapping process (own design)

1	- Approaching community leaders and mapping out the boundaries of the research area in the settlements - Identification of participants through the help of community leaders
2	- Briefing of research assistants
3	- Workshops held with women and men in the community (one Saturday morning for each settlement) (Register taken)
4	- Questionnaires with women participants and informal discussion over a meal at the end of the workshops
5	- Interviewing of research assistants to find out what observations they made and what qualitative data they gathered during informal discussions at the workshops

The two, isiXhosa speaking, research assistants had experience working within the chosen settlements. This assisted in the ‘trust’ element when conducting the research. The research assistants helped in piloting the questionnaire used in the workshops and designing the agenda for the workshops. Figures 4.5 and 4.6 show scenes from the Neighbourhood Social mapping process. One, three-hour workshop, was held on a Saturday morning in each settlement, at a venue recommended by the community leaders.



Figure 4.5. Women conducting their Neighbourhood Social Mapping (Maguire 2011)



Figure 4.6. Research assistant with the women at the workshop (Maguire 2011)

Both men and women were invited to the workshops. Thirty-eight people attended the workshop in New Rest and twenty-three people attended the Makhaza workshop (sixty-one people in total). One does not want to assume that only women know about women's social networks, which is why both women and men were invited. It should, however, be noted, that more women than men attended the workshop in each of the settlements.

The workshops began with a welcome and introductions. A register was taken of those attending, including addresses, telephone number, age, gender and marital status. The purpose of the research and the use of the collected data were explained to the participants and the agenda for the workshops was set out. The women and men were separated into smaller groups. Men and women were split into different rooms at the venues. This was done to ensure that women and men felt free to speak about various elements on their maps and were not influenced by each other.

The participants were given instructions as to what they should do. It was decided that blank pieces of paper would be provided to each group and not large map printouts. This was done so that the participants were free to place, spatially, their networks and their neighbourhood free of already mapped boundaries. The participants were allowed to draw their neighbourhood to their own scale and orientation, using their own symbols and words. They wrote in their home language, isiXhosa, which was then translated with the help of the research assistants. An example map was shown at the start of the workshops so that people could see what was envisaged. The workshop's venue was only marked off on the participants' maps, after the mapping process. This was done in order to see what the community places as central to their map and community.

One of the first steps was to assess how members of communities themselves define their space (was it the geographical area the community occupied and used, the separate ward set out by the City, etc.). In other words, what were their boundaries? They set up their own boundaries on their maps (including roads). The participant groups were asked to map the following elements of their community space on their paper/maps:

- Areas of celebration, gathering, meetings and ritual (and what these celebration, gathering, meetings and ritual are, for example, initiation ceremonies, church gatherings, etc.).
- Areas where social groupings meet and what these social groups are (e.g. sewing groups, stokvels, etc.). These could include open spaces.
- People's houses in relation to each other (particularly friends and acquaintances).
- Roads and transport networks (to show access to the settlement and mobility within the settlement).



Figure 4.8. Example of a completed neighbourhood map from New Rest (Maguire 2011)

The groups then each presented their maps to me and the research assistants, which enabled them to explain some of their mapping in more detail. Further notes were made on the maps as the participants presented their work. With the assistance of the participants, I oriented each group's map according to the cardinal points (North, South, East and West). I also marked on the maps whether the group was a men's or a women's group. It was found, in the first workshop (with the Makhaza settlement), that giving the groups coloured crayons to use distracted from the mapping process (focusing on appearance rather than content). In the second workshop (in New Rest), the groups were simply given two coloured markers and not the full set of coloured crayons. The central objectives of developing these maps were to identify social networks and the spatial and geographical location of the networks. Having the social networks visually mapped out was helpful in understanding their importance and location in the settlement. These maps also provided broad categories around which I could then both gather and base further qualitative and quantitative research and data.

A short questionnaire process was undertaken with women participants at the end of the workshops (over a lunch time meal). Only women were interviewed because this research is interested in the effect

of the upgrading on women and elements of their social networks. Twenty-two women were interviewed at New Rest and eighteen at the Makhaza workshop (forty questionnaires in total). Participants were made aware that the questionnaire was anonymous and would be used for the research process only. The research assistants asked the questions of the participants and then wrote down their answers on the questionnaire. This was because the literacy rate of the group was known to be low. There were also opportunities given for the interviewee to give any other comments or make any other contributions on issues that may not have been included in the questionnaire.

A pilot questionnaire was developed from the research questions and information gathered in the literature review. Two types of survey data were used. These included data which related to the behaviour of people and data that relates to the opinions and attitudes of people (this data does have the limitations of bias and patterned responses to certain issues as well as possible insincerity). Both open and closed-ended questions were included in the questionnaire (see Addendum 1 for an example of the questionnaire).

Informal discussions were also held over the lunch time meal at the end of the workshops. Observations and comments from these conversations were noted by the research assistants and results have been included in Chapter 5 and 6. Three days after each workshop I interviewed the research assistants to find out what observations they had made and what qualitative data they gathered during informal discussions at the workshops (see Addendum 2). These have been included in the results. I also asked them what they felt worked and did not work, logistically and methodologically. Each research assistant was asked to write a short report on their experiences. One of the main points that came out of these reports was that splitting the women into smaller groups made for faster map making and maps with a higher level of overall detail. Limiting the groups to one or two colours also ensured the group focused on the content of the maps rather than the appearance. It was also beneficial to get each group to present their maps to the wider group to clarify areas of possible misunderstanding. Lastly, splitting the men and women into separate groups and providing them with separate rooms, allowed both groups to relax and be themselves.

4.5.2 Social Network Analysis

This research used the technique of Social Network Analysis (SNA) in its methodology (data gathering and analysis), guided by the theory of governmentality, to investigate the effect of informal settlement

upgrading on women's social networks. A social network is a social structure made up of individuals (or organizations) called 'nodes'. These are tied or connected by one or more specific types of interdependencies (Liu & Besser 2003). These can include: friendship, kinship, financial exchange, or relationships of beliefs or knowledge. The nodes to which a social structure is connected, are the social contacts of that structure. Social networks function on a number of levels. These can include family units, communities and even entire nations. They are essential in determining the manner in which problems are managed and solved, communities are organised and the extent to which individuals accomplish their objectives.

People have loosely used the idea of 'social networks' for a number of years to denote complex sets of relationships between members of social systems at various scales (Freeman 2002). Research has shown that social networks operate on many different levels, from families up to the level of nations. They play a critical role in determining the way problems are solved, organisations are run, and the degree to which individuals succeed in achieving goals. The social network can also be used to measure social capital (that is, the value that an individual gets from the social network) (Coleman 1988). These concepts are often displayed in a social network diagram (Figure 4.9) where nodes are the points and ties are the lines.

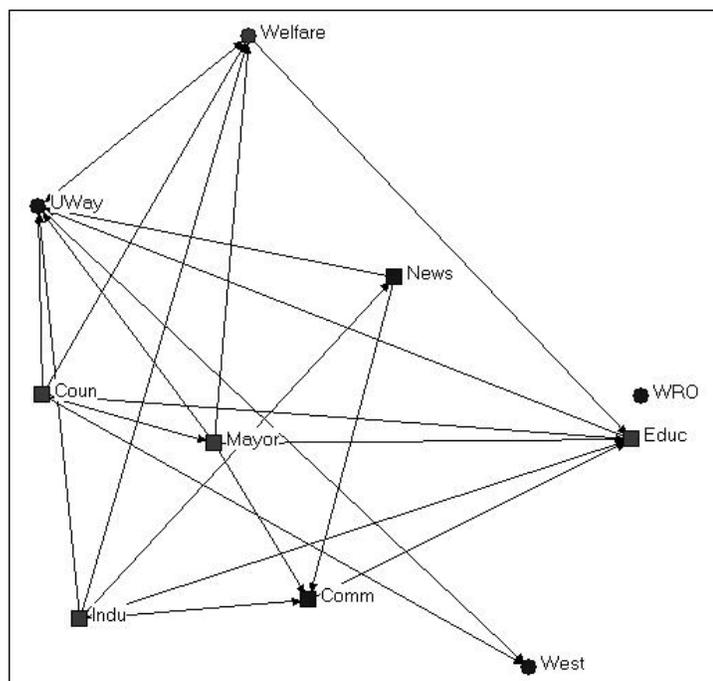


Figure 4.9. An example of a social network analysis mapping process (Hanneman & Riddle 2013)

Nodes are the individual actors within the networks, the ties are the relationships between the actors. SNA has moved from being a suggestive metaphor to an analytical approach to a paradigm, with its own theoretical statements, methods, social network analysis software, and researchers. SNA researchers generally study whole networks, all of the ties containing specified relations in a defined population, or personal networks (Wellman & Berkowitz 1988). SNA focuses on the structure of relationships. It maps and measures both formal and informal relationships in order to understand the flow of knowledge and communication (Wellman & Berkowitz 1988; Hansen & Reese 2009). This process promotes a participatory and interpretative approach to describing and analysing social networks (Serrat 2009). Because of the focus of SNA, it makes an ideal complement to the theoretical underpinning of this research, i.e. governmentality. A hybrid network process was used which is valuable for examining whole or complete networks that are expected to include important players beyond those who are formally identified.

In order to make sense of networks and their members, it is necessary to assess the location of actors in the network. It is also critical to gain insight into the various roles and groupings in the network (who are the connectors, leaders, bridges, who is on the edges) and understand where the social clusters are, who is in them, why they are there, who is the core of the network, and who is side-lined? Social Network Analysis is an investigative approach to a hypothesis or paradigm. It has its own theoretical statements, discourse and methodology. There are two types of social networks. Whole or complete networks look at all ties contained in the network and specified relations in the identified population (Wellman & Berkowitz 1988). Personal networks (or egocentric networks) focus on ties that specific people have, for example their personal neighbourhoods or communities (Wellman & Berkowitz 1988). The difference between these two networks is largely dependent on how the researcher was able to gather data.

The strength of Social Network Analysis is that it treats individuals, organisations, and communities as distinct elements of analysis and centres on how the structure of ties affects individuals, communities and their relationships. Social Network Analysis investigates the degree to which the construction and arrangement of ties affect norms in micro and macro processes. The structure of the social network assists in understanding the network's usefulness to the individual. A number of loose connections, open networks and fragile or weak ties to individuals or organisations outside the main network, prove more useful to the individual. They can be expected to initiate new ideas and opportunities to their

members (Scott 1991). A grouping of individuals with links to other social networks and worlds are more likely to have contact with a wider variety and choice of information. The individual is more likely to succeed if she/he has links to a number of other networks rather, than a number of connections to a single network. Individuals can also use their influence or operate as brokers within their social networks, through the bridging of two networks not directly linked (Scott 1991).

The usefulness of Social Network Analysis comes from its distinction from traditional social scientific studies, which presume that it is the characteristics of the individuals that are important. Social Network Analysis provides a different perspective, where the characteristics of the individual are not as important as their connections and ties with other actors in the network (Wasserman & Faust 1994). This advance is useful in explaining many real-world experiences but leaves little space for individual organisation or the ability to control their own success because so much rests within the make-up of their network (Wasserman & Faust 1994).

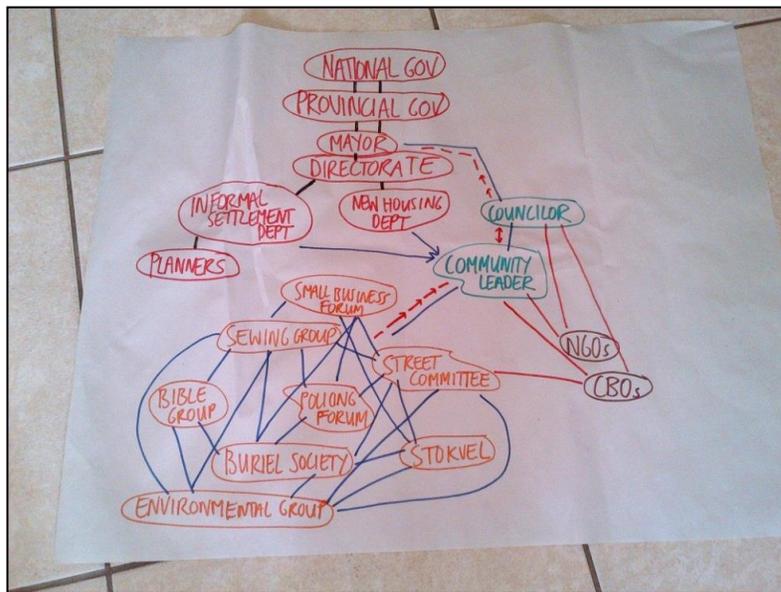


Figure 4.10. Social Network Analysis done with the Makhaza focus group (Massey 2011)

Using focus groups (seven women in New Rest and ten women in Makhaza), a social network analysis was undertaken. Those involved in the focus groups were women involved in various social and community initiatives in the settlements (such as stokvels/savings groups, burial societies, Bible and church groups and food garden groups) The social networks identified during the Neighbourhood

Social Mapping process were placed on large pieces of blank paper. The ties between these networks/nodes were then drawn on the papers linking the lines of communication and interaction (shown in Figure 4.10). The focus group format assisted in collecting data in small groups, an informal setting and focused on a particular topic. Group interaction, deliberations and discussions, assisted in uncovering veiled information.

A number of debates have focused on how researchers and research assistants gain access to specific viewpoints and information (Herod 1999). My position as a young, white woman, became a hindrance in accessing the tightly-knit local women's community and their community groups. I therefore asked my black female research assistant to introduce me to the various women's groups and the community as a whole. She assisted with the semi-structured interviews and data gathering.

4.5.3 Semi-structured interviews

Women who attended the Saturday morning (neighbourhood mapping) workshops completed a registration form. These registration forms were used to randomly select and contact participants for the individual, semi-structured interviews. The women were asked if they were willing to participate in a lengthier interview. They were interviewed at their homes in the settlements and conversations were held in isiXhosa and translated through a research assistant. The interviews were semi-structured, using open-ended questions to guide the conversations. Questions were guided by the research questions and objectives of this research (see the Addendum 3 for an example of the questionnaire). Some of the same questions asked in the questionnaire at the mapping workshops, were used in the semi-structured interviews to ensure verification of answers. Twenty women in New Rest and twenty-three women in Makhaza were interviewed (forty-three interviews in total).

In-depth interviews were also held with various directors and programme managers of the City of Cape Town Housing Directorate (one from each of the following Departments: Informal Settlements (Director and Manager); New Housing, Existing Housing and Land and Forward Planning) and the Anti-Land Invasion Unit. Interviews were also held with a representative from each of the following Community-based Organisations (CBOs) and Non-governmental Organisations (NGOs): the Western Cape Anti-eviction Campaign, Abahlali baseMjondolo, the Social Justice Coalition, the Isandla Institute, Slum Dwellers International (SDI), Community Organization Resource Centre (COURC), the Environmental Monitoring Group (EMG), The Informal Settlements Network, The Mandela Park

Backyarders Association and the Mitchell's Plain Backyarders Association. Interviews were recorded on a Dictaphone, with the permission of the interviewee, and were held at people's places of work/operation. Again the interviews were semi-structured, using open-ended questions to guide the conversations (see the Addendum 5 for an example of the questionnaire). Questions were again guided by the research questions and objectives of this research. Sixteen people were interviewed in total.

The semi-structured interviews were useful in making sense of behaviour without mandating categorisation which would limit the scope of inquiry. The interviews were relatively informal taking on the format of face-to-face discussion at their homes and/or places of work. Burgess describes this technique as "conversations with a purpose" (Burgess 1984: 102). This methodology is a useful way of getting to grips with people's constructs, mentalities, perceptions and definitions of situations and realities. Research interviews are seen to provide distinctive empirical data and understanding and can be compared to the empirical data gathered from other sources. Interviews were also used, to a limited extent, to gain a better understanding of the lived experience of the people living in the settlements.

Semi-structured interviews were used to verify and corroborate claims made in the neighbourhood social mapping process, questionnaire procedure and the social network analysis as well as those made during the literature review and initial secondary data gathering. The semi-structured interviews were mainly used to gather qualitative data and understand perceptions, experiences, behaviour and the meanings people attribute to these. The semi-structured interviews also assisted in understanding people's insights, definitions, their constructions of reality and perceptions of truth.

4.5.4 Transect walks and observational studies

Transect walks were undertaken with women from the community and community leaders. This involved walking with and talking to the women and leaders as they moved through their spaces, observing how their understandings and the shaping of their community is formed and informed through their interactions, movements and relationships. Photographic and note-based records were kept of these transect walks.

4.6 THE GATHERING OF SECONDARY DATA

Secondary data played an important role in guiding the geography of the topic and showed the current understanding of various issues. It revealed what the area of study was like in the past in relation to the

present and showed actual and potential relationship between variables. It provided the context into which the primary data fitted and provided an overlap in types of contexts (economic, social, historical, political and geographical) (Clark 1997). Using the secondary data in a comparative context was useful in understanding the spatial, historical and social differences and trends. Secondary data was gathered from local community groups, the City of Cape Town, local councils, community leaders and studies done in the area. The historical records of the upgrading process were obtained from the City of Cape Town and NGOs. Data was also collected from local non-governmental organisations and community based organisations based in, or operating within, the area.

The strength of this form of research is that it is often more easily found and more quickly gathered, than primary data, it provides contextual material, it is more often than not of proven quality and it is reliable (Clark 1997). However, the data can be inflexible and often cannot be customised to the study. The quality is sometimes unverifiable as it is not always replicable. The secondary data is used in conjunction with the primary data gathered to assist in validating and analysing the research results.

4.7 DATA ANALYSIS

Foucault sees discourse as a range of statements formed by the same structure and as a “theoretically informed framework that investigates the rules about the production of knowledge through language (meanings) and its influence over what we do (practice)” (Waitt 2005: 164). Every community has its own system or regime of truth which is reproduced in order to organise society. These are communicated by those authorised to do so and therefore either produce or reproduce power relationships (and truth). Within governmentality studies, an analysis of discourse is critical to understanding various rationalities, particularly those of government. Discourse is not seen to be independent from practice but shaped by it (Gribat 2010: 88). The discourse analysis in this research is therefore related to the theoretical underpinning of this thesis.

4.8 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Voluntary, informed consent was critical to the research process. It ensured that participants knew they were free to participate, to decline participation, or to withdraw from the research at any point. Participants were told that all information would be kept anonymous and confidential. The nature of informal settlements is complex and often politically sensitive. This was understood and carefully negotiated in the research process. Before undertaking the primary research, local leadership

representatives were contacted and the proposed research process and use of the research, was presented. The purpose of the research was explained at the beginning of the focus groups and stakeholder interviews. It was explained that the extent of participation would be entirely determined by the research participant and all questions were voluntary. Permission was asked before photographs were taken. Ethical clearance was obtained from Stellenbosch University prior to undertaking the research.

4.9 STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES

Interviews and focus groups research was done on location, with community leaders and research assistants who were known to the community. The research was undertaken in a participatory process which was particularly effective in this context. The flexibility of the methodology and research process (between stages), was another strength which allowed for the validation of data and methodology techniques.

Pitfalls were avoided in this research through the use of various methods such as personal involvement in the community, carefully-structured questions during semi-structured interviews and focus groups, confidentiality guarantees and the use of both written and recording techniques to ensure that a fair representation of what informants said during interviews was given. Information was cross-checked and information from interviews was backed up by information gathered during observational studies, transect walks and through secondary information gathered. The secondary information was also verified through the primary research. There were certain language limitations as the majority of the community members spoke isiXhosa as their primary language and only limited English. To counter this, interpretation was used but some nuances of expression, tone and other language elements were not always captured. These, however, did not significantly impact on the research findings.

4.10 SUMMARY

The chapter examined the methodologies, approaches and applications related to this study on informal settlement upgrading, governmentality and women's social networks in Makhaza and New Rest. The chapter spelt out the methodological premise and research design process as well as the primary data collection which involved a Neighbourhood Social Mapping exercises in each settlement, a Social Network Analysis and semi-structured Interviews. The use of secondary data was also discussed as

well as the analysis and interpretation of data. The chapter closed with the ethical considerations of the research methodology and its strengths and weaknesses.

Chapter 5 provides the results and discussion of the data from the primary and secondary research. It begins by providing an overview of the history and demographics of the case study areas. It then presents findings from the governmentality study of the City of Cape Town and the women's social networks showing the techniques, practices and rationalities used by each, under the upgrading of the informal settlement to a formal one. Chapter 5 also presents the findings on the interactions between these two governmentalities and discusses the dynamics of this relationship. The chapter closes with a summary of the key discoveries made in this component of the research.

CHAPTER 5

GOVERNMENTALITY AND THE UPGRADING OF MAKHAZA AND NEW REST: RATIONALITIES, TECHNIQUES AND CONFLICTS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents and discusses results from the section of primary and secondary research and data gathering process that focused on the City of Cape Town's governmentality (rationalities, practices and techniques) in the upgrading process of Makhaza and New Rest, the governmentality of the women's social networks in Makhaza and New Rest and how these governmentalities interact in the upgrading of these two areas. The first section provides an overview of the history and demographics of Khayelitsha (including Makhaza) and Gugulethu (together with New Rest). The second segment of the chapter delivers results on techniques and the practices of the City of Cape Town (hereafter referred to as 'the City') in the upgrading process as well as presenting the rationalities behind these practices. The research shows that the City has a rigid, neo-liberal, economically based and technocratic set of rationalities, techniques and practices in its approach to formalisation. The governmentality of the women's social networks is also presented and discussed. This governmentality is more organic, flexible, traditional and informal. The research clearly illustrates that the governmentality of the women's social networks and that of the City's Housing Department differ. This differing governmentality is unpacked and discussed in full, making reference to key literature and theoretical debates. The chapter closes with a summary of the main findings of this part of the research component.

5.2 MAKHAZA AND NEW REST

This section provides an overview of the history and demographic data for Khayelitsha, where Makhaza is located, and Gugulethu, where one finds the settlement of New Rest. These are the two case studies used in this research.

5.2.1 Makhaza and Khayelitsha

The first Group Areas were declared in Cape Town in 1957, under the Group Areas Act of 1950 (Saff 1998). By the middle of the 1980s Cape Town had become one of the most segregated cities in South Africa forcing the settlement of the black population into pockets on its outskirts (Saff 1998). After

pass laws were scrapped in 1987, large numbers of black people moved into areas around Cape Town and joined many who were already illegally settled in the Nyanga, KTC and Crossroads townships. During 1982 and 1983, the United Democratic Front (UDF) launched a campaign against official policing policy (in which shacks were destroyed) and mobilised against government efforts to drive informal settlement to the margins of the city (Cross 2005). Between 1985 and 1990, attempts were made by the apartheid government to try and concentrate the informal population of Cape Town in Khayelitsha (Cross 2005). Large numbers of people were forcefully, and often violently, removed and relocated in this area.

Khayelitsha is now made up of both old and new informal and formal areas. The apartheid government built the old formal areas of Bongweni, Ikwezi Park, Khulani Park, Khanya Park, Tembani, Zolani Park, etc., which house middle-class/upper working class black populations. Newer spaces have been developed around these areas and include Site B, Site C, Mandela Park, Makhaza and Harare. These areas are made up of numerous informal settlements, state-subsidised houses, and informal backyard shacks. Makhaza itself was upgraded from an informal settlement to a formal one by the City of Cape Town in a phased approach over six years ago. Limited public participation took place and community liaison staff were allocated to the area. Houses consist of a two bedroom structure with an open plan lounge and kitchenette. Basic services such as water and electricity have been provided to each house. Many of these houses were badly built and have needed constant repair. Many homes did not receive ceilings or were not completed in other ways and have been situated close to one another. Basic street lighting and roads have been provided. The roads, however, are poorly built, not maintained and have poor drainage systems.

Makhaza is part of Ward 96 in Khayelitsha. The population of this ward in 2011 was 26 834. This is an increase of 22% since 2001. Statistics South Africa (2011) defines a household as a group of persons who live together, and jointly provide for themselves (this includes food or other essentials for living). A household can also include a single person who lives alone (Statistics South Africa 2011). The number of households identified in the 2011 census, was 7 492. This is an increase of 35% since 2001. The average household size, however, has declined from 3.95 to 3.58 in the last 10 years (City of Cape Town 2012). The population in this ward is predominantly Black African (97%) with 35% of those aged 20 years and older, having completed Grade 12 or higher. Of the 7 492 households present in this Ward 43%, live in formal dwellings (City of Cape Town 2012). 49.1% of the population is male and

50.9% of the population is female. The age profile of the male and female residents is shown in Figure 5.1.

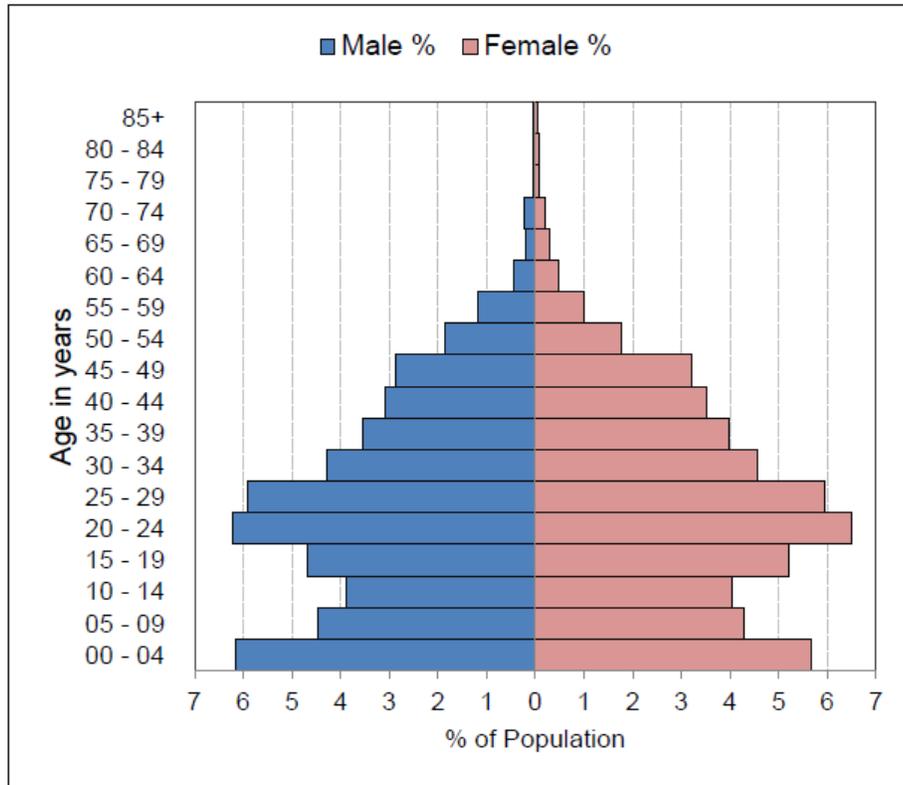


Figure 5.1. Age profile of the male and female residents in Ward 96 (City of Cape Town 2012)

Table 5.1. Economic profile for Ward 96 (City of Cape Town 2012)

Ward 96 – Labour Force	
Population aged 15 to 64 years	18 845
Labour Force	11 284
Employed	7 026
Unemployed	4 258
Unemployment rate	37.73%
Labour force participation rate	59.88%

According to the research, a number of residents have their own businesses such as day-care centres, catering businesses, small shops and hair salons. 62% of the labour force (aged 15 to 64) is employed (shown in Table 5.1) and 74% of households have a monthly income of R3 200 or less (City of Cape Town 2012). According to the research, a number of women rely on social grants and the pensions of their elderly parents to supplement their incomes.

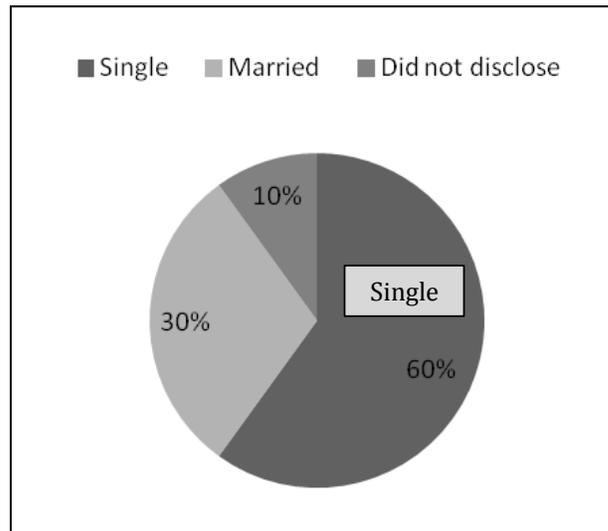


Figure 5.2. Marital status of women interviewed in Makhaza (gathered data 2011)

As shown in Figure 5.2, 60% of the women interviewed in Makhaza are single. Most have at least one child in their care and have members of their extended family (elderly parents, sisters and aunts) living with them. They also support these family members financially. The average number of years that residents interviewed had lived in the area, was eighteen (gathered data 2011).

5.2.2 New Rest and Gugulethu

Gugulethu was established in the 1960s to accommodate the overcrowding in nearby Langa. Langa was the only black residential area for Cape Town at the time. The apartheid government dictated that black South Africans were not permitted to live in Cape Town's city centre and surrounds. People were removed from areas such as District Six and moved to Gugulethu, Nyanga and Langa. The land on which New Rest is situated is a rehabilitated land fill site. The area was a buffer zone during the apartheid era and was used to dump municipal waste and building rubble. After the dismantling of apartheid, the area was invaded by those seeking shelter.

The new settlement was established beginning at the eastern perimeters and as the community grew, it moved rapidly onto the poorly drained land filled with waste materials (Adlard 2006). Ironically, more dumping was encouraged by residents to raise the land above the water table. Pit latrines were dug by residents, however, this was a difficult task and it was impossible to isolate the contents of these latrines (Adlard 2006). After an involved inter-governmental and departmental process, the settlement began state-led (City of Cape Town) *in situ* upgrading. This continues in the area to this day. Houses consist of two bedroom units with a kitchenette and bathroom. Water and electricity have been provided to each unit. A large majority of the houses have been poorly constructed and need continual repair. Houses are situated close to one another. Basic street lighting and roads have been provided but are poorly maintained. New Rest is part of Ward 44 in Gugulethu. In 2011 the population of the ward was 34 405. This was an increase of 31% since the national census of 2001. The number of households was 8 938 (an increase of 35% since 2001) (City of Cape Town 2012). The population of ward 44 is predominantly Coloured (57%) and Black African (40%). The statistics show that 34% of those aged 20 years and older have completed Grade 12 or higher (City of Cape Town 2012). The age profile of the male and female residents is shown in Figure 5.3.

