

**Understanding Low-Income Residents' Sense of Community in
Post-Apartheid Housing Developments in South Africa**

By

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Dedication

“There is no passion to be found playing small – in settling for a life that is less than the one you are capable of living.” – Nelson (Madiba) Mandela

This dissertation is dedicated to the incredible strength of the human spirit to overcome oppression with the hope of a better tomorrow. To the everyday people who committed their lives to freedom and opportunity particularly in South Africa and the United States, I am ever grateful. I stand on the audacity and fortitude of a generation that dedicated its life to a cause of social justice and human rights. Without their fight, I would not have the multitude of opportunities and experiences I have been blessed with throughout my life. My grandparents’ generation paved the way for the life that I am so fortunate to lead. The torch has been passed, and indeed, the road to freedom continues.

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List of Acronyms

ACMS – African Centre for Migration and Society
ANC – African National Congress
BNG – Breaking New Ground
CAS – Cape Area Study
CBD – Central Business District
CUBES – Centre for Urbanism and Built Environment Studies
COURC – Community Organisation Urban Resource Centre
CPUT – Cape Peninsula University of Technology
DAG – Development Action Group
ePHP – Enhanced People’s Housing Process
GAA – Group Areas Act
GCRO – Gauteng City-Region Observatory
GPS – Global Positioning Devices
KP – Knowledge Pele
MDG – Millennium Development Goal
MPC – Master Planned Community
NDoH – National Department of Housing
NGO – Non-Governmental Organization
OVDT – Ocean View Development Trust
PHP – People’s Housing Process
PPP – Public-Private Partnership
QoL – Quality of Life
RDP – Reconstruction and Development Programme
SOC – Sense of Community
UISP – Upgrading Informal Settlements Programme

Abstract

South Africa's Department of Human Settlements has sought to rectify apartheid-era injustices through the mass construction of low-income housing. Housing allocation efforts have led to the demolition of informal settlements and relocation of low-income residents to new developments. The drive to eliminate informal settlements rests within a global call to achieve "slum"-free cities. Many residents in South Africa come from informal settlements, where they have developed networks of trust, participation, and livelihoods. A concern with relocation efforts is that new housing developments disrupt pre-existing sense of community, which refers to an individual's feeling of belonging to a group with a shared connection and attachment to place.

My dissertation investigates the influence of different housing approaches on residents' sense of community, as indicated in social trust, community participation, and place attachment. This dissertation asks: How do different approaches to housing low-income residents influence sense of community? In order to answer this research question, I conducted field work in four sites: Cosmo City (a state-driven private developer project in Johannesburg); Diepsloot (a vast informal settlement in Johannesburg); Freedom Park (a self-help community in western Cape Town); Springfield Terrace (medium density apartments near the Cape Town CBD). With the support of a research team, I took a mixed-method approach through several data collection activities: 190 door-to-door surveys, 82 semi-structured resident interviews, 11 community

mapping focus group sessions, and 15 semi-structured interviews with community leaders and non-governmental organizations.

During my research, I discovered that arriving to new housing resulted in feeling uprooted for some residents who no longer lived near their former neighbors. Smaller scale housing developments, located close to the city center, and on land that has historical meaning for residents mitigate feelings of estrangement. The limited capacity to form neighborhood watch or street cleanup groups stems from lack of will or ability, infrastructure, funding, and training. Residents are more likely to report attachment to place if they demonstrate feelings of belonging, safety, pride, and plans to stay in their housing in the future. This study revealed that medium density housing developments, rather than mega housing projects, support a greater sense of community.

Introduction

South Africa's Department of Human Settlements has sought to rectify past apartheid-era injustices through the mass construction of low-income housing. In recent years, this effort to allocate housing has led to the demolition of informal settlements and, in turn, the relocation of low-income residents to new housing developments. Furthermore, the drive to eliminate informal settlements rests in a broader discussion of meeting Millennium Development Goals to achieve "slum"-free cities (Huchzermeyer, 2011; Groenewald, 2011). As Huchzermeyer (2011) indicates, the demolition of informal settlements and the forced relocation of residents to "new estates" or transit areas is often referred to as "*in situ* upgrading," whereby the state redevelops former informal settlements "at lower densities" (p. 114). This approach has also been called "de-densification," a euphemism for razing shack settlements (Huchzermeyer, 2011; Harber 2011). The promise of adequate housing "has shaped the South African state's mass roll-out of low-income housing, [with] over three million units to date" (Oldfield and Greyling, 2015, p. 1100-1101; Croese et al., 2016). It is this promise of adequate housing, coupled with the international obligation to create shack free cities, that fueled an urgency to rehouse residents more quickly through the Upgrading of Informal Settlements Programme (USIP) under the 2004 *Comprehensive Plan for the Development of Sustainable Human Settlements: Breaking New Ground*. Furthermore, As Huchzermeyer (2011) indicates, the "obsession" over eradicating informal settlements visible to incoming tourists arriving for the 2010 FIFA World Cup, influenced the decision to embark on the pilot N2 Gateway Housing Project in Cape Town, which was prioritized by the Department of Human Settlements because of its visibility to

visitors driving into town from Cape Town's International Airport. The N2 Gateway Project represented a departure from the *in situ* upgrading set out in the UISP in the Breaking New Ground plan, in favor of city-wide efforts to alter the physical appearance of the city much more quickly than *in situ* upgrade projects could. What the Department of Human Settlements overlooked was the fact that over time, informal settlement residents develop social capital and networks of trust, participation, and livelihoods to make ends meet. A concern with relocation efforts is that new housing developments disrupt pre-existing sense of community, which is crucial for quality of life. For the purposes of this study, I developed three overarching indicators for sense of community – social trust, community participation, and place attachment. This study uses McMillan and Chavis' (1986) definition of sense of community which is “a feeling that members have of belonging, a feeling that members matter to one another and to the group, and a shared faith that members' needs will be met through their commitment to be together” (p. 9).

This research project is situated within this broader discussion of slum clearance and relocation, as well as public and self-help housing developments. Present day slum removal is particularly evident around world events such as the Olympics, World Cup, and world leaders' summits (Huchzermeyer, 2011; Davis, 2006; Makhulu, 2015; Sandercock, 2000). For governments looking to make modern progress in the form of “cleaning up” the city, slums are viewed as a roadblock to doing so (Popke and Ballard, 2004, p. 101). Renewal projects to “clean up” or “sanitize” such instances of informality operate out of visions for global city status. Top-down approaches towards redevelopment are thus concealed as efforts to improve the living conditions of the poor and by-pass citizen engagement and participation (Karaman, 2013). What occurs is then the displacement of populations and their “forced incorporation in the [housing] market” (Karaman, 2013, p. 730). As numerous scholars have argued, the modernist tendencies

of urban renewal result in a disregard for attention to the needs and wants of existing residents (Jacobs, 1961; Turner, 1967; Karaman, 2013).

Plans to eradicate informal settlements overlook the livelihoods of low-income residents and the fact that relocation makes residents vulnerable to deeper financial instability because they cannot afford the cost burden of formal housing (Huchzermeyer, 2001; Groenewald, 2011; Pieterse, 2008). The process of allocating government housing stands in contrast to self-help housing, whereby residents exhibit “sweat equity” by constructing their own housing rather than remaining passive recipients of more standardized approaches, which grant residents subsidized housing without attention to pre-existing networks of community (Ward, 2012, p. 291; Turner, 1996, p. 344). Additionally, self-help housing operates out of the notion that the users of housing know their circumstances best and residents have their own autonomy and freedom to maintain their own houses and neighborhoods (Ward, 2012, p. 295; Turner, 1996; Turner, 1980). Nonetheless, self-help housing allows the government to relinquish its role as the supplier of housing, thus placing the burden of finding or making housing on the residents themselves (Lombard, 2014). It is commonly the case that residents allocated government subsidized housing in South Africa actually return to the informal settlements or rent out their government housing. This is largely due to the poor location of new housing and distance from social networks and employment (Davis, 2006; Croese, 2016; Tissington, 2011; Newton, 2013; Seekings et al., 2010; Harber, 2011).

Global Visioning of “Cities without Slums”

The South African Cities of Johannesburg and Cape Town share a vision for a “world class” image in an effort to move towards a more equitable and inclusive society that provides a

decent quality of life for all citizens (City of Johannesburg, 2011b; Makhulu, 2015, p. 138). Yet, the means to reach this vision have often been through actions reminiscent of oppressive apartheid era planning. Housing in South Africa is also situated within a global push from the United Nations' Millennium Development Goal (MDG) 7 Target 11 to improve the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers by 2020. MDG 7 has influenced South Africa's efforts to eradicate informal settlements often resulting in slum clearance, displacement, and non-participatory relocations (Huchzermeyer, 2011; Croese et al., 2016; Gilbert, 2007; Meth, 2013; Groenewald, 2011; Pieterse, 2008).

The initiative of "Cities Without Slums" emerged in 1999 through the Slum Upgrading Action Plan, which established the goal of improving the lives of 100 million slum dwellers by 2020 (Gilbert, 2007; Huchzermeyer, 2011; Cities Alliance, n.d.). The Action Plan calls for upgrading vulnerable living conditions by strengthening in-country capacity through the restructuring of policy frameworks as well as investing in "slums" through basic service delivery and infrastructure improvements (Cities Alliance, n.d.). Nelson Mandela launched the global campaign in Berlin during the inaugural meeting of Cities Alliance in 1999. The initiative was later incorporated in Target 11 of the Millennium Development Goals as a measurable target for international development (Cities Alliance, n.d.; Croese et al., 2016; Gilbert, 2007). A household living in a "slum" is defined as a group of people living without one of the following (United Nations Statistics Division, 2008; Cities Alliance, n.d.):

- Access to water
- Access to sanitation
- Sufficient living area
- Durable housing

- Security of tenure

As articulated by Gilbert (2007), the “Cities Without Slums” effort has reignited a precarious term of “slum” back into the UN-Habitat vocabulary. By using the term “slum” the UN is reintroducing a term that equates the physical quality of housing with the characteristics of the people who inhabit them. The term is dangerous because it “emphasize[s] too heavily the disease, crime and difficulties associated with slum life and it refuels the kind of fears that already encourage the rich to move to their gated communities” (Gilbert, 2007, p. 698). The term “slum” brings with it negative connotations of the people who live there and stereotypes as people who are undesirable residents. This “othering” of residents of so-called “slums” fuels a fear among the wealthy who retreat to gated communities (Gilbert, 2007, p. 704; Caldeira, 2005 [1996]; Zukin, 1995). Efforts to measure progress of the MDGs do so in a way that often overlooks the fact that perceptions of acceptable housing vary from one context to another. Secondly, it is important to emphasize that not all “slums” are the same, as is certainly the case in South Africa and other countries where some informal settlements, *favelas*, and *barrios* have service delivery or varying housing types within a single settlement (Gilbert, 2007; Lombard, 2014). The way that “slums” are perceived by the global community and national governments is an indication of how planning and policy will influence and change their social fabric and physical character. As Gilbert (2007) indicates “most ‘slums’ are anything but homogenous and contain both a mixture of housing conditions and a wide diversity of people” (p. 704).

As Huchzermeyer (2011) argues, the “slum-free” political agenda needs to take a “more sensitive approach to informal settlements through support and upgrading” (p. 115). In many ways, the “Cities Without Slums” campaign legitimizes action towards the demolition of slums, which Huchzermeyer (2011) argues has influenced Cities Alliance and UN-HABITAT to ignore

the repressive nature of “slum” removal, which signals a departure from their advancement and support of human rights (p. 3).

The ways in which poverty is problematized are an indication of planning efforts to *solve* the “problem” (Roy, 2015); historically the solution to the “slum” has been clearance. This clearance has led to the relocation and displacement of residents (Gilbert, 2007; Huchzermeyer, 2011; Croese et al., 2016). As is the subject of this dissertation, “relocation disrupts existing communities and social networks, lengthens the journey to work, raises housing costs, and generally disrupts people’s lives” (Gilbert, 2007, p. 708). Katz (2015) suggests that poverty can be framed as a “problem” of persons, places, resources, political economy, power, and markets. To view poverty as a problem of places, for example, the solution considers the conditions of places, typically with housing reform as the solution (Katz, 2015).

Housing Backlog in South Africa

South Africa remains full of inequities in which the affluent have access to gated communities, upscale shopping centers, and recreational facilities, while the urban poor carve out peripheral lives along the urban fringe (Beall, Crankshaw, & Parnell, 2002; Charlton, 2010; Huchzermeyer, 2011; Landau, 2006; Murray, 2008; Murray, 2011; Simone, 2004). It is still very much the case that the unemployed and underemployed urban poor are forced to carve out niches within an already overcrowded informal market. Structural inequalities such as lack of wage paying employment directly inhibit the access to quality housing. Among other social services, Johannesburg’s housing situation offers the most visible example of the vast disparities between the affluent and the urban poor despite the state’s efforts in the post-apartheid era.

Housing advocates within the African National Congress (ANC) identified homeownership through the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) as a strategy to

create access to decent housing for the poor and black African residents who were denied such rights under apartheid. The RDP and future policies have largely been biased towards homeownership and asset creation for the poor (Charlton, 2009, p. 308). Despite the fact that subsidized housing delivery in South Africa between 1994 and 2003 surpassed efforts in any other country, a significant housing shortage persists (Charlton, 2009, p. 304; Rust, 2003, p. 3; Huchzermeyer, 2011, p. 114; Miraftab, 2003, p. 232). The backlog is an estimated 2.4 million houses that continues to surpass delivery (Lemanski, 2011, p. 60). The millions of houses still needed to accommodate homeless residents show that the construction of houses cannot keep up with the number of people in need. Given this, Makhulu (2015) suggests that the Reconstruction and Development Programme “merely gestured at issues of social and economic justice” and resembled more of a “wish list” of service delivery (p. 159-160). Reasons for the growing backlog include arrival of new migrants as well as an increase in the number of households due to the fragmentation of families (Charlton, 2009, p. 308; Lemanski, 2011, p. 60).

The housing backlog has created what Oldfield and Greyling (2015) call a “politics of waiting for homes” (p. 1101). The promise of access to formal housing simultaneously carries the ordinary process of waiting in the meantime which scholars have characterized as “inertia” (Jeffrey, 2008), “nonmovements” (Oldfield and Greyling, 2015), and “permanent temporariness” (Yiftachel, 2009). Scholars have articulated the wait for housing as an act in and of itself, characterized by ordinary citizens in South Africa who must continue to live while waiting. Citizens become political actors through the visible and invisible, such as service delivery protests or moving to an area where new housing is being constructed. The latter practice resembles a quiet, yet mundane persistence in the struggle for housing (Oldfield and Greyling, 2015) and what Bayat (2010) calls “quiet encroachments”. As Makhulu (2015) suggests, the

illegal occupation of land serves as a calculated response to “dispossession” from the city as a means of survival; yet, this “quiet encroachment” along the urban periphery is no longer justifiable under the new democracy (Makhulu, 2015, p. 158). As Makhulu (2015) argues, squatting is “now out of step with the new neoliberal order,” and the claims on urban space and housing rights articulated by South Africa’s disenfranchised poor, stand in opposition to new processes of privatization of services and cost efficiency (p. 158). What remains clear is a simultaneous process through which ordinary people are exercising their freedoms while waiting for a home (Makhulu, 2015, p. 161).

As Oldfield and Greyling (2015) contend, the process of waiting is a shared experience that low-income citizens can recall and act upon. In South Africa, this wait is legitimized through the legal process of acquiring housing. In order to qualify for a housing subsidy, residents should be a South African citizen 18 years or older, with a monthly income less than R 3,500 (about \$350). Furthermore, the resident must be married or have dependents and should not have previously applied for housing before (Oldfield and Greyling, 2015; Tissington, 2011; NDoHS, 2016).

Yet, once the long wait for housing is over, residents soon realize that their new housing has poor building standards or is too small to accommodate their large household size (Makhulu, 2015, p. 123). This became clear in interviews with residents in Cosmo City and Diepsloot who frequently indicated that their RDP houses had leaky roofs, sewage back up, and water shut offs. Makhulu (2015) identifies this “contradiction” between the speedy delivery of housing, yet poor building standards as a growing trend of privatization of service delivery as well as economic volatility. The Department of Human Settlements maintains a primary focus on mass roll-out of government subsidized RDP housing along urban peripheries as opposed to *in situ* upgrades of

informal settlements. As Tissington (2011) contends, South Africa has yet to see a “successful” *in situ* informal settlement upgrade project, and instead RDP housing is the state’s main mode of housing delivery. In an interview with Kate Tissington, of the Socio-Economic Rights Institute of South Africa (SERI), she further indicated:

In situ informal settlement upgrading is not a priority and instead the emphasis is on relocation to mega-projects which can result in significant relocation and displacement of settled communities, [and while] the Upgrading of Informal Settlements Programme (USIP) suggests that relocations and evictions of informal settlements should be the last resort, unlawful occupation of vacant land results in forceful evictions by the police. (Personal interview, February 2015)

Nevertheless, I believe that the national government places the emphasis on RDP housing and the subsidy program rather than *in situ* upgrades because doing so would legitimize illegality. In other words, upgrading informal settlements requires the state to accept and condone residents’ illegal practices of occupying private land and tapping into electrical and water networks. Yet, as Tissington (2011) suggests, the state’s “preoccupation” with formalizing the informal fails to acknowledge the benefits of informality on low-income residents such as proximity to job opportunities and social networks for support. Furthermore, mega projects are likely to perpetuate deep patterns of inequality (Personal interview, Kate Tissington, Socio-Economic Rights Institute, February 2015; Croese et al., 2016). Relocation to “new estates” is commonly associated with “unintended consequences,” which leave residents in worse position to secure employment (Tissington, 2011; Huchzermeyer, 2011). Moreover, the mere presence of informal settlements stands in defiance of squelched economic and social opportunity, thus making them “new geographies of freedom” (Makhulu, 2015, p. 156).

The large scale housing delivery despite the growing housing backlog has far-reaching policy implications for the long-term viability of a low-income housing market and residents’ well-being (Charlton, 2009, p. 305; Meth, 2013). The heavy focus on housing output (on the part

of the Department of Human Settlements) as opposed to a deeper regard for residents' sense of community is the primary problem that this study seeks to address.

Problem Statement and Purpose

The early focus of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) was to satisfy immediate housing needs of low-income residents who had previously been denied such under apartheid. The speedy delivery of housing under the Breaking New Ground Plan and Reconstruction and Development Programme overlooks residents' sense of community that may have been developed in their previous living conditions. Furthermore, within planning literature, there is limited attention to the interdependence of physical surroundings and sense of community.

In order to determine the merits and drawbacks of varying housing approaches in South Africa, I examined sense of community in four sites, which emerged in different time periods in South Africa's history. The purpose of this study was to determine how different approaches to housing – state-driven private developer built RDP housing (Cosmo City), an unplanned informal settlement with some RDP housing (Diepsloot), aided self-help housing (Freedom Park), public-private partnership medium density housing near Cape Town's CBD (Springfield Terrace) – influence sense of community among low-income residents. The literature suggests that a strong sense of community is also connected to improved quality of life in areas such as employment, education, health care, transportation, and sanitation with reduced social ills such as crime and domestic violence. Furthermore, sense of community is also linked to low-income residents' long term interest and maintenance of a development (Lemanski, 2008). As Lemanski (2011) suggests, residents who collectively organize for their own development often demonstrate more interest in the longevity of the housing development.

This project studied three indicators of sense of community: social trust, community participation, and place attachment. The results of this study have the capacity to address housing policy on a global scale for countries with low-income and large under-housed populations. Given the modest sample size of this study, it is not my goal to make sweeping generalizations, but to highlight how in particular neighborhoods community is or is not constructed. Nevertheless, the qualitative findings of my work speak to the sentiments and experiences of people living in challenging environments, which are worthy of exploration in order to better understand how to plan for their needs.

Research Question

The research question guiding this study was: How do different approaches to housing low-income residents influence sense of community? This question is important because it examines the interdependence of housing and residents' sense of community – an understudied issue in urban planning literature. Additionally, this question grants locals the opportunity to voice their point of view rather than leaving so-called “experts” in the driver’s seat of decision making. Knowledge of ordinary citizens is equally valuable to the more traditionally prized knowledge of technically trained experts. A mutual “social learning” process (Friedmann, 1987; Schön, 1983) between planners and citizens develops the capacity to grant holders of “ordinary knowledge” (Lindblom and Cohen, 1979) a voice in policy conversations. Answers to the research question, especially with residents’ voices in the forefront, may provide the impetus for developers and community organizations to enact community building initiatives that more closely reflect residents’ needs and wants. In order to answer the research question, I followed a descriptive case study research design, which incorporated multiple sources of data (resident and stakeholder interviews, door-to-door resident surveys, focus groups, and direct observation) from

4 housing sites across Johannesburg and Cape Town – Cosmo City, Diepsloot, Freedom Park, and Springfield Terrace. It is critical to acknowledge that the research design process carried out for the household surveys in the Johannesburg sites differed from the process carried out in the Cape Town sites, the reasons for which are discussed below.

Limitations

It is important to discuss the limitations of this study related to the overall research design and survey methodology. Due to constraints in the field concerning data collection, the household survey methods in Johannesburg were different from those in Cape Town. This was the case for the household surveys only. In the Johannesburg sites, I relied on the support of local enumerators from Cosmo City and Diepsloot who worked for Knowledge Pele, a research advisory firm. The research design in the Johannesburg sites followed a systematic sampling process, whereby the enumerators surveyed every 5th household until they reached a total of 60. Because the survey enumerators in the Johannesburg sites were from Cosmo City and Diepsloot, they were known by locals. In order to ensure my safety and the safety of others, I conducted the resident interviews and focus groups at a central location in the multipurpose center in Cosmo City and the Father Blondel Youth Center in Diepsloot. I did not follow this same systematic sampling process in Cape Town because I did not have a similar research firm in Cape Town, but rather worked more directly with local community leaders in the Cape Town sites. I hired local students in Cape Town to assist with the surveys in Freedom Park and Springfield Terrace. Safety was a large factor, which influenced my decision to rely on the local community leaders' to walk us door-to-door in the Cape Town sites for the household surveys. Following a systematic approach would not have worked in a site like Freedom Park because not every household was deemed "safe" by the community leader. Thus, I relied on snowball sampling in

both Freedom Park and Springfield Terrace. Given these variations in the research design for the Johannesburg and Cape Town sites, I recognize that it becomes difficult to determine the comparability of the cases.