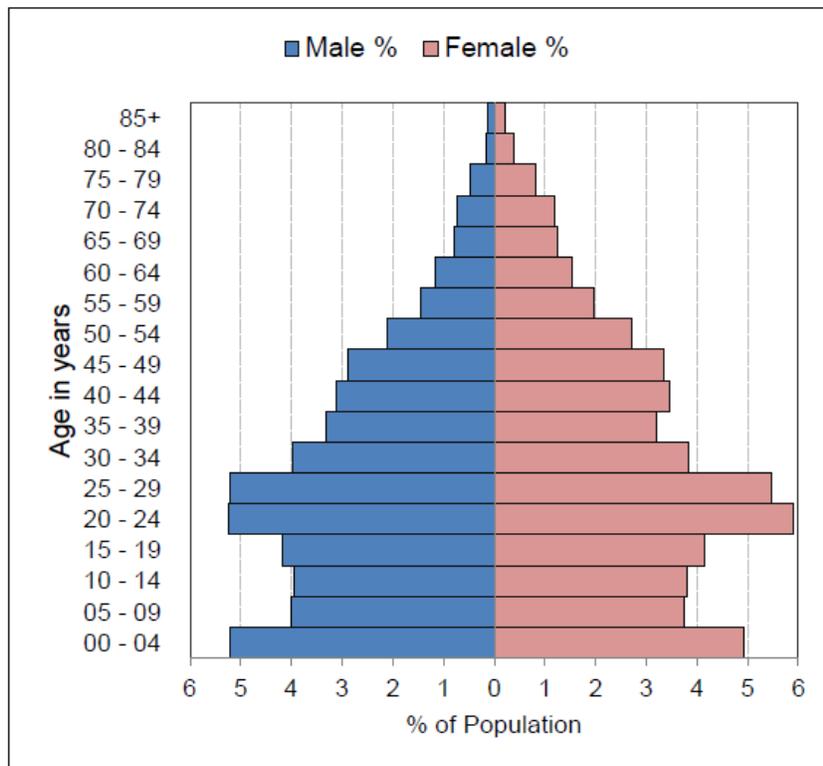


Figure 5.3. Age profile of the male and female residents in Ward 44 (City of Cape Town 2012)

Of the total labour force (aged 15 to 64), 70% are employed (shown in Table 5.2) and 58% of the households have a monthly income of R3 200 or less. 84% of households live in formal dwellings (City of Cape Town 2012). As was observed in Makhaza, women tend to rely on the pensions of older relatives and social grants as a way to supplement their income.

Table 5.2. Economic profile for Ward 44 (City of Cape Town 2012)

Ward 44 – Labour Force	
Population aged 15 to 64 years	23 462
Labour Force	14 635
Employed	10 188
Unemployed	4 447
Unemployment rate	30.39%
Labour force participation rate	62.38 %

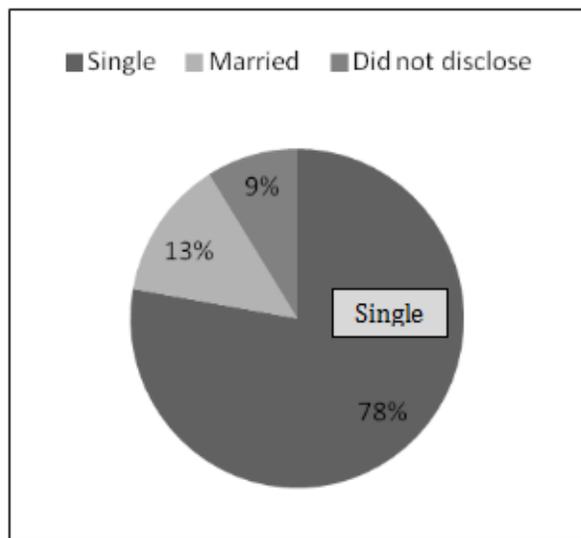


Figure 5.4. Marital status of women interviewed in New Rest (gathered data 2011)

Of the women interviewed in New Rest, 78% are single/unmarried and only 13% are married (Figure 5.4). Most have at least one child living with them as well as members of their extended family such as

parents, sisters and aunts. The average number of years that residents interviewed had lived in the area was sixteen.

In summary, both Khayelitsha and Gugulethu are made up of both old and new informal and formal areas which include informal settlements, Reconstruction and Development (RDP) houses, privately built and owned houses and informal backyard shacks. Makhaza and New Rest, within these areas, have been upgraded by the City of Cape Town and now play host to communities receiving basic housing, water, electricity and physical addresses. In both settlements the majority of residents are unemployed (the majority being women). Most are single or unmarried and have at least one child as well as members of their extended family in their care. A number of the residents run their own informal businesses to supplement their incomes. They also rely on social grants and state pensions. The next section presents and discusses the practices and techniques used by the City of Cape Town in the upgrading of informal settlements.

5.3. GOVERNMENTALITY AND THE CITY OF CAPE TOWN

This section presents and discusses the rationalities, practices and techniques employed by the City of Cape Town in the upgrading of informal settlements and aims to answer the research question: what is the City of Cape Town's governmentality (rationalities, practices and techniques) in the upgrading process of Makhaza and New Rest?

5.3.1 Practice and techniques of the City of Cape Town

The National Housing Code (2009) sets the primary policy principles, norms and standards that apply to Government's numerous housing assistance programmes. According to this Housing Code it is the responsibility of the municipality (the City) to deliberate on what settlements should be upgraded. The City is to initiate, plan and formulate applications for projects to the Provincial Department of Local Government and Housing. They are to take on the ownership of the engineering services delivered and manage and maintain settlements developed. The City is to provide basic municipal engineering services and act as the developer in the upgrading process. The City therefore takes on the role of a manager and administrator. The upgrading process that the City undertakes is a practice/technique in itself but it is also accompanied by a number of technological and spatial elements which affect the women's social networks in these areas. With this in view, the research focused on settlement and housing layout, infrastructure and amenities (water, electricity and telecommunications).



Figure 5.5. An aerial view of New Rest, showing the close proximity of houses to one another (Google Earth 2013)



Figure 5.6. Aerial view of Makhaza, showing the close proximity of houses to one another (note the many backyard shacks, indicated by arrows) (Google Earth 2013)

The layout of the settlement is a technique/practice employed in the upgrading process. Roads are constructed for ease of access to the site and are kept within the standard road and curb-side dimensions set out by City engineers. The size of roads and the dense nature of the stands and houses results in little space being available for sidewalks (as shown in Figure 5.5 and 5.6). Sidewalks are also restricted so that residents do not build front-yard structures onto their homes. Large roads and narrow walkways, however, have not deterred the constructions of these structures.

This layout has also assumed that those living in the area own cars that require large roads. It restricts the movement of pedestrians in the area, forcing them to walk in the roads when travelling from home to home or to points of public transport. This is particularly dangerous at night as roads are not well lit and are often in bad condition with few measures in place (such as speed bumps) to slow traffic. Narrow sidewalks and small yards also mean that children play in the roads, which adds an extra element of danger to the settlement layout. This was reflected in an interview with the Western Cape anti-eviction campaign and the City of Cape Town's New Housing Department:

"The settlement design is a technocratic process driven by engineering standards. For example, the state engineers build huge roads through the settlements with narrow walk ways. The front row of houses become shops and goods spills over onto walk ways. People have to walk in the roads. They (the City) use standards designed for areas where people drive more than walk."

(Representative, Western Cape anti-eviction campaign. 12 September 2011)

"Civil Engineers work on a simple formula basis. With that amount of money you can build that amount of infrastructure, the pipe must be 'so' thick irrespective of usage and number of people. Cities are built like that here."

(City of Cape Town, New Housing Department. 15 September 2011)

The use of set engineering standards also means that there is little flexibility in design and layout. Even though roads might need to be narrower and sidewalks larger, standards for settlements are predetermined. This was pointed out in an interview with the Isandla Institute (22 September 2011):

"Because of the way the housing code is still used the trend is still towards organization. Everything is pre-determined. There are pre-arranged end points which means there are few options and the range

of choices becomes narrow. The level of service, density, etc. is all pre-determined regardless of the needs of the settlement.”

(Isandla Institute, Land Policy Researcher. 22 September 2011)



Figure 5.7. Makhaza formal houses, showing limited space available for children’s play and other activities (Massey 2011)

The placement of the house on the stand is another spatial technique/practice used in the upgrading process. To discourage the construction of backyard shacks and illegal extensions, the houses are placed on the stand in such a way that little space is left on the stand for these informal developments (shown in Figure 5.7 and 5.8). This, however, also means that space is limited for children’s play areas, social gatherings and cultural activities. The size of the stand and the number of rooms available in each house (two) also aims to restrict the number of people living in the settlement and limit family units. This is problematic as many families in these areas consist of larger extended units which include various generations of relatives (grandmother, nephews and nieces, daughters-in-law, etc.).



Figure 5.8. Makhaza formal houses, showing limited space available for children's play and other activities (as well as close proximity of the houses to the road) (Massey 2011)

Of particular significance in the upgrading of informal settlements is the provision of services to each home. Through the National Housing Programmes, each house constructed must have a gross floor area of at least 40 square meters, two bedrooms, a separate bathroom with a toilet, a shower and hand basin, a combined living area and kitchen with wash basin and a ready board electrical installation (National Department of Human Settlements 2010). Various administrative practices are in place to gather revenue for the services rendered to residents. These include individual billing by the City to residents' addresses (which require settlement at City payment points) and the prepaid system where devices are installed in homes and credit is bought from City vendors to access water and electricity beyond the free basic allocation. Telecommunication facilities are also available to residents but must be accessed through Telkom (a national entity independent of the City). Billing for telephone usage is done through individual billing and also through a prepaid system.

The high level of non-payment for services has become a major concern for the City. It is believed that out of R1.5 billion in water arrears owed to the City, R700 million is owed by owners of low cost houses (Phaliso & Naidoo 2010). Residents have blamed this on the high price of services, while the City has cited a culture of non-payment amongst residents. A key difficulty found within Makhaza and New Rest, was the fact that, while a house had been provided by the City, residents have no form of, or

means to create, an income to pay for the services. Within the informal setting, water, for example, was received free from the local standpipe. Makhaza residents in particular, complained that billing was incorrect and that the amount of water and electricity billed for by the City was over and above any amount they could possibly have used in a month. The City Call Centre set up to deal with queries is often inaccessible due to the high volume of calls and requires that one has access to a telephone and airtime to call the centre. The result has been litigation, black listing and the disconnection of services by the City.

One of the ways for the City to attempt to ensure payment for services has been the installation of individual prepaid water and electricity meters into homes. The Water Services Act (108 of 1997) states that the City must provide water and sanitation services that are efficient, affordable, economical and sustainable. It allocates the minimum amount of water per households as twenty-five litres per person per day, based on an average household of eight people, (i.e. six kilolitres per month per household). This is the Free Basic Water (FBW) allocation for all homes in South Africa. This water is to be supplied at a minimum flow rate of ten litres per minute. Fifty kWh of free basic electricity is also provided to each household in Eskom areas within the City of Cape Town's boundaries (City of Cape Town 2003).



Figure 5.9. Prepaid electricity device (left) and prepaid water meter (right) (<http://www.livecopper.co.za/categories/pre-paid-electricity-meters2012>, http://www.tradekorea.com/products/Water_Meter.html 2012)

The installation of water and electricity meters has been seen by the City as the best way to supply and monitor this as well as access payment for services provided over and above the minimum allocation (Figure 5.9). The topic of Free Basic Water and electricity is covered extensively in the literature by Bond & Dugard (2006; 2008), Bond (2006), as well as Von Schnitzler (2008). These authors also noted the move by government towards the deployment of prepaid meters in the face of widespread non-payment of services and the failure to encourage payment for services under neo-liberal reforms which prescribe 'cost recovery'.

There are, however, a number of concerns with the installation of these devices. Many have deemed them unconstitutional, unjust and unreliable (The South African Municipal Workers Union (SAMWU), Coalition against Water Privatisation (CAWP), etc.). Research has been undertaken by McDonald, Alexander & Ruiters (2005) that highlights the concern and unrest caused by the installation of prepaid devices. The African National Congress (ANC) announced, in 2005, that they would no longer use the prepaid technologies, but under the Democratic Alliance (DA) administration of the City of Cape Town they were re-introduced in 2006 (<http://apf.org.za/spip.php?article336> 2009). Meters are designed to reset every morning to allow for the daily allocation but this often fails leaving residents without water. This is particularly problematic for women whose daily tasks are dependent on water.

Credit for water and electricity needs to be bought at City vending stations which residents have to travel to (adding to costs). These vending stations provide tokens which are easily lost and damaged and are notoriously unreliable. Credit codes can also be provided through text messages. Access to a charged cellular telephone is, however, needed to receive this service. Residents also need to be able to read the meter in order to know when they need to re-purchase credit which is a problem in illiterate or visually impaired households. The remote and depersonalized nature of this technology has created a further divide between the residents and the City.

The City is required to gather revenue to keep its budget management in place. The City is administered like a business with checks and balances, profit requirements and revenue streams that require monitoring, measuring and policing. This brings with it a significant level of control and order. This system means a change of mind-set of both the City and the residents. Residents have gone from being citizens to being customers, with the City being a service provider. Since 2002 all municipalities have referred to consumers as customers. The Municipal Systems Act (sect 95) (2000: 21), for

example, sets out the need for “a sound customer management system that aims to create a positive and reciprocal relationship between persons liable for payments and the municipality, and where applicable, a service provider” (The Municipal Systems Act (section 95) 2000: 21).

The City has subsequently changed the way the revenue collection is managed, including a change in computing and billing procedures, a change in customer service and metering. This requires a change in consumer behaviour. Being paying customer is, however, not a possibility for many of the residents who cannot afford to pay for services beyond the daily allotment. The Western Cape Anti-eviction Campaign echoed this during an interview:

“Now people can’t afford to live in upgraded settlements, they must move to another informal settlement. The cost of living increases, most people living in the previously informal settlements don’t have jobs. They used to get water at the community standpipe. Now it is metered and they must pay for water. They used to share electricity, now they have a box. Now it becomes a monetary exercise.”

(Representative, WC Anti-eviction Campaign. 12 September 2011)

Services (particularly those provided through the prepaid system) are now also attached to contracts which are legally binding. Residents of Makhaza and New Rest reported that these contracts were long, in ‘business language’ and in English, which made them difficult to understand.

These economic based practices and techniques are premised on a particular set of rationalities discussed in the next section of this chapter. The techniques and practices of informal settlement upgrading are directed by the rationalities of governing. Rationalities are productive catalysts for these techniques and practices that aim to produce individuals and populations who ‘conduct’ themselves appropriately. In these settlements, this means citizens who form part of the rate paying system within formalised settlements. For the concept of governmentality, the interaction between rationalities and practices can be seen as a link between power and forms of knowledge, in other words, truth (Gribat 2010). It is important to note that for Foucault, rationalities and practices are intrinsically linked and cannot be seen as independent from each other. The next section will deal with the rationalities or reasons that lie behind the practices discussed in this section.

5.3.2 Rationalities of the City of Cape Town

Having outlined the practices, techniques and technologies in the previous section, this segment presents the rationalities of the City of Cape Town and its Housing Directorate. These findings are based on the semi-structured interviews, social network analysis and study of various documents including policy and government legislation. This section aims to answer part of the research question: ‘what is the City of Cape Town’s governmentality in the upgrading process of Makhaza and New Rest?’ It must be noted that each City Directorate and its Departments, has a different set of rationalities. The larger City and its Housing Directorate’s rationalities are presented here. In order to understand the constructs, rationalities, (govern) mentalities and indeed the practices and techniques present, it is necessary to first review both the structure and the history of its governance arrangements. Understanding where current rationalities come from is useful in understanding their outcomes.

South African National Public Housing Policy has been influenced by a number of factors including a long history of colonialism, apartheid policies and programmes, housing needs and socio-economic inequalities (Morrison 1982). Since 1994 a number of policy and statutory documents have informed the South African housing approach. These include the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) (1994); the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) Strategy (1996); the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative – South Africa (ASGI-SA) (2005) and the Housing Act, 1997 (Act No. 107 of 1997). The National Department looks to the New Housing Policy and Strategy for South Africa: White Paper (1994) and ‘Breaking New Ground’ (A Comprehensive Plan for the Development of Sustainable Human Settlements) (2004), for its mandate. This has also affected the City of Cape Town’s mandate, legislation, policy and programmes such as its Integrated Development Plan (IDP), the Spatial Development Framework (SDF) and the City’s 5 Year Integrated Housing Plan 2010/2011 – 2014/2015.

‘Breaking New Ground’ (BNG) was the product of the neo-liberal framework that South Africa adopted through neo-liberal economic policy such as the Growth, Employment and Redistribution framework in 1998 (Gunter 2011). BNG was a housing policy that took on a neo-liberal position on the provision of housing. It did not remove the role of the State but was geared towards a housing solution that was market driven (Gunter 2011). BNG acknowledged the limitations of the Housing Act 107 of 1997 and the once-off capital subsidy is offered. It sought to redress the shortcomings of the Act and create non-racial, diverse communities with a choice of housing options (government-subsidised

housing, bonded houses, rental homes, etc.) (Tshikotshi 2009). BNG built on the Housing Act of 1997 and was adopted in order to achieve seven main objectives

- Speed up the delivery of housing in order to achieve poverty alleviation
- Housing development as a major job creation plan
- Ensuring that property could be accessed for wealth creation and empowerment
- Influencing growth in the economy
- Combating crime and advancing social cohesion
- Encouraging the functioning of the whole single-property market to reduce duality within the housing sector
- Using housing as a tool for the creation of sustainable human settlements (Department of Housing 2004)

The BNG resulted in the creation of the Upgrading of Informal Settlement Programme (UISP). The UISP supports the realisation of multifaceted and interconnected policy aims including tenure security, health and safety, and empowerment within urban households (Tshikotshi 2009). It supports the eradication of informal settlements through the implementation of the *in situ* upgrading approach (which was grounded in global best practice) (Department of Housing 2004: 12). Within the ‘Principles of the Programme’, there are twenty principles that need to be carried out during the upgrading. These include: a holistic approach, stand sizes, shack demolitions and the role of provinces and municipalities (Tshikotshi 2009). The UISP places emphasis on reducing the displacement of families and communities to avoid divisions and further marginalisation.

December 2000 saw an incorporation of the racialised authorities of the apartheid era into a single Municipality of the City of Cape Town (the City). This was done to align with the national structures and policies of the post-apartheid government (Fieuw 2011). Cape Town is now governed by a 221 member city council. This council, in turn, chooses the Executive Mayor, who chooses an eleven member Mayoral Committee. The city has been divided into 111 electoral wards. Sub councils are made up of geographically clustered wards, each assigned a councillor and led by a sub-council chairman who is elected by a majority vote of the individual sub-council (Ley 2009).

The structure that evolved from the December 2000 process has, however, perpetuated the fragmentation of the municipality and has led to a vast waste of municipal resources (Fieuw 2011).

This has resulted in difficulty with the strategic planning functions of the City and has often led to haphazard and *ad hoc* crisis management decisions (Turok 2001). Through the Unicity process, the City of Cape Town's budget became self-financed; its revenue flow to come from water and electricity payments, property rates and taxes, levies and inter-governmental grants or transfers (Wilkinson 2004). The year 2000 local government elections then saw the African National Congress (ANC) lose its majority position to the Democratic Alliance (DA). This halted any ANC plans for the new Unicity government and brought a new (govern) mentality to the City, one that was neo-liberal in its administration, and above all, monetarily conservative (Fieuw 2011).

The ANC regained power in the year 2002 through the national floor-crossing process. The party brought about radical political and strategic restructuring in the Unicity (Jolobe 2006). This change in structure and governance did not, however, bring about a redistribution of resources to the poor (previously promised by the party). Instead, based on the premise that Cape Town needed to remain internationally competitive economically, the neo-liberal construct of the ANC perpetuated development that did not meet the needs of the poor, rather it promoted municipal operations as a private business.

The 2000 to 2006 crisis of governance and institutional instability (Jolobe 2006) meant the shift of "planning aimed at urban integration and redistribution ... to a view of planning as integral to 'global positioning' and 'entrepreneurial' government" (Watson 2002: 1). Spatial planning was also isolated as a component of planning. This made Integrated Development Planning (IDP), which is financially ascetic, the sole guiding focus of planning in the City. With the absence of sufficient transferable funds for their expanded tasks and mandates, local governments have been encouraged to be entrepreneurial through private sector participation and market-based approaches (Miraftab 2007). The City of Cape Town has had to position itself strategically and think and act like a private sector body. This has included contracting out basic services to private entities, the shedding of responsibilities and the recovery of costs through user fees (Miraftab 2010). The City of Cape Town also has a strong focus on achieving the status of a world-class city; one that is capable of drawing business and economic opportunities.

South Africa has experienced a marked shift in its policy orientation and thought processes towards neo-liberalism. While much of this change has taken place at a national level, we have seen the impact

on local urban policy making (McDonald & Smith 2004). This neo-liberal approach has seen the rise of internal structural adjustment programmes which have affected South African cities and sparked debate amongst policy makers, analysts and academics alike (as seen in Freund & Padayachee 2002; Hart 2002; Parnell et al. 2002 and Watson 2002). There remain, however, disputes around the level to which neo-liberalism has infiltrated the local government structures and what this means for cities like Cape Town (Parnell et al. 2002). In Cape Town, neo-liberal policies have been embraced by a number of municipal entities which began under ANC rule and have now been further concretised by the Democratic Alliance (DA). This ideological shift has been strengthened by parallel national level and international policy orientation (McDonald & Smith 2004).

The general tendency since the mid-1990s has been towards constricted policy debate, limited participation of the public and an increased role for private consultants and commercial interests. Cape Town has moved towards commercialisation and the adoption of a market-based system in order to stabilise the financial bottom line and ensure that the City is run according to business principles (McDonald & Smith 2004). Work on regime change and the process of shift and change within the City of Cape Town, has been undertaken by Binns & Nel (2002) with more general work on regime change having been undertaken by Seethal (2005) who adopted a postmodern perspective in studying the effect of regime change on development. Urban regime theory has been used by Mollenkopf (1994) and Stone (2005) to analyse the way cities are governed.

Pressure from the national government has had a significant effect on Cape Town. Local authorities are required to work according to stringent national and international specifications that have limited the options which city managers and policymakers have (McDonald & Smith 2004). The national government has also encouraged the commercialisation of municipal services such as electricity, sanitation and water. Some of these initiatives have included: the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) framework, the Municipal Infrastructure Investment Unit (MIIU) and the Municipal Systems Act (Miraftab 2004). It is, however, not just national pressure that has shaped this policy landscape. In late 2000 the Unicity Commission in Cape Town proposed a plan to set up business units that would manage essential services and corporatise water, sanitation and electricity (Miraftab 2004). This was in line with the ANC's on-going commercialisation plans and service restructuring agreements. This plan has been delayed due to various changes in leadership over the

years but there appears to be no deviation from these original strategies, despite the changes in administration Acts (McDonald & Smith 2004).

Both the African National Congress (ANC) and the Democratic Alliance (DA) have argued that corporatisation is not privatisation, pointing out that these plans were different from those implemented in Johannesburg where the process has been fatally flawed. McDonald & Smith (2004) argue that “privatisation has been taking place in an *ad hoc*, piecemeal fashion across a wide range of municipal sectors, backed up by a deep and widespread ideological shift to neo-liberalism” (McDonald & Smith 2004: 1476). We can see that the monetary and policy restraints experienced by the City of Cape Town exist but there is space for policy movement and change. Under the DA’s leadership, there is space to contest neo-liberal reform at the national level but this has not been the case. In some aspects, opportunities for a shift away from neo-liberal structures have been disregarded or suppressed, demonstrating a “strongly independent, neo-liberal base at the local level” (McDonald & Smith 2004: 1476). This provides insight into local level governmentality.

Another element of the City of Cape Town’s governmentality, is its understanding of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Huchzermeyer (2011) states that governments and governance systems in the global south have misinterpreted the MDGs, in particular Goal Seven, Target 114, whose slogan is ‘*Cities Without Slums*’. Combining this misunderstanding of the MDGs with the City’s drive to attract global economic investment and become a world class city, has meant reluctance by the City to engage with and fully understand informal settlements and their dynamics. This is, in all probability, due to the realisation that such information and awareness would weaken the legitimacy of the overriding global economic system (Fieuw 2011). A key indicator of this mentality is the formation of the City of Cape Town’s Anti-Land Invasion Unit in 2009. It was established to “protect the City’s vacant, unoccupied land from illegal land invasion, and provides a 24/7 monitoring and protection service” (City of Cape Town 2011: 47). The Unit works through the courts to clear informal settlements that are deemed illegal and evict residents from the vacant land. The actions of the Anti-Land Invasion Unit has caused great contestation amongst homeless and landless people in Cape Town and has been criticised by civil society groups for its often militant handling of new informal settlers.

For the City of Cape Town’s Housing Directorate, the rationality for the upgrading of informal settlements is twofold. The first is to meet the constitutional rights of citizens (the right of everyone to

have access to adequate housing) and the mandate of the Directorate to deliver as many homes as the budget will allow. The second is to gather income from services rendered to citizens. The Directorate's aim is to get as many people as is financially possible, into houses and provide them with basic services as well as to ensure that national housing targets are met. Making people part of the economic system through spatial means also facilitates monitoring and control through the billing of citizens for services rendered to state-provided street addresses. There is a broad assumption that those within the informal sector are unexplored economic actors and could form part of the market. A further assumption is that a simple solution would be to pull them into the market and then either they will sort themselves out or the market will fix them. It is assumed that if you build a house for someone they will naturally or assimilate into the system and automatically change their largely social construct or governmentality to that of a rate-paying citizen of an economic system.

The City's rationality in the upgrading process is also largely technocratic and functionalist, driven by engineering standards outlined in national policy documents. This is linked to the City's practices and techniques and is shown in those used to design the settlements.

“We are not putting a lot of effort into innovative design for women at this moment. Our settlements are engineering driven. It's about creating the grids, designing the services and installing the services. The more innovative urban design approach is not where we are at the moment. It is a shift we still need to make in Cape Town and the country as a whole. It is only the partnership approach “special projects” the ISN PHP projects where there is involvement of women in layout and typology. On a larger scale it is more based on engineering, not based on women or youth or HIV.”

(City of Cape Town, Existing Housing Department. 11 October 2011)

Decisions are also made based on economic markers. Progress payments from the National Government are made to the City based on the attainment of value for money linked to agreed milestones. “Municipalities must only initiate progress payments in terms of contractual agreements with the providers of housing goods and services against the actual achievement of value for money and the certification” (National Department of Human Settlements 2010: 18). The City needs to provide as many houses as they can, within the provided budget and within the designated geographic area. This means that adequate stand size and areas of open space are not included in layout design, as every available space needs to be used for housing. This rationality also affects the quality of houses, as the cheapest contractors are used who often use low cost building materials. The economic rationality

of the City is further cemented by the housing code in that “funding under the programme will be made available to municipalities as grants for the undertaking of projects based on approved business plans for the upgrading of whole settlements” (National Department of Human Settlements 2010: 3). The provision of these business plans favours an economic construct that focuses on the settlements and housing as an economic entity.

There are also various rationalities that lie behind the decision-making process when determining which settlements are prioritised for upgrading. According to the Housing Code it is the responsibility of the municipality to determine which settlements should be earmarked for upgrading. The City approaches this decision making in the following way:

“There are three elements when determining which settlements are prioritised for upgrading. Firstly: political. When we get pressure from the councillors and from the provincial and national government we have to act, especially when there have been service delivery protests or there have been crises like the fire in Joe Slovo settlement. Also when we receive pressure from the residents we prioritise them. The second is technical: we have a schedule with technical criteria, for example, how many people per amount of money that is available. We must provide for larger settlements first so that we get more bang for buck. The last is the clincher. We choose settlements and put out a contract to have facilitation staff in areas. If there is community solidarity in the settlement then we can go in and do civil infrastructure works. If there is social tension in the settlement then the contractors get chased away or caught in the cross fire. Volatile settlements, therefore, prioritise themselves low according to City.”

(City of Cape Town, New Housing Department. 15 October 2011)

The structure of the City of Cape Town’s Housing Department (Figure 5.10) also drives its rationality. The silo effect and individual, differing mandates and timeframes of the various Departments, make for a functionalist and inflexible system which in turn drives a segregated rationality. The Directorate and Departments are structured in a hierarchical manner which has meant that procedures are governed by policy and protocols.

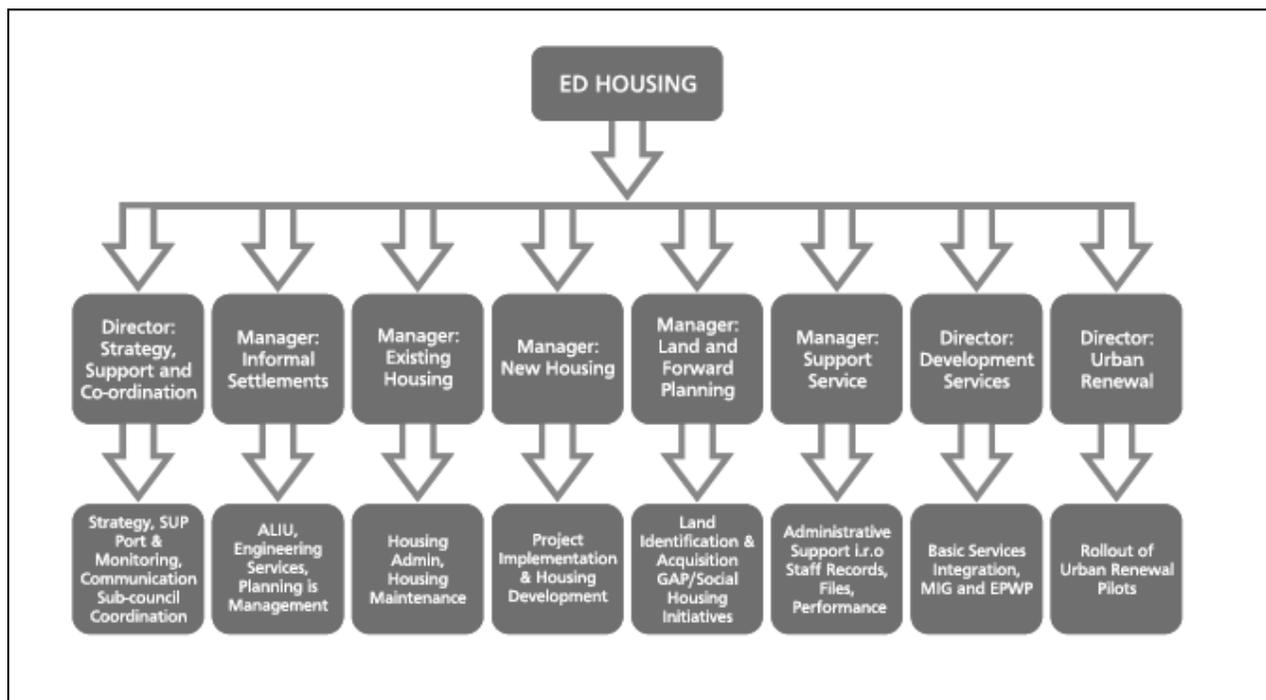


Figure 5.10. The structure of the City of Cape Town's Directorate of Housing and its departments (City of Cape Town 2011: 8)

The differing mandates, timeframes and budgets (and indeed the rationalities) of each Department have also meant that projects cannot be undertaken in an integrated and coordinated way. The need for a maternity clinic in the area, for example, might be written into the planning of a settlement through the Housing Department but the Health Department has not budgeted for, nor prioritised the development of such a facility. It is also not within the Health Department's mandate to provide for the upgrading of informal settlements, which is seen as a Housing Department concern. This was echoed in an interview with the City's Housing Department. When asked whether settlements were designed with women in mind, the response was:

“Where do you post responsibility for the meeting of women's needs? Where does responsibility lie for designs that are not women sensitive? One City of Cape Town Department puts a clinic on a settlement plan and takes it to the Health Department who will say that there is no money to build that clinic now.”

“Where does responsibility lie? Another example is a child care centre which is the responsibility of the Education Department.”

(City of Cape Town, Land and Forward Planning Department. 19 October 2011)

This was further elaborated on by another City of Cape Town Housing Directorate official:

“Design tries to bring together all players but each operates differently and at different paces. Each Department has its own funding, budget, procurement and delivery cycles and its own prior commitments and cycles of revenue. Line departments take on the responsibility for their own processes in their own jurisdictions.”

5.3.3 Key points on the governmentality of the City of Cape Town

The City of Cape Town’s Housing Directorate’s rationality in the upgrading of its informal settlements is firstly, to meet the constitutional rights of residents and the mandate it has been given to deliver housing and secondly, to gather income from services rendered to residents (thus ensuring the City’s economic sustainability). The City has a largely technocratic and functionalist rationality driven by engineering standards and economic accounting processes. There are also several assumptions made by the City in the upgrading of informal settlements. The first is that residents of the informal settlements are unexplored economic actors who, once pulled into the formal market, will automatically become part of a productive system. The second assumption is that, once a citizen has been provided with a house, they will logically integrate into the system and alter their predominantly social construct or governmentality to one that is more economic based and market driven.

5.4 GOVERNMENTALITY OF WOMEN’S SOCIAL NETWORKS IN MAKHAZA AND NEW REST

An investigation into and understanding of the techniques, practices and rationalities employed by women’s social networks in Makhaza and New Rest, is critical in making sense of the governmentality that exists in this context. This section seeks to answer the research question: what is the governmentality of the women’s social networks in Makhaza and New Rest?

5.4.1 Rationalities, practices and techniques

Social networks are systems of social interaction and personal relationships. Both Makhaza and New Rest are areas with strong community ties and social networks which stem from days when the settlements were informal units operating through reciprocity systems and firm representative networks. There is a commonly-held perception that informal settlements tend to make for strong communities (Huchzermeyer 2011).

Table 5.3. Formal social networks in Makhaza and New Rest (N = the new networks formed after the upgrading of the settlement)

Makhaza	New Rest
Burial Society	Stokvels/savings groups
Church groups	Burial Society
Stokvels/savings groups	Bible Groups
Community Food Garden group (N)	Community Policing Forum (N)
Environmental Group (N)	Prevention in Action (N)
Sewing Group	Community Patrol (N)

The literature highlights a number of key characteristics of informal settlements that promote social cohesion and the formation of social networks (Davies 2009). Service provision (such as clothes washing basins) in shared public space also acts to promote social interaction (Yose 1999). Spatial flexibility of informal dwellings enhances social network formation, as residents can construct buildings in proximity to friends and relatives (Yose 1999; Davies 2009). High settlement density creates informal socialisation and a level of intimacy between residents (Yose 1999). A lack of financial capital leads to an increase in the reliance on social capital and the sharing of livelihood assets. These characteristics have been carried through by residents into the formalised settlements. A number of social networks are active within the settlements of Makhaza and New Rest. Some evolved after the settlement was upgraded, while others were maintained through the upgrading process. Table 5.3 shows the various new and carried-over, formal social networks that respondents identified during interviews.

Box 5.1

The Women's Stokvel in New Rest

The women's stokvel (saving group) in New Rest was established when the settlement was still in an informal state but has been continued in the new upgraded settlement (Some members have left however, and new ones have joined). Joining of the stokvel is by invitation only and there are currently sixteen members within this particular group. Members contribute a set amount of money to the central fund, either weekly or monthly. The stokvel has an internal constitution which sets out the size of monetary offerings and dictates when money is paid out (monthly or in an emergency situation). The constitution also

sets out the roles and responsibilities of each member. Each month a different member of the group receives the money in the reserve.

Much of the stokvel system is based on trust with very few members defaulting on their monthly or weekly payments. Communication and legal components of the stokvel are informal and based on mutual respect. The members may use their payout for whatever they please. This stokvel meets monthly at a local home, although the space is small and crowded. The group used to meet in the open spaces



in the settlement but these are no longer available since the upgrade. Some members also now find it dangerous to travel to monthly meetings in the settlement after dark which limits these groups' meeting times.

Picture source: (Dendy 2012)

Box 5.2**The Sewing Group: Makhaza**

The women's sewing group in Makhaza was established when the settlement was still informal. It was maintained by the women when the settlement was upgraded. The group sews clothing and other items, both for sale and use in the home. This activity brings in an income for the women and skills are shared amongst those in the group. New members are taught various sewing skills as well as basic business skills. The group meets weekly in a member's home but it is cramped and small with little storage for equipment. There are no community centers or spaces in the upgraded settlement for this group to meet and sew. Women communicate informally and have an elected leader who manages administrative duties for the group. The group has no formal legal agreements signed between them or official constitution but work through trust and long standing

relationships. During sewing

gatherings women share

information about their lives and

the neighborhoods they live in. This

allows the women to know what is

happening in the community. The

friendships and connections that are

formed through the sewing group

allow access to other resources and

networks (for example, the introduction into stokvels).



Picture source: http://www.pafound.co.za/programmes/community_projects.html

The women's social networks in Makhaza and New Rest consist of formal groupings such as the sewing groups, environmental committees/groups and food garden groups, 'Stokvels' (savings groups), burial societies, church and Bible groups and community policing forums. Though these networks are considered informal by the City, they follow a very formal internal structure, hierarchy and communication system. They allow for access to skills-sharing and development, self-sufficiency and self-reliance, access to information and knowledge, income and emergency funds, social support in difficult times and safety and security. More informally, their networks consist of friends, relatives and neighbours who help with child care and care for the elderly, short terms loans, food (and occasionally

water), household repairs, the loan of tools and equipment and are a source of information and knowledge sharing. Boxes 5.1 and 5.2 show brief narratives of two formal networks that exist in Makhaza and New Rest.

Social networks are formed as a response to feelings of economic and, to some extent, social exclusion from the larger urban landscape. During the data gathering, women commented on their feeling of isolation within their settlements and cited this as one of the social reasons that they either formed or joined an existing social network. They mentioned the need to feel part of the larger community, not only to improve their economic stability, but also to ensure their safety and security within the settlement. Being part of a social network also provided the women with a sense of permanence in the temporary, unstable and transitory spaces of informal settlements. These networks are pulled through into the formalised spaces as women continue to find the urban environment unstable and insecure. The social networks provide a sense of power in what is perceived as a powerless space. Women are provided with a voice through the networks and are able to express their concerns and initiate action through a united front.

Social networks are also a channel through which women can secure their rights. These include rights such as access to water, food and shelter. Women are able to access these basic needs through those in their networks (generally through reciprocation). This reduces the vulnerability of the women and fills the gaps left by the under-delivery of basic services and maintenance of these services by the City. Social networks have therefore been formed because the State and the City have failed to provide adequate and reliable services, maintenance of these services, job opportunities, quality education and skills development. Through working ‘as a village’, women have been able to access some of these services and opportunities where the City has failed.

Social networks provide a gateway to other livelihood assets, particularly economic/financial assets. Money is accessed for use in times of need through burial and savings groups, while finances can also be accessed through more informal means such as short term loans between individuals who have formed social relationships through these networks. Income is also derived through the pooling of resources and efforts in food garden initiatives (particularly in Makhaza). Social Networks also provide for safety and security needs through community policing forums and community patrols. These

networks help to form social bonds through the process of rallying around a common purpose, continuous communication systems and vigilance of movement in the neighbourhood.

Physical assets are also accessed through these social networks (both borrowing and acquiring). These assets include food, tools, equipment, water, energy sources, (e.g. paraffin), and building or repair materials (with physical labour assistance). Social assets are also accessed including child care, family support, further social networks, transport and personal safety and protection. Social networks also allow for women to acquire further skills and knowledge from those they interact with in the group. This was well summed up in the interview with the Isandla Institute:

“Isandla research has shown that social ties that enable the process of transacting are far more important than most classical economists would expect. People make social calculations: who do I know, how do they relate to me, how do they relate to the local committee, who will regulate the land and housing? Money was the function of the social relationship as opposed to the other way around.”

(Isandla Institute, Land Policy Researcher. 22 September 2011)

In the interviews, women from both settlements said that social networks are governed through the techniques and practices of verbal communication, regular meetings and gatherings, informal voting systems and member registrations, as well as ‘gentlemen’s agreements’ which require no formal legal contracts. These techniques also include regular interaction with other social networks in the area, with systems of reciprocation, sharing and exchange, forming a large part of the access system to other livelihood assets. Communication forms a crucial part of the governing techniques and practices of these social networks. Much of this communication is verbal and undertaken whenever decisions need to be made in the community or within the network. These techniques and practices are still present in the social networks that were carried through to the formal settlements, as well as in the new interactions and networks subsequently formed.

Much of the rationality within the governmentality of the women’s social networks stems from the rural ties urban residents have. These constructs of traditionalism have largely been carried over from the days when large numbers of people moved to urban areas after pass laws were scrapped in 1987. These constructs are reinforced by the cultural practices that are still maintained within the urban settlements (such as boys’ initiation ceremonies) and through the influx of friends and family who

continue to move in and out of the settlements (either for visits or for longer stays). These constructs of traditionalism are also maintained through the everyday workings of the social networks themselves. These rationalities are socially based and patriarchal with the mentality that the role of the Chief in traditional practice is to look after the community and ensure its needs are met. This rationality is pulled through into an urban context where the government or the State, as the leader of the people, is expected to provide for the needs of the community (including the provision of housing and services). In this case the expectation is placed on the City of Cape Town, local leaders and councillors to provide for and protect its citizens.

Rationalities are also pulled through to the new, upgraded settlement from the old, informal settlements. These rationalities, forged in the close-knit community structures, are strengthened by social relationships and interactions. These rationalities were based on the understanding that if one assists another person, that person will be available to assist you in times of need, so that one is stronger in numbers than individually. Networks are maintained through cultural and social interactions that are forged through the close proximity of shacks in the previous settlement structure and through the reliance on social networks for survival of livelihoods and access to other livelihood assets.

5.4.2 Key points on the governmentality of the women's social networks

This section provided the findings of the investigation into the techniques, practices and rationalities of the women's social networks in Makhaza and New Rest. Both settlements have strong community ties and social networks which began when the sites were informal. Numerous social networks exist within the two spaces. Some were created through settlement upgrading and others were maintained through the development process. These networks are considered informal but have very formal inner structures, hierarchies and communication structures. The social networks provide access to other economic and physical livelihood assets. Networks are governed through verbal communication, regular gatherings and informal 'gentlemen's agreements'. Much of the rationality of the women's social networks is linked to rural ties that the residents have. These constructs are based on traditionalism and culture and maintained through community practices and the migration of friends and family between rural and urban settlements (this is also discussed in Robins 2008; Myers 2011; Watson 2003, 2007). This rationality is socially based and patriarchal, maintaining the mentality that the Chief or leader, protects and provides for the community. This is brought through in the way the

women and their social networks view the City. The City is seen as the leader of the people and is expected to fulfil the role of guardian and provider.

5.5 DIFFERING GOVERNMENTALITIES - RATIONALITIES, TECHNIQUES AND PRACTICES

This section answers the research question: how do the governmentalities of the City and the women's social networks interact in the upgrading of Makhaza and New Rest? From the findings presented so far, it is clear that the City has a largely economic rationale in its upgrading process. Each settlement upgrade has a particular budget that needs to be distributed equally to ensure that as many houses as possible are built on a particular site. The houses and settlement infrastructure must meet the engineering standards of the City (this again reflects the rationality of the City) while ensuring that as many houses as legally possible are constructed in the settlement. This approach leaves little opportunity to ensure design that includes open space, comfortable yard space and other design elements that sustain women's social networks.

As part of their mandate, the City also needs to ensure that as many people as possible are brought into the rate-paying system so that they can ensure revenue from services. This revenue-based process is done through formalising settlements and providing houses with services and an address. By providing as many houses (and addresses) as possible, the City can get as many people as possible onto their system and paying for services such as water and electricity (which speaks to their rationality). Residents have gone from being citizens, to being customers of the City. Local governments have been encouraged to be business-oriented, making use of private sector participation and market-based approaches (Miraftab 2007), thereby positioning themselves to think and act like independent businesses. The City has adopted a neo-liberal approach, assuming commercialisation and market approaches with a focus on the financial bottom line.

Table 5.4. A summary of the governmentality of the women's social networks in Makhaza and New Rest and the governmentality of the City of Cape Town's Housing Department

	Women's Social Networks in Makhaza and New Rest	City of Cape Town (Housing Department)
Need for Houses	Need houses to enable sustainable livelihoods	Need houses to meet service delivery mandates and ensure rates are paid for city land and resources
Decisions making	Decisions informed by shared dialogue	Decisions informed by policy, legislation and mandates
Value placement	Value lies in social assets. Social assets a gateway to other assets (incl. monetary)	Value lies in monetary assets. Monetary assets a gateway to other assets (incl. social)
Drivers	Cultural expression and maintaining social networks in order to access other assets Socially driven	Monetary income, economic growth, meeting of targets and mandates and political stability. Politically and economically driven
Sustainability	Sustainability through self-sufficiency	Sustainability through consistent external income base (incl. rates and taxes)
Communication and organisational structure	Organic network organisation and communication	Structures, communication protocols and chains of command (top down)
Operational structures	Organic and flexible	Technocratic and inflexible

The governmentality of the women and their social networks is quite different to that of the City. It is based on societal connections, reciprocity and more informal systems of governance. For the women, the upgrading is seen as an extension of the State's responsibilities towards its citizens; as a patriarchal act of care that will assist them in accessing further assets and networks. Rationalities are communally based with the social aspect being seen as a gateway to other assets (particularly fiscal ones).

Techniques and practices are based on ensuring the sustainability of livelihoods and neighbourhood structure. They are informed by an understanding that a strong network is crucial for individual/household survival. Decisions within networks are made through shared dialogue and not through top-down instructions which are informed by varying mandates (which have their own rationalities attached). It is clear that the governmentalities of the women’s social networks and the City of Cape Town’s Housing Department differ. While the women have a more organic, flexible, tradition-based and informal governmentality, the City has one which is more rigid, neo-liberal, economically based and technocratic. Table 5.4 provides a summary of the governmentality of the women’s social networks in Makhaza and New Rest and the governmentality of the City of Cape Town.

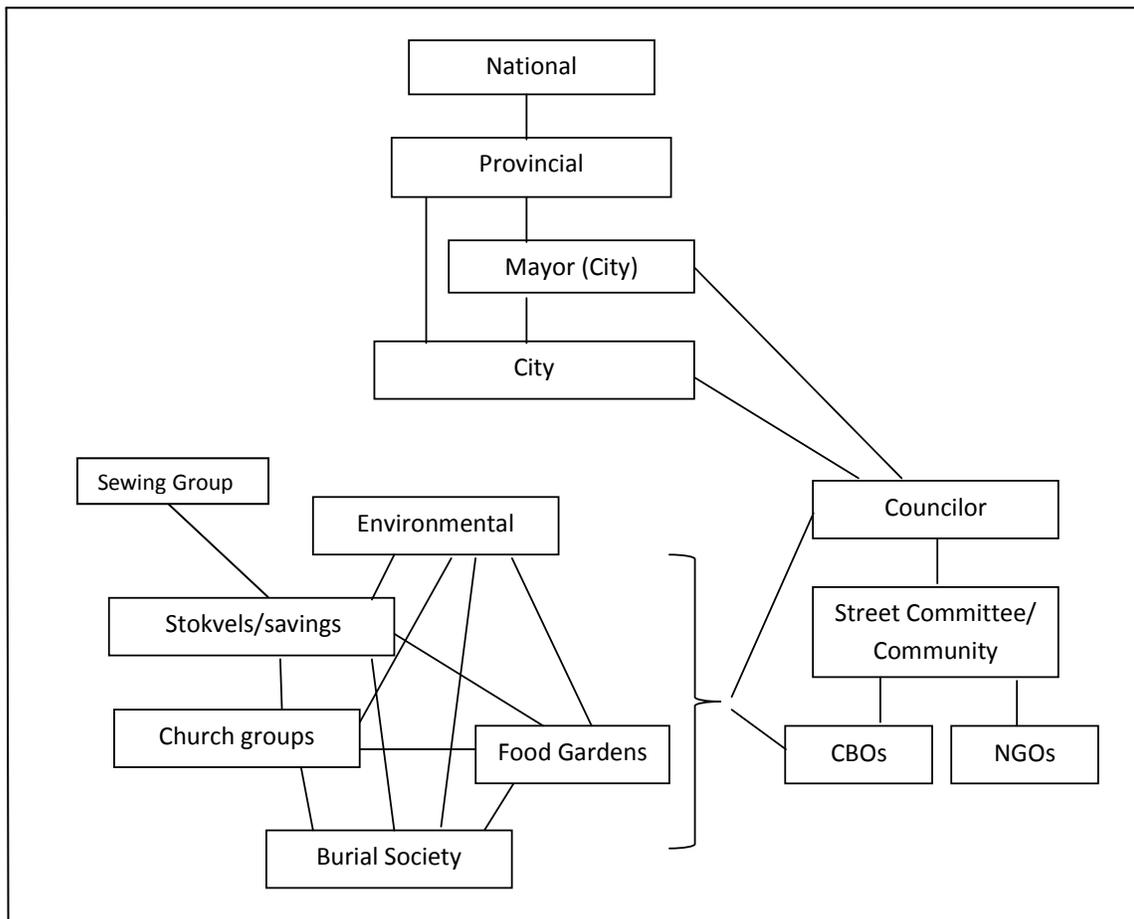


Figure 5.11. Social Network Analysis undertaken in Makhaza

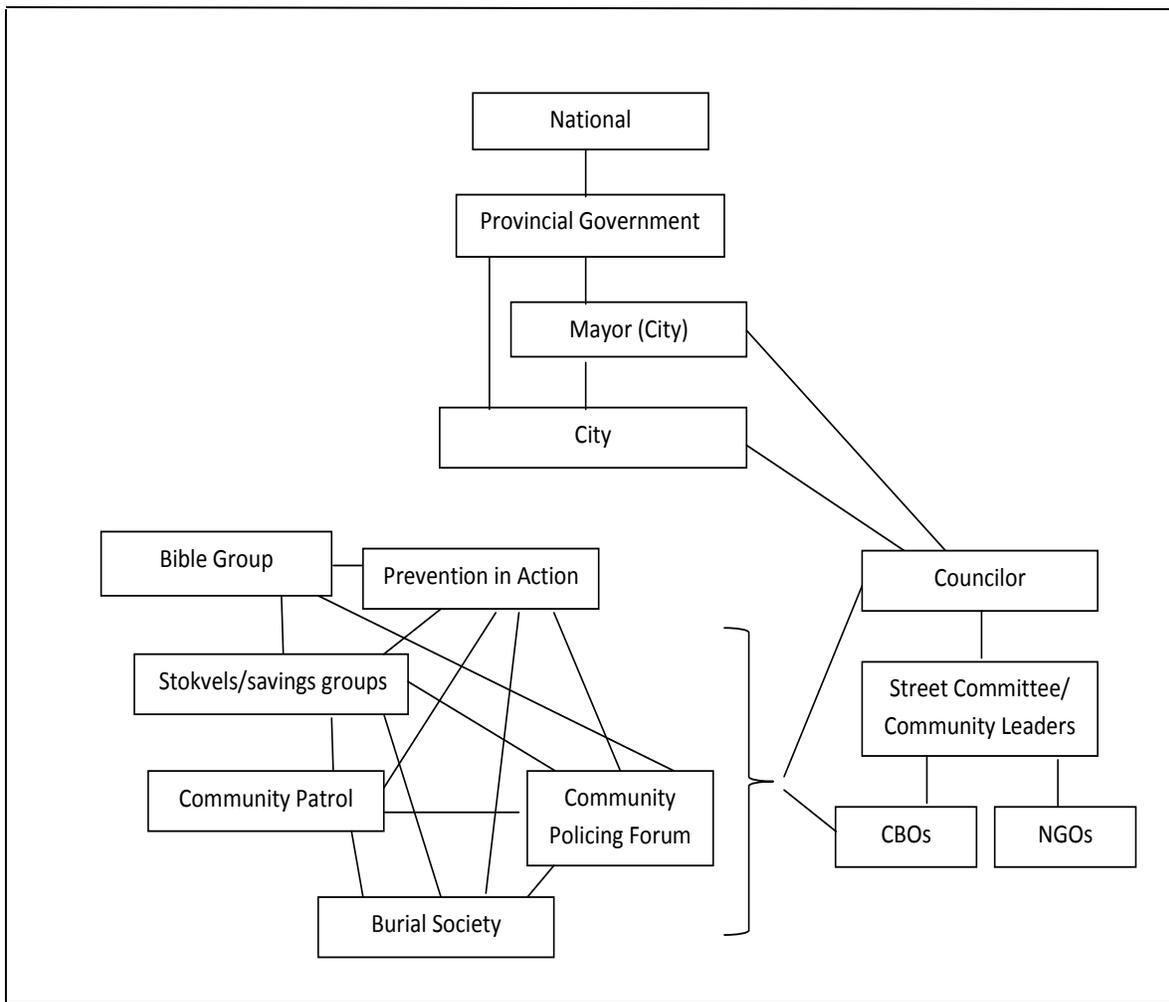


Figure 5.12. Social Network Analysis undertaken in New Rest

These network governmentalities also interact differently. The Social Network Analysis (SNA) served to present these differences visually as well as the nature of the interactions that take place between the women’s networks, the City and other government structures. The resultant network maps (shown in Figure 5.11 and Figure 5.12) visually represent the networks and their ties (including both women’s social networks and State structures). It shows very clearly the difference between their interactions. Women’s social networks are shown to be more interactive with the connections crossing between the different networks in an informal way. Networks (nodes) are connected directly or through other networks. The women’s social networks are considered informal but have very formal inner arrangements, order and communication structures. These networks allow for access to livelihood assets and resources and are governed through verbal communication and regular meetings. Much of the rationality of the women’s social networks is based on traditionalism and culture. These are

sustained through community structures, social networks and cultural practices. This rationality is socially based and patriarchal, upholding the belief that the government should provide for their needs and serve as a protector of rights.

During the SNA process, women explained that even though they weren't part of a particular network, (for example, the sewing group) they knew someone within or associated with it. This 'network association' provides a further point of access and support for the women, making the phrase, 'it's not what you know but who you know', a significant one in this case.

State structures are shown to be more hierarchical with communication structures that are arranged in a linear assemblage. In order to access these State structures, one must follow the 'line of command' through the different hierarchies. This is quite different from the interactions between the women's social networks. The two SNA figures (one from Makhaza and one from New Rest) are very similar in their structure, nodes and connections.

The rationalities and techniques of the City and those of the women's social networks, have clashed in the past and continue to do so today with the women's networks not understanding the uncommunicative nature of the City and the City not understanding the organic, discursive nature of the women in the settlements, insisting that they follow specific protocols when engaging with the City. The City has a different vision for the informal settlements and their formalisation, to that of the women and their social networks. This next section discusses this notion of differing rationalities and techniques, drawing on the work of Watson (2003; 2009) and Bridge (2005).

In many African cities, a clash is both seen and sensed between what are understood as modernist ideas of how cities *should* appear and function (formality) and an alternate, organic and flexible mode of thought (the informal) (Myers 2011). Where this clash exists, some authors, such as Watson (2007), have suggested that it is the outcome of 'conflicting rationalities' or mind sets. She posits, as this thesis does, that this conflict goes beyond simple miscommunication, urbanisation, lack of dialogue and/or a disinclination to see another's point of view (Watson 2007). As shown in this research and substantiated by the work of Watson (2003; 2007 & 2009), the City assumes that there exists a collective, mutual rationality that, in reality, is fictional. The City, however, finds itself stuck in the middle of a fundamental conflict between "the logic of governing and the logic of survival" (Watson

2003: 2268). This clash of rationalities is often seen to, in part, be the reason why intellectual, ‘best practice’ planning and policy interventions have unintentional and often negative outcomes and consequences for those undergoing the formalisation process (Watson 2009). In the upgraded settlements, these outcomes and consequences are the inability to meet the needs of the women and their social networks.

Of particular interest to the findings of this research, is the work of Bridge (2005) who proposes that certain rationalities (and indeed practices and techniques) are the making of a particular situation and context, rather than being universal qualities (Bridge 2005). In the case of this research, it is the situation of formalisation taking place in the context of informal settlement upgrading in Makhaza and New Rest. The women and their social networks exist within the particular context of upgrading and have developed and enacted governmentality features seen in the research, in order to function and survive. The City has a particular rationality that has been created through its activities of upgrading and its history of administration and neo-liberalism. One should note that, interestingly enough, the governmentality of the City’s Housing Department is not the same as that of other Departments in the City who deal with different challenges and situations in different contexts. This shows that even within a larger governance body, like the City, governmentality is not universal. In the same vein, governmentality (even when dealing with similar challenges) is not the same across different housing departments and levels of government, for example, the National Department of Human Settlements or Housing Departments in other provinces or cities (even though they may be influenced by each other).

Technical, managerial and market based administrative systems and planning often seem to be entirely logical and sound in their own right (Watson 2009). They are seen to follow ‘international best practice’ and sound planning and governance principles. Watson (2009) sees problems arising at the point in which the rationalities, practices and techniques associated with these administrations interface with those that are different from their own (such as those belonging to the women’s social networks in Makhaza and New Rest). It is at this interface where we begin to see conflict and the occurrence of unintended consequences (such as not meeting the needs of social networks). It is where we attempt to find solutions and consensus at these interfaces, that dissonance often occurs (Bridge 2005). This includes resistance to power and counter-conduct (Foucault 2007a; 2007b). Bridge (2005) also observes that this dissonance is part of power systems and power dispersal (discussed in Foucault 2000a; 2002a; 2006). These power systems are productive, relational and control the conduct of others

(Foucault 2000a). Resistance and counter-conduct, as well as their association with power systems and power dispersal, are explored further in the next chapter.

5.6 MAIN FINDINGS FROM THE RESEARCH AND SUMMARY

There are several core findings from this section of the research. They include the following:

- The governmentality used by the City to plan and implement the upgrading of informal settlements is different from that of the women's social networks.
- The City of Cape Town's Housing Department has a governmentality that is largely technocratic, functionalist, market-based, neo-liberal, and driven by engineering standards in line with national policy documents, budgets, mandates and targets.
- Firstly, the City's rationality is based on the need to meet the constitutional rights of citizens and the mandate of housing delivery and secondly, the need to collect an income from its 'customers' to remain economically viable.
- The techniques and practices of the City are both spatial (placement of roads, settlement planning, basic services etc.) and administrative (billing for services, the provision of addresses etc.).
- The rationality of the women's social networks is traditional, socially and culturally based, as well as organic and flexible. It is based on the need for survival through the maintenance of access to livelihood assets through social networks.
- The techniques and practices of the women's social networks include verbal communication, regular meetings and gatherings, informal voting systems and member registrations as well as 'gentlemen's agreements' which require no formal legal contracts.

This chapter presented and discussed the results of the City of Cape Town's governmentality (rationalities, practices and techniques) and that of the women's social networks in Makhaza and New Rest. It showed how these governmentalities differ and how they interact in the upgrading of these two areas.

The City of Cape Town's Housing Directorate has a twofold rationality in the upgrading of informal settlements. The first is based on the need to meet the constitutional rights of citizens and the mandate of housing delivery. The City's rationality in this practice is largely technocratic and functionalist, market/economic based and driven by engineering standards which are in line with national policy documents, budgets, mandates and targets. The second is based on the need to collect an income from its 'customers' and remain viable. The City has adopted a largely neo-liberal approach, assuming commercialisation and market approaches with a focus on the financial bottom line. Residents have gone from being citizens to being customers of the City. The City undertakes both spatial and administrative techniques in the upgrading process. These techniques and practices include the installation of water, electricity and sanitation infrastructure, the formal spatial planning of settlements, the building of houses, billing for water and electricity and the provision of addresses.

The governmentality of the women and their social networks is quite different to that of the City. The rationality of the women's social networks is traditional, socially and culturally based, organic and flexible. It is based on the need for survival through the maintenance of access to livelihood assets. Access to social assets is particularly important as they act as a gateway to other assets. Networks are governed through verbal communication, regular gatherings and informal 'gentlemen's agreements'. Much of the rationality of the women's social networks is based on traditionalism and culture. This rationality is sustained through community structures, social networks and cultural techniques and practices.

Techniques and practices are based on ensuring the sustainability of livelihoods and neighbourhood structure. The techniques and practices of the women's social networks include techniques and practices of verbal communication, regular meetings and gatherings, informal voting systems and member registrations as well as 'gentlemen's agreements' which require no formal legal contracts. These techniques also include regular interaction with other social networks in the area, with systems of reciprocation, sharing and exchange forming a large part of the access system to other livelihood assets. Communication and trust forms a crucial part of the governing techniques and practices of these social networks and decisions within networks are made through shared dialogue and not through top down instructions.