It is also important to recognize that the number of interviews, surveys, and focus groups completed per site is small compared to the overall population size of each site. For example, 60 household surveys were completed each of the Johannesburg sites; however, the population sizes range from about 70,000 residents in Cosmo City and 150,000 – 200,000 residents in Diepsloot. Thus, the data collected from the surveys, interviews, and focus groups of the study may not reflect the predominant view of *every* resident in each housing site. The Gauteng City-Region Observatory (GCRO) 2013 Quality of Life survey was critical in ameliorating this data gap. I used descriptive statistics from the GCRO Quality of Life survey in order to provide a broader spectrum of sentiments amongst residents in the Gauteng Province, which comprises my two Johannesburg housing sites – Cosmo City and Diepsloot.

I also did not conduct any pre-testing of the survey or interview questions prior to the formal survey and interview. Pre-testing the questions among a small sample of residents in each site may have helped me to reformulate the survey and interview questions to make them more clear to the sample population. Pre-testing may have alleviated the need to probe or clarify questions during the formal surveys and interviews. Nonetheless, it is the role of the interviewer to facilitate the interaction with the respondent by asking a follow-up question or a probe to enable the respondent to answer the question completely (Lepkowski, Singer, Tourangeau, Groves, Fowler, & Couper, 2009, p. 291).

I conducted a training session for survey enumerators in all four sites. I trained the survey enumerators to ask the questions exactly as stated in the survey form; however, they may have inserted probes or other leads beyond my control.

Another limitation was translation. I had few language barriers in Johannesburg since all of the interviews and surveys were conducted in English. During the focus group sessions in Johannesburg, however, residents communicated with one another in Xhosa, and I hired a translator to assist me. In Freedom Park in Cape Town, some of the interviews and surveys were conducted in Afrikaans, and the community leader assisted me in translating. Furthermore, the larger focus group discussion in Freedom Park was conducted completely in Afrikaans. Nonetheless, the community leader translated what individual residents said, and I made detailed notes. I recognize that some of the translations and my notes may not be exact.

The last limitation of this study concerns the time of day of the data collection activities. In Freedom Park, I conducted the focus group session on a Friday morning. Given that the vast majority of residents there are unemployed, this time worked for most people and I had the most people to participate there than any other site. In Cosmo City and Diepsloot, I conducted the focus group sessions on a Monday, which made it difficult for residents to participate due to work obligations. Yet, I conducted the door-to-door household surveys in Cosmo City and Diepsloot over weekends in order to catch more people at home. In Springfield Terrace, I conducted the surveys and interviews during weekday afternoons after my key informant returned from work. I had to operate within her schedule because she walked me door-to-door. I conducted the focus group session in Springfield Terrace on a Saturday morning, which made it difficult for residents to attend due to weekend activities and family commitments.

Significance of the study

This dissertation calls for a shift in the policy discussion to consider residents' sense of community in the realm of housing policy. The current focus on the part of the Department of Human Settlements is to “clean-up” or “sanitize” cities by allocating government housing to residents of informal settlements (Huchzermeyer, 2011; Haferburg, 2013). Yet, it is often the case in South Africa and other so-called developing countries, that residents sell their government housing and return to informal settlements where they are closer to livelihood and social opportunities (Davis, 2006, p. 74; Croese, 2016; Tissington, 2011; Newton, 2013; Seekings et al., 2010; Harber, 2011). Furthermore, within urban planning literature there is a lack of attention towards the intersection of sense of community and the built environment. This dissertation also contributes closely to the community psychology and environmental psychology literature as discussed in Chapter 1 of this dissertation. Little is known about the ways in which the built environment influences our ability to interact with neighbors, forge relations, participate in community activities, and develop attachment to place.

It is critical to understand that the visible informality of the settlements does not necessarily signify social disorder. In informal settlement environments, for example, it is critical to recognize that these areas have a deeply rooted social structure that mediates everyday life in livelihoods, raising children, and neighborhood security. An understanding of the impacts of relocation on the everyday lived experiences of the urban poor (livelihoods, social trust, child care arrangements, and transportation needs) is critical in formulating policies that account for the needs of the poor.

The major finding of this dissertation is that Springfield Terrace offers the greatest sense of community. It is ironic, however, that such a development created prior to the end of apartheid

(as discussed in Chapter 3) could yield a greater sense of community than the other housing sites studied in this dissertation. What makes the difference, however, is the location of the housing development in relation to social amenities, schools, churches, transportation, and livelihood activities. Nonetheless, it is important to recognize that the other housing sites studied in this dissertation have positive attributes as well. For example, Dieplsoot demonstrated a moderate level of community participation as evident in the community policing forum, vibrant street trading, and informal child care arrangements. Cosmo City offers a moderate level of functional attachment largely due to the presence of key infrastructural components such as schools, parks, multipurpose center, and the new Cosmo City Mall. Freedom Park residents demonstrated a moderate level of emotional attachment to place as evident particularly among original beneficiaries who resided in the informal settlement and were active in the formalization process. Their moderate level of emotional attachment demonstrates their commitment to the long-term success of the development.

My research indicates that medium density housing with clear sightlines, located close to the CBD is the best approach to build sense of community amongst residents. Furthermore, housing allocation efforts should strive to take residents' needs into account through participatory mapping exercises, charrettes, and needs assessments rather than residents becoming passive beneficiaries of housing. It is important to emphasize that formal housing represents legitimacy in the eyes of the state, whereby citizens become legally able to access their "right to the city" and take urban life (Lefebvre, 1996 [1968]; Huchzermeyer, 2011; Oldfield and Greyling, 2015; Simone, 2009; Makhulu, 2015). Housing is more than just an economic asset, and it is simultaneously linked to social functions, belonging, and legal rights of citizenship (Oldfield and Greyling, 2015; Charlton, 2009; Ross, 2005).

Summary of main argument and structure of the dissertation

Although it quickly satisfies a need, the mere allocation of housing on the part of the state or third party can often contribute to the breakdown of community because residents may not be housed near their former neighbors or they may not be actively involved in the development process. The findings of this dissertation reveal that medium density housing developments such as Springfield Terrace have a greater sense of community than mega housing projects. This dissertation shows the need for future housing policy to consider developing more low-income housing closer to the city center in a medium density layout, which is conducive for residents to engage in community activities, access amenities close to town, and support their neighbors in time of need.

In the literature review, I begin with a brief history of international development approaches to the “problem” of so-called slums. I trace the evolving dynamics of housing policy in South Africa through three major time periods: pre-1994 apartheid era, post-1994 reconstruction and development, and present day human settlement approaches. I also provide a global perspective with examples of the influence of housing approaches on sense of community in Brazil, Venezuela, Australia, Nigeria, and South Africa. Chapter 2 presents the research design and motivation for selecting four sites of observation. Chapter 3 presents the site profiles for the four sites of observation in Johannesburg and Cape Town – Cosmo City, Diepsloot, Freedom Park, and Springfield Terrace. I then move to present findings of the three indicators of sense of community social trust, community participation, and place attachment, presented in Chapters 4, 5, and 6 respectively. The conclusion, Chapter 7, offers a recap of the major findings of the study, implications for planning practice, and areas for future research.

Chapter 1: Sense of community in the backdrop of housing allocation

Introduction

Housing allocation in low-income countries can be traced back to approaches (such as supply driven projects, slum clearance, and *in situ* upgrading) supported by international lenders and institutions such as the World Bank and UN-Habitat. A brief history is necessary in order to situate the housing approaches and policies in South Africa in a broader framework of the “challenge of slums” (UN-Habitat, 2003). From the 1950s-1960s post-colonial countries in Africa witnessed a modernist era with the state in the driver’s seat of development and “social control” (Croese, Cirolia, & Graham, 2016, p. 238). Croese et al. (2016) examine housing programs in Sub-Saharan Africa within the context of the global “challenge of slums” (UN-Habitat, 2003) in countries such as Angola, Ethiopia, Namibia, and South Africa. Their article traces international initiatives aimed at “slum” improvement while indicating the overwhelming preference for mega projects and supply driven approaches to housing delivery. By the 1970s, international attention, on the part of the World Bank, shifted towards the acceptance of initiatives in support of self-help housing, an approach which originated in the research of John Turner in Latin America (Croese et al., 2016; Pillay, 1995) (see also Chapter 3). As Croese et al. (2016) indicate, “slum upgrading meant a number of different things, but is generally associated by an *in situ* improvement of an area through the granting of secure tenure and the provision of basic services” (p. 239).

By the early 2000s, the tone shifted away from simply housing delivery to a more concerted effort to create “sustainable human settlements” planned with basic service delivery

(Croese et al. 2016; Huchzermeyer, 2011; NDoH, 2004; Habitat, 2003). Out of this came the Millennium Development Goals where target 11 seeks “significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers by the year 2020” (Croese et al., 2016; UN Millennium Project, 2006). In 2003, the UN-Habitat report entitled *The Challenge of Slums* determined that 71.9% “of the urban population in Sub-Saharan Africa lived in poorly built overcrowded housing without adequate basic service provision and secure tenure” (UN-Habitat 2003; Croese et al., 2016). This effort renewed the focus once again towards tenure and *in situ* upgrading, and these efforts received more support after the publication of Hernando de Soto’s (2000) book, *The Mystery of Capital*. This work spurred greater interest in homeownership across Sub-Saharan Africa. Yet, as previously stated in the introduction of dissertation, scholars have shown that the emphasis on homeownership overlooks other factors such as informal livelihoods and social networks that are also critical to survival and quality of life (Croese, 2016; Huchzermeyer, 2011; Charlton, 2009).

Within South Africa and other low-income countries, it is true that land is cheaper in remote locations, but housing environments that serve more of a “dormitory” function, as opposed to a community, further estrange the urban poor from access to market opportunities (Charlton, 2009; Lemanski, 2008; Jacobs, 2011). Housing ministers’ heavy emphasis on the capital subsidy for RDP housing means that residents must purchase a house. The low transaction value of RDP housing due to its low quality, small interior of 25 square meters (Miraftab 2003, p. 234), and marginal position to city services suggests that they cannot be appraised to sell in such a way that would increase upward mobility along the property ladder (Lemanski, 2011, p. 72; Charlton, 2010, p. 7). Furthermore, state outsourcing to private developers often ignores the needs of the poorest of the poor; the limited community

participation and engagement of residents in new developments, may result in upgraded infrastructure, yet fragmented social life (Lemanski, 2008; Tissington, 2011; Turner, 1980; Turner, 1996). As this chapter will show, aided self-help projects under the People's Housing Process rely heavily on community participation, which helps to build a collective sense of community among residents, who serve on build teams, neighborhood watch committees, or church outreach teams. The process of self-built housing in Ocean View offers a contrast to the rapid delivery of RDP houses in areas such as Cosmo City, which are led by state commissioned private developers. In what follows, I trace the history of housing policy in South Africa from the apartheid era to present day supply-driven housing delivery.