It is clear that the governmentalities of the women's social networks and the City of Cape Town's Housing Department differ. The two governmentalities have clashed in the past and continue to do so today. This clash of rationalities and techniques is often seen to be one of the reasons why 'best practice' planning and policy interventions have unintended and sometimes negative outcomes for residents (Watson 2009). Watson (2009) sees problems arising at the point in which the rationalities, practices and techniques associated with one group (for example, the City), interface with those of another (for example, those of the women's social network). This is where we begin to see conflict and the occurrence of unintended consequences. Trying to find solutions at these interfaces is often where resistance and counter-conduct occur.

The next chapter explores the effect that the governmentality of the City has had on women and their social networks. It investigates the difficulties that have arisen from the conflict of rationalities between the two groups and the implications and responses of the women and their social networks. It demonstrates how the needs of the women and their social networks are not being met and how the women are unable to effectively maintain the vital, strong social relationships crucial to the survival of livelihoods in these areas. The chapter also investigates the various informal techniques and mechanisms used by the women to ensure the survival of the women's social networks and their livelihoods, including resistance and counter-conduct. Space and power are also discussed in relation to the conflicting rationalities and the response of the women's social networks.

CHAPTER 6

MEETING NEEDS AND COUNTER-CONDUCT: THE EFFECT OF DIFFERING GOVERNMENTALITIES

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter 5 showed that the governmentality used by the City to plan and implement the upgrading of informal settlements, is different from that of the women's social networks. This clash of governmentalities is seen to, in part, be the reason why intellectual, 'best practice' planning and policy interventions have unintentional and often adverse outcomes and consequences for those undergoing the formalisation process (as discussed in Watson 2009). Chapter 6 will demonstrate this and point out some of the outcomes and consequences of these differing governmentalities, many of which are negative. These outcomes and consequences include the inability of the two settlements to meet the needs of the women and their social networks. This chapter will also present the conflicts, contestations and counter-conducts that have emerged within the newly formalised settlements, with particular emphasis on the return of these settlements to a state of informality. Governmentality and space will also be discussed as well as issues related to power. The chapter will close with an overview of the main findings and the gaps that need to be filled.

6.2 IMPLICATIONS OF DIFFERING GOVERNMENTALITIES

Now that it has been ascertained that the governmentality of the City and that of the women's social networks differ, this section investigates the implications of this for the women's social networks in the two case study settlements. A particular focus has been placed on meeting the needs of the women and their social networks. The needs of the women and their social networks within the settlements of Makhaza and New Rest are varied but fall into four categories: environmental (physical and natural), social, economic and political. The needs documented in Table 6.1 are those identified during the research in Makhaza and New Rest. Of particular interest to this research are the individual social needs of the women which are linked to the social networks that exist in these settlements. The other categories (economic, political and environmental), however, also play a role in creating, sustaining and strengthening the social networks of these women. In turn, social networks also unlock access to economic, environmental and political needs.

Table 6.1. Needs of women residents in Makhaza and New Rest (in no specific order) (own table with data gathered from primary research)

Makhaza and New Rest	
Environmental: Physical and Natural	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Water and sanitation, green open spaces, air quality, electricity and energy sources (e.g. paraffin), food security, housing and shelter, waste management, infrastructure and drainage systems (incl. flood control)
Social	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Savings clubs, friends, family (immediate and extended), reciprocation systems, meeting spaces, education, housing, healthcare, food security, schooling and day care for children, pre and postnatal care, old age homes, safe and reliable transport, personal safety and protection, lighting and safe settlement access routes, privacy, space for cultural activities
Economic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Employment, money, opportunity for financial gain, access to credit, financial and physical assets, access to seed/start-up funding, financial mentorship, savings schemes and savings clubs ('stokvels')
Political	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Voice, the protection of democratic rights, access to decision making processes, access to information, leadership, access to voter registration and voting stations, access to identity documents (incl. birth certificates), passport documentation, opportunity for self-governance.

Some of the needs of a few women in Makhaza and New Rest have been met. These include the provision of toilets, showers and baths inside their houses as well as the provision of electricity and water to each housing unit. Other needs that have been met include protection from the rain and wind. The Makhaza residents speak of “no more waterfalls” which refers to flooding within their homes. However, twenty out of the twenty three women interviewed in Makhaza and fifteen out of the twenty women interviewed in New Rest, reported that their houses did not meet their needs. Those women who said their needs were met alluded to the fact that they had spent a large amount of money fixing up

their houses and improving them in order for them to become adequate for their needs. Others mentioned that they lived alone and so did not need much space for an extended family.

The most common complaint by women about their houses focused on the size of the building and the quality of its construction. One of the women interviewed in Makhaza felt that the house was inadequate because she had children and grandchildren living with her (a crucial part of her social network). There was not enough space or enough privacy to accommodate her immediate and extended family. The plots on which the houses are built are also too small for children to play in and for women to undertake their daily tasks such as hanging up wet washing.

Many women focused on the design and layout of the settlement as a whole and the fact that it did not meet their needs (particular those needs that made for strong social networks, for example, spaces to meet as a group). Women were asked to state whether or not the settlement, as a whole, met their needs. In Makhaza, nineteen out of the twenty women interviewed reported that it didn't meet their needs. Only three of the twenty three women interviewed in New Rest felt it did.

Many mentioned that there was, most notably, a lack of spaces for women to gather. The following comment, gathered during the interviews in the settlements, reflect this:

“When we want to meet we go to someone’s house or we use the shack in the back. “We have to make our own spaces to meet and undertake our cultural activities.”

“There are no spaces for us to meet. We struggle to even meet for our burial society. It is worse now that it is formal.”

“We are using a lot of money to meet people and to meet friends (travelling). Whoever built it wanted to destroy our relationships.”

(Women interviewed in Makhaza and New Rest. February 2012)

Some women also made mention of the fact that the settlement's layout and infrastructure had made the settlement unsafe. Lack of adequate lighting and the positioning of transport routes, have meant the women feel threatened in their space and have restricted their movements after dark. Women either rarely, or no longer, socialise or meet in the evenings. This is, however, sometimes the only time they have available to meet due to work and family commitments during the day. Some of the women's comments are shown below:

“We do not go to (social and religious) gatherings at night anymore. Now there is too much crime. It is dangerous.”

“Some roads are too narrow and it is difficult to move freely in the community but the roads have also meant that anyone can come into the community without us knowing. There are a lot of ‘outsiders’.”

(Women interviewed in New Rest. February 2012)

Several of the findings described above are reflected in the neighbourhood maps produced during the Saturday workshops (see Figure 6.1) (all the maps produced at the workshop are shown in Addendum 4). An analysis of these maps has served to confirm many of the findings from the semi-structured interview process, thus visually representing much of the ethnographic data gathered.

Areas of celebration, gathering, meeting, ritual and religion were drawn on the maps, however, the women struggled with mapping these spaces because many of the original areas (such as the ‘Meeting Tree’ in Makhaza) had been removed during the upgrading process, leaving little space for cultural activities and gatherings. Many cultural activities now take place outside the settlement (sometimes as far away as the rural areas of the Eastern Cape). Women showed places of meeting as houses and backyard shacks attached to houses. Small pockets of open space that do still exist were marked on the maps as ‘dangerous areas’ or ‘gang areas’. These open spaces were seen as ‘no go’ spaces and not available for meetings, rituals or celebrations. A woman in New Rest made the following remark during the workshop:

“We used to meet frequently as women in open spaces and walk at whatever time of the night but now it does not happen because of the crime. There is not even a safe small park. We used to have cooking stokvels in open spaces and socials but not anymore because even the houses are too small. We used to meet under the big tree. We can’t do that anymore either.”

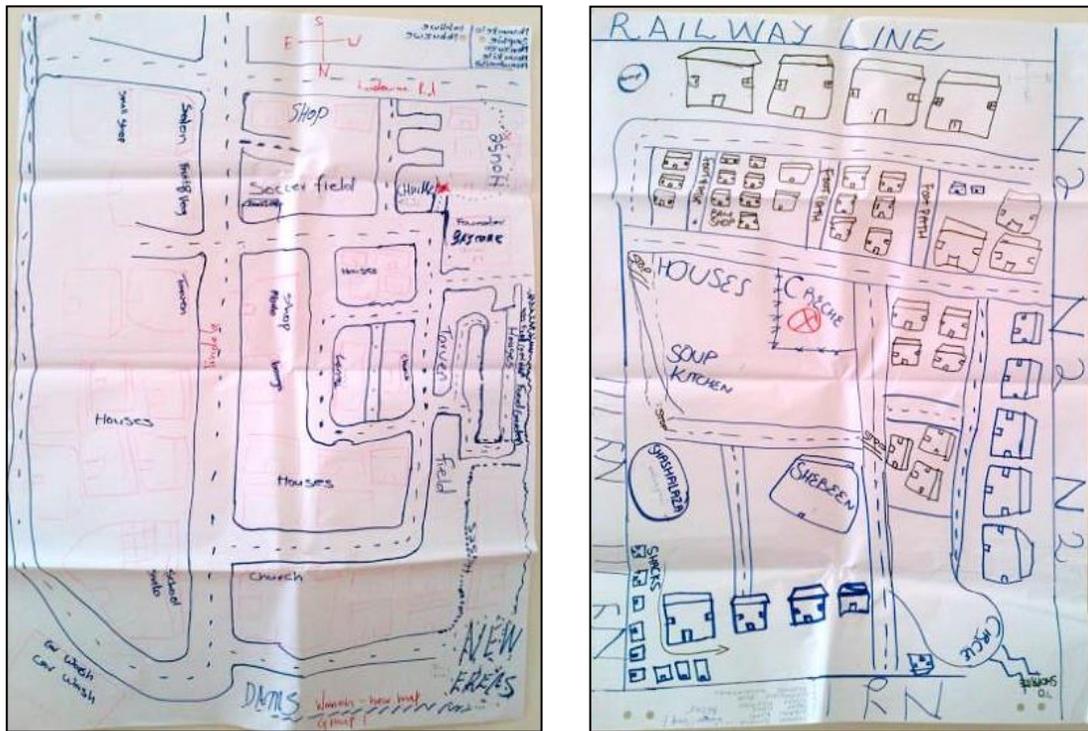


Figure 6.1. Neighbourhood maps from the Makhaza (left) and New Rest (right) mapping workshops (Massey 2011)

The neighbourhood maps also show, visually, the various social networks that are still operating in the areas, including the sewing groups, environmental committees/groups and food garden groups, ‘Stokvels’ (savings groups), burial societies and church and Bible groups. The most mapped of the social networks were the stokvels and church/Bible groups. This indicates that these are probably the strongest and most well-known of the networks and are visible within the community structure. They were also the networks that had the most space allocated to them on the women’s maps. Of particular interest is the way that the women have mapped the roads. They are wide and dominate the pages (almost dividing up the settlement). They seem to be a prominent feature in the settlement. They remain some of the last remaining space for gathering and social interaction.

The urban planning of the new settlements undertaken by the City, has been based, not on the needs of the women (or indeed, any of the residents), but on providing as many services as the budget allows and attempting to make the residents of the previously informal settlements into rate-paying citizens in order to meet the City’s financially-based mandates. While the City is focused on the technocratic

process of providing houses, services and infrastructure, the women are focused on how they are going to support a livelihood and maintain their connections in the upgraded settlements. Women have received houses and services but have not had their means of livelihoods improved or advanced. There are no opportunities or space for self-governance nor prospects for self-sufficiency.

To summarise, while some of the needs of the women and their social networks have been met, most of these needs have not.

- The most common complaint by the women, focused on the size and quality of the houses as well as the design and layout of the settlements. The size of the houses has meant that now women cannot accommodate extended families who are an important part of their networks.
- The design and layout of the settlements is such that the maintenance of strong social networks is almost impossible. Places for women to meet are crucial to sustaining and creating networks and meeting spaces have not been designed into the new settlements.
- The new settlements have not made room for informal economic activities to take place and do not provide public meeting spaces or structured social and cultural spaces.
- The lack of adequate lighting and the placement of transport routes, means that the women are constrained in their movements and feel vulnerable in their space. Women now either rarely or no longer socialise or meet in the evenings.

Having removed the social reciprocation opportunities, as well as the informal income generation prospects through the spatial restructuring, the women in the settlements have begun engaging in ‘counter-conduct’, using various informal mechanisms and techniques to ensure that the settlements meet their needs and constructs/rationalities. This is yet another implication that has arisen from the differing governmentalities and which has resulted in the settlements not meeting the needs of the women’s social networks.

6.3 CONFLICTS, CONTESTATIONS AND COUNTER-CONDUCTS

A number of conflicts and contestations have arisen within the, now formalised, settlements of Makhaza and New Rest. This section responds to the research question: ‘what conflicts, contestations and counter-conducts have emerged within the newly formalised settlements?’

6.3.1 The conflicts and contestations

One of the core conflicts has been that new houses are sold or rented to other people (often new residents from outside the settlement). This generally occurs because the original recipient cannot afford to pay for electricity, water and maintenance. As new people from other communities take over the houses, conflicts develop between ‘outsiders’ and the original community. The women have blamed the increase in crime and violence in the areas on the fact that the community now no longer knows who is coming in and out of the settlement and which neighbours belong where.

Maintenance within the area has caused another set of conflicts. Drains are regularly blocked, causing flooding and the overflow of sewerage into the streets. They take months to fix and have been blamed for causing illness and disease in the settlements. Lighting is also not well maintained. Street lamps regularly stop functioning and, again, it takes several months for the City to fix them. This adds to the danger of the settlement for women who are reluctant to face the danger of leaving their homes to visit friends and neighbours after dark. This lack of maintenance has fuelled a number of service delivery protests such as those held in Makhaza during May and September 2011 (Damba 2011).

Power struggles have ensued between residents, councillors and the City. The informal and organic systems of the community, who value face-to-face relationships and community interaction, have not been compatible with the inflexible and bureaucratic nature of the City. Councillors and street committees have attempted to fill this communication gap but have not succeeded in being able to meet both the needs and constructs of the City and those of the residents within communities. Communities have been accused of standing in the way of City developments and slowing the process of delivery with unrealistic needs and expectations (Cross 2005). Services are, however, close to collapse and community support for the City and councillors is waning. The risk of conflict is ever present within these communities, particularly as faith in the City and its capacity to deliver diminishes, branding them ineffective and corrupt. City authorities are seen to be ignoring the need for space, services and adequate housing until conflict breaks out or emergency situations arise (such as a fire or intense flooding). This has forced quasi-political community leaders to challenge councillors and the City for control of settlements.

Street committees are designed to be the first port of call when there are problems within the community. The street committees in Makhaza and New Rest have, however, for the most part, been

ineffectual and a number of residents commented that the only purpose they served was ‘to gossip about other people’. There is also much distrust of the committees, especially in Makhaza. There have been accusations of both political manipulation and bribery of these structures by the local ward councillors. Women’s social networks are particularly reliant on the street committees to take their grievances to the Councillors and City of Cape Town. They feel they have lost this voice through the upgrading process, particularly because the division of areas into wards with committees and ward councillors has divided the governance systems within the community. Ward councillors themselves are political figures and have different mandates in dealing with grievances or requests from communities. Like the street committees, ward councillors in Makhaza and New Rest are largely seen by the women as ineffectual and self-serving with political agendas that do not meet the needs of the community at large.

In order to access the livelihood assets and services critical to keeping their social networks alive, the women have undertaken activities and employed techniques that can be viewed as a form of counter-conduct. Counter-conduct is a concept that Foucault explores where practices and techniques of an individual or group may take the form of opposition to government conduct and/or mentalities (Foucault 2007a). The task or technique of counter-conduct aims not to confront or conquer, but to influence the society it is part of (Dean 2010).

The ‘counter-conduct’ in Makhaza and New Rest has taken many shapes and forms. Including, amongst other things:

- The use of front rooms as “spaza” (informal) shops and hair salons to create an income from the houses (these are often illegal and unregistered)
- The illegal extension of the houses to run illegal taverns (pubs) and gambling clubs and the construction of illegal and unregulated backyard and, in some cases, front-yard shacks.



Figure 6.2. Informal shacks attached to a main house in Makhaza, Cape Town. The arrow indicates the original house (Massey 2011)



Figure 6.3. Illegal and informal extensions to an original house provided through the upgrading process in Makhaza, Cape Town. The arrows indicate the original house (Massey 2011)

This research focused particularly on the construction of illegal and unregulated backyard (and front-yard) shacks, because of the spatial implications of such construction. In Makhaza, seventeen out of the twenty three women interviewed, have made alterations to their houses or were using them for various purposes besides residency. In New Rest the number, was slightly lower, with fifteen out of twenty women interviewed having made changes and alterations.

The most common alteration was the construction of backyard shacks (in some cases these shacks were in the front yard but were still referred to as “backyard shacks” by residents). In Makhaza, nineteen out of the twenty three women interviewed had added backyard shacks to their dwellings, while in New Rest, the number was slightly lower, with fourteen of the twenty women interviewed having constructed backyard shacks. Examples of these backyard shacks are shown in Figure 6.2 and Figure 6.3.

The reasons for the construction of these additional dwellings are varied. Some rent out the shack for extra income and, in some cases, live in the shack themselves while renting out the main house. Shacks are also built to accommodate small businesses such as crèches and hair salons. The predominant reason for the structures, however, was to ensure that the women could keep their extended family unit (and support system) in one location. Daughters or sons live with their own children in the backyard shack while the parents and younger siblings live in the main house. The services of the house such as electricity, water and sanitation are shared with the shack. Electricity is often connected via illegal wiring systems.

The unlawful construction of shack dwellings, the use of these additional dwellings for economic gain, illegal connections to water and electricity services and the unregulated extension of houses in Makhaza and New Rest, has meant that the upgraded settlements have now returned to a state of informality. For the City, this return to informality has also brought with it ‘ghosts of the past’; ‘ghosts’ that were present before the upgrading of the settlement such as overcrowding, illegal and dangerous electricity connections, lack of sufficient sanitation for the number of people in the settlement, unsafe and fire-prone informal structures, zoning contraventions and flooding.

It is important to note that this ‘counter-conduct’ by the residents of Makhaza and New Rest is not a deliberate action against the City, nor in fact, is it seen by them as ‘counter-conduct’. It is merely a set

of mechanisms, strategies and techniques undertaken to ensure the survival of livelihoods and the securing of social networks that ensure day-to-day survival. This is reflected in the comment given during an interview with a policy researcher at the Isandla Institute (22 September 2011):

“There is a return to informality because it is far more functional in terms of social relationships. It’s about social relationships ultimately. The return to informality is about staying alive, and the process of making the settlement liveable is a function of their social relationship as opposed to relationship to the formal state or their physical environment. “

The City’s opinion is that this ‘return to informality’ is simply a symptom of the rapid urbanisation that has taken place in Cape Town. While this may account for some of the return, most women in Makhaza and New Rest have indicated that the changes made to their dwellings and subsequent counter-conduct, is in response to a) the settlement not meeting their needs, and b) an attempt to maintain their vital social networks in a settlement that has been poorly designed. The response by the City, to the backyarder in particular, has been to try and regulate and document the structures and residents living in them. They have started numbering and recording the shacks, providing them with addresses and their own electricity boxes and water points. This documenting process has meant that residents now receive a utility bill separate from the main house.

“Giving addresses and numbers to backyard shacks helps in census keeping and estimating bulk infrastructure usage and requirements or needs. It also gives backyard tenants independence from the landlord. We need to know how many people/shack extensions you have just like a second dwelling unit in a suburbs. We can also then provide individual water and electricity points to shacks and we can post the bill for usage to the address for the shack. They can get independent services.”

(City of Cape Town, Land and Forward Planning. 19 October 2011)

The process of documenting the back yard shacks has, however, brought its own problems as shown in this quote by a member of the Isandla Institute (22 September 2011):

“Backyarders are an example of a problem the City didn’t see coming. They are now politically and technocratically unsure how to deal with them. One attempt to react to backyarders has been to treat them like tenants and formalise the rental system which will allow the state to regulate them. The problem is then a shift in the relationship between the backyarder and home owner/landlord to a formal one. (But) the relationship between backyard tenants and landlords is generally fluid and informal and not always based on money, for example, the provision of child care and security in exchange for residency. This can lead to a number of unintended knock-on effects.”

These unintended knock-on effects have included the loss of livelihoods, the restriction of access to livelihood assets and the restriction, and in some cases elimination, of vital social networks.

The City has also started to plan the settlements in a way that anticipates the construction of backyard shacks by residents. The City explains in the interview quote below:

“We can’t stop backyard shacks and don’t stop them. Where do you move the backyarders to if you break down the shacks? Layout planning has now started to foresee this. Where the City wants to discourage this you build the plots smaller or put houses right on the street so you don’t see the shacks and it looks formal. The benefit of this for the City means that they keep the infrastructure on street side which allows easy access for maintenance. Generally we strategise in the planning stage to discourage shacks.”

(City of Cape Town, Land and Forward Planning. 19 October 2011)

This strategy, however, means that the settlement design continues to neglect the needs of its residents (particularly women). This reactive response by the City to shack building does not address the problem of why the shacks are built in the first place. A change in physical space has not necessarily brought about a change in the governmentality of the women's social networks. The women have retained their organic, flexible system of social networks and have redesigned their new settlement to meet the needs of these networks.

6.3.2 Counter-conduct

Governmentality understands ideas of power and resistance, to be based on notions of power relations. When Foucault speaks of relations of power he is referring to an interaction or relationship that exists to control the conduct of another. This is a relationship that occurs at various levels, takes various forms and can be altered or transformed. For power relations to operate, there must be some point or form of freedom for both parties. If this exists then the opportunity and likelihood of resistance is conceivable (Foucault 2000b). One cannot separate relations of power and the possibility of resistance (Rose et al. 2006). The likelihood for resistance, contestation and the failure of administrations that hold power, makes government susceptible to shifts and adjustments (Rose et al. 2006).

Foucault developed the idea of counter-conduct as part of his work on governmentality and describes it as “the will not to be governed thusly, like that, by these people, at this price” (Foucault 2007b: 75).

Counter-conduct is a concept that Foucault describes as the process where practices, techniques or technologies of a group or an individual take the form of resistance to government conduct and/or mentalities. This counter-conduct aims to influence the society or system they are part of (Dean 2010). It impacts the social environment, behaviour, livelihood activities and space where various ‘forces’ may have the capacity to change relationships and their outcomes (Gribat 2010). Counter-conduct is understood to come as an after-effect of power and power relations. It is a battle against the techniques used for the control of behaviour or conduct of others and can take the form of individual behaviours or those of structured groupings. It operates in opposition to power exercised as the conducting of conduct. A counter-conduct approach focuses on practices and mentalities of resistance.

Establishments of power and those that resist them conduct themselves in a particular way and have certain modes of conduct. These establishments, however, are distinctive in that they endeavour to govern the conduct of groups or individuals. Power restricts the potential of a group or set of individuals to various conducts and types of behaviour. In an attempt to be conducted in a different way, new norms may be created. Counter-conduct can therefore be seen as an industrious and flexible force that introduces new ways of being (Gribat 2010). It can develop in conjunction with what a group or individual is attempting to counter and can produce new norms, principles and ideals (Gribat 2010). This challenges the institutional manner in which urban spaces have been designed, constructed and kept (Garber & Turner 1995).

Dean (1999), in his ‘analytics of government’, draws on what he sees as four dimensions of government: 1) the arenas of visibility it generates and its aims, 2) the systems of knowledge it is reliant on; 3) the technologies and tools it assembles and activates and 4) the subjectivities, partialities and characteristics (identities) it produces. Dean (2010) sees these as linked to protest. In this case they can also be linked to counter-conduct as demonstrated by this research.

In terms of the arenas of visibility it generates and its aims, the women of Makhaza and New Rest have made their counter-conduct visible through the construction of backyard shacks, the conversion of homes into spaza shops and small businesses and the illegal extension of their homes. They have also been made visible through service delivery protests such as those held in Makhaza during May and September 2011 (Damba 2011). While backyard shacks as counter-conduct do not have specific aims of changing government, they do have the aim of resisting the conduct (including the governmentality:

rationalities and techniques) of government that they have been subjected to through the settlement upgrading.

As Death (2010) suggests, protests, just like structures of government, presume systems of knowledge and act to make them more concrete or real. It is reliant on these systems of knowledge to make them legitimate, real and valid. These sets of knowledge are guided by rationalities. All techniques of counter-conduct are guided by rationalities and therefore governmentalities. All counter-conduct has its own rationalities. The rationality behind the counter-conduct of building back yard shacks is one that seeks to maintain social networks that allow access to other livelihood assets (economic, political, physical and natural assets). It is driven by the governmentality of the women, which we have ascertained, is based on societal connections, reciprocation and more informal systems within its social networks. The response by the City to the counter-conduct of backyard shack construction has not been the classic response of demolishing these structures. The City has instead sought to regulate and document the structures and residents living in these dwelling through numbering and recording the shacks, providing them with addresses and their own electricity boxes and water points (which has meant that these residents now receive a utility bill separate from the main house).

On the surface, one might view the City's reaction as an acceptance of this counter-conduct, but in fact if one looks deeper into the governmentality (rationality and techniques) used by the City, one sees that the City has simply maintained its economic rationality through this practice. This rationality is one of ensuring that as many people as possible are brought into the rate-paying system so that they can ensure revenue from services. This is yet another form of census or accounting and the City has maintained the same rationality in the managing of the counter-conduct of backyard shacks that it used in the upgrading of the informal settlements (which brought about the counter-conduct in the first place). The way both the women and the City have reacted reflects their governmentality. The governmentality has not changed; it has just been expressed in a different way.

Rationalities of governing direct the techniques and practices of those who govern and their conduct. This is the same for the techniques and practices of counter-conduct. The technologies and tools assembled and activated by counter-conduct in Makhaza and New Rest are the use of front rooms as 'spaza' (informal) shops and hair salons to create an income from the houses (these are often illegal and unregistered), the illegal extension of the houses to run illegal taverns (pubs) and gambling clubs

and the construction of illegal and unregulated backyard and, in some cases, front-yard shacks. Service delivery protests are also held on occasion. Many of these techniques are pulled through from the informal settlements where informal businesses operated within residential dwellings and building shacks was part of the survival system of livelihoods. Counter-conduct is also produced and shaped by forms of government they confront as well as the techniques and rationalities (governmentality) of those governments. The technique of using space to guide behaviour and rationalities through informal settlement upgrading (used by the City), has produced the counter-conduct where women use the space as a tool for resistance. In some ways the women have used the techniques of the City against the City.

The essence of counter-conduct is the desire to be conducted differently with other techniques and approaches and towards other objectives (Foucault 2007b). Foucault (2007a) sees government and the counter-conduct it is opposed to, as intimately connected. Counter-conduct, therefore, does not necessarily involve a broad or complete rejection of government but uses its own techniques against it by using a different rationality: playing the same game differently. For example, the women of Makhaza and New Rest have built backyard shacks onto the homes provided by the City. They have not completely rejected the buildings or settlement (the technique of the City) but have used the spaces available to practice their own technique of extending their homes to meet their needs. It uses the City's techniques against it, not with the rationality/governmentality of the City (adding people to the census and rate paying system), but with their own rationality/governmentality (to access social networks and assets).

Counter-conduct is generally undertaken on a small scale which separates it from larger, full scale revolutions, rebellion or revolt (Foucault 1998). The counter-conduct undertaken in Makhaza and New Rest has not been carried out with the intention of purging or rejecting the spatial techniques and practices of the City. It has been adopted to manipulate and benefit from what is available, in order to ensure the survival of social networks. Counter-conduct does not always aim to be counter-conduct. It can simply be an effort to manage a particular problem (such as a shortage of space or a disruption of social networks and livelihoods). It is an attempt at governing, participation, place making, practical solution seeking and, in essence, livelihood survival. Counter-conduct brings fresh visibilities, knowledge, practices and identities into existence but at the same time strengthens prevailing techniques and rationalities of government (Death 2010).

Counter-conduct is developed in correlation with the conduct it is opposed to (Foucault 2007a). Counter-conduct is therefore seen to be integral to government. But assemblages of government or governance conduct can shift and what is generally considered normal conduct can turn into counter-conduct. A prime example of this would be the rezoning of land within the upgrading of informal settlements. Now that areas are zoned as residential, the conducting of small businesses from homes is considered illegal under the zoning scheme. Where mixed use was once tolerated in this area, spaza shops and small businesses run from homes is seen as counter-conduct by the City. Where previously unproblematic conduct was undertaken, it has turned problematic because of changing systems of government regarding upgrading and zoning of informal settlements. This is the role counter-conduct plays in the formation of accepted practices.

Counter-conduct can be constructive and destructive, disrupting and re-inventing as it emerges. It can both resist and fortify systems of power and regimes of government (Death 2010). It is constructive in that it creates new techniques and modes of behaviour where the objective is a different form of conduct and is driven by a particular type of rationality. These techniques and different forms of conduct are constructed internally but also prompt the creation of government practice and procedures in response to this newly assembled conduct. An example would be the *development* of backyard shacks (a new behaviour/technique in the upgraded settlement guided by the women's rationality) and the City *developing* techniques in response, that document and manage these informal dwellings (again, a new behaviour/technique in the upgraded settlement guided by the City's rationality). The new practices and techniques developed in response to the counter-conduct of women can also be resisted, forcing systems of government to develop further methods and procedures. Counter-conduct is closely associated with the systems of power they oppose and therefore practices of government are formed by and evolve through the method in which they are resisted (Death 2010). Systems of government are therefore never static, always evolving and under construction.

As much as counter-conduct can play a constructive role, its intention and effect can be destructive. Resisting the techniques and practices used to control conduct means that many of these methods are altered or abandoned in order to respond to this counter-conduct. By-laws and legislation may be temporarily ignored such as building regulations (with regards to backyard shacks) or planning ordinances (the development of spaza shops in areas zoned for residential use). Techniques may be adjusted (such as the placing of houses strategically on plots to discourage illegal extensions) or

abandoned all together. The ‘destruction through construction’ practice used by the women through the construction of their backyard shacks is of particular interest. Women have resisted the upgraded settlement spatial structure, destroying its intended layout through the construction of their dwellings and extensions and used the residential space for economic activities. The counter-conduct has strengthened the women’s regime of truth and rationality (that of informality and social cohesion for network access). The rationalities and techniques of their counter-conduct and resistance have reinforced their governmentality.

The women of Makhaza and New Rest have pulled techniques and practices used before the settlement upgrade, into their counter-conduct. Shack building and informal businesses all formed part of the practices and techniques employed in the informal settlement. These methods (now used in the new settlements) retain the rationality that led to their use in the first place, the social rationality that held networks in place and allowed women to access available livelihood assets in and around the settlement. The retention of these techniques and practices not only acts as counter-conduct but also assists the women and their social networks, to hold onto their identity (and in some cases create new identities in a new space). This counter-conduct emerges as women attempt to hold onto their rationality, their social networks, their livelihoods and their access to economic, political and physical assets. The techniques and practices of the women also emerge as sources of conflict when they clash with the City’s differing governmentality and the conduct of conduct envisioned for the upgraded space. These techniques and practices are not seen by the City as an attempt to participate in place-making or an attempt in shape the spatial environment. The conduct is seen to be ‘counter’ to the prevailing City rationalities.

6.4 SPACE, POWER AND GOVERNMENTALITY IN MAKHAZA AND NEW REST

Space often operates as a government technique or technology (which includes census taking, statistics and mapping). Space can also be an object or goal of government (Gribat 2010). In the case of Makhaza and New Rest, the City has used space to try and meet its objectives: to provide for the constitutional rights of citizens (the right of everyone to have access to adequate shelter, water, sanitation etc.) and to gather income from services rendered to citizens. It has used the space as a technique or technology of government through the settlement upgrading process. This is driven by the rationality of the City which is largely economic and technocratic. Space is used as a vehicle to achieve particular effects (as discussed in Gribat 2010). In the cases presented in this research, space is

used in an attempt to create rate-paying citizens and generate revenue. Women, however, use the space to enable their social networks and to enable their livelihoods.

Space, as discussed by Huxley (2008), is an important element of the rationalities of government and can play an important role in its examination. Different kinds of spaces are used as objects and aims of government and can feature in its programmes and practices (Huxley 2008). This is clear through the practice and programmes of settlement upgrading where space is used as an object of the government to generate revenue and bring residents into the economic system. Spaces and built forms can also be used as techniques of rule for reform and control (Huxley 2008). Formal settlements are considered easier to control as residents and settlements are perceived as ungovernable if not part of the economic system or formal landscape. Provided with addresses and amenity billing systems, residents are accounted for and are pulled into the formal structures of the City. Providing houses also quietens the voices of dissent amongst those who understand the City as a conduit for the provision of their constitutional right to housing. This also provides a sense of control over the population.

The involvement by government in various spaces (such as informal settlement upgrading), can be viewed as a reaction to the particular concerns of a space and its population (Cochrane 2007). The involvement in upgrading by the City has largely been a response to the growing dissent of residents around the lack of formal housing and services. This ‘ungovernability’ is seen to be a threat to the City and its structures. The rationality of the women in informal spaces (as demonstrated in Makhaza and New Rest) is that of a patriarchal state which provides for the rights and wishes of its citizens. The belief that the State/the City ‘should look after us and provide for our needs’, is a prevalent rationality behind the demand for the provision of housing. The State is seen as a care provider, serving the needs of the residents and their associated constitutional rights. The City, however, sees itself rather as the protector of rights and as a set of structures that citizens should be amalgamated and assimilated into (generally through technocratic (and economic) means such as billing for services and infrastructure). It bases its premise on residents being legally required to comply with laws, regulations and legislation. This is again a demonstration of the mismatch of rationalities between the City and the women’s social networks.

Involvement in spaces through informal settlement upgrading is also undertaken because of the City’s directive (from the National Government) to collect its own revenue and manage its own budget and

income. The City is required to generate its own returns through service provision at a local level. This requirement has shaped the rationality of the City into one that is technocratic and economic. The City is managed like a business with checks and balances, profit requirements and revenue streams. These necessitate monitoring, measuring and policing, which brings with it a significant level of control and order. This system means a change of mind-set for both the City and the residents. Residents have gone from being citizens to being customers who are now deemed governable through their assimilation spatially (and economically) into both the landscape and the systems of the City.

The concept of “spatial and environmental causality” (Huxley 2006: 772) focuses on the industrious role of space and the punitive effects and functioning of space. Spaces are seen to contribute to the formation and establishment of certain subjects of government and can be used in government as a device to realise various ends. These include producing particular subjects, particularly those that are governable (Gribat 2010). This can comprise of disciplinary use of space with the aim of producing passive and useful subjects through control and partitioning (as Foucault (1991) describes in *Discipline and Punishment*). In the case of Makhaza and New Rest, it is the use of space with the aim of producing rate-paying citizens who are assimilated into the economic systems of the City. Power and government are therefore seen not only as forms of control, but also as *productive* of subjectivities (Foucault 1977).

The understanding of space also allows for a better understanding of power (a fundamental component of Foucault’s governmentality). Power requires space as a facilitator and catalyst to trigger its existence (Gribat 2010; Hirst 2000). The City uses the formalisation of the spaces in Makhaza and New Rest to exercise its power over residents, thereby exercising power over women’s social networks and rendering them governable. The women and their social networks also use their space to exercise a more informal power over the City through the use of the space for informal dwelling (shacks) and businesses which allow their networks to continue operating. Space therefore acts as an enabler to the exercising of power by both parties. It is also a catalyst in initiating the existence of power. An example of this is the ‘new’ power that the women and their social networks amassed, through their informal use of space as resistance.

Foucault (1977) understands power to be relational and the interactions or relationships that exist to control the conduct of others, is a core element of governmentality studies. In the case of Makhaza and

New Rest, power has attempted to produce citizens who are controlled through development and their integration into a formal system. Power is exercised through the administrative and spatial practices, techniques and rationality of the City in the upgrading process. Power also produces its own truth and has both formed and maintained the conflicting rationalities that exist (Huxley 2007) between the City and the women's social networks. Therefore conflicting rationalities are also a power relationship.

6.5 MAIN FINDINGS AND SUMMARY

The following points are the main findings from this part of the research:

- The governmentality used by the City to plan and implement the upgrading of informal settlements, is different from that of the women's social networks. This differing governmentality has meant that the settlements do not meet the needs of the women and their social networks.
- In response, the women have redesigned their new settlement to meet the needs of their social networks. Backyard shacks, illegal electrical and water connections, illegal home extensions and informal trading from homes, have become common place in the settlements. These acts of, what Foucault would call 'counter-conduct', have forced the settlements back into a state of informality.
- A change in physical space has not necessarily brought about a change in the governmentality of the women's social networks. The women have retained their organic, flexible system of social networks and have redesigned their new settlement to meet the needs of these networks (and the City has retained its rationalities).

This research has identified a number of assumptions that the City and the women's social networks have established.

- There is a general assumption by the City that those living in informal settlements are unexplored economic actors and that a simple solution to their informality would be to pull them into the economy; that the economy will 'fix' them. This assumption is incorrect.
- There is also an assumption by the City that if you provide a house for someone, they will naturally or automatically assimilate into the system and change their chiefly social construct or governmentality to that of rate paying citizens. This research has also shown this to be an incorrect assumption.

- The women's social networks assume that the City is there to provide for their rights and not just to protect them. This is an incorrect assumption.

The research also notes that:

- The clash of governmentalities that exists is only one example of the types of clashes that take place in cities.
- This clash is not the only reason that the settlements have not met the needs of the women's social networks, but it is a vital part and one of the core explanations as to why there is a return to informality.

In summary, this part of the research has shown that, while some of the needs of the women and their social networks have been met, most of these needs are not accommodated. The size of the houses and the design and layout of the settlements is such that, the maintenance of strong social networks is almost impossible. The lack of open space and places for women to meet has had a negative effect on social gatherings and cultural activities, both of which form a significant part of the women's community system. The ward system, as created by the City, has also produced divisions between neighbouring communities. The lack of adequate lighting and the position of transport routes has left the women vulnerable to crime and violence. They are therefore constrained in their movements in the settlement. The urban planning undertaken by the City has focused on providing as many houses and services as the budget can manage. It attempts to make the residents of the settlements into rate-paying citizens in order to meet the economic mandates of the City.

As a result, a number of conflicts and contestations have arisen within the now formalised settlements of Makhaza and New Rest. These include conflicts with new residents and the lack of infrastructure maintenance by the City. Numerous power struggles have also ensued between residents, councillors and the City. The communities, who value face-to-face relationships, contact and interactions, have struggled with the rigid and bureaucratic nature of the City, and the City has accused the communities of slowing the process of delivery with unrealistic requests and expectations. The women in the settlements have begun engaging in what Foucault would call 'counter-conduct', using various informal mechanisms and techniques to ensure that the settlements meet their needs.

Counter-conduct can take the form of individual behaviours or structured group actions and operates in opposition to the conducting of conducts. A counter-conduct approach focuses on practices and mentalities of resistance (Foucault 2007b). The women of Makhaza and New Rest have made their counter-conduct visible through the construction of backyard shacks, the conversion of homes into spaza shops and small businesses and the illegal extension of their homes. While this counter-conduct does not have a specific aim of changing government it does act to resist the control of their conduct by the City.

All counter-conduct and responses to counter-conduct have their own rationalities. The rationality behind the counter-conduct of building backyard shacks is one that seeks to maintain social networks and ensure sustainable livelihoods. The response by the City to this counter-conduct has been to regulate and document the structures and those living in these dwellings through numbering and recording the shacks for independent billing and infrastructure records. Initially this might be seen as an acceptance of this counter-conduct, however the governmentality (rationality and techniques) used by the City remains economic and managerial, ensuring yet again that as many people as possible are brought into the rate paying system. The City has maintained the same rationality in the managing of the counter-conduct of backyard shacks as it used in the upgrading of the informal settlements. The governmentality of the City has not changed - it has just been expressed in a different way. The women have strengthened their governmentality of flexibility, organic interaction and informality through their counter-conduct.

Space is used as a vehicle to achieve particular effects (as discussed in Gribat 2010). In Makhaza and New Rest, space has been used by the City in an attempt to create rate-paying citizens and generate revenue. Women have, however, used the space to enable their social networks and livelihoods. Formal settlements are considered by the City as easier to control. Residents and the settlements are perceived as ungovernable if not part of the economic accounting system or formal landscape. Residents have changed from being citizens to being customers, now deemed governable through their assimilation, spatially and economically, into the City structure. Understanding space in this way also enables us to understand better that power requires space as a facilitator and catalyst to trigger its existence (Hirst 2000). The City uses the formalisation of the spaces in Makhaza and New Rest to exercise its power over residents (and the women's social networks). This renders them governable and hopes to produce a certain kind of citizen. The counter conduct of the women's social networks, in

turn, exercises another form of power and control of space. Space acts as an enabler to the exercising of power and as a catalyst in initiating the exertion of power.

CHAPTER 7

INTEGRAL THEORY, GOVERNMENTALITY AND SETTLEMENT UPGRADING: A CONTRIBUTION FROM THIS RESEARCH

“What you see and hear depends a great deal on where you are standing ...”

C.S. Lewis, *The Magician's Nephew* (1955)

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The chapter begins with an overview of the research findings and the contributions this research has made so far. It also highlights some unresolved questions that remain in the literature. In an attempt to answer these questions, the chapter proposes the use of an integral approach through the use of Integral Theory and the AQAL framework (All Quadrants, All Lines). It outlines two ways in which the questions posed can be answered. The first is through the use of **Integral Theory and AQAL in the mapping and understanding** of differing governmentalities (rationalities, techniques and practices) and their relationship. The second is through the use of **Integral Theory and AQAL in proposing an integral approach to managing differing governmentalities** (particularly in the upgrading of informal settlements).

The chapter is divided into two parts. The first is a theoretical overview of Integral Theory and the AQAL framework and the second is the practical application of this theory in the planning and process of informal settlement upgrading. The first section begins with an overview of Integral Theory and its use in the academic literature and then provides an overview of the core elements of this theory. The section closes off with a look at some of the critiques of this theory and how the theory relates to governmentality studies. The second section deals with the application of Integral Theory: mapping and understanding the research findings in the AQAL framework and using an integral approach to governmentality in informal settlement upgrading.

7.2 AN OVERVIEW OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS AND GAPS THAT EXIST

This research's principal objective was to investigate the City of Cape Town's governmentality in the upgrading of Makhaza and New Rest in Cape Town and to explore the implications of this

governmentality for women's social networks in these two settlements. It focused on the governmentality elements of rationalities, practices and techniques as well as counter-conduct.

This research has, so far, contributed the following:

- It has proved empirically that the governmentality (rationalities, techniques and practices) of the City and that of the women's social networks differ with respect to the upgrading of informal settlements. There are conflicting rationalities.
- It has shown empirically that this differing governmentality has meant that the settlements do not meet the needs of the women and their social networks.
- It has also proven that a physical change in space does not necessarily bring about a change in the governmentality of residents as many (like the City) anticipate.

The contributions of the research findings are useful in their own right but it is not enough to simply state that the rationalities, practices and techniques (governmentality) are different or conflicting (which Watson (2003) has already discussed in much of her work). The question remains: 'now what?', 'how do we work with differing governmentalities and move forward?' It is also not enough to simply state that this conflict causes problems within the upgrading of settlements or that a physical change in space does not necessarily bring about a change in governmentality. Questions still remain and we need to take the findings a step further.

Unresolved questions also remain in the literature. These questions have been highlighted by academics such as Watson (2009); Trefon (2009) and Myers (1982, in Myers 2011). Watson raises the question as to how we go about understanding and conceptualising the interface between conflicting rationalities (governmentalities) and how we best understand the relationships which this conflict generates (Watson 2009). Watson (2009) asks for a way in which planning can support informality and survival efforts, rather than obstructing them with regulatory practice and displacement (Watson 2009). Watson (2009) points out that there has, so far, been very little guidance to planners working within the tensions of conflicting rationalities and that we need to "explore the analytical, evaluative and interventive concepts which could help planners faced with such conflicting rationalities" (Watson 2009: 2268), while at the same time giving consideration to the interface between "the rationality of government and the rationality of survival" (Watson 2009: 2268). Reasoned, evaluative and intercessory concepts are needed to assist planners in dealing with such conflicting rationalities and the

interface that exists between them (Watson 2009). Watson (2009) also calls for theoretical and conceptual resources that can assist in organising perspectives and understanding the nature of differing rationalities and their relationship. Trefon (2009) asks us to seek a form of hybrid governance that accepts all rationalities and governmentalities, while Myers (1982, in Myers 2011) appeals for a way in which differing rationalities can be organised and brought into conversation with each other.

In an attempt to answer these questions, this chapter proposes an integral approach through the use of Integral Theory and the AQAL framework (All Quadrants, All Lines). This theory deals specifically with complex interactions and perspectives and offers a methodology that draws together a number of already existing, separate paradigms and perspectives into a unified, interrelated framework (the AQAL framework). The AQAL framework can be used as a tool to schematically map varying rationalities and provide a platform for a better understanding of the different interactions and conflicts that take place. This approach is useful in that it has the potential to open a way forward for the development of methodologies to practically address conflicting rationalities and take on a more sustainable approach to urban formalisation. It is an all-encompassing framework that assists both in bringing together multiple perspectives and in understanding complexity, plurality and the relationships that exist within varying contexts (Esbjörn-Hargens 2009).

The following two sections (7.2.1 and 7.2.2) outline the ways in which Integral Theory and the AQAL framework are used in answering the questions and gaps raised both in this research and by Watson (2009), Trefon (2009) and Myers (1982, in Myers 2011).

7.2.1 The mapping and understanding of differing governmentalities (rationalities, techniques and practices) and their relationship.

The AQAL framework and Integral Theory will be used as a tool to map and understand differing governmentalities (rationalities, techniques and practices), their relationship and interactions. Using the AQAL framework provides a way to go about understanding and conceptualising the interface between conflicting rationalities (and their practice and techniques) and understanding the relationships which it generates. It will also assist in understanding why these differing governmentalities (rationalities, techniques and practices) produce the effects that they do (for example the informal settlement developments not meeting the needs of the women's social networks) and the subsequent counter-conduct that is generated (i.e. the implications of differing governmentalities). This methodology also

provides a theoretical and conceptual resource that could organise perspectives in order to better comprehend what happens at the interface of these perspectives or rationalities, as well as the nature of the difference between rationalities.

7.2.2 The proposition of an Integral approach to managing differing governmentalities (particularly in the upgrading of informal settlements)

Integral Theory will be used in proposing an integral approach to managing differing governmentalities (particularly in the upgrading of informal settlements). Integral Theory embraces a number of valid perceptions and rationalities and can offer an understanding and pathway to shared solution development (Esbjörn-Hargens 2009). It acknowledges that the nature of complex issues and problems are multifaceted and multi-layered. This chapter proposes an integral approach to the upgrading of informal settlements in an effort to improve formalisation practice going forward. This will provide a way in which planning can support informality and survival efforts, rather than obstructing them with regulatory practice and displacement. The integral approach proposed, hopes to provide guidance to planners working within the tensions of conflicting governmentalities and to assist them in paying attention to what may be termed the interface between the governmentality of government and the governmentality of survival. It will assist in effectively informing practice and provide a concept for hybrid governance that accepts other rationalities, practices and techniques as well as providing a way for differing rationalities (governmentalities) to be brought together and into conversation with each another.

7.3 INTEGRAL THEORY

Integral means complete, comprehensive, inclusive and accepting. Integral Theory attempts to include all constructs, world views and rationalities and all methodologies that exist within a particular topic or research problem (Wilber 2003). Integral Theory intertwines understandings from a number of core human knowledge disciplines and has been used in over thirty-five different academic and occupational disciplines (Esbjörn-Hargens 2009).

Esbjörn-Hargens and Zimmerman (2009) have used Integral Theory and the AQAL framework for understanding and addressing ecological problems; Brown (2005) for approaching sustainable development, O'Brien (2009) and O'Brien & Hochachka (2010) for work on climate change and climate change adaptation. DeKay (2011) used Integral Theory and the AQAL framework in exploring

integral sustainable design, while Hamilton (2006; 2008; 2010) and Ellin (2006) used it to approach urban planning. In similar vein, this chapter proposes a way in which Integral Theory and the AQAL framework can be used to understand and address the differing governmentalities that exist in the upgrading of informal settlements. This is an important undertaking because a lack of integral governmentality and an integral approach to upgrading is one of the reasons that the design and development of settlements has not met the needs of the women and their social networks (as shown by this research).

7.3.1 Integral Theory and the academic literature

Integral Theory has taken some time to assimilate into mainstream academia but its use has become more frequent over the years (Integral Research Centre 2013). The integral approach has made only narrow inroads into academic research due, particularly, to the nature of Ken Wilber's work which has been positioned between orthodox academic discourse and popular philosophy (Forman & Esbjörn-Hargens 2013). Integral Theory approaches have, however, been used and applied to a number of multifaceted challenges (O'Brien & Hochachka 2010). These include work in Sub-Saharan Africa on leadership development for sustainability (One Sky 2009) and leadership development and community capacity advancement in relation to HIV/AIDS (Diouf, Chaava & Tiomkin 2005).

Of particular note is the work of Brown (2005) who focused on the concepts of both theory and practice in Integral Sustainable Development. His work provided a platform for academics and practitioners to develop sustainable plans and processes in an integrated way using the AQAL quadrant method. Riedy (2005) took this further and researched the implications of Integral Theory for sustainable development and climate change responses in Australia, presenting an integral policy response to climate change. Work on climate change and integral responses has been published by established academics such as O'Brien (2009) who presented work on responding to climate change through an integrated approach. Integral adaptation responses to climate change have also been tackled through the work of O'Brien & Hochachka (2010). Another integral approach was taken by academics Esbjörn-Hargens & Zimmerman (2009) who have written widely on the concept of Integral Ecology. This is an inter-disciplinary approach to ecological studies and aims to unite multiple perspectives on natural ecosystems.

In urban studies, Integral Theory has been used chiefly by Hamilton (2006; 2008; 2010) who has undertaken work on the Integral City. She has applied integral models such as AQAL, in the management of change within the cityscape. Hamilton's work has focused on integral communities, integral frameworks for sustainable planning, and the creation of resilient communities as well as integral leadership in the urban realm. Hamilton's book, *Integral city: Evolutionary intelligences for the human hive* (2008), provides a methodical application of the AQAL framework and the nested holarchies. Integral Theory and the AQAL framework are used to address city design, community and urban planning challenges.

DeKay & Guzowski (2006) have explored various urban design principles in their work on Integral Theory and sustainable design. DeKay has explored this concept further in his book, *'Integral Sustainable Design'*, (2011) which takes both academics and practitioners through a systematic process of urban design using the four quadrants of the AQAL method. The work of Ellin (2006) on Integral Urbanism is of particular interest. This book provides a visionary theory of urbanism and a new model of urban life that offers a solution to a number of universal and persistent problems produced by modern and postmodern urban planning and architecture. She puts forward an 'integral' approach that aims to reverse the disintegration of current urban landscapes. Integral Theory has not yet been applied to work on differing governmentalities and the upgrading of informal urban spaces.

The *Journal of Integral Theory and Practice*, which has published over 100 academic articles to date, has also been assessed and indexed by Elsevier (Scopus) and EBSCO (Esbjörn-Hargens 2009). Integral research now features in a number of published interdisciplinary journals (Integral Research Centre 2013). The first biennial Integral Theory Conference was held in 2008 and included a number of mainstream academics. John F. Kennedy University and Fielding Graduate University both have existing Integral Theory courses and post-graduate degree programmes (Integral Research Centre 2013).

7.3.2 An overview of Integral Theory

Integral Theory was developed by Ken Wilber. It is a meta-theory which has considerable scale and applicability and integrates the assertions of the arts, sciences, philosophy and humanities (Norton 2012). Wilber has published over twenty-two books and has published more than a hundred academic articles (translated into more than twenty languages) on the topic of Integral Theory. Integral Theory

takes into account a number of perspectives and world views (DeKay 2011) (such as exist in the differing rationalities between the City and the women's social networks). Integral Theory demonstrates that the world is revealed in different ways according to the various perspectives adopted. An integral view provides an effective and useful framework for understanding variations in perspectives and points of view. Integral Theory incorporates different perspectives and provides a map for understanding how they relate to and affect each other (O'Brien & Hochachka 2010).

Integral Theory embraces a number of valid perceptions and rationalities that can offer an understanding and pathway to both individual efforts and shared solution development (Esbjörn-Hargens 2009). (This can include solutions to the difficulties experienced with differing governmentalities and the upgrading of informal settlements.) Integral Theory arranges all prevailing approaches and disciplines of both enquiry and action. "Integral Theory teaches that all perspectives are valid, yet partial. Thus, experiences can be fully understood only through comprehensive all-quadrant, all level analyses that honours the partial truths of each perspective" (Norton 2012: np). This is done through using the four quadrants of the AQAL method/framework. Integral Theory reveals four realms of reality or perspective within four quadrants, all of which are important and draw from different methodologies and rationalities (O'Brien & Hochachka 2010). The four different perspectives Integral Theory presents (subjective, inter-subjective, objective, and inter-objective), show that certain situations or occurrences can be viewed in different ways - from either an inside or an outside perspective, and from either a singular or plural perspective (Wilber 2006; Esbjörn-Hargens 2009).

7.3.3 Integral Theory and the AQAL Method/Framework

The AQAL method/framework ('All Quadrants, All Levels') allows one to map the approaches and disciplines of Integral Theory and to generate a new perception of the ways various viewpoints, rationalities and constructs are understood (Wilber, 2005a). The AQAL method/framework was developed from Integral Theory by Ken Wilber. The method/framework assists in understanding the interactions and interrelationships between different constructs, rationalities and viewpoints and provides an all-inclusive methodology for comprehending their relationships (Esbjörn-Hargens & Zimmerman, 2009) (for example the relationships which exist between the women's social network and the City).

This method of mapping through AQAL, builds complexity as each perspective or rationality infers diverse priorities and ways of knowing (Haigh 2013). Wilber (2005a) argues that approaches that do not involve all four quadrants of the AQAL approach, risk major inadequacies (as we have seen in the failure of City-led informal settlement upgrading to meet the needs of the women's social networks). Wilber, Leonard, and Morelli (2008) see an integral approach as one that moves from the process of treating others as you would wish to be treated, to one of treating others as *they* wish to be treated (Wilber et al. 2008: 259).

The AQAL method/framework and Integral Theory frequently transect geographical disciplines and related areas of interest (Haigh 2013). It has become a popular approach due to its ability to overcome difficulties commonly faced in research and analysis, such as the lack of attention paid to subjective perspectives and the disproportionate focus on exterior, empirical factors (Stewart 2008). The AQAL method/framework attempts to unite the intricacy of human and group constructs and perspectives, and filter these into four quadrants with varying levels, lines, states and types (Wilber 2005b in Haigh 2013). The AQAL method/framework is appropriate and useful within a number of disciplines and provides a rounded, holistic understanding of both social practices and organisations/institutions (Haigh 2013). "AQAL provides a framework for the systematic mapping of multiple perspectives across a flux of different worldview levels" (Haigh 2013: 15).

The core components of the Integral framework are quadrants, levels, lines, states, zones and types (Wilber 2005a). The AQAL 'levels' represent diverse systems (Koestler 1978), including different system levels of both administrations/government/ organisations or conceptualisation (Haigh 2013). The 'lines' show the various developmental directions (Gardner 2007). 'States' are generally temporal and limited in time and 'types' include groupings, such as gender (Esbjörn-Hargens 2007). The AQAL method/framework helps contrast different perspectives, viewpoints and rationalities, more than it seeks to integrate them. Most importantly it helps in understanding the relationships that exist in any given situation. The core asset and potential of the AQAL methodology, is that it provides a framework that supports and encourages researchers, planners and policy makers to approach problems from multiple perspectives, taking into account varying worldviews and perspectives of problems and processes (Haigh 2013).

7.3.3.1 All quadrants

Integral Theory identifies four complex and involved perspectives (subjective, inter-subjective, objective, and inter-objective). These are core to understanding any issue or reality in its entirety. The theory also states that everything can be observed from both an ‘inside’ and an ‘outside’ perspective and the ‘singular’ and ‘plural’ (Esbjörn-Hargens 2009). Integral Theory maintains that one cannot comprehend one of these realities through the eyes/lens of another and that spheres cannot be reduced into others (in other words one cannot condense interiors to their exterior or subjective and inter-subjective actualities into their objective characteristics) (Esbjörn-Hargens 2009). The four quadrants are four different perspectives or ways of approaching a single happening. These four form an ‘All Quadrants’ (AQ) map (Esbjörn-Hargens 2009). The AQ map is constructed as a quadrant separating four core perspectives along two axes. The ‘y’ axis is the individual or collective and the ‘x’ axis is the interior or exterior. Figure 7.1 shows these two axes and the 4 quadrants.

The four quadrants enable one to organise the numerous subjective and objective dimensions as well as the interior and exterior (individual and collective) dimensions. The interior includes shared values, relationships and customs and the exterior encompasses elements such as political systems (Brown 2005). The Right-Hand quadrants include behaviour and systems (individuals and collectives), while the Left-Hand quadrants include consciousness and culture (Brown 2005). The perception and own ‘I’ experience and construct, is housed in the Individual Interior (Upper Left (UL)) quadrant, while the Collective Interior (Lower Left quadrant (LL)) is concerned with community, culture, society and tradition. The Individual Exterior (Upper Right (UR)) quadrant features behaviour and the Collective Exterior (Lower Right (LR) quadrant, concerns systems of the communal (this is usually articulated through empirical data and statistics) (Haigh 2013).

When undertaking AQ mapping, Wilber (2005a) emphasises the need to make use of pronouns. When using ‘I’ as the subject, the UL quadrant is the most fitting. In the same vein, if ‘we’ is used then the LL quadrant is appropriate. Similarly if the focus is another third party individual, ‘he/ she/it’, UR is to be used and if there are a number of individuals, ‘they/those’, then the LR is the most applicable (Haigh 2013) (Figure 7.1).

	INTERIOR	EXTERIOR
INDIVIDUAL	<p>UPPER LEFT (UL)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Self and consciousness - Interior-Individual - Experiences - Subjective - Thought, beliefs, feelings, emotions, values of the individual - Perception 	<p>UPPER RIGHT (UR)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Brain and organism - Exterior-Individual - Behaviours - Objective - Individual seen from the outside in the third person - Scientific observation - Material world
	I	IT
COLLECTIVE	<p>LOWER LEFT (LL)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Culture and Worldview - Interior-Collective - Inter-subjective - Cultures, beliefs of the collective, collective/shared values, relations - Shared cultural and social practices and relationships - Meaning and language 	<p>LOWER RIGHT (LR)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Systems and Environment - Exterior-Collective - Inter-objective - Functional Fit - Systems - Technology, government
	WE	ITS

Figure 7.1. The four quadrants of the AQAL framework (Haigh 2013 after Wilber 2007)

7.3.3.2 All levels

Integral Theory understands that all quadrants demonstrate growth, change and advancement which occur at various stages and on various levels (Figure 7.2). In other words, a system could have three different levels of complexity which occur along one of a number of possible lines in each quadrant

(DeKay & Guzowski 2006: 2). In each of the quadrants there are varying levels of development including depth (interior, Left-Hand quadrants) and complexity (exterior, Right-Hand quadrants) (Esbjörn-Hargens 2009). These levels within each quadrant are best understood as probability waves that represent the lively manner in which reality operates under various circumstances (DeKay & Guzowski 2006).

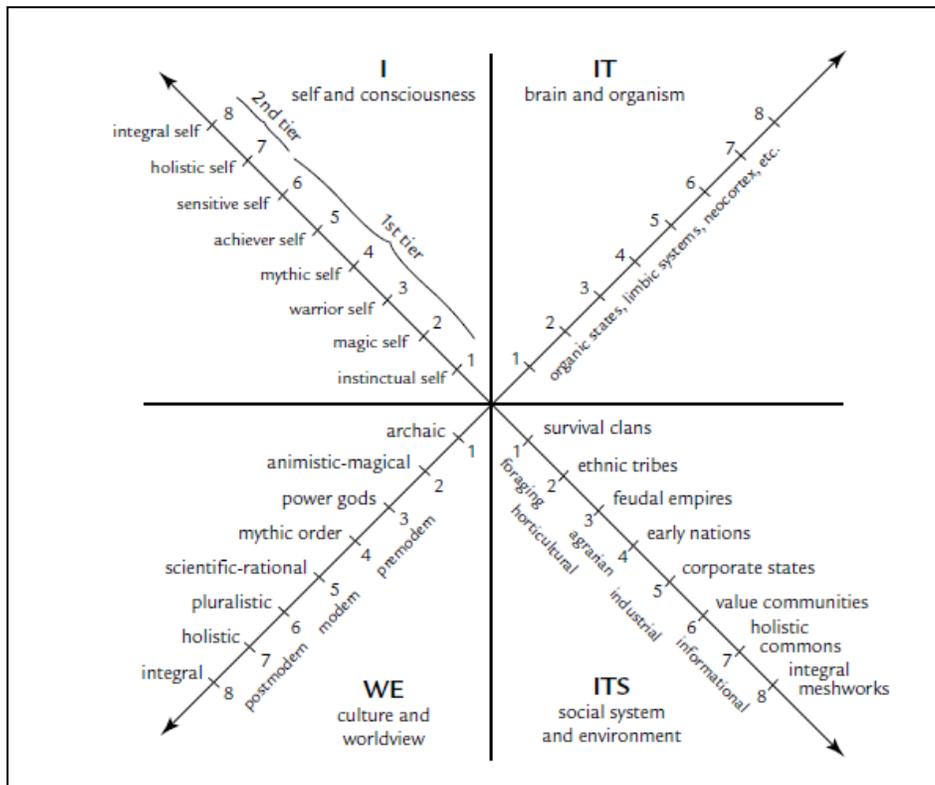


Figure 7.2. Some levels of the four quadrants (after Wilber 2000)

Including levels through the AQAL method/framework is crucial as it enables one to understand and value the realities that exist within each quadrant. It is important to note that “levels or *waves* in each quadrant demonstrate *holarchy*, which is a kind of hierarchy wherein each new level transcends the limits of the previous levels but includes the essential aspects of those same levels” (Esbjörn-Hargens 2009: 8). Each level is part of a whole and a whole in and of itself. An overall pattern of growth or progression takes place in each quadrant, depth ensues and complexity grows (Esbjörn-Hargens 2009).