Apartheid-Era Spatial Landscape

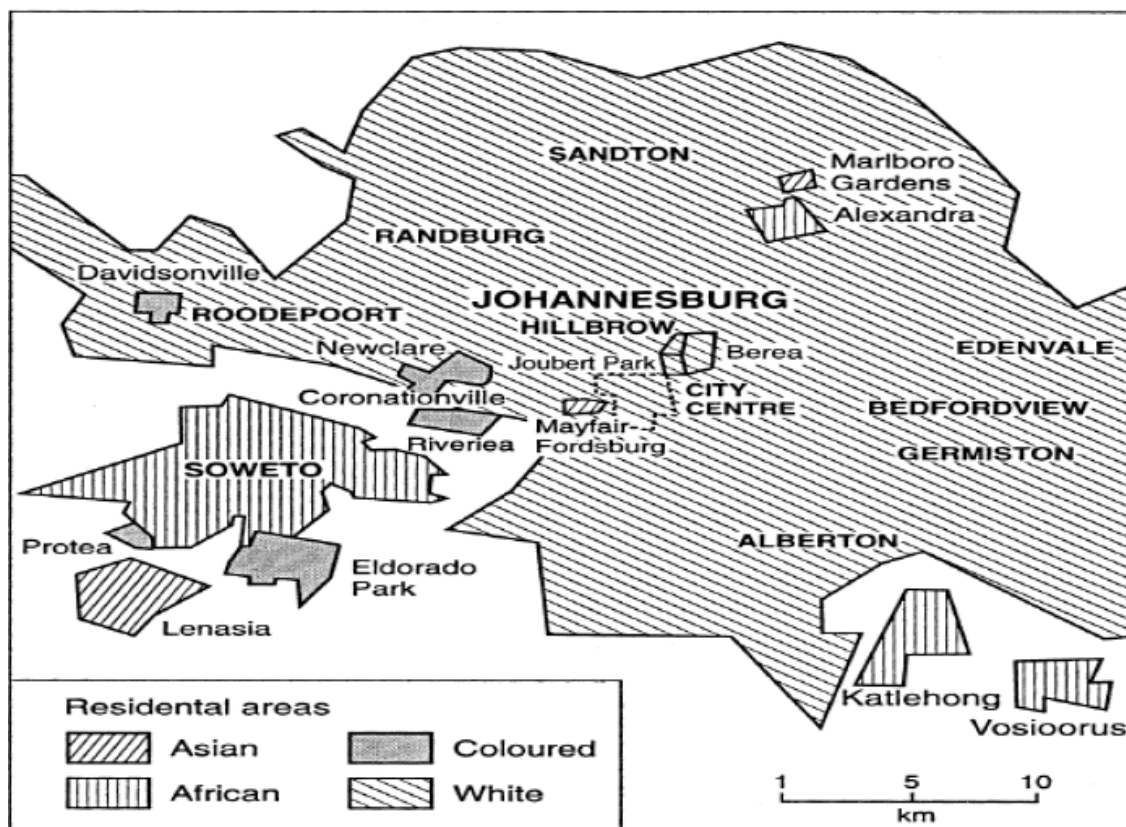
A major component of the apartheid legacy is the existence of substandard quality goods and services for black African residents as compared to white South Africans. This section provides an overview of apartheid era housing policies, which directly influenced the current poverty and housing challenges that South Africa faces today. I then move to discuss post-1994 policies, which strive to integrate low-income people more fully into mainstream life through different housing approaches: the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) (government subsidized housing), People's Housing Process (PHP) (a self-help program), and the Breaking New Ground Plan (an expanded government subsidized housing program with an emphasis on integrated human settlements).

Beginning in 1923 with the passing of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act, the South African government began instituting exclusionary laws (Crankshaw, 2005; Western, 1982; United Nations Human Settlements Programme, 2008). The Natives (Urban Areas) Act was an urbanization policy that instead of differentiating between residence or urban status (among

black African, rural migrants and urbanized black African families) used class characteristics as a means of exclusion from quality housing, employment, ownership of small businesses, education, and access to public transportation (Crankshaw, 2005, p. 366; Parnell & Hart, 1999). According to Crankshaw (2005), the Native (Urban Areas) Act gave local authorities the power to establish three types of housing for black African residents – “native hostels” for unskilled migrants without families, rental housing in “native locations” for families on fixed incomes, and “native villages” for more affluent families able to build their own homes (p. 368). Later, the Native Laws Amendment Act of 1937 to the Native (Urban Areas) Act prohibited all black African residents from purchasing urban land from non-black African residents. This became a direct effort to forbid black African residents from expanding their property ownership. In the 1940s and 1950s, however, one-third of the black African population lived in freehold townships such as Alexandra, Sophiatown, and Martindale under freehold titles to their own property that the Jan Smuts administration supported despite opposition (Crankshaw, 2005). The remaining black African population resided in shacks, informal settlements, hostels, and single rooms as domestic servants (Crankshaw, 2005, p. 368).

Harrison, Todes, and Watson (2008) note that the Native (Urban Areas) Act laid the groundwork for the Group Areas Act (GAA) of 1950, which “*compelled* municipalities to enforce racial zoning” (p. 24) (See Map 1). Also passed in 1950, the Population Registration Act (PRA) distinguished between four racial categories – African (Black), Colored (mixed-race), Asian, and White. Without these racial classifications, the GAA would not have been enforceable (Saff, 1998, p. 47). Together, the PRA and GAA relegated the movement of Africans to rural areas only. Murray (1987) characterizes these policies as “displaced urbanization,” which required millions of Africans to relocate to high density “homelands” or

Bantustans and commute to jobs in the metropolitan areas (pp. 312-313). The apartheid era townships sought to contain the country's black population from other groups with few exits and entrances in order to maintain control (Makhulu, 2015, p. 166). In sum, the GAA implemented several racially structured features to the South African landscape: 1.) a segregated residential zone for each racial group; 2.) the use of physical boundaries as buffers between race zones (highways, walls, parks); 3.) work areas for each racial group (Goldberg, 1993, p. 193).



Map 1: Johannesburg's neighborhoods by "group area" (c. 1950). (Morris, 1999)

One example of how the GAA impacted the inner-city spatial landscape is in the neighborhood of Hillbrow, located 1 kilometer from Johannesburg's central business district. Today, Hillbrow is comprised of mostly of high-rise apartments. At the time of the GAA, Hillbrow was exclusively for white South Africans. Yet, many black African residents resided in

makeshift domestic quarters on apartment roofs and office blocks (Morris, 1999; Beall, Crankshaw, & Parnell, 2002). In 1948, H.F. Verwoerd was appointed Minister of Native Affairs, and his first mission was to limit the number of black African residents per rooftop to five per roof. 1962 estimates indicate that about 8,000 to 10,000 black African residents had been relocated from inner-city rooftops to Soweto's hostels, leaving about 10,517 white South African residents in the Hillbrow neighborhood (Morris, 1999, p. 671; Beall et al., 2002, p. 162). The tide began to shift as the ruling National Party could no longer effectively prosecute those violating the GAA. For example, the Supreme Court ruled in 1982 that those violating the GAA could only be evicted from their present home if there was already available accommodation within their designated group area. For black African residents, many push factors influenced their desire to return to Hillbrow, most notably: rising tensions and violence within the townships, a dire housing shortage, broader understanding that evictions due to GAA were unlikely, as well as the increased willingness of landlords to permit black African tenants into Hillbrow apartments which were now largely vacant because of massive white flight from the area. Morris (1999) contends that the trend of racialized space within apartment blocks explains the decline of racial tension in Hillbrow, while Murray (2011) points to this trend as an indication that inner city Johannesburg has lost its potential to become a desired site for middle class housing developments.

Nonetheless, housing close to the Cape Town central business district became realized with the completion of a pilot housing project called Springfield Terrace in 1992 prior to the end of apartheid. The history of Springfield Terrace is covered in more depth in Chapter 3. Such innovative efforts on the part of the City of Cape Town and the Headstart non-profit housing

utility company sought to revive areas like District 6 of Cape Town that had been ravaged by forced removals under the Group Areas Act (GAA).

Post-1994 Reconstruction and Development

With the advent of multiparty politics, the South African government under the ANC implemented the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) in 1994 to address the inequities suffered by South Africa's historically disadvantaged citizens during apartheid. Central to the RDP was meeting basic needs such as water, electricity, and housing, as well as developing urban and rural areas, building democratic institutions, and reforming the economy (United Nations Human Settlements Programme, 2008, p. 11; Mosdell, 2006, p. 284; ANC, 1994, para 2.6; Huchzermeyer, 2001, p. 305). The government intervened in this way in parts of Diepsloot, one of the sites studied in this dissertation, in the form of RDP housing and basic service delivery. The 1994 Housing White Paper presented to cabinet by the Minister of Housing, Joe Slovo, suggested that the RDP subsidized housing was progressive in its efforts to grant all households, especially those with very minimal income, a chance to climb the "housing ladder" (Tomlinson, 1998, p. 140; NDoH, 1994).

In the years after apartheid ended, the private construction sector supported government-provided mass rental housing where the private sector could be contractors as opposed to developers (Tomlinson, 1998). Although government-provided rentals would deliver a higher standard of housing, the new government determined that there would be too great of a financial and administrative responsibility to maintain the rentals. The fledgling post-apartheid government sought to open space for the private sector to implement housing delivery (Tomlinson, 1998, p. 141; NDoH, 1994). As Tomlinson (1998) suggests, the new government tasked private developers with "applying for subsidies on behalf of communities, identifying and

servicing land, and constructing, wherever possible, a structure” (p. 141). This led many left wing constituents to suggest that housing policy in South Africa was succumbing to a market-oriented approach, rather than focusing on the particular needs of low-income residents or leaving room for community organizations to play a greater role in the development process (Tomlinson, 1998).

People’s Housing Process (PHP) - Self-help housing

As opposed to the allocation of standardized RDP housing, self-help approaches require low-income residents to rely more heavily on strong community participation to solve their own housing challenges. A key example of aided self-help housing in South Africa is the People’s Housing Process (PHP). Launched in 1998, the People’s Housing Process (PHP) is an officially recognized aided self-help housing mechanism in which people supplement state subsidies with collective resources to build their own homes (Landman and Napier, 2010; Pieterse, 2008; Huchzermeyer, 2001; Newton, 2013). As will be discussed further in Chapter 3, Freedom Park is a case that fits within this historical period of the People’s Housing Process.

Many non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have been strong proponents of the self-help model. Within South Africa, the Homeless People’s Federation supported by the NGO, People’s Dialogue on Land and Shelter, oversees the uTshani Housing Fund which provides loans to the poor at low interest rates (Bolnick 1996; Miraftab, 2003); to repay the loans and also accrue money to construct homes, residents engage in a rotating credit association which relies on their own resources to solve housing challenges (Huchzermeyer, 2001, p. 308; Newton, 2012; Newton, 2013; Miraftab, 2003; Bolnick, 1996). The PHP relies heavily on a strong sense of community participation through build teams, job creation (budgeting, book keeping, construction, masonry), and collective involvement of residents’ in the visioning process of

where to locate infrastructural components such as community centers, libraries, and sports fields. “Build teams” or “housing clubs,” comprised of family and friends, enable residents to work together to build their own homes (Building and Social Housing Foundation, 2005). Additionally, PHP emphasizes the construction and meaning of a *home* (as opposed to a standardized house) through collective participation of residents which strengthens community cohesion (Newton, 2013). Housing officials’ focus on the “material product” of number of houses built needs to shift to consider the “process of participation and community empowerment” so that beneficiaries are satisfied with their housing arrangements and willing to maintain them in the future (Lemanski, 2008; Newton, 2013).