7.3.3.3 All lines of development

“Lines of development are another way to describe the distinct capacities that develop through levels in each aspect of reality as represented by the quadrants” (Esbjörn-Hargens 2009: 10). These capacities are understood as the numerous intelligences held by each individual. An example is given by Esbjörn-Hargens (2009) of the individual-interior quadrant of experience, where lines would include mental, emotional, relational, and ethical dimensions. A person who uses this AQAL method/framework can make use of lines as an analytical tool which will ensure that all aspects of individuals and groups are recognised and taken into account. As was the case with levels, each line links with those in other quadrants (Esbjörn-Hargens 2009). There are numerous lines in each quadrant. Each line shows development that increases in intricacy and complexity above the previous level. There are, therefore, a series of levels that evolve in a specific order and no stage should be missed (Esbjörn-Hargens 2009). Lines are also significant in that they recognise the individual features of each quadrant. Assessments using these lines can identify which lines are in need of consideration. One can use the more developed lines to help in the management and growth of less developed lines. Knowing these levels of development allows for a clearer picture of reality and assists in aligning these to ensure progress and advancement (Wilber 2006).

7.3.3.4 All states

States are transitory incidences in aspects of reality. They are used to define various ways in which natural phenomena transform from one aspect into another. An example would be the group states in the LL quadrant. These include states, for example, such as mob mentality, rioting, mass hysteria and group-think (Esbjörn-Hargens 2009). Inter-subjective states also occur. These can include states that occur between groups of people or networks who are engaging in dialogue or exchange. Using states allows one to better understand the numerous ways these shifts occur and why they occur (Esbjörn-Hargens 2009).

7.3.3.5 All types

Types are made up of the range of stable styles that occur in various fields and happen regardless of developmental levels. For example, the LR quadrant can contain governmental *regime types* (e.g. democratic, communist, neo-liberal, etc.) and the LL quadrant can contain types of *kinship systems* (e.g. work groups, clubs, etc.) (Esbjörn-Hargens 2009). Types are useful in multiple contexts. Being aware of types allows one to accommodate many of the most common and constant styles that may be

related to particular contexts. Types are also stable and form resilient patterns. Becoming more aware of types and their role, allows one to ensure sustainability in projects and activities by connecting with and between existing, lasting and stable patterns (Esbjörn-Hargens 2009). Figure 7.3 shows some types that exist.

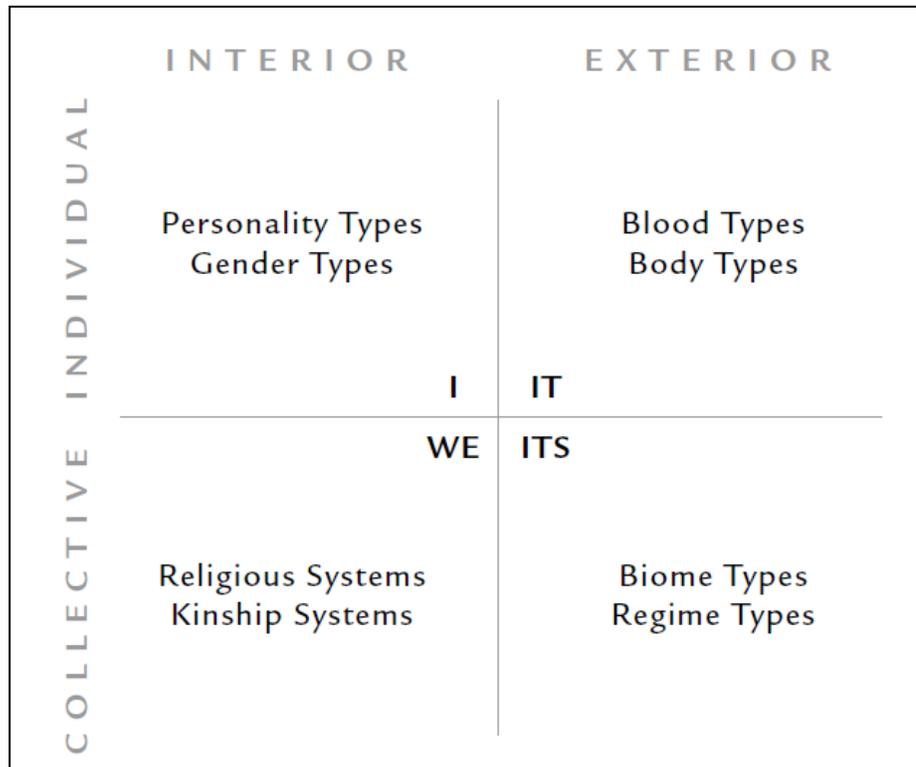


Figure 7.3. Some types (Esbjörn-Hargens 2009)

7.3.3.6 All zones

Each of the perspectives within the different quadrants can be considered within two methodological groupings: a) from the inside (a first-person perspective) or b) the outside (a third-person perspective). The result of this is eight zones of research and human investigation (Esbjörn-Hargens 2009). The eight zones make up what is called Integral Methodological Pluralism (IMP). IMP works according to three philosophies: “inclusion (consult multiple perspectives and methods impartially), enfoldment (prioritise the importance of findings generated from these perspectives), and enactment (recognize that phenomenon are disclosed to subjects through their activity of knowing it)” (Esbjörn-Hargens 2009: 16). Figure 7.4 shows the eight zones.

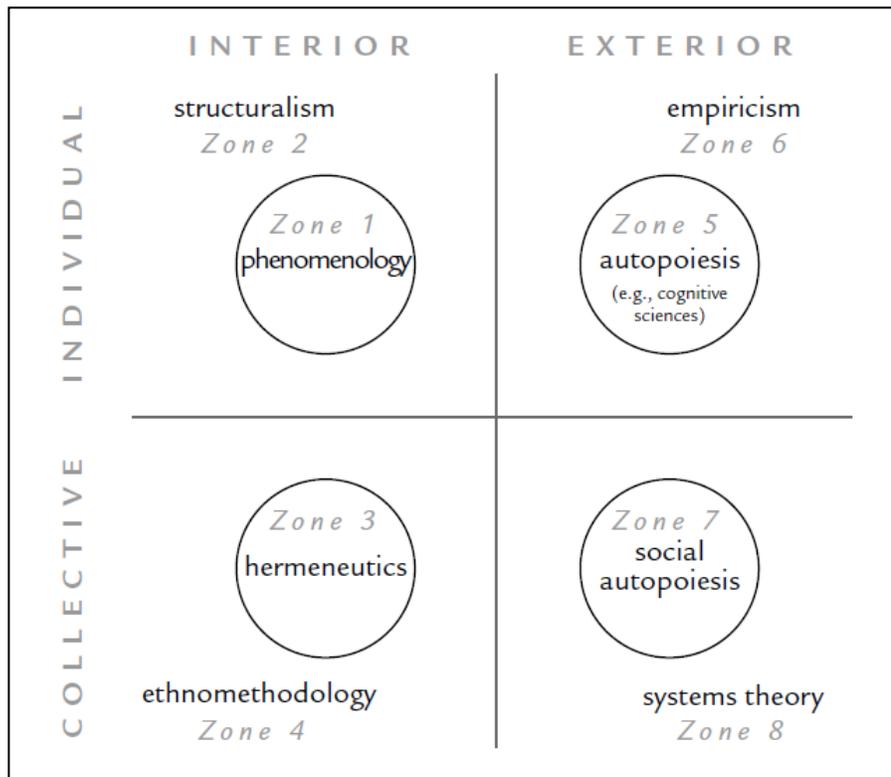


Figure 7.4. Eight methodological zones (Esbjörn-Hargens 2009)

Including all the zones will assist in efforts to understand an object or scenario in a complete, full and inclusive way. IMP can also be used to organise, manage and evaluate various perspectives and their research results (Esbjörn-Hargens 2009). IMP allows for different ways of relating with and understanding the landscape and avoids negating crucial aspects of reality which impact on effective resolutions to the problems. “The more of reality we acknowledge and include, the more sustainable our solutions will become, precisely because a project will respond more effectively to the complexity of that reality” (Esbjörn-Hargens 2009: 17). Realities that are ignored, neglected or excluded can contribute to failures in design and project planning and implementation. The inclusion of an integral approach means that one is consistently merging first, second, and third-person methodologies, techniques and applications in order to research the numerous and important aspects of a particular situation (Esbjörn-Hargens 2009).

Wilber notes: “...every event in the manifest world has all three of those dimensions.... an integrally informed path will therefore take all of those dimensions into account, and thus arrive at a more comprehensive and effective approach—in the ‘I’ and the ‘we’ and the ‘it’—or in self and culture”

(Wilber 2004: 11). One is, however, not required to use all-quadrants, all-levels, all-lines, all-states, all-types, *and* all-zones all the time. Even the use of just two or three of these features in one's methodology of analysis or solution-finding, allows for a more integral approach (Esbjörn-Hargens 2009). Using all four, however, allows for improved capacity in responding to complexity. It also assists in better understanding relationships that exist between different realities. This sets Integral Theory apart from other approaches to solution-finding and planning. The AQAL framework is a dynamic model that inter-relates realities and allows for functionality, accuracy and justness (Esbjörn-Hargens 2009). The AQAL model allows one to create a mental space in which one can organise and index activities and allows for a series of practices of inclusion (Esbjörn-Hargens 2009).

7.3.4 Critiques of Integral Theory and the AQAL Framework

There have been a number of criticisms of both Integral Theory and the AQAL Framework. Sattler (2008) finds that, even though the method is comprehensive, it has its limitations. The first point he makes is that hierarchical (holarchical) thinking (which AQAL advocates) offers only one, very limited aspect of reality and needs to be accompanied by non-hierarchical modes of representation, grounded in other ways of thinking (Sattler 2008). Sattler (2008) also points out that hierarchical (holarchical) thinking results in something being placed either at one level of the hierarchy/category or another. This provides a black or white view when in reality we know areas of 'messiness' exist (particularly when it comes to complex situations such as communities and the upgrading of informal settlements).

While an integral philosophy is useful in that it covers subjective, objective and inter-subjective world spaces all at once, Paulson points out that it cannot be used too rigidly (Paulson 2008). If the theory and its associated AQAL framework are used too inflexibly "it can become an overly mechanical process of merely downloading a canned integral program into one's internal operating system" (Paulson 2008: 364). Integral Theory and the AQAL framework need to be seen as a platform on which one can build. This platform will need to be adjusted according to the evolution of the stages and lines. Kazlev (2005) adds to the critique, stating that, while Integral Theory and its AQAL framework are remarkable, it does contain a number of chance assumptions and irregularities between quadrants and levels. Kazlev (2005) also argues that Integral Theory is not truly integral, and fails to bring together the quadrants. Each quadrant, as it moves up levels and lines, will wander further away from other quadrants. There is no uniting principle to tie the ends together (Kazlev 2005).

In 2010 Jeff Meyerhoff wrote “*Bald Ambition*”, a direct critique of Integral Theory and the work of Ken Wilber. Meyerhoff’s book focuses on two critiques. The first is that Wilber does not appropriately use the methods of orienting generalisations. These generalisations are highly questionable and have generally variable grades of legitimacy (Meyerhoff 2010). Wilber uses apparently agreed upon knowledge to construct his framework. The second critique examines the validity of Wilber’s sources in his arguments as well as the logic of his assumptions and developmental models. Meyerhoff’s critiques focus mainly on Wilber’s methodology in his development of Integral Theory and AQAL, citing that there is a difference between Wilber’s description of his method and the one he actually uses (Meyerhoff 2010).

Nevertheless, Integral Theory and the AQAL framework offer us a way in which we can disentangle and map the relationships that occur in situations such as informal settlement upgrading. They can be used effectively to provide us with a clearer understanding of the relationships that exist, their interactions and the results of these interactions (for example not being able to provide for each other’s needs and the counter-conduct that then ensues). They also assist in answering some of the questions we have around how to move forward in a way that the governmentality of all those involved is recognised and accommodated.

7.3.5 Integral Theory and governmentality studies

Importantly, Integral Theory is compatible with governmentality studies. Rose et al. (2006) understands governmentality work to be an “empirical mapping of governmental rationalities and techniques” (Rose et al. 2006: 99). Government is a collection of interlinking and interdependent ‘regimes of practices’ and involves the relationship between practice, method, technologies, understanding and beliefs. An integral framework for the mapping of governmentalities (rationalities and techniques) and the relationships that exist are discussed in section 7.4. Integral Theory assists in providing a mapping tool for understanding the different governmental rationalities and techniques that exist and the relationships between them. An Integral framework for mapping of governmentalities and the relationships that exist are discussed in section 7.4.

7.4 MAPPING AND UNDERSTANDING THE RESEARCH FINDINGS OF THIS THESIS IN THE AQAL FRAMEWORK

This research has shown that approaches to the upgrading of informal settlements are caught up in confrontational and adversarial divisions - culture versus modernism and social versus economic interests. The dominance of the economic construct in the current approach to upgrading, is why many upgrading projects commonly equate good development with economic prosperity and success. While success, for the City, is commonly equated with economic sustainability, this ignores the pluralism that exists within the reality of these settlements and upgrading processes. Despite the existence of this pluralism, upgrading projects continue to take on an economic approach. One of the core problems is the lack of a collective framework for navigating and understanding the relationships that exist within this pluralistic landscape and the fragmentation that occurs on the ground.

This section uses the AQAL framework to map differing governmentalities (rationalities, techniques and practices) that exist as well as unpack and understand their relationship and interactions. Using the AQAL framework will provide a way to understand and conceptualise the interface between the conflicting governmentalities and will assist in understanding the effects that the relationship between them produces (mainly not meeting the needs of the women's social networks and the counter-conduct that these women's networks undertake). This also provides a theoretical and conceptual resource that contributes an organising perspective, allowing us to better comprehend what happens at the interface of these differing governmentalities.

7.4.1 Using the AQAL framework to map differing governmentalities

The research has shown that the governmentality used by the City to plan and implement the upgrading of informal settlements, is different from that of the women's social networks. The City of Cape Town's Housing Department has a largely technocratic, administrative, functionalist, market and systems based rationality and set of practices, while the rationality and practices of the women's social networks is traditional, socially and culturally based, as well as organic and flexible. Integral Theory reveals four realms of reality or perspective within four quadrants (the AQAL framework) all of which are important and draw from different methodologies and rationalities (O'Brien & Hochachka 2010). The AQAL model allows one to create a mental space in which one can organise and index activities, rationalities and practices (Esbjörn-Hargens 2009).

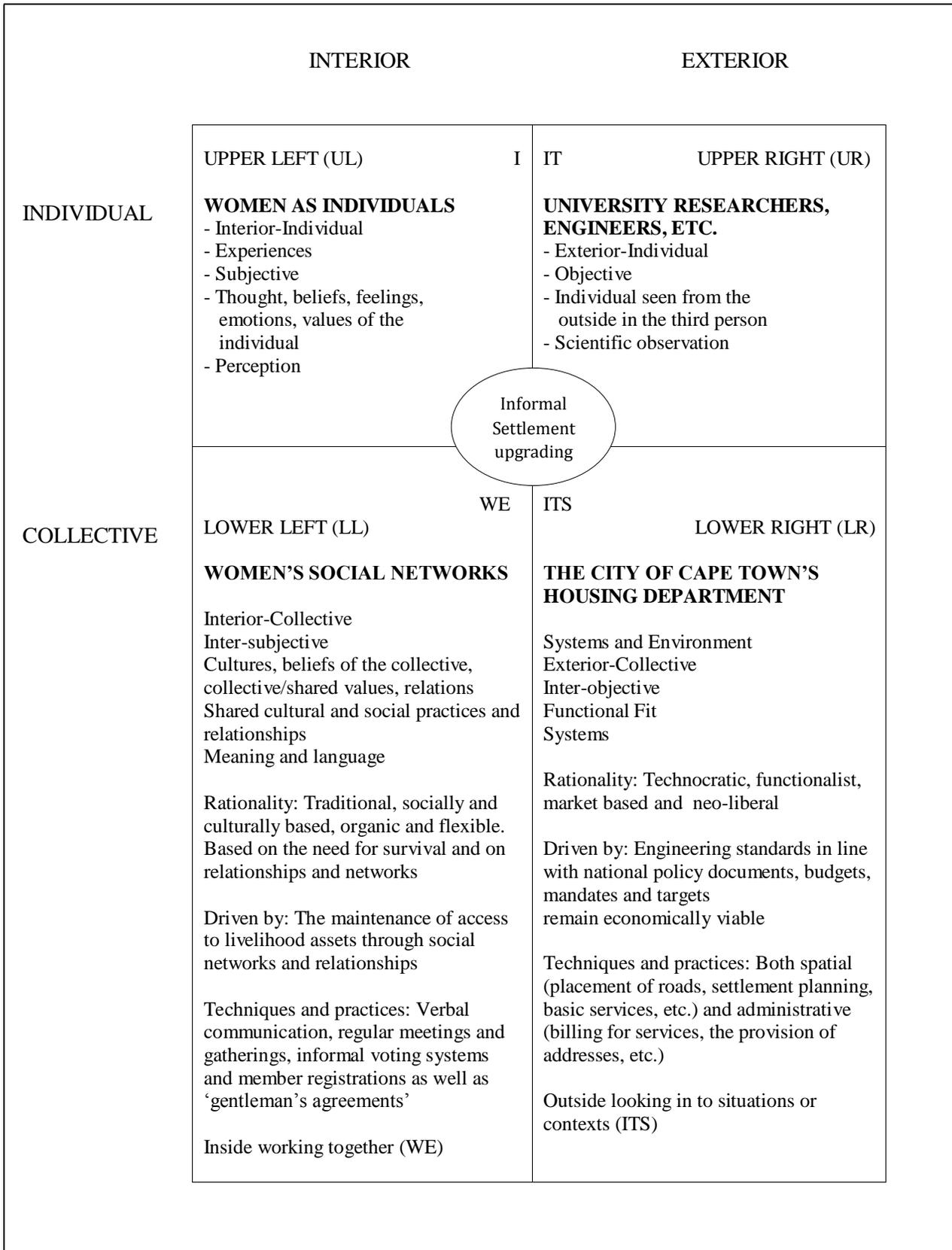


Figure 7.5. The research findings mapped in the four quadrants of AQAL/Integral Theory (Quadrant structure (only) after Wilber 2000)

The AQAL framework is used in Figure 7.5 to map the differing governmentalities uncovered during the research, i.e. the research findings have been entered into the AQAL framework matrix. This is a useful exercise in that it allows us to map the different rationalities, techniques, approaches and perspectives that exist and which have been identified in the research. It presents a way in which various viewpoints, rationalities and constructs can be understood (Wilber 2005a).

In Figure 7.5, one can see the lower two quadrants have been populated with the data gleaned from the research (the rationalities, practices and techniques, etc.). The governmentality of the women and the City fit into these two quadrants. The top two quadrants are where the governmentality of the women as individuals would be placed (top left) and university researchers and engineers (top right). The governmentality of these two groups was not examined in the research and would be an area for further examination. In this research we are only interested in the governmentality of the women's social networks (groups) and the City (plotted in the lower two quadrants: collective interior and collective exterior). The thesis focused only on: a) the fact that the two governmentalities are in two different quadrants and are therefore opposite and conflicting, b) the mapping of these governmentalities and lastly c) the interface and interaction of the two governmentalities across the quadrant boundaries.

The AQAL framework and Integral Theory assist in showing how the upgrading of informal settlements is revealed in different ways according to the various perspectives adopted. Through the mapping process we can see that the governmentality (rationalities, practices and techniques) of the women's social networks is largely concentrated in the lower left hand quadrant (Interior – Collective). This quadrant is concerned with cultures and beliefs of the collective as well as collective or shared values and relationships (in the case of this research it includes social networks as well). Those with a strong focus within this network are focused on shared cultural and social practices and take on the perspective of the 'we'.

We also see through the mapping process, that the governmentality (rationalities, practices and techniques) of the City of Cape Town's Housing Department is concentrated mainly in the lower right hand quadrant (Exterior – Collective). This quadrant is concerned with systems and functional fit. It is focused on inter-objectiveness, classification and structures. The City's rationality, as has been shown, fits this quadrant in that it is technocratic and functionalist in its governmentality and concerned mainly with targets, standards and organisational arrangements. Those who are strongly within this quadrant

are shown to look objectively at systems ('its'), from the outside looking in or from the top looking down.

The four quadrants are four different perspectives or ways of approaching a single happening. This mapping process in AQAL shows that certain situations or occurrences can be viewed in different ways. In this case, the situation/occurrence is the upgrading of informal settlements. These viewpoints can be either an inside or an outside perspective, and from either a singular or plural perspective (Wilber 2006; Esbjörn-Hargens 2009). In the case of the research findings, the perspectives of the women are inside and plural, while for the City, the perspective is outside and plural. Each of the quadrants can be used to both observe and understand reality and how things are (Esbjörn-Hargens 2009).

'States' are also an important element of the quadrants of the AQAL framework and exist to define the various ways in which natural phenomena transform from one aspect into another. For the women's social networks in the LL quadrant, their state is currently that of counter-conduct and what Esbjörn-Hargens (2009) calls 'group-think'. For the City, in the LR quadrant, the state is that of regulation and administration. 'States' can exist between groups of people or networks who are engaging in dialogue or exchange. 'Types' on the other hand are made up of a range of stable styles that occur in various fields and happen regardless of developmental levels. Types are also stable and form resilient patterns. For the City this is the governmental *regime types* (such as neo-liberalism) while for the women's social networks it is types of *kinship systems* (for example stokvels and savings groups) (these types are presented in Esbjörn-Hargens (2009)).

Each of the governmentalities or perspectives within the different quadrants can be considered under two methodological groupings: a) from the inside (a first-person perspective) or b) the outside (a third-person perspective). For the women's social networks, their governmentality/perspective is that of the first person (from the inside), while the City falls into the methodological grouping of the outside (or third person). The City functions from the outside looking into the informal settlements, its formalisations and the women's social networks that exist. The result of these methodological groupings is the eight zones of research and human investigation (Esbjörn-Hargens 2009). The eight zones make up what is called Integral Methodological Pluralism (IMP) which is beyond the scope of this thesis. The governmentalities of the City and the women's social networks are valid and effective

on their own. However, when the governmentalities interface where informal settlement upgrading is undertaken, problems start to occur, such as the upgrading of the settlements not meeting the needs of the residents (as shown in the research findings).

7.4.2 Understanding the interface and the relationships that exist

The research and mapping process has shown that the governmentality (rationalities, techniques and practices) of the women's social networks and the City are concentrated in different quadrants opposite each other (LR and LL). This mapping process also helps in the unpacking and understanding of the relationship and interactions between these two governmentalities. As mentioned, the governmentalities within each quadrant can be considered under two methodological groupings: from the inside (a first-person perspective) or the outside (a third-person perspective). The women's social networks fall into that of the first person (from the inside) and for the City, their governmentality falls into the methodological grouping of the outside (or third person).

The quadrant mapping also demonstrates that the City views the informal settlement upgrading through technocratic, functionalist and market based eyes. Their perspective is tinted by these lenses. The City is outside looking into the LL quadrant in attempting to plan for their perceived needs (shown in Figure 7.6). On the other hand, the women's social networks view the rationalities, perspectives and techniques of the City in the upgrading of the informal settlement, through traditional, socially and culturally based 'eyes' or 'lenses'. The City and the women's social networks therefore do not fully understand each other's actions and perspectives as they are each 'outside looking in'. They have, therefore, clashed on a number of levels (as the research has shown). The City's differing perspectives/governmentalities mean that the City falls short in its delivery, chiefly because it is 'seeing' through different 'eyes' from the people it is planning for, people who fall into a different quadrant to itself and who have a different perspective/governmentality from itself. On a stand-alone basis the City is not completely incorrect or wrong in its perspective or governmentality. The governmentality/perspective is simply incomplete (i.e. not integral). As Norton (2012: np) states: "Integral Theory teaches that all perspectives are valid, yet partial" (also mentioned by DeKay (2011)). This lack of integral governmentality has led to the misdirected actions of the City. The relationship between the City and the women's social networks is therefore one of continual misunderstanding, miscommunication and clashes as each uses the 'language' of its quadrant. This exists, not because the

City or the women's social networks are being purposefully difficult, but because there is a lack of understanding of each other's governmentality/perspectives.

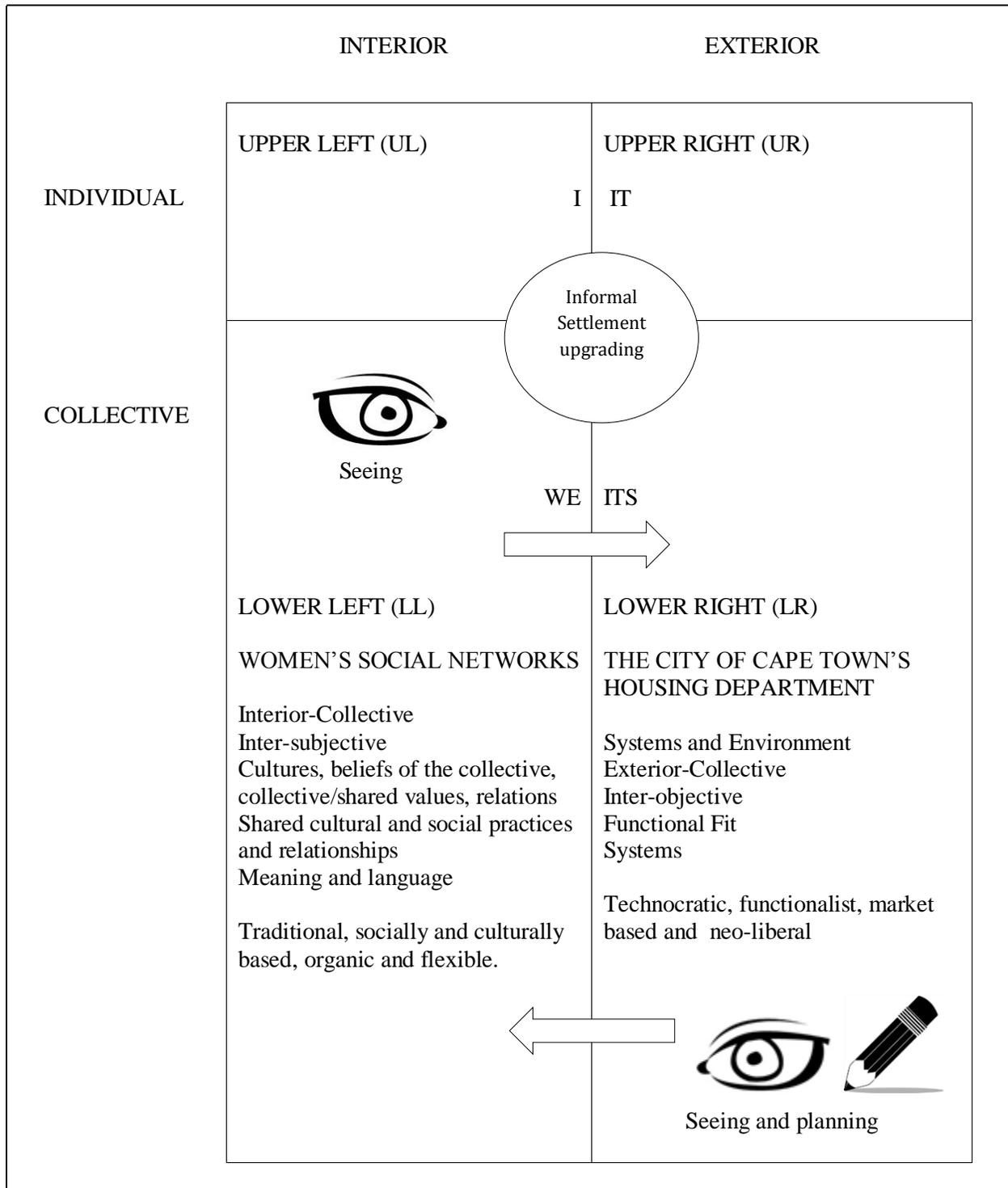


Figure 7.6. The relationship that exists between the quadrants of AQAL/Integral Theory (quadrant structure after Wilber 2000)

The relationship between the City and the women's social networks can also be linked to power and Foucault. For Foucault, examining how relationships of power interact is critical in understanding the nature of power. Instead of developing a theory of power, Foucault developed analytical tools to assist in understanding various singularities. One of these tools was 'governmentality' (Burchell, Gordon & Miller 1991). The AQAL framework can be applied to governmentality studies to understand these power relationships (as has been shown in this section). The AQAL framework shows how power is used, in what settings and with what impact.

7.4.3 Implications of residing in different quadrants

The City has attempted to make women a part of their governmentality through the upgrading process. The strong focus within a particular quadrant has led to the City making a number of general and incorrect assumptions, including the supposition that those living in informal settlements are unexplored economic actors and that a simple solution to their informality would be to pull them into the economy; that the economy will 'fix' them. There is also an assumption, by the City, that if you provide a house for someone they will naturally or automatically assimilate into the system and change their chiefly social construct or governmentality to that of rate-paying citizen. Likewise, the women's social networks have made their own incorrect assumption based on the strong focus within their particular quadrant. Their assumption is that the City is there to provide for their rights and not just protect them. The City and the women's social networks take for granted that everyone sees as they do and places equal value on the elements within a system that they do. The focus is therefore on those elements that are seen to be important for one but are not priorities for the other. This has, however, not been a particularly effective strategy (as the research has shown).

It is a false assumption though, that we can move people easily out of their quadrants into another one (especially through a change in space). We have seen from the research evidence that a change in physical space has not necessarily brought about a change in the governmentality of the women's social networks. The women have retained their organic, flexible system of social networks and have redesigned their new settlement to meet the needs of these networks. What results from the attempt to change the governmentality/perspective, is a 'tug of war' between the quadrants, with the City trying to pull the women's social networks into its quadrant (making them economic actors) and the women resisting (which has been made visible through the acts of counter-conduct). We have seen that even the response of the City to the counter-conduct of the women and their social networks looks at first

like the acceptance of these actions but in fact it maintains the same mentality used to institute the settlement changes in the first place.

Informal settlement upgrading has been led by a heavy focus on one quadrant; that of the City in the LR hand quadrant. This has downplayed the importance of the subjective, interior dimensions of informal settlement upgrading, when in fact the integration of all quadrants is needed. The less familiar governmentalities have not been fully utilised in the planning and implementation of formalisation. All the attention and resources have been directed at one governmentality/perspective/quadrant. This has been done, in terms of the City, in order to meet political mandates and protect their financial bottom line. The differing governmentality and heavy focus on one over the other, has meant that the settlements do not meet the needs of the women and their social networks. The women have undertaken acts of counter-conduct in an attempt to ensure their survival and maintain their governmentalities and livelihoods.

7.4.4. An overview of this section

Most upgrading is focused on issues and methods that collapse everything into one quadrant. People whose governmentality falls within other quadrants are left out of conversations. As DeKay (2011) states: “(we are) not speaking to their listening” (DeKay 2011: xxxv). The City is hearing from a particular perspective and seeing through different lenses from those they are planning for. The result is difficulties in communication because each are interacting from different world views (see DeKay 2011).

This section has used the AQAL methodology/framework to map and unpack the relationship and interactions that exist in the upgrading of informal settlements. It has provided a way to understand and conceptualise the interface between the conflicting governmentalities and assisted in understanding the effects that the relationship between them produces. This section has also provided a theoretical and conceptual resource through the AQAL framework. The framework can contribute an organising perspective, in order to better comprehend what happens at the interface of differing governmentalities (particularly in the upgrading of informal settlements).

The governmentality of the City and the women’s social networks in their approach to informal settlement upgrading is correct, but only partially, as they both neglect either the interior or exterior

dimensions of either the subjective or objective individuals or collectives. Problems have arisen because the approach to informal settlement upgrading has not been integral i.e. it has only used one quadrant or governmentality in its planning and implementation (a governmentality that is different to those they are planning for). It is only partial and is missing the remaining puzzle pieces needed for success (i.e. the remaining quadrants). The lack of integration has resulted in failure all round, as those involved have simply done what they understand to be right within their rationality/governmentality. An integral approach can, however, rise above and embrace the differences that exist (DeKay 2011).

7.5 AN INTEGRAL APPROACH TO GOVERNMENTALITY AND THE UPGRADING OF INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS

An understanding of the informal settlement upgrading process and practice is partial, inadequate and incomplete if all four quadrants and all governmentalities are not incorporated. In order for us to systematically and completely understand and appropriately respond to the challenges faced in upgrading, we need to be aware of and include all elements and actors associated with each of the four quadrants. This section posits an integral approach in managing differing governmentalities (particularly in the upgrading of informal settlements). Integral Theory embraces a number of valid perceptions and rationalities. It offers an understanding and pathway to shared solution development (Esbjörn-Hargens 2009) and acknowledges that complex issues and problems are multifaceted and multi-layered. This section proposes the use of an integral approach in the upgrading of informal settlements. It also provides guidance to planners dealing with the tensions of conflicting governmentalities and assists them with the interface between the governmentality of government and the governmentality of survival. It also provides a concept for hybrid governance which accepts other rationalities, practices and techniques and brings together differing governmentalities.

7.5.1 The usefulness of an Integral Theory approach in this context

Integral Theory provides a framework which allows one to take into account the larger context of upgrading and offers useful insights, responses and approaches to the challenge of formalisation. Integral Theory is useful for the planning and rollout of informal settlement upgrading in the following ways:

- It acknowledges both the interior and exterior dimensions of informal settlement upgrading. Upgrading can be viewed as both subjective and objective. So far it has been understood only

from an objective perspective (which exists in the right hand quadrants). Including the left hand quadrants allows us to acknowledge the value of collective values and beliefs.

- Integral Theory places emphasis on all four quadrants (I, we, it, its) which are interrelated and connected. This approach captures the emergence of the relationships and causality.
- Integral Theory understands the changing nature of both values and worldviews. Human ideals and values are critical in making sense of the effects and consequences of informal settlement upgrading. They also make the problem both tangible and pertinent to various different groups. Human ideals and values also assist in prioritising responses to formalisation. They are, however, frequently assumed to be fixed, disorganised and socially specific. It is important that we are aware of the fact that informal settlement upgrading has different priorities and meaning for different groups and individuals.
- Integral Theory understands that there are a diversity of needs, motivations, priorities and responses within the upgrading process. There is no single solution to the upgrading of informal settlements. We need a number of different measures and strategies in our approach.
- Integral Theory promotes the use of multiple methodologies. The upgrading of informal settlements should be based on interdisciplinary research that is not limited to one specific archetype, perspective, governmentality or worldview. This calls for a common framework (Integral Theory) that includes varied fields, methods, and approaches and that houses a methodological pluralism that includes multiple perspectives and is based on inter-disciplinarity.

(This section is adapted from the work of O'Brien (2009) on integral approaches to climate change).

The complex reality that exists in the upgrading of informal settlements cannot be reduced to one sphere (or one quadrant). Integral Theory provides an all-inclusive framework to assist in understanding the complex and multiple perspectives and governmentalities that exist within formalisation. This is done by assuming that "... everyone is right – at least partially – and (then) fashions an intellectual framework that both transcends and includes difference" (DeKay 2011: xxiv). It is important to recognise the complexity and depth of informal settlement upgrading and that the 'I, we, and it(s)' are all interlinked and involved. This requires that one develop and implement responses that are adequate and appropriate at all levels. These responses require that planners and implementers, like the City, move outside their disciplinary and methodological 'silos' which, currently, only offer partial solutions to complex issues.

7.5.2 An integral approach to informal settlement upgrading

Integral Theory assists in recognising that the more aspects and dimensions of reality a response is cognisant of, the better its chance of a sustainable and appropriate solution (Brown 2005). A solution and planning process that is based solely on economic analyses and actions will be less viable and sustainable than one that includes social and cultural perspectives. Informal settlement upgrading is a complex challenge that involves a number of actors, each with their own governmentality. We therefore need to include as much information about reality as possible. Integral Theory allows one to organise and integrate approaches to, and components of, informal settlement upgrading in order for them to work together, inform and complement each other. One of the core principles is therefore the inclusion of the realities of all four quadrants of the AQAL framework in the design and implementation of informal settlement upgrading.

This research has shown that informal settlement upgrading planning and practice have largely been approached by the City through the LR quadrant. This approach is rooted in the (partially) correct belief that settlements can be viewed through a systematic, technical and functional lens and has been perceived as the most obvious way to deal with settlement upgrading. It has become the principle way in which upgrading has been approached. Application of the Integral framework can enhance this understanding through an improved awareness of the fact that settlements (and therefore settlement upgrading) have four dimensions (all four quadrants). LR factors are central, but not separate, to informal settlement upgrading and form only one-quarter of the whole picture. The LR quadrant is both influenced and complemented by the experiential (UL), behavioural (UR), and cultural (LL) elements of the other quadrants (Brown 2005). It is important to acknowledge that understanding and including the LR is a vital part of the four quadrant reality of sustainable planning and the practice of informal settlement upgrading. “The Integral framework suggests, however, that only working in the LR is partial and incomplete; doing so only addresses one quarter of reality and is not the most effective approach possible” (Brown 2005: 26).

Each of these quadrants is interwoven and both cause and are caused by each other (Wilber 2000). The quadrants influence and inform each other, with each interior event (e.g. belief) correlating with an exterior one (e.g. behaviour) (Brown 2005). Integral Theory and the AQAL framework offer a methodology to connect the effect that each quadrant has on informal settlement upgrading. “Even if a quadrant is ignored, it still exists and its forces constantly apply pressure” (Brown 2005: 27).

Anything that happens in one quadrant affects the other. A problem in the one quadrant will often lead to a problem in the other. Informal settlement upgrading, planning and practice must deal with all the major effects that come from each quadrant (consciousness, behaviour, culture, and systems) if it is to succeed and avoid the disruption of neglected forces in other quadrants (Brown 2005).

7.5.3. The application of Integral Theory and the AQAL framework to informal settlement upgrading

There are two ways to apply the AQAL framework and its quadrants. The first is a quadratic method that shows the individual or entity in the centre of the quadrants (as shown in Figure 7.7). In this case the centre holds the City (particularly its planners and officials). The arrows are directed from the individual or entity towards the different realities that can be observed (Esbjörn-Hargens 2009).

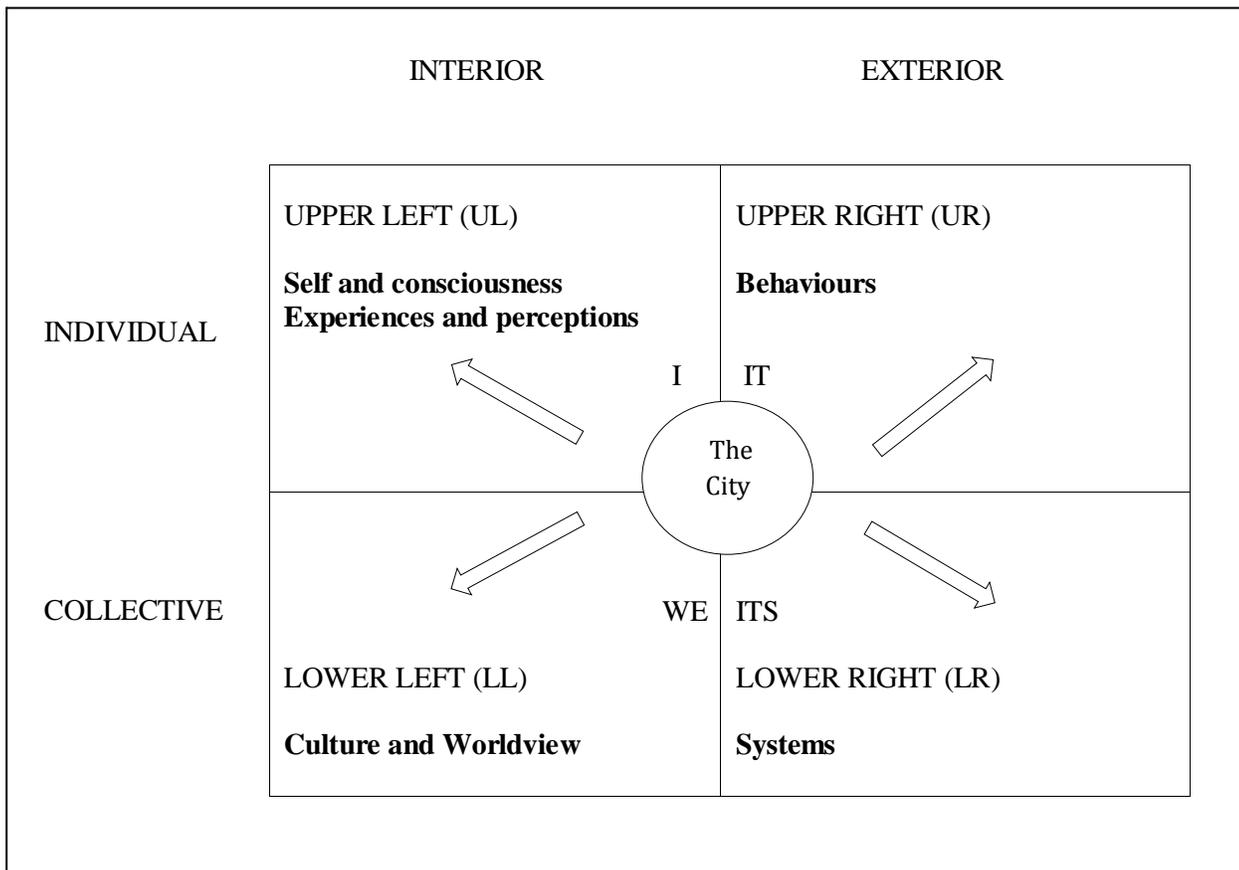


Figure 7.7. The four quadrants using the example of the City (after Esbjörn-Hargens 2009)

The use of the methodology is grounded in the various dimensions of awareness. The City is able to thus encounter the different realities it faces in a coherent and direct way and it has access to “experiential, behavioural, cultural, and social/systemic aspects of reality” (Esbjörn-Hargens 2009:7). This is beneficial in that it allows the City to be aware of, recognise and act more efficiently with settlements and the upgrading process. The more channels are open, the more information one can gain about a context, situation or occurrence and the more one is able to act appropriately and timeously.

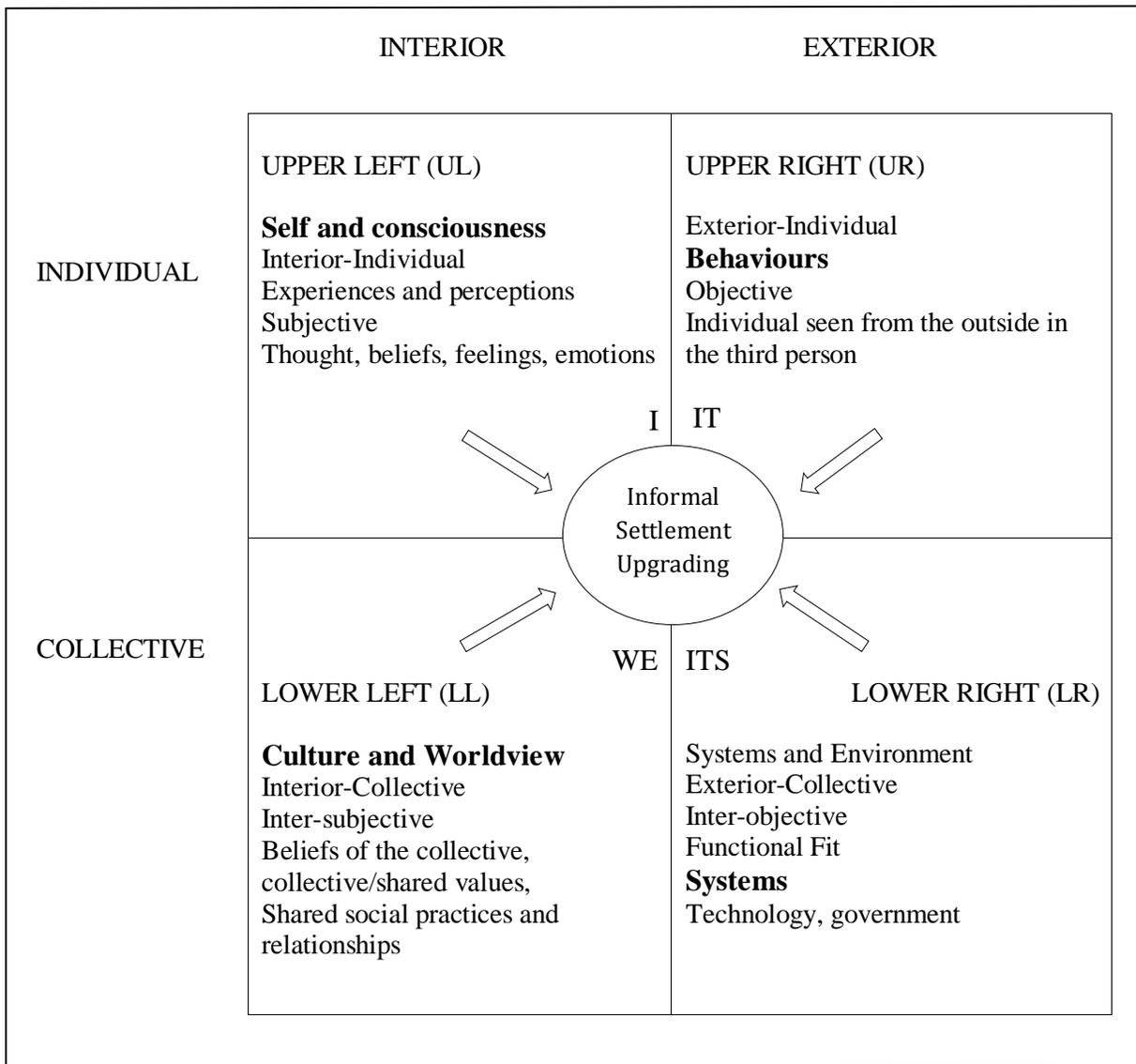


Figure 7.8. The four quadrivia of Informal Settlement Upgrading (after Esbjörn-Hargens 2009)

The second way is to approach the informal settlement upgrading through the representation of the AQAL framework as a *quadrivia* (Esbjörn-Hargens 2009). The concept of quadrivia speaks to four

ways of approaching a particular occurrence (in this case informal settlement upgrading). Using this approach the various perspectives that are related to each quadrant are focused at a particular reality (Esbjörn-Hargens 2009). This is placed in the centre of the diagram (as shown in Figure 7.8). Informal settlement upgrading needs to be approached with knowledge from each of the quadratic fields. Figure 7.8 shows the arrows pointing to the centre and indicates the methodologies used by various actors (associated with each quadrant) in understanding and approaching informal settlement upgrading. An integral approach includes understanding the emotions; perspectives and beliefs of individuals in the settlements; realising the empirical and behavioural factors; discovering philosophical, cultural, worldviews and ethical community viewpoints and understanding the environmental, political and economic factors (Esbjörn-Hargens 2009).

The quadrants, therefore, focus on the four complex dimensions that individuals have, while the quadrvia speak to the four core perspectives on any phenomena (Esbjörn-Hargens 2009). This is useful in that it allows us to acknowledge the complex nature of reality. It allows the practitioner to speak to problems in a way that is more adept, skilful and integral. Using both the quadrant and the quadrvia framework allows for an even more integrated way to address various situations and occurrences. The governmentality/worldview/perspective of the City (LR), for example, is important (though partial) and must contribute to the informal settlement upgrading (as shown in Figure 7.8). At the same time the City must acknowledge all the governmentalities/worldviews/perspectives that exist, to allow for a more integral method in the process of planning and practice in settlement upgrading (Figure 7.7). The approach in Figure 7.7 allows for the opening of more channels and access to more information, worldviews, governmentalities and perspectives in relation to informal settlement upgrading. This allows for a more appropriate and integral style. The approach in Figure 7.8 allows for all governmentalities to be brought together to approach a particular problem or situation.

We have seen that most of the informal settlement upgrading that has taken place, has focused on issues and methods that collapse everything into one quadrant. For the City, that quadrant is the LR and for women's social network, the LL (lower left). One party is more interested in one quadrant than in another, in the 'it' rather than the 'we'. Most groups or individuals are better at one way of looking at the world than another, less familiar one. The City, as planners and implementers, needs to view, plan and implement informal settlement upgrading through all lenses and using input from the perspectives, rationalities and techniques of all other quadrants.

7.5.4 The practice of ‘Walking in the other person’s shoes’

‘Walking in the other person’s shoes’ is a methodology that has proved popular in allowing people from different spectrums to understand each other’s situations and perspectives. It has gained acceptance through authors such Maykut & Morehouse (1994); Assel (2010) and Czap, Czap, Khachaturyan, Lynne & Burbach (nd). ‘Walking in the other person’s shoes’ is a transformational process that requires participants to temporarily ‘step out of their own shoes’, so to speak, and move beyond their own limiting self-concepts or perception (Assel 2010). This phrase came from the common Native American proverb, “You can never know another human being until you have walked a mile in his moccasins” and is a relatively new methodology in Western mainstream practice. ‘Walking in the other person’s shoes’ is a unique methodology that facilitates the appreciation of another’s perspectives and actions. This ‘knowing’, as Assel (2010) puts it, is a way to encourage good relationships and understanding.

By the actual physical movement into each other’s space, the participants enter the actual role of the other, allowing the invisible to become visible. The more one gets to know the other and their perspectives and daily challenges, the easier it is to develop understanding and engage at a deeper level altogether. It also allows for deeper respect and awareness (Assel 2010). This process has to be undertaken with an open mind, ensuring that all participants are fully engaged. The usefulness of this ‘walking in the other person’s shoes’ exercise is that one is required to aim toward solving the other’s problems as if they were his own (an interesting link here to Integral Theory). This may also help to gain a new understanding of someone, because it is in not understanding another’s rationalities. Practice and techniques (governmentality) that we see the most conflict.

Within informal settlement upgrading process and practice, the ‘walking in the other person’s shoes’ process would begin by the women’s social networks and the City physically moving into each other’s space for either a prolonged period of time or a series of short visits. This is the first step and allows participants to physically see and hear the experiences of the other. With the help of a facilitator a series of questions are then asked of the participants enable them to think more deeply about the challenges each faces, the perceptions and the governmentality of each group. Women’s social networks would be allowed an opportunity to see the constraints and the rationalities behind the actions of the City and the City would be able to see the rationalities behind the techniques and practices of the women’s social networks. The facilitator is also able to provide a space in which each group attempts

to solve the problems of the other. This allows each to move out of their quadrant (within the AQAL framework) into the other's. This also facilitates the approach shown in Figures 7.7 and 7.8. It is important to note that this process does not intend to change the governmentality of each group (which we have seen to be an extremely challenging process). It is merely undertaken to allow each group to understand each other's governmentality and work in a more integral way. It is a first step toward a more integrated system.

7.6 SUMMARY

The thesis acknowledges that the AQAL quadrant model and Integral Theory may appear to oversimplify a complex and messy actuality. It is, however, a useful tool in mapping the governmentalities that exist and better understanding the relationships that exist when these governmentalities interface at the point of informal settlement upgrading. It also provides a useful framework for the integration of differing governmentalities and allows planners and implementers to use varying lenses in planning and implementing settlement upgrading. This Chapter proposed the use of Integral Theory and the AQAL framework in dealing with the complex interactions and governmentalities that occur in the upgrading of informal settlements. The AQAL framework is a useful tool in schematically mapping differing governmentalities and their relationships. It also provides a platform for improved understanding of the different interactions and conflicts that take place.

Integral Theory and the AQAL framework bring together multiple perspectives and assists in understanding complexity, plurality and the relationships that exist within varying contexts (Esbjörn-Hargens 2009). The chapter proposed the use of Integral Theory and the AQAL framework to assist in filling the gaps that currently occur in our understanding, process and practice when it comes to informal settlement upgrading.

Integral Theory and the AQAL framework were used in two ways in this chapter. The first was the mapping of the different governmentalities (rationalities, techniques and practices) in the AQAL framework and then the dissecting of the relationships that exist and the implications of these relationships. The second was to propose an Integral approach to managing the differing governmentalities that exist and improving the way in which the upgrading of informal settlement planning and practice is undertaken. The City and the women's social networks need to approach

informal settlements and their upgrading in an integral way, making sure that all governmentalities are included in process and practice. This will assist in avoiding the current implications of conflicting governmentalities for upgraded settlements. The chapter ends with an overview of the ‘walking in another’s shoes’ methodology.

CHAPTER 8

RECAPITULATION AND CONCLUSION

8.1 INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

This is the closing chapter of the thesis. It provides a brief background to the study and then presents a short overview of the objectives, approaches and literature featured in the thesis. The next section of the chapter is a synopsis of the approaches and methodology used in the research. This is followed by an overview of results, significant findings of the thesis and the main contributions made. The recommendations of the study are presented and the chapter closes with recommendations for further research.

It is estimated that 70% of sub-Saharan Africa's urban population resides in informal settlements (UN-Habitat 2006). There has been a significant rise in informal settlements in South Africa in particular. This has happened in parallel to the rapid increase in the urbanisation of developing countries. The post-apartheid government has attempted to deal with the large-scale increase in informal settlement by delivering some 1.5 million housing subsidies in its first ten years of democracy. This has, however, not been sufficient and it is projected that almost a quarter of urban dwellers in South Africa still live in informal settlements (Misselhorn 2008). Cape Town, in particular, has a projected 223 informal settlements within its boundaries (which house almost 136 000 households) (Adlard 2006).

The national government has attempted to meet housing needs through the upgrading of informal settlements. *In situ* upgrading has been seen as a particularly popular route to follow. Designed to maintain networks, social systems and livelihoods, *in situ* upgrading is undertaken through the formalisation of settlements in the same geographic areas as they originally existed. *In situ* upgrading was recognised as being a better approach than project-based upgrading (Gilbert 2007). This process has, however, encountered a number of difficulties which include a lack of administrative capacity and a lack of skill and leadership. It was also assumed that the *in situ* upgrading approach would be a 'fix all' solution (Huchzermeyer 2004).

8.2 OBJECTIVES, APPROACHES AND LITERATURE

The study presented in this thesis aimed to investigate the City of Cape Town's governmentality in the upgrading of Makhaza and New Rest in Cape Town and to explore the implications of this governmentality for women's social networks in these two settlements. The study focused on the governmentality elements of rationalities, practices and techniques and counter-conduct.

The study had the following primary research objectives:

1. To explore the City of Cape Town's governmentality (rationalities, practices and techniques) in the upgrading process of Makhaza and New Rest
2. To explore the governmentality (rationalities, practices and techniques) of the women's social networks in Makhaza and New Rest
3. Research how these governmentalities interact in the upgrading of Makhaza and New Rest
4. Study the implications of the City of Cape Town's governmentality for women's social networks in the two settlements
5. Investigate what conflicts, contestations and counter-conducts have emerged within the newly formalised settlements

Governmentality includes the various techniques and practices used to conduct conduct. These can be used by both state and non-state agencies and are fixed and guided by rationalities (Gabardi 2001; Gribat 2010). Rationalities are the motives behind the means and/or methods (practices). Governmentality is focused on 'how' government governs (Jeffreys & Sigley 2009) through the use of varying mentalities, rationalities, practices and techniques (Mayhew 2004). Space can operate as a technique or technology of government and can be used to realise a particular effect or response (Gribat 2010). Counter-conduct is a concept that was developed by Foucault as part of his work on governmentality. It includes the various practices and techniques (steered by various rationalities) used to resist government's conduct of conduct.

The literature review undertaken for this thesis has shown that little attention has been paid to the various governmentalities (practice, techniques and rationalities) that exist within informal settlement upgrading. The literature has also not paid much attention to how the governmentality of those undertaking informal settlement upgrading, relates to women's social networks (and their governmentality) within upgraded sites. Studies have also not considered issues of local government

rationalities, techniques and practices (governmentality), particularly those that exist behind the governance systems of informal settlements upgrading. The literature has also not reflected on the impact that governmentalities have on the women's social networks in the formalisation process.

Academic work has tended to focus chiefly on housing policies and practice (Huchzermeyer 1999), with a particular focus on national policy and connections between local government/municipalities and communities (Pikholz 1997; Huchzermeyer 1999; Marx 2003; Graham 2006). Academic work has failed to empirically explore the effect of governmentality on women's social networks in the upgrading of informal settlements in Cape Town. It has also neglected the conflicts, contestations and counter-conducts that have developed within the newly formalised settlements. By failing to investigate these aspects of settlement upgrading, we open ourselves to the danger of continuing to overlook the rationalities, techniques and practices (governmentality) behind governance systems. We also run the risk of ignoring the effect that these governmentalities has on the formalization process; such as the development of settlements that do not meet the needs of women or their social networks and which may result in resistance and counter-conduct by residents of the formalized settlements resulting in a return to informality.

8.3 APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY

The two case studies of Makhaza (in Khayelitsha) and New Rest (in Gugulethu), within the City of Cape Town, were used in the research study. These two settlements were upgraded *in situ* by the City of Cape Town (local government). Khayelitsha consists of old and new informal and formal areas, with new sites such as Site B, Site C, Mandela Park, Makhaza and Harare having developed around older formal areas. Khayelitsha consists of a number of informal settlements, Reconstruction and Development (RDP) houses, and informal backyard shacks. Makhaza was upgraded from its original informal state by the City of Cape Town over a six year period. Gugulethu was developed by the apartheid government in the 1960s in order to house those who did not fit into the overcrowded areas of Langa nearby. New Rest, in Gugulethu, was upgraded by the City of Cape Town and continues to see upgrading projects take place in the area (Adlard 2006).

The case studies were not used comparatively but as examples that ground the diagnostic. The research used a grounded theory approach, making use of analytical induction which allowed the use of existing theories and enabled the study to move between data collection and theory generation. The study

accepted that understanding of the topic is incomplete and the result of the study, not absolute. Focus was placed on empirical research which is nomothetic. Mixed qualitatively-driven methodologies and approaches were used. It employed techniques of Neighbourhood Social Mapping, Social Network Assessment (SNA), semi-structured interviews, questionnaires, transect walks, observational studies and secondary data gathering. Research activities took place between May 2011 and January 2013.

The Neighbourhood Social Mapping process undertaken included the interactive mapping of social processes, land marks, social networks, and social interaction present within the settlement communities. Groups of participants at the mapping workshops mapped various elements of their community space which showed the spatial positioning and distribution of places linked to social networks. A short questionnaire was filled in by women participants at the end of the mapping workshops. This questionnaire included both open-ended and closed questions and was administered with the help of research assistants. This gave workshop participants an opportunity to provide any further comments and remarks.

The Social Network Analysis (SNA) methodology used in the research aimed to examine and better understand the women's social networks and their relationship with other actors. The SNA process made use of a hybrid network process and sought to identify networks formed beyond those formally identified. The method concentrated on the structure of the relationships and enabled a better understanding of the knowledge and communication systems that exist (as discussed in Wellman & Berkowitz 1988; Hansen & Reese 2009). SNA sees each individuals and/or organisation as a distinct element of analysis. Focus groups were used in the SNA process.

Semi-Structured Interviews were also conducted as part of the data gathering process. These interviews were undertaken with women who attended the neighbourhood mapping workshops and with various directors and programme managers of the City of Cape Town Housing Directorate. Interviews were also held with a representative from CBOs and NGOs involved in the area. Transect walks and site visits were also undertaken with women from the community. Secondary data was also used, which enabled the verification of the primary data gathered. The study used inductive approaches (grounded theory), ethnographic methodology, feminist social research and governmentality studies. Governmentality studies include the identification and examination of practices, techniques and rationalities that aim to conduct conduct and govern behaviour (Crampton & Elden 2007).