One example of PHP housing is the Ocean View development in Cape Town (Impumelelo, n.d.; Building and Social Housing Foundation, 2005; USAID, 2003). The history of the site dates back to 1967 as an apartheid township. Residents relocated to Ocean View after being evicted from areas such as Noordhoek and Simonstown that were designated “whites only” under the Group Areas Act. Today, the Ocean View Development Trust (OVDT), led by Trevor Edwards, takes a “holistic” approach to housing (USAID, 2003). The housing support center enables residents to access loans for building materials, engage in participatory planning workshops, and gain skills in carpentry, masonry, finance, construction, and bookkeeping. To avoid the high costs associated with private contractors, residents form build teams. As conveyed in the vision statement, OVDT seeks to enable marginalized residents to “take control of their own development” (Impumelelo Social Innovations Centre, n.d.).

As a recipient of a 2005 World Habitat Award, OVDT has been innovative in the following ways: job creation, meaningful participation of residents, citizen empowerment, number of houses constructed, and amount of supportive infrastructure (Building and Social

Housing Foundation, 2005). Additionally, informal home businesses such as car washes, beauty salons, and vegetable stands help residents make ends meet. About 75% of residents earn less than R1,150 (\$115) per month, while 20% earn between R1,150 and R3,500 (\$115-\$350) and only 5% earn more than R3,500 (\$350) per month (USAID, 2003). The varied style and size of the housing demonstrates the diverse needs, tastes, and income levels of residents. The average size of a house is between 40-50 square meters. Elements of neighborhood activism are exemplified in neighborhood watch committees, a child and women abuse center, gardening competitions, and cleanup campaigns (Impumelelo Social Innovations Centre, n.d.).

The OVDT developed a Roll Over Fund in May 2000, which finances up to R3,000 (\$300) per loan to beneficiaries to cover building materials, repairs, and labor costs (USAID, 2003). The Roll Over Fund is financed through a portion of the government housing subsidy program as well as international donors such as United States Agency for International Development. A loan administrator facilitates the process of securing a loan by writing a repayment plan, filing the application forms, drawing building plans, and negotiating the best prices for materials. In order to qualify for a loan, a resident must have a form of identification and a pay slip as proof of income (USAID, 2003). In contrast to mainstream banks, no collateral is necessary to qualify. Through a Home Improvement Loan Scheme, OVDT assists residents with financial management, workshops, and repayment monitoring. Every time a portion of the loan is repaid, the Roll Over Fund is considered a form of savings for residents. Technical advisory services help to monitor the building process and mentor families (USAID, 2003).

A house takes on greater symbolic meaning when residents have worked to construct it. Beyond the basic need of shelter, a house comes to symbolize a *home* which connotes identity and status (Impumelelo Social Innovations Centre, n.d.; Newton, 2013, p. 647; Lemanski, 2011).

Impumelelo Social Innovations Centre (n.d.) indicates that the differing styles and number of houses “creates a sense of neighborhood rather than a housing estate” or a standardized sea of RDP houses. Yet, several challenges remain for residents of Ocean View. The distance of the housing from Cape Town’s city center remains a critical challenge for residents who must pay transportation costs or walk long distances to work. This peripheral location perpetuates poverty and limits access to jobs (Impumelelo, n.d.). Furthermore, with an estimated 30,000 residents in Ocean View, overcrowding remains a challenge (Building and Social Housing Foundation, 2005). There are current efforts underway to formalize backyard shacks in Ocean View that would help to accommodate extended family members. Additionally, land adjacent to an area of Ocean View has been identified for extension (USAID, 2003).

The PHP stands in contrast to the rapid delivery of RDP houses led by state commissioned private developers. Mechanisms within the PHP such as establishing community trust and construction skills make it sustainable in the long-term. Unlike RDP houses, PHP housing is not standardized at the national level, so housing types take several forms and sizes ranging from semi-detached and detached brick homes of about 42 square meters (Huchzermeyer, 2001). The time it takes for local municipalities to release land for new projects has been a major challenge of PHP resulting in construction delays (Bathembu, 2010). Huchzermeyer (2001) also suggests that the PHP needs more streamlined procedures that enable true community control over the poor building their own homes with subsidized materials (p. 323). The 2008 revised PHP, now referred to as the Enhanced People’s Housing Process (ePHP) takes a broader approach to emphasize constructing “human settlements,” which integrate housing with schools, clinics, churches, and play areas – a key initiative of the Breaking New Ground plan (Bathembu, 2010; Carey, 2009; NDoHS, 2013).

Present Day: South Africa's Breaking New Ground Plan

In August 2004, the Breaking New Ground (BNG) Sustainable Human Settlement Plan set several goals to achieve spatially integrated human settlements (NDoH, 2004; Onatu, 2010, p. 210; Charlton & Kihato, 2006, p. 256). Initiatives to achieve the *BNG* involve: 1.) eradicating informal settlements through slum upgrades; 2.) increasing public-private partnerships to improve cost efficiency; 3.) producing higher quality RDP housing; 4) emphasizing houses as an economic asset for residents; 5.) situating housing on well-located land; 6.) constructing supportive social infrastructure (NDoH, 2004; Onatu, 2010, p. 210; Charlton, 2009, p. 308; Huchzermeyer, 2011; Charlton & Kihato, 2006). Although Breaking New Ground Plan introduced the Upgrading Informal Settlements Programme (UISP), the emphasis on the part of the Department of Human Settlements still rests upon massive mega projects, such as Cosmo City as studied in this dissertation, instead of settlement upgrades (Croese et al., 2016). At present, the government has built over 3 million houses; yet despite such efforts, 30% of the population in South Africa still resides in so-called slums (Croese et al., 2016).

The housing types for the poorest of the poor in South Africa can encompass backyard shacks attached to government RDPs, migrant worker hostels, and shacks not in backyards located on vacant land or farmland. South Africa's Community Survey of the 2011 Census indicates that the percentage of households in the Gauteng Province living in *informal dwellings* has decreased from 23.6% or 741,569 households in 2007 (Community Survey) to 18.9% or 739,901 households (Census 2011). Although the estimates vary among the Community Survey, Census, Municipality, and other databases such as Atlas and LaPsis (see Housing Development Agency, 2012a, p. 16), these aforementioned figures seem to indicate the current efforts geared

towards relocating residents to Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) housing. According to the Housing Development Agency (2012) the distribution of households living in “shacks not in backyards” is greater in the Gauteng Province than any province in South Africa. In terms of the number of informal settlements, Statistics South Africa estimates that there are 303 informal settlements in Gauteng (Housing Development Agency, 2012a). For the Western Cape Province, there are 191,668 households living in shacks not in backyards, and 75% of those households can be found in the City of Cape Town. It must be noted that all of these figures vary widely by dataset and differ based upon the unit of analysis.

It should be noted that the *household* is the unit of analysis in the survey data for the General Household Survey and the Housing Development Agency, and it carries several sampling challenges resulting in inconsistent findings as to the number of *households* in informal settlements and informal dwellings. Statistics South Africa (2013) defines a household as “a group of persons who live together and provide themselves jointly with food and/or other essentials for living, or a single person who lives alone” (p. 69). Additionally, the City of Johannesburg does not have a formal definition of informal settlements, but its working definition is: “An impoverished group of households who have illegally or without authority taken occupation of a parcel of land (with the land owned by the Council in the majority of cases) and who have created a shanty town of impoverished illegal residential structures built mostly from scrap material without provision made for essential services and which may or may not have a layout that is more or less formal in nature” (Housing Development Agency, 2012b, p. 10). Furthermore, the 2001 Census differentiates between an *informal settlement* and an *informal dwelling*. The Census defines an *informal settlement* as “an unplanned settlement on land which has not been surveyed or proclaimed as residential, consisting mainly of informal

dwellings (shacks),” while an *informal dwelling* is defined as “a makeshift structure not erected according to approved architectural plans” (Housing Development Agency, 2012b, p. 5). It is important to note that informal settlements are likely to be under sampled due to their spatial patterns resulting in an under-count of households. Furthermore, the Housing Development Agency (2012b) notes, there is a bias towards sampling older settlements resulting in limited information on the conditions of other informal settlements.

In order for newcomers from informal settlements to begin to invest in their RDP houses, stipulations forbid residents to sell or rent it within the first eight years of ownership (City of Johannesburg, 2009). Still, many residents rent their RDPs and return to informal settlements, which are appealing for their low-cost and proximity to employment opportunities (Tissington, 2011; Croese et al., 2016; Newton, 2013; Seekings et al., 2010). For those who do sell their RDPs “it means that beneficiaries are leaving behind their children who will have nowhere to live in the future and children will eventually want their homes back,” thus rendering future generations homeless (Personal interview with Phashe Magagane, Cosmo City Development Forum, January 28, 2015). Furthermore, for some low-income households, homeownership brings added financial burdens such as utility services, transportation, and furnishing (Charlton, 2009, p. 306; Lemanski, 2011; Seekings et al., 2010).

The Breaking New Ground Plan seeks to improve the social infrastructure surrounding RDP housing as well as the spatial integration of neighborhoods. In many ways, however, the steady construction of RDP housing along the urban fringe has reinforced apartheid spatial patterning and the creation of “RDP archipelagos” (Haferburg, 2013, p. 263). As Makhulu (2015) articulates:

New “matchbox” houses now sit in orderly rows, arranged street by street, block by block. The occasional crescent or cul-de-sac, built on the ruins of the former squatter

area, hints at efforts to disturb the monotony of the township's master plan. In uncanny form, the road grid reproduces the apartheid planning logic of the "locations" once at the heart of the system of segregation and labor migration – that orderly configuration of homes and streets that apartheid planning modeled on Ebenezer Howard's "garden city"... [p.166]

The visible containment of informal settlements even after they have been redeveloped with RDP housing, still perpetuates apartheid era planning. Rather than contained and surrounded by gardens as was Howard's (1946) vision, the settlements are separated via interstate highways and roads (Makhulu, 2015).

While self-help schemes through the People's Housing Process (PHP) operate on a smaller scale, they hold considerable promise for capacity building and empowerment at the grassroots for residents to take housing into their own hands (Lemanski, 2008; Miraftab, 2003; Newton, 2013; Newton 2012). While the number of houses completed under PHP has been minimal relative to RDP housing, the success of the PHP and the Homeless People's Federation should be premised upon the methodology, which emphasizes building social capital, mutual trust, mobilization, and empowerment (Huchzermeyer, 2001, p. 308; Miraftab, 2003, p. 234).

Definition of "Sense of Community"

Throughout the community psychology and environmental psychology literature, sense of community refers to an individual's feeling of belonging to a group with a shared connection and attachment to place (Doolittle and MacDonald, 1978; McMillan and Chavis, 1986; Cohrun, 1994; Chavis and Pretty, 1999). McMillan and Chavis (1986) define sense of community as "a feeling that members have of belonging, a feeling that members matter to one another and to the group, and a shared faith that members' needs will be met through their commitment to be together" (p. 9). Chavis and Pretty (1999) note that the sense of community literature tends to

place emphasis on “relational aspects of community” (such as characteristics of human relationships) without delving into the interdependence of “psychological wellbeing and physical surroundings” (p. 639).

Sarason (1974) was the first to introduce the concept of “psychological sense of community,” which is aligned with McMillan and Chavis’ (1986) four components of sense of community: 1.) membership, 2.) influence, 3.) integration and fulfillment of needs, and 4.) shared emotional connection (McMillan and Chavis, 1986; Cohrun, 1994; Taló, Mannarini, and Rochira, 2014; Talen, 1999). *Membership* connotes a boundary of who belongs to the community and who does not, while also carrying with it degrees of rootedness to the area and security. Membership arises from interactions amidst neighbors and public spaces (Cohrun, 1994; McMillan and Chavis, 1986). Cohrun (1994) suggests that the feeling of membership can contribute to an individual’s overall satisfaction with a neighborhood as well as their commitment to it. Secondly, *influence* refers to the group making a difference and “the group mattering to its members” (McMillan and Chavis, 1986, p. 9; Cohrun, 1994). As McMillan and Chavis (1986) argue, people become more attached to communities where they know they can influence local decisions through voluntary association. Over time, residents may take more responsibility for what happens in the neighborhood and demonstrate more satisfaction and enhanced neighborhood cohesion as a result. The *integration and fulfillment of needs* refers to an individual’s needs (psychological, material, and relational) being met through the resources of the group. Finally, a *shared emotional connection* requires that members can identify with a specific history shared together in times of crisis and commemorative events (McMillan and Chavis, 1986).

As Manzo and Perkins (2006) argue, bondedness and rootedness are the underlying contributors to the feeling of belonging and sense of community within a neighborhood. People who are more attached to their neighborhood experience greater levels of social cohesion and trust (Manzo & Perkins, 2006, p. 338). The length of time in residence also dictates the level of embeddedness one has in the community to forge “local friendships, attachment to the community, and participation in social activities” (Sampson, 1999, p. 258; Manzo & Perkins, 2006). Furthermore, it is important to note that the mere presence of a common space for multiple groups does not necessarily lead to a sense of community. Planners’ emphasis on physical environments through neighborhood revitalization can overlook the psycho-social impacts on people and their underlying historical memory and meaning attached to place (Manzo & Perkins, 2006; Rosenblatt, Cheshire, & Lawrence, 2009).

Manzo and Perkins (2006) state that, like place attachment, social capital is a community asset that refers to the “extent and effectiveness of formal and informal human networks, as well as the impact of social ties on opportunities” (p. 341). Formal networks include community organizations, while informal networks involve social relationships and trust (Manzo & Perkins, 2006, pp. 341-342). Community can take the form of mutual support, cooperation, reciprocity, and trust, but it may also involve exclusionary forms of corruption, violence, and racism (Putnam, 2000, p. 22). In particular, the dimensions of social capital can vary along the lines of *bonding* or *bridging* (Putnam, 2000, p. 22). The former is a common distinction of in-group solidarity that excludes non-members such as an ethnic enclave, while the latter emphasizes inclusivity and linkage to broader networks as evident in the U.S. Civil Rights Movement or ecumenical religious groups (Putnam, 2000, pp. 22-23). Both *bridging* and *bonding* demonstrate the extent to which community can exist in primary or secondary relations.

Global Perspective on Sense of Community

In her ethnography of residents in the favelas of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, Perlman (2010) used Putnam's (2000) concepts of *bonding* and *bridging* to understand the forced removals of low-income residents to "triage housing" in an area of Rio de Janeiro called Quitungo. Perlman (2010) found that bonding components through "mutual support networks were part of the survival mechanisms that the poor could count on to reduce the vulnerability of *living on the edge*" (p. 196). For bridging relations beyond the immediate network, Perlman (2010) found a "strong relationship between external connections [such as jobs, school, and leisure activities] and socioeconomic status," which links to Granovetter's (1973) concept of the "strength of weak ties". "Weak ties" or secondary acquaintances can greatly improve social mobility and employment prospects (Granovetter, 1973). In their forced removal from Catacumba, residents' daily lives, leisure activities, and social networks changed instantly with few people managing to rebuild their former life (Perlman, 2010, p. 83). Perlman's (2010) interviews from 2000-2009 reveal mixed feelings about the removal with some residents still "grieving for home" and others expressing gratefulness (p. 83). While many of Perlman's (2010) interviews highlight the trauma in residents' move to "triage housing" and other housing blocks, some residents actually express gratitude for the opportunity to have better infrastructure, landline phones, medical clinics, and a physical address which they lacked in the favelas (Perlman, 2010, p. 86). The latter example indicates that some people adapted to the new environment in order to maintain and rebuild community in new friendships and social organizations (Perlman, 2010). Still the decline in the social capital and social solidarity amongst former residents led to a decline in quality of life (Perlman, 2010). As residents suggested, they were "deprived of their identities" and attachment to place (Perlman, 2010, pp. 86, 196).

García, Giuliani, and Wisenfeld (1999) describe the sense of community in a self-help neighborhood of Caracas, Venezuela called Valle Abajo. Their qualitative study highlights the psychological significance of building one's own home in order to meet basic shelter needs (García et al., 1999; Chavis and Pretty, 1999). García et al. (1999) collected the viewpoints of residents who were involved in the construction efforts in order to understand their notion of sense of community as expressed in residents' everyday experiences. García et al. (1999) had three categories of interviewees: 1.) "founding members," or those residents who were the first to move to the neighborhood, 2.) people representing different age groups to gather generational information, and 3.) equal representation of men and women (p. 733). Their in-depth interviews reveal several themes on what a sense of community means for residents, including: safety, belonging, mutual assistance, sharing, and concern for children. García et al. (1999) indicate that throughout the incremental stages of housing construction, residents began to attach significant meaning to their houses, as they had "lived the different phases of their lives in terms of improving and transforming them" (p. 736).

Throughout their interviews, García et al. (1999) identify several examples that fit within McMillan and Chavis' (1986) four elements of sense of community: membership, influence, integration and fulfillment of needs, and shared emotional connection. García et al. (1999) determined that membership, for example, is related to emotional security, belonging, personal investment, and shared symbols. Many residents cited knowing one's neighbors, leaving doors open or unlocked, and allowing children to play outside the house as elements of security that matter most to them. Furthermore, residents exhibit the willingness to set down roots by raising a family within the neighborhood and developing tighter relationships with others (García et al., 1999, p. 738). The collective construction efforts of houses and public spaces show personal

investment. Residents demonstrate a “system of shared symbols” with a spiritual connection to place through rituals, songs, or religious activities (García et al., 1999, p. 738). From their interviews, García et al. (1999) determine that sense of community does not develop merely through the presence of physical structures, but also over time through personal relations.

García et al.’s (1999) observations about the sense of community in the Venezuelan self-help neighborhood offer a contrast when compared to master planned communities (MPCs) as described by Rosenblatt, Cheshire, and Lawrence (2009). Rosenblatt et al. (2009) studied Springfield Lakes, which is an outer suburb estate located 23 kilometers southwest of Brisbane, Australia. Delfin Lend Lease (DLL), the developer of Springfield Lakes, built the houses and established infrastructure with public-private services such as schools, health facilities, and shopping malls (Rosenblatt et al., 2009, p. 123). DLL has actually been inspired by Putnam’s (2000) work and was interested in determining if its community building activities increase or undermine social networks of residents in its master planned estates (Rosenblatt et al., 2009, p. 125). From 2004-2006, Rosenblatt et al. (2009) examined the ways in which the community was marketed to prospective residents. A survey among residents sought to understand motivations for moving to Springfield Lakes, contact with neighbors, community participation in activities organized by DLL, and satisfaction with the development. Semi-structured, face-to-face interviews with new residents and those known for their active participation in neighborhood watch committees or sporting clubs shed light on the daily activities and kinds of interactions occurring between residents and DLL staff. Rosenblatt et al. (2009) argue that private developers should operate with a broader understanding of the different meanings of the term “community” as it exists within social science literature and with local residents in order to understand some of the limits of their development initiatives (p. 125).

The separation of Springfield Lakes into smaller boroughs named Butterfly Green, Lakeside, and The Summit enables the developer to create a semblance of residents belonging to “a more localized neighbourhood in which social interaction might be encouraged” (Rosenblatt et al., 2009, p. 130). Yet, Talen (1999) suggests that such efforts to “create community” are not necessarily a recipe for enhanced social interaction between residents. In other words, the physical structure of a neighborhood does not necessarily mean that residents will have strong engagement. Rosenblatt et al. (2009) found that residents’ sense of community was rooted primarily in aesthetic components of the landscape rather than in face-to-face interaction and involvement in neighborhood committees. A major takeaway of Rosenblatt et al.’s (2009) study is that the effort on the part of developers to “leave nothing undone” actually limits the opportunity for resident engagement and collective action for services (p. 139). Furthermore, the failure (on the part of developers) to account for fluid resident relations in the household, choice of school, workplace, and social relations explains why some master planned communities do not succeed in their mission of enhancing social interaction (Rosenblatt et al., 2009).

Seekings, Jooste, Muyeba, Coqui, and Russell (2010) examine “quality of community” among residents in mixed neighborhoods in Cape Town, where “mixed” is understood as racial mixing or mixing residents based on their neighborhoods of origin. Seekings et al. (2010) conducted in-depth interviews in Delft South and Leiden, which they selected because they are considered highly mixed neighborhoods. They also interviewed residents in Delft North and Weltevreden Valley because they are considered less mixed neighborhoods. Seekings et al. (2010) used the following indices for quality of community developed through the 2005 Cape Area Study (CAS): interaction with neighbors, security, general neighborliness, and community activism (pp. 51-52). Through their comparative approach, they determined that the “quality of

community” was low across all the neighborhoods although people report some interaction with neighbors and mutual assistance. Their findings show little collective action among residents as well as limited feelings of “togetherness” reported by residents. In response to shared social needs, residents in Delft South in Cape Town demonstrated general “neighborliness” in the form of street cleaning, greetings with neighbors, mutual assistance, and reciprocity (Oldfield, 2004, p. 196; Seekings et al. 2010). Seekings et al. (2010) determined that interactions between neighbors were not substantive, but rather comprised of surface interaction such as greetings, occasional conversations on streets, or borrowing an item. Furthermore, residents reported high levels of mistrust among residents because of high incidences of crime and a lack of reciprocity amongst residents.

The Western Cape Provincial Department of Local Government and Housing is concerned that an increase in mixed neighborhoods could result in more undesirable consequences, which Seekings et al. (2010) have categorized as “division through inclusion” and “division through exclusion” (Seekings et al., 2010, p. 11). Instead of selecting an entire informal settlement for relocation, “division through inclusion” can occur if individuals are accommodated because they are deemed deserving of housing regardless of their community of origin. Unrest might occur, for example, if people are not comfortable living next to a “stranger”. “Division through exclusion” can occur when the selection of beneficiaries from a list causes unrest because people feel housing, that in their view is rightfully theirs, has been allocated to someone they do not know; exclusion from housing allocation can generate animosity on the part of those who were not selected towards those who do receive housing (Seekings et al., 2010). Their study helps to mitigate the local government’s concern because they found no significant evidence that the quality of community is any different in more mixed neighborhoods than in

less mixed ones. This leads Seekings et al. (2010) to further suggest that there is no evidence that housing policies in support of racially mixed neighborhoods would result in undesirable social outcomes.

My research project builds upon the aforementioned studies by comparatively examining sense of community within four field sites. While Garcia et al. (1999) and Rosenblatt et al. (2009) discuss sense of community within a single site, they could improve their ability to draw broader connections of the social benefits and drawbacks of various housing types by examining several of them together in one study. Seekings et al. (2010) focus on “quality of community” in racially mixed neighborhoods, and my study builds upon their work by examining “community” not as an influenced by racial mixing, but rather by housing approach and mode of housing delivery. Within my social trust indicator, for example, I also looked at greetings between residents, which I derived from Seekings et al.’s (2010) indicators for quality of community. Few studies examine how different approaches to housing allocation (state-driven private developer, informal settlement, aided self-help, or public-private partnership medium density housing) influence the sense of community among low-income residents. Thus, my work bridges two distinct literatures of housing programs for informal settlements on the one hand, and sense of community literature on the other hand. A stronger understanding of sense of community as conveyed by the residents themselves could influence developers, local community organizations, and housing administrators to enact community building initiatives and future housing developments that are more reflective of low-income residents’ social needs.

Chapter 2. Research design: Mixed-method approach

Introduction

Exploring the influence of post-apartheid housing developments on residents' sense of community required a series of methodological steps. This chapter discusses the research design that was used to answer the major research question: How do different approaches to housing low-income residents influence sense of community? In order to answer this research question, this study followed a "multiple-case design," which provided broader perspectives in answering the research question (Yin, 2012). The research design used to answer the major question of this study took a mixed-method approach, and relied on "multiple sources of evidence" (Yin, 2012, p. 10), which included interviews with residents and community leaders and organizations, door-to-door household surveys, resident focus groups, and direct observations of the housing environments. While the dissertation primarily takes a qualitative approach through interviews with residents and focus groups in the four sites of observation, I also incorporate descriptive statistics gathered from door-to-door household surveys. The household surveys also posed questions directed towards the specific indicators of sense of community: social trust, community participation, and place attachment. The resident interviews allowed residents to discuss their responses to questions in more depth if they chose to do so. Through a series of participatory mapping exercises in a focus group format, residents hand-drew maps of their communities and discussed areas in need of development. Furthermore, I interviewed community leaders and NGOs associated with the sites of study.

Case Selection

I chose the sites in this dissertation as exemplary cases because each site represents a particular type of housing found in South Africa. The types of housing chosen for this dissertation are representative of different approaches to housing the poor and each site emerged from various time periods in South Africa's history. Furthermore, I sought to determine the merits and drawbacks of the various housing approaches throughout my data collection activities. The housing types included: state-driven private developer built RDP housing (Cosmo City), an unplanned informal settlement with some RDP housing (Diepsloot), aided self-help housing (Freedom Park), public-private partnership medium density housing near Cape Town's CBD (Springfield Terrace). Despite the limitations of this study as outlined in the Introduction, the findings of this dissertation can be generalized to similar types of housing found within South Africa more broadly. Thus, when deciding which cases to study, I did not randomly select housing sites, but rather I purposely selected housing sites based upon the particular features they embody. Yet, it is important to note that while this study seeks to examine particular types of housing as it relates to sense of community, it proved difficult to identify each site as a single housing type. For example, the state-driven private developer approach of Cosmo City also blurs into self-building practices as residents construct dwellings and small businesses attached to their RDPs. Similarly, Diepsloot began as an unplanned informal settlement, and while this continues to the present day, the state has also stepped in to plan certain areas such as the shopping mall and RDP housing. As will be discussed in depth in Chapter 3, Freedom Park initially began as an unaided informal settlement and then transformed into an aided self-help project under the People's Housing Process; yet, Freedom Park quickly became the recipient of state and private intervention in order to speed up the housing delivery process.

Furthermore, as “descriptive case studies” (Yin, 2012, p. 49), the housing sites of this dissertation illustrate my overarching argument, which advocates the need for sense of community to be more fully examined in crafting housing policy and planning future housing developments for low-income residents. I also chose the four housing sites (Cosmo City, Diepsloot, Freedom Park, and Springfield Terrace) for three major reasons. First, all sites are outputs of a combination of housing legislation (the Breaking New Ground Plan, the Reconstruction and Development Programme, and the People’s Housing Process). Cosmo City is a public-private partnership (where the City of Johannesburg owns the land), and it is an output of both the Breaking New Ground Plan and the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). Diepsloot is an unplanned informal settlement with some government planned RDP housing. Freedom Park combines aided self-help through the People’s Housing Process (PHP) with private developer initiatives to build the housing more quickly. Finally, Springfield Terrace is a public-private partnership (where the City of Cape Town owns the land), and it is an example of a medium density housing development located close to Cape Town’s CBD. Secondly, many community organizations and research think tanks in South Africa such as PlanAct, Knowledge Pele (KP), and Gauteng City-Region Observatory (GCRO) are interested in finding out how relocated residents to these communities are faring. Lastly, there is little written on these field sites, especially on how the physical environment and planning initiatives have influenced residents’ sense of community.

Cosmo City and Diepsloot are an obvious pair for examination because they both comprise the NOWETO region of Johannesburg, Northwestern Townships – a vision under apartheid for a SOWETO of the north that eventually resurfaced in development plans in the post-apartheid era. In many ways, Cosmo City is an exception in South Africa, as a large

township model for mixed-income housing. I chose Freedom Park because the literature classifies it as example of self-help housing under the People's Housing Process, and I wanted to learn how these policies actually worked in practice and their effects on residents. Additionally, most housing developments under the People's Housing Process are located in Cape Town. I chose Springfield Terrace because it is a rare example of medium density housing that is also multiracial and located near the city center. Such varying conditions made these housing sites worthy of study. Using Yin's (2012) case study classification, I determined that the housing sites studied in this project fall under the "ordinary conditions (*typical cases*)" category (p. 49). Classifying the housing sites as "ordinary conditions" is based upon my reading of the literature and my on-the-ground experience. These sites represent typical housing varieties across South Africa ranging from state-driven private developer built RDP housing (Cosmo City), unplanned informal settlements with some RDP housing (Diepsloot), aided self-help housing (Freedom Park), public-private partnership medium density housing near Cape Town's CBD (Springfield Terrace).

Nevertheless, this study did not examine rental housing developments; while I did a site visit to Hlanganani, the social housing rentals located in Cosmo City operated by the Johannesburg Housing Company (JHC), I determined that gaining access to residents in these units would be difficult. For example, Hlanganani is gated, and while I met with the housing administrator there, the Johannesburg Housing Company informed me that the building management restricts access to tenants for such research projects. The JHC manages other social housing rentals throughout Johannesburg, but they indicated that I would not be granted access to tenants. Thus, I decided that I could not study social housing rentals. The Johannesburg Social Housing Company (JOSHCO) is another social housing rental agency; however, they declined to

answer my emails and phone calls for information about their rental units and gaining access to tenants to participate in the study. JOSHCO operates rental housing units within the inner city of Johannesburg as well as greenfield projects. While I did not examine rental units, I studied Springfield Terrace, a medium density apartment complex in Cape Town, where residents have sectional title of their units. While it is not rental housing, Springfield Terrace offered the opportunity to examine sense of community in a medium density setting much like social housing rentals.

It proved difficult to identify a housing development constructed under the People's Housing Process. Originally, I sought to study Ocean View in Cape Town, as discussed in the literature review of this dissertation. However, I concluded that I would not be able to study Ocean View because of its distant location along the Cape Peninsula, which would be inconvenient in terms of my ability to access resources at Cape Peninsula University (located in the inner city) and find affordable lodging along the Cape Peninsula. Thus, I chose Freedom Park, which began as a self-help project under the People's Housing Process, but in order to speed up housing delivery, the state stepped in along with the Mellon Housing Initiative.

Expected Findings

Following Yin (2012), case study research lends itself to “analytical generalizations,” based upon either a single hypothesis or several hypotheses, which are deemed tentative as more studies build upon them (p. 18-19). It is important to emphasize that the goal of this study was not to make sweeping generalizations, but rather to emphasize the need for future housing policy to take into account the social needs of residents in order to ensure a viable low-income housing market in the long-run. Thus, based on the three indicators of the study (social trust, community participation, and place attachment), I made predictions about the level of sense of community in

each housing site. Throughout the project, I refined and revised these predictions and devised methods of inquiry to analyze each indicator.

As demonstrated in Table 1, the expected findings are based upon the three indicators of sense of community (social trust, community participation, and place attachment), the names for which I created based upon the Afrobarometer 2010-2012 Round 5 dataset and the 2005 Cape Area Study. These two studies use trust and neighborliness as indicators for assessing social and political attitudes. I also derived my indicators from community psychology and environmental psychology literature such as McMillan and Chavis (1986), Manzo and Perkins (2006), and Shamsuddin and Ujang (2008) for aspects of community such as place attachment and belonging. The expected findings in Table 1 follow what Yin (2012) terms “pattern-matching logic (p. 16),” which enables a comparison between my empirical findings and my predictions. By stating my predicted findings upfront, I establish a baseline from which to compare the actual research findings (empirical data). The predictions shown in Table 1 are based upon my reading of the literature and exploratory field work in Johannesburg and Cape Town in 2010 and 2013 – the former completed as an intern at CIVICUS: World Alliance for Citizen Participation for 4 months and the latter completed as a pre-candidate for the dissertation for 1 month.

For Cosmo City, I predicted that social trust would be low because I thought that relocation for some residents from Zevenfontein and Riverbend informal settlements would result in those residents feeling displaced and uprooted, thus making them feel like they could not trust their neighbors. I drew upon the literature in order to suggest that the “one house one plot” concept of the Department of Human Settlements overlooks the communal lifestyle that is prevalent in the informal settlements. I predicted that community participation would be low in Cosmo City because it is a public-private partnership where residents had little say in the

development process. I arrived at a low prediction score for place attachment in Cosmo City because the area was a former greenfield without previous inhabitants. Thus, the emotional or functional attachments would be minimal in the area.

For Diepsloot, I predicted that social trust would be low due to the prevalence of crime in the area as conveyed in the literature and my conversations with other researchers and stakeholders prior to beginning my data collection. I predicted that community participation would be moderate because of the prevalence of informal businesses, crèches, and the relatively communal atmosphere described in the literature. I predicted that place attachment would be moderate in Diepsloot given that residents have access to functional elements such as jobs and schools. One of the reasons I predicted lower sense of community in Diepsloot stems largely from its history as a post-apartheid relocation site for informal settlement residents coming from other settlements in Johannesburg such as Alexandra. Newcomers separated themselves based upon their sites of origin, so sense of community perhaps existed within distinct groups rather than across them as a whole.

In Freedom Park, I arrived at a low score for social trust due to similar reasons I stated for Cosmo City. The “one house one plot” model of the Department of Human Settlements does not fully support the communal lifestyle found in the informal settlements. I predicted that community participation would be moderate because I presumed that residents played a large role in the construction of the housing and the layout of the community. I anticipated that residents who are actively involved in the layout and construction process of their housing development would demonstrate greater sense of community than residents who do not participate in the process. I predicted that place attachment would be high in Freedom Park, given that residents previously occupied the land in an informal settlement before development

and service delivery took place. Thus, I guessed that residents of Freedom Park would have high place attachment due to their emotional ties to the area.

In Springfield Terrace, I predicted that social trust would be moderate due to the smaller size of the development and the maps presented in the literature of the layout of the community, which lead me to think that the semi-circle shape of the apartment flats would facilitate interaction between neighbors. I rated community participation low in Springfield Terrace because, at the time, I did not know about the Marion Institute and the use of the facility in the past for children's groups, nursery school, and skills development workshops for the community. I rated place attachment moderate in Springfield Terrace largely due to its proximity to Cape Town's CBD and the ties to District 6.

I should also note I decided upon the predictions for the place attachment indicator prior to my reading of Shamsuddin and Ujang's (2008) work, which differentiates between functional and emotional attachment. I use Shamsuddin and Ujang's (2008) differentiation in Chapter 6. The housing typologies outlined in Table 1 serve as ways to outline the features of one housing site from another. Some of these housing developments are the result of housing policy such as the Breaking New Ground Plan for Cosmo City and the People's Housing Process for Freedom Park. As shown in Table 1, it is also important to recognize that the housing types blur into one another and are not always a distinct housing type but rather a combination of several forms of state and private intervention.

Table 1: Expected Findings and Methods of Inquiry

Indicators and Expected Findings				
		Social Trust	Community Participation	Place Attachment
Housing Type and Site	Cosmo City State-driven private developer with government subsidized RDP housing, social housing rentals, and market rate housing; public-private partnership	Low	Low	Low
	Diepsloot Informal settlement with some government planned areas such as RDP housing and supportive infrastructure	Low	Moderate	Moderate
	Freedom Park Aided form of self-help housing through the People’s Housing Process (PHP) with private developer and government intervention	Low	Moderate	High
	Springfield Terrace Medium density housing apartment flats with sectional title close to Cape Town CBD; public private partnership	Moderate	Low	Moderate
Methods of Inquiry		-Household surveys -Gauteng City-Region Observatory 2013 Quality of Life Survey	-Household surveys -Resident interviews -Community mapping exercise in focus groups -Gauteng City-Region Observatory 2013 Quality of Life Survey	-Household surveys -Resident interviews

Data collection activities

The use of “multiple sources of evidence” in my study allowed me to triangulate my findings. As Yin (2012) indicates, triangulating data occurs when different sources of data point to the same line of facts. Triangulating my data sources gave me greater confidence in concluding the events at a particular site as opposed to relying solely on a single source of data.

My research draws upon several data collection activities including: door-to-door household surveys, semi-structured resident interviews, community mapping in focus group sessions, and interviews with relevant stakeholder groups. Furthermore, I also incorporate survey research conducted by the Gauteng City-Region Observatory, a research and policy think tank in Johannesburg, as well as the Afrobarometer, which is an independent research project that conducts surveys in 35 African countries measuring the socio-political and economic climate. In Johannesburg, my data collection activities took place in June 2013 as well as January and February 2015 with the support of survey enumerators and staff from Knowledge Pele, a research advisory firm in Johannesburg. Data collection took place in May 2015 in Cape Town with the support of students from Cape Peninsula University of Technology as well as an undergraduate student at University of Michigan. As shown in Table 2, in the Johannesburg sites of Cosmo City and Diepsloot, I conducted 18 resident interviews and 60 household surveys each consisting of questions dedicated to the sense of community indicators as well as demographic questions. I conducted 41 household surveys and 20 semi-structured resident interviews in Freedom Park and 29 household surveys and 15 resident interviews in Springfield Terrace. I held 3 focus group sessions in Diepsloot and Cosmo City, 4 sessions in Freedom Park, and 1 session in Springfield Terrace. I also interviewed community leaders as well as stakeholders from NGOs and housing organizations such as the Socio-Economics Rights Institute (SERI) Development Action Group (DAG), Johannesburg Housing Company (JHC), and PlanAct.

Table 2: Number of participants at each data collection activity

	Household Surveys	Interviews	Focus Groups	Stakeholder Interviews
Cosmo City	60	18	3 groups (6 people each)	5 (Cosmo City Development Forum representative, PlanAct, Johannesburg Housing Company, Socioeconomic Rights Institute, Cosmo City Library)
Diepsloot	60	18	3 groups (6 people each)	3 (PlanAct, Diepsloot Ward Councilor, Socioeconomic Rights Institute)
Freedom Park	41	32	4 groups (6 people each) total of 35 people in attendance	4 (Najuwa Gallant - Community Leader, Community Organisation Urban Resource Centre (COURC), Development Action Group, Youth for Change)
Springfield Terrace	29	14	1 group of 4 people	5 (Woodstock Public Library, Chapel Street Primary School Principal, Chapel Street Primary School Teacher and long-time Springfield Terrace Resident, Marion Institute Director, Marion Institute Nursery School Teacher)

This study sought to explore the ways in which different approaches to housing low-income residents influence sense of community, as indicated in social trust, community

participation, and place attachment (see Table 3). As a form of narrative, the community mapping exercise among residents in each case revealed numerous differences and similarities of sense of community in each housing approach. In a focus group format of about 6 participants per group, I asked residents to hand draw maps of their current housing development. Residents drew house structures, day cares, sites of activity, sports fields, community centers, roads, and livelihood areas. The use of maps as narratives enabled residents to orient themselves to place and assert a collective identity (McEachern, 1998; Sletto, 2009). Participatory mapping can be viewed as a counter-hegemonic exercise that grants locals the opportunity to contest dominant cartography (Sletto, 2009). Additionally, community mapping also represents a “performative process of place making,” whereby residents negotiate belonging, social relations, and power (Sletto, 2009, p. 445).

When crafting my research design, I drew from existing research projects within Africa such as the Afrobarometer and the Cape Area Study in order to understand how such projects deal with social indicators of community development. I derived my indicators for sense of community (social trust, community participation, and place attachment) from the *Afrobarometer 2010-2012 Round 5* dataset and the 2005 Cape Area Study. My indicators also fit within McMillan and Chavis’ (1986) four components of sense of community: membership, influence, fulfilment of needs, and shared emotional connections. As shown in Table 3, a series of actions and sentiments on the part of residents themselves characterize each indicator. I derived these actions and sentiments from the literature, while also incorporating additional characteristics, which I predicted I might find in the housing sites chosen for this study.

Table 3: Sense of Community Indicators¹

Social Trust	Community Participation	Place Attachment
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Knowing who belongs and who does not • Reliance on informal networks and associations • Trustworthiness of institutions • Willingness of neighbors to trust others to watch their children * • Greetings * • Reciprocity * • Mutual support between neighbors * • Feeling safe * 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attending a community meeting, church, or skills development classes * • School, sports, neighborhood watch, or church involvement * • mobilizing others to raise an issue * • writing to local newsletter or radio • discussing a concern with community leaders • Street cleanup campaigns * 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pride for one's housing * • Feelings of belonging * • Length of time in residence * • Plans to stay in current house in the future * • Perceptions of better opportunities in their current housing environment * • Feeling safe * • Functional attachment (proximity to jobs, schools, clinics) * • Emotional attachment (bonds with people) *

Data Source: McMillan and Chavis (1986), Afrobarometer 2010-2012 Round 5 dataset, and 2005 Cape Area Study; Shamsuddin and Ujang (2008)

Resident Sampling

This study followed a systematic sampling process in Johannesburg, where the goal was to ensure that population subgroups were represented in the sample through several criteria listed below (Lepkowski et al., 2009; Creswell, 2009). Working with a research advisory firm called Knowledge Pele in Johannesburg, I followed a systematic sampling process of selecting every 5th household along a set of selected streets in the RDP section of Cosmo City and Diepsloot. Given that I was working with survey enumerators who were local to the areas, I determined that systematic sampling was feasible in Johannesburg. Furthermore, in all case studies, I focused primarily on South African citizens. The respondent criteria applied to the resident sample in all four housing sites included people who were:

¹ The characteristics of each indicator specifically used in this study are marked by an asterisk in Table 3.

- residents for 6 months or more (which would allow them time to have familiarity with issues in the community and to establish networks)
- residents of the RDP section in Cosmo City and Diepsloot
- Original residents of Freedom park
- at least 18 years of age and a range of ages to reflect various opinions
- South African citizens
- able to be interviewed and surveyed on site
- residents living in different areas and streets of the developments in order to gather opinions from a variety of locales

The reason for focusing on South African citizens was to reduce the possibility of creating any unwanted tension surrounding xenophobic violence that was brewing during my field work term. Also, the focus on South African citizens allowed me to gain an understanding of residents who qualify for RDP housing and their experiences with the long waiting lists and satisfaction with the housing. Although it is common for RDP houses to be rented out to non-citizens, I wanted to focus on South Africans. This posed a challenge in Cosmo City where several RDP houses were occupied by Zimbabweans. In this instance, the survey enumerators continued to the next house until they reached a South African household. Furthermore, the process of sampling residents living on different streets in each of the developments helped to show that when similar perspectives emerged, they were not due necessarily to living on the same street; rather the responses indicated broader trends that extend to the community as a whole.

It is critical to note that I relied heavily on “gatekeepers,” such as local community leaders, in order to gain access to the target population. In order to build legitimacy for my research project, it was important for me to establish rapport with gatekeepers in order to

complete data collection (Reeves, 2010; Murphy & Dingwall, 2001). As Reeves (2010) suggests, gatekeepers can influence the research project “depending upon their personal thoughts on the validity of the research and its value, as well as their approach to the welfare of the people under their charge” (p. 317). Throughout the research I sought access to both formal and informal gatekeepers (Reeves, 2010). For example, I knew that making connections with the Development Action Group (DAG) in Cape Town would open up links to informal gatekeepers who could aid in my research. The same was true in maintaining connections with formal gatekeepers at PlanAct in Johannesburg. As Reeves (2010) indicates “informally contacting the primary gatekeeper through a mutual friend and colleague [can enable one] to gain formal access to the fieldwork site quickly, and to establish a close and supportive working relationship with the primary gatekeeper” (p. 319). Residents who saw me with gatekeepers in the community were more willing to participate in the research study because the gatekeeper introduced me to residents, which raised their confidence in who I was as a student and researcher.

For the Cape Town case studies (Freedom Park and Springfield Terrace), I went door-to-door with the community leader who introduced me to each resident. After completing the survey or interview, we would continue to the next house that the community leader knew and also people who she knew would be available to participate. In this way, the sampling process in Cape Town also incorporated snowball sampling, which “cumulates sample persons by using network information reported by sample persons” (Lepkowski, 2009, p. 90). Thus, the community leader in Freedom Park connected me with others in her network who were similarly engaged in the leadership and wellbeing of Freedom Park. The same held true in Springfield Terrace, where a teacher and well known member of the community walked