Governmentality studies aim to analyse how various notions and ways of seeing processes and practices, as well as rationalities, are established (Gribat 2010).

8.4 OVERVIEW OF SIGNIFICANT FINDINGS

The study found, amongst other things, that:

- The governmentality (rationalities, techniques and practices) used by the City to plan and implement the upgrading of informal settlements, differs from that of the women's social networks.
- The City of Cape Town's Housing Department has a governmentality which is largely technocratic, functionalist, market-based, neo-liberal, and driven by engineering standards in line with national policy documents, budgets, mandates and targets.
- The City's rationality is based on, firstly, the need to meet the constitutional rights of citizens and the mandate of housing delivery and secondly, the need to collect an income from its 'customers' and remain economically viable.
- The techniques and practices of the City are both spatial (placement of roads, settlement planning, basic services, etc.) and administrative (billing for services, the provision of addresses, etc.).
- The rationality of the women's social networks is traditional, socially and culturally based as well as organic and flexible. It is based on the need for survival through the maintenance of access to livelihood assets through social networks.
- The techniques and practices of the women's social networks include verbal communication, regular meetings and gatherings, informal voting systems and member registrations as well as 'gentlemen's agreements' which require no formal legal contracts.

The City of Cape Town's Housing Directorate has a rationality based on meeting constitutional rights and its mandate of housing provision, as well as the need to collect income from resident for services rendered. The latter is linked to the largely neo-liberal slant of the City, which has assumed a commercialised and market-based approach to its practices and techniques. This is done in order to protect its financial bottom line. The City has a largely technocratic and functionalist, market/economic based governmentality. Local residents have become customers of the City which has taken on both spatial and administrative techniques in its management of settlement upgrading. These techniques and

practices include the installation of infrastructure, the development of houses and the formal spatial planning of the settlements. These techniques also include billing for water and electricity through the provision of physical addresses.

The rationality of the women's social networks is largely traditional, socially and culturally based, organic and flexible. It is based on the need for livelihood survival and maintenance, including access to social assets which serve as a gateway to other livelihood assets and reciprocity. Much of the women's governmentality is sustained through various community structures and cultural techniques and practices. The techniques and practices of the women's social networks are based on verbal communication and frequent meetings/gatherings. It also includes interactions and relationships with neighbouring social networks, which allows for systems of reciprocation to be sustained. Reciprocation includes systems of sharing and exchange which are important in the accessing of economic and environmental livelihood assets. Many aspects of the way the social networks operate in the upgraded settlement have been carried over from practices and conventions which operated while the settlement was informal.

As a result of these differing governmentalities, the research revealed the following conflicts, contestations and counter-conducts that have emerged within the newly formalised settlements.

- The profound differences in governmentalities have meant that the settlements do not meet the needs of the women and their social networks.
- In response the women have redesigned their new settlement to meet the needs of their social networks. Backyard shacks, illegal electrical and water connections, illegal home extensions and informal trading from homes have become common place in the settlements. These acts of, what Foucault would call 'counter-conduct', have forced the settlements back into a state of informality.
- A change in physical space has not necessarily brought about a change in the governmentality of the women's social networks. The women have retained their organic, flexible system of social networks and have redesigned their new settlement to meet the needs of these networks, while the City has retained its rationalities.

The conflict between governmentalities is often seen as one of the reasons why ‘best practice’ planning and policy interventions have both unintended and negative outcomes for residents (Watson 2009). For Watson (2009), the problem is often seen as the point where the rationalities, practices and techniques of one group, for example, the City, interface with those of another, for example, those of the women’s social networks, resulting in conflicts and clashes. Resistance and counter-conduct regularly arise at this point, as those affected try to find solutions to the varying problems that evolve.

Most of the needs of the women and their social networks have not been met. The maintenance of the social networks has been jeopardised by the poor design and layout of the settlements and the lack of open space and places for women to meet. The planning of the settlement by the City has focused on the provision of as many houses and services as the budget will allow, in order to meet its economic mandate. A number of conflicts and contestations have arisen as a result of the failure to meet the needs of the women’s social networks. There have been a number of power struggles between residents, councillors and the City, with the women valuing face-to-face communication and contact, while struggling with the rigid bureaucracy of the City. Women in the settlements have begun engaging in ‘counter-conduct’ through various informal mechanisms and techniques. This ‘counter-conduct’ has been undertaken to ensure social networks are maintained and needs are met.

The women have made their counter-conduct evident through the building of backyard shacks and the conversion of homes into informal shops and small businesses as well as the illegal extension of their homes. The counter-conduct does not aim to change government *per se* but it does have the goal of resisting the control of their conduct through the various techniques, practice and rationalities of the City in the upgrading of the settlements. All counter-conduct and responses to the counter-conduct have their own rationalities. The City has continued with the same rationality in the managing of the counter-conduct as it used in the upgrading of the informal settlements. An example of this is the issuing of addresses and utility bills to those occupying backyard shacks, thus drawing them into their ‘customer base’. Through the counter-conduct the women’s social networks have strengthened their governmentality of flexibility, organic interaction and informality.

Another important aspect of this research is the use of space in the respective governmentalities of the City and the upgraded settlements. The research showed that space in Makhaza and New Rest has been used by the City in an effort to generate rate-paying citizens and maintain their economic viability.

Women use their space to maintain their livelihoods and social networks. This difference in the way space is viewed has also caused difficulties in the upgrading process. The different parties have conflicting ideas of what function the space should serve. Understanding the conflicting views of the settlement enables us to comprehend more clearly the concept of space as a facilitator and catalyst (Hirst 2000). The City has used the formalisation of Makhaza and New Rest to render residents governable and conduct their conduct. The City has hoped to produce a certain kind of citizen through the upgrading process; citizens who are economically active and contributing. Controlling space has become a means to exercise power.

This research has also identified a number of assumptions that the City and the women's social networks have made.

- There is a general assumption by the City that those living in informal settlements are unexplored economic actors and that a simple solution to their informality would be to pull them into the economy; that the economy will 'fix' them. This assumption is inappropriate and unworkable, as this thesis shows.
- There is also an assumption by the City that if you provide a house for someone, they will naturally or automatically assimilate into the system and change their chiefly social construct or governmentality to that of rate paying citizens. This research has also shown this to be an inappropriate and unworkable assumption.
- The women's social networks assume that the City is there to provide for their rights and not just to protect them. They perceive themselves as citizens who have the right to expect local and provincial government to provide services which meet their housing and spatial requirements, thus enabling them to continue with their social networks. This is an incorrect assumption, as this research has shown through its interviews with City officials and review of City documentation.

The research did, however, note that the clash of governmentalities is only one example of the types of clashes that take place in cities, both in South Africa and other developing countries, and that this clash is not the only reason that the settlements have not met the needs of the women's social networks. It is seen, though, as an important part of the inability of governments to meet the needs of local people and one of the core explanations as to why formalised settlements tend to return to an informal state.

8.5 CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE STUDY

This thesis has contributed the following:

- It has shown empirically that the governmentality (rationalities, techniques and practices) of the City and that of the women's social networks differ fundamentally in the upgrading of informal settlements.
- It has shown empirically that this differing governmentality has meant that the settlements do not meet the needs of the women and their social networks, thus impacting on their ability to sustain livelihoods or expand their capacity for survival.
- Consequently, the research shows, the difference in governmentality has compromised the effectiveness of the City in realising goals within its governmentality; supplying and managing services, collecting payments and successfully upgrading communities.
- The research has also shown that not meeting people's needs results in the growth of counter-culture behaviour on the part of the women in this case. It also leads to clashes and misunderstandings between government and people. Thus, for example, government views people as 'consumers' rather than citizens.
- The research has also proven that a physical change in space does not necessarily bring about a change in the governmentality of residents as many (like the City) hope. This adds to the effect of disempowering the residents and strengthens their determination to move into counter-culture. This virtually returns the formalised areas back into informal settlements, thus undoing the improvements which the upgrading process intended.
- The research has also shown that the perceived lack of capacity or will, to take the needs and perspectives of the communities being upgraded into consideration, has resulted in a 'one size fits all' approach to *in situ* upgrading. This is further evidence of the unworkable governmentality of the City.

A further contribution has been to address some of the questions raised by academics such as Watson (2009), Trefon (2009) and Myers (1982 in Myers 2011). Watson (2009) calls for a means to understand and conceptualise the interface between conflicting rationalities (governmentalities) and how we best understand the relationships generated. Watson (2009) also calls for analytical and evaluative models to assist planners who are faced with conflicting rationalities and the interface that occurs between them. She also calls for theoretical resources that can organise various perspectives and understand the nature of conflicting rationalities (Watson 2009). Trefon (2009) and (Myers (1982 in Myers 2011) seek a

practice of hybrid governance, one that accepts all governmentalities and brings them into conversation with each other.

The thesis endeavored to respond to some of the above challenges by proposing the use of Integral Theory and the AQAL framework (All Quadrants, All Lines). Integral Theory aims to bring together in a single model, the various worldviews, interactions and perspectives that exist in any given situation. It draws together numerous existing, separate paradigms and perspectives into an integrated and interconnected framework. The framework Integral Theory uses to achieve this is called the AQAL framework (‘All Quadrants, All Levels’).

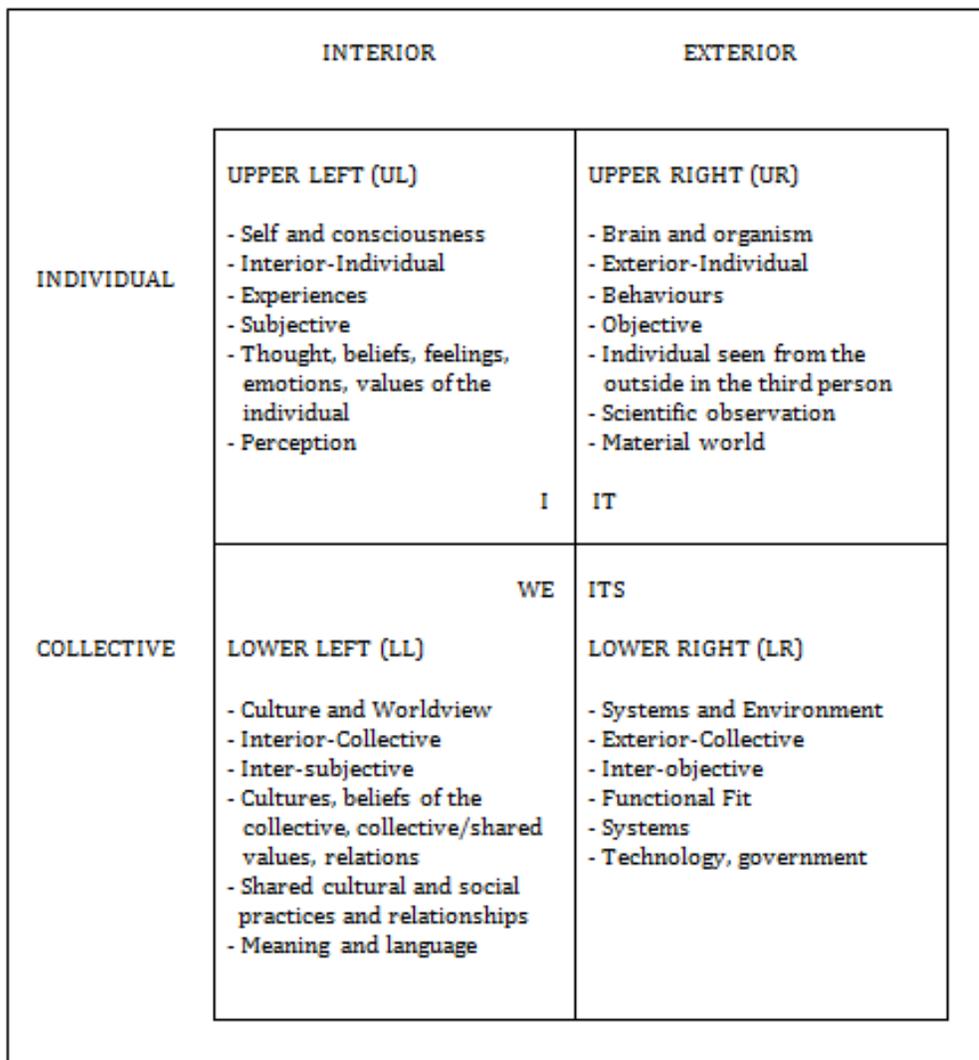


Figure 8.1. The four quadrants of the AQAL framework (Haigh 2013 after Wilber 2007)

Through this framework, Integral Theory exposes four realms of reality or perspective within four quadrants. Each quadrant is significant and draws from diverse methodologies and rationalities (O'Brien & Hochachka 2010). The AQAL framework presents four different perspectives (subjective, inter-subjective, objective, and inter-objective). It demonstrates that certain situations, activities and actions can be viewed in different ways (from either an inside or an outside perspective, and from either a singular or plural perspective) (Wilber 2006; Esbjörn-Hargens 2009). Integral Theory upholds the idea that one cannot fully understand one reality or perspective through the eyes/lens of another and that one worldview cannot be condensed into another (Esbjörn-Hargens 2009). The AQAL framework supports and encourages approaches to problems from multiple perspectives, which take cognisance of different perceptions of the problem or process (Haigh 2013). The quadrants provide four varying perspectives or ways of seeing a single event or problem. Figure 8.1 shows the AQAL framework.

Integral Theory and the AQAL framework were used in this thesis in two ways (each making its own contribution to the study). The first was for the mapping and understanding of differing governmentalities (rationalities, techniques and practices) and their relationship in the upgrading of informal settlements. This provided a theoretical and conceptual resource, through the AQAL framework, that assisted in charting and unpacking the relationships and interactions that exist. It also offers a way to recognise and conceptualise the interface between the conflicting governmentalities. Furthermore, the use of the AQAL framework assists in understanding why the differing governmentalities produce particular effects and the consequent counter-conduct generated.

The research and mapping process further demonstrated that the governmentality of each party is different. The women's social networks and the City are concentrated in different quadrants, opposite each other (LR and LL). The City's perspective or governmentality might be internally valid, but it is incomplete (i.e. not integral). The lack of integral governmentality has led to continual misinterpretation, miscommunication and clashes due to the lack of understanding of each other's governmentality/perspectives. It is incorrect to assume that people can easily move from the perspective or governmentality of one quadrant, to another, especially through a change in space as has been demonstrated in this thesis. Informal settlement upgrading has been managed using perspectives that sit firmly in the one quadrant; that of the City in the LR hand quadrant. This has meant that the subjective, interior dimensions of informal settlement upgrading have been neglected, particularly those of the women who fall into the LL quadrant. The result has been a great measure of

dissatisfaction among and disempowerment of these women, and consequent widespread counter-conduct activities.

The second way in which Integral Theory and the AQAL framework were used was to propose the use of an Integral approach in managing differing governmentalities (particularly in the upgrading of informal settlements). In order to understand fully and respond appropriately to the challenges faced in upgrading, those in power need to be aware of and include all perspectives and actors within each quadrant. Currently, this integral practice does not exist and does not adequately acknowledge other perspectives and governmentality within different quadrants. The integral approach would assist in recognising and understanding the interface between varying governmentalities. An integral approach could assist in providing a hybrid form of governance that takes cognisance of and accepts other governmentalities.

It is important for all parties to be aware of the complexity and depth of informal settlement upgrading and that the 'I, we, and it(s)' are all intertwined and involved, requiring development and implementation that is aware and includes all quadrants. Planning that is based only on economic governmentality and actions, is less viable and sustainable, and clearly much more damaging to powerless people than one that includes social and cultural outlooks. Integral Theory can assist in organising and integrating components of informal settlement upgrading.

In short, the study used Integral Theory in a new and innovative way, to map and understand more clearly conflicting governmentalities. The study posits the use of an integral approach to informal settlement upgrading. This partnership of governmentality and Integral Theory allows for a significant step forward in understanding conflicting governmentalities and ways in which this conflict can be better managed.

As outlined in the literature review, the perspective of women's needs in town planning and the more recent realisation that the way women use space in urban settings is different to men. In the present South African context, issues around the disempowerment of women have to be addressed. The findings of this thesis also offer a salient example of how some of these issues might be addressed.

A further contribution to the literature has been made through two academic papers, one published internationally and two conference presentations as listed in Addendum 6.

Finally, the study recommends that:

- The City takes an integral approach to informal settlement upgrading which takes into account all the four quadrants of the AQAL framework
- The City and the women's social networks acknowledge that varying governmentalities exist within informal settlement upgrading process and practice
- Conflicting governmentalities are brought together to approach the upgrading of informal settlement upgrading
- Both the City and the women's social networks undertake a process of 'walking in the other person's shoes', which requires participants to temporarily 'step out of their own shoes' and move past their own limiting self-concepts or perception. The process may involve moving into each other's space for either a prolonged period of time or a series of short visits, in order to physically see and hear the experiences of the other

8.6 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Further research is required on the governmentality of other groups involved in the upgrading of informal settlements (such as town planners, engineers, researchers and local counsellors). This will allow the AQAL framework to be fully understood and an integrated approach to be followed correctly. It is recommended that a wider study be undertaken of the governmentalities that exist in City departments other than the Housing Directorate, as it was pointed out that different City departments may have different governmentalities.

This study took place in Cape Town, whose local government has a particular type of governmentality. Other large cities in South Africa undergo processes of informal settlement upgrading. The governmentalities involved in the upgrading processes of these cities should be further investigated. Investigations should also take place internationally, which would unpack conflicting governmentalities there and the implications they have for urban development.

8.7 CONCLUSION

There is an urgency and significance around the issues raised by this study in the light of the socio-political realities in South Africa today. The frequent service delivery protests and increasingly violent confrontations between government and citizens are indicative of how crucial and central the land issue is in this context. This may well apply to the situation in many developing countries. This study is a small contribution towards possible constructive approaches for growth in participative democracy and accountable government. If the many women in informal settlements could more appropriately empowered, there would be a significant contribution to a better society.

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ADDENDA

ADDENDUM 1

Questionnaire used at Neighbourhood Social Mapping workshop

Age:

Gender:

Marital Status:

New Rest

Makhaza (Tick appropriate box)

1. How long have you lived in this area?

2. Did you move from a shack in this area into a house?

3. What has changed in your life since you moved into a house?

4. Do you receive help from friends, family and community groups. How do they help you?

5. Have you still been able to meet with the same friends and neighbours since you moved into a house?

6. What have some of the problems been with living here?

7. What new community groups, forums have been formed since the upgrading?

8. What new community groups, forums were lost due to the upgrading?

9. Do women in this community help each other? How

ADDENDUM 2

Field Work Questions asked of Research Assistants

Please would you answer these questions for New Rest and then for Makhaza based on the experience you had at the 2 workshops. If you cannot answer some of these questions don't worry. Many of them are just to get you to think back to some of the things you may have been told by the attendees at the workshops. I will be returning to have individual interviews with the community women once I return so that I can get some further information from them. Thank you so much for your help.

Questions for Report Back

- What information was given on the history of the area?
- Was information provided on how things have changed? What has changed?
- Did members of the community mention any of the problems that they have faced?
- Was mention made of any established women's groups currently operating in the area? What are they?
- Was mention made of previous (pre upgrading) women's groups. What were they?
- Did those attending the workshop mention that they felt increased outside control over their lives since they have moved into the formal housing?
- Did they feel an increase in control over their women's groups and networks and their ability to form new networks or restart old networks?
- Where there any interesting stories that you heard from the women at the workshop?
- What techniques do they use to keep their community and networks together?
- How do women help each other in the community?
- Was it always this way?
- Has cooperation amongst the women improved or has it gotten worse since or because of the upgrading?
- Have they returned to their old networks once the upgrading had happened?
- What was the involvement of the government in women's networks during the upgrading?
- Do they feel they are able to make their own decisions in the upgraded settlement?

ADDENDUM 3

Questions used in Semi-Structured Interviews with Community Members

Notes:

The interview will take 1 hour. Your name will remain private if you wish and the information from this interview will form part of a research report

- Does your house and this settlement meet the needs of you and your family?
- What have you done to make it meet your needs (e.g. back yard shacks)?
- Are there spaces in the community that are available for the use of women to gather and meet?
- Were areas made specifically for women when the settlement was upgraded?
- What other spaces or facilities would you like to see in the settlement?
- Do you feel the settlement was designed with women in mind?
- Is the way that this settlement is designed allowing you to easily meet with people and keep your networks and friendships?
- What do you do to keep your forums and networks running well?

- Would you design your house and plot in a better way than the City did? How?
- What are some of the problems with the way that your area has been designed?
- What do you think the City should have done differently in this settlement?

- What are some of the conflicts in this community/settlement?
- What are some of the conflicts with the City of Cape Town in this community/settlement?
- Are you able to make your own decisions about what you do in the community and what you are involved in?
- Do you know of situations where the government has interfered in this community?
- Do you ever feel controlled in what you can and cannot do here in this settlement?
- Are you able to be involved in decisions that affect your community? How?
- What is the role played by the City of Cape Town in this community?
- What is the role played by Street Committees in this community?
- What is the role played by Councillors in this community?

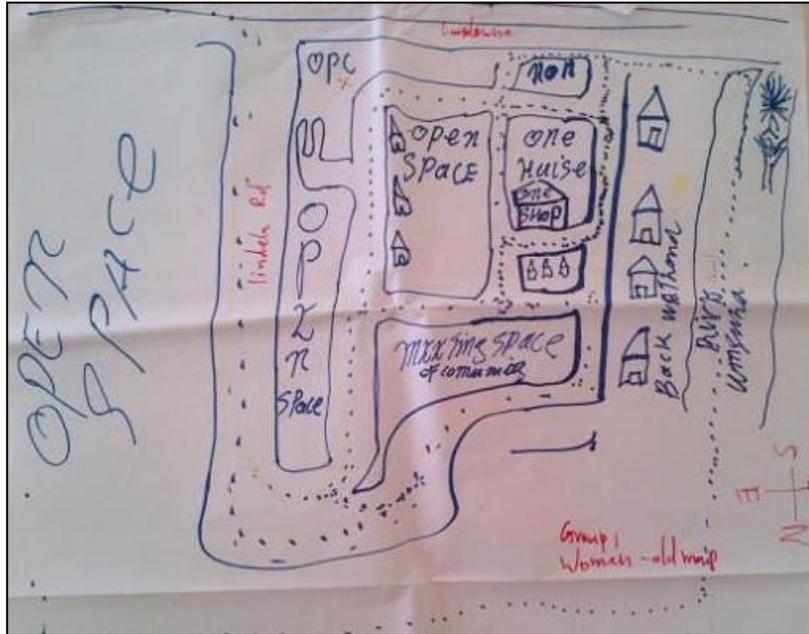
- How do you still undertake your cultural activities when the plots and spaces are now so small?
- What activities can you not do here anymore that you used to do in the informal settlement?
- Is there space for the children and young people to play and meet here?
- Is your area maintained well by the City (waste removal, street cleaning, fixing lights, drain blockages, etc.)?
- Do you think there is more crime now? Why?
- Is there more drug and alcohol abuse now? Why?

I thank you very much for your time and contribution

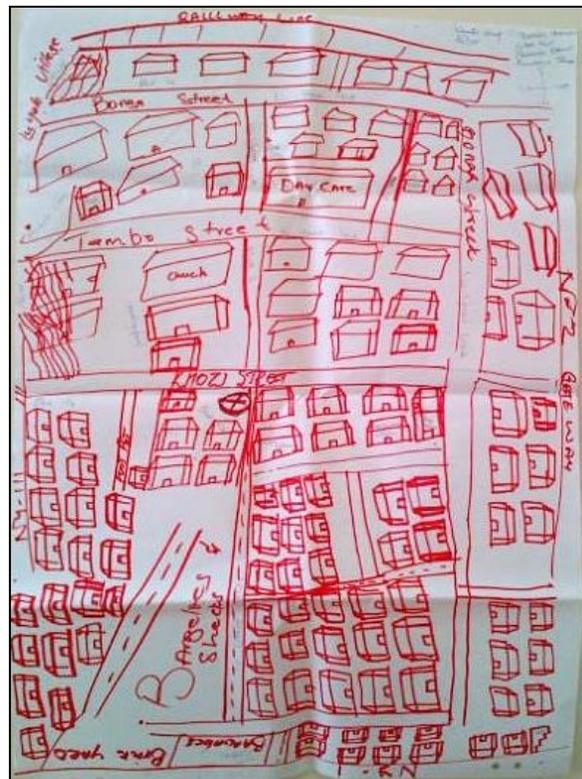
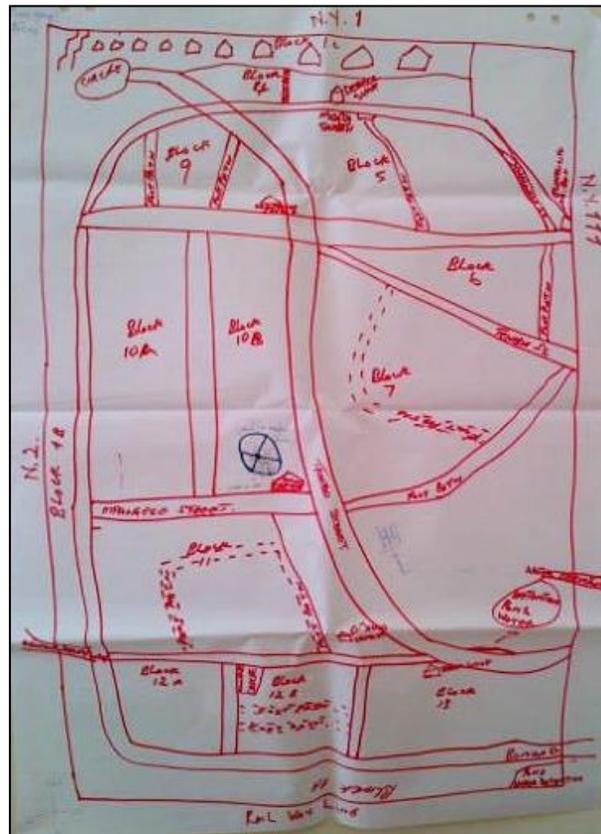
ADDENDUM 4

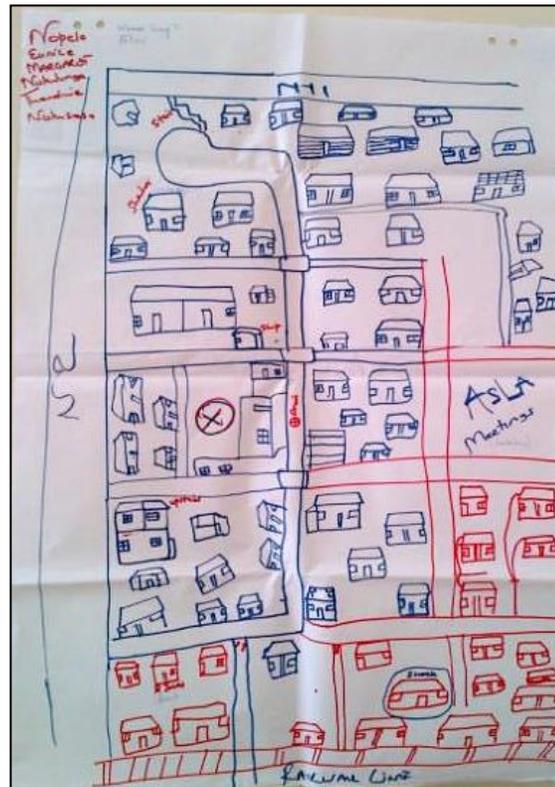
Neighbourhood Social Mapping Workshop Maps

Makhaza



New Rest







ADDENDUM 5

Questionnaire used for interviews with City of Cape Town Officials

- What is the City's view on informal settlements?
- What role does the City play in upgrading informal settlement?
- What is the core reason for or objectives of upgrading informal settlements as opposed to simply providing services to informal settlements?
- Do you think the upgraded settlements meet the needs of the residents?
- Who makes the decisions on what informal settlements get upgraded?
- How is the City responding to changes people are making to their new homes? (specifically with regards to backyard shacks)
- How does the City feel about the way in which many of the upgraded settlements are falling back into an informal state (such as back yard shacks, homes used as stores and shebeens, etc.)?
- Why do you think this happens, this return to informality?
- Do you think settlements are designed with women in mind?
- Are women's networks taken into account when upgrading settlements?
- Who manages the newly upgraded settlements?
- What are some of the difficulties experienced after settlements have been upgraded?
- Do you know how we can get information on the upgrading of Makhaza?
- Is there anyone else that you suggest we speak with?

Questionnaire used for interviews with CBOs, NGOs, etc.

- What do you think the City's view is on informal settlements?
- What role do you think the City plays in upgrading informal settlement?
- Do you think the upgraded settlements meet the needs of the residents?
- How is the City responding to changes people are making to their new homes (specifically with regards to backyard shacks)?
- How is the City dealing with the way that many of the upgraded settlements are falling back into an informal state (such as back yard shacks, homes used as stores and shebeens etc.)?
- Why do you think this happens, this return to informality?
- Do you think settlements are designed with women in mind?
- What are some of the difficulties experienced after settlements have been upgraded?

- What do you think the City is thinking when it upgrades informal settlements?
- Are the houses and neighbourhood layouts appropriate for the people who live in the upgraded areas?
- What are some of the problems with the way that your new settlements have been designed?
- What do you think the City should have done differently in the upgraded settlements?
- Do you feel people are able to make their own decisions about what happens in their communities?

ADDENDUM 6

Papers presented and published from this research

- Massey R 2013. Informal Settlement Upgrading and Women's Social Networks: A study of Governmentality in New Rest and Makhaza, Cape Town, South Africa. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*. DOI 10.1007/s10901-013-9346-5.
- Massey R 2013. Integral Theory: A tool for understanding conflict in urban formalisation processes. International Geographical Union (IGU). Urban Geography Commission Conference, July 2013. University of Johannesburg and University of Stellenbosch, South Africa.
- Massey R 2012. Governmentality and the Upgrading of Informal Settlements in Cape Town: A Long Overdue Conversation. Paper presented at the Society of South African Geographer (SSAG) Conference, University of Cape Town. South Africa.
- Massey R 2011. Informal Settlement Upgrading and the Effect of Governmentality on Women's Social Networks: A Case Study of New Rest and Freedom Park, Cape Town. Stellenbosch University PhD symposium.

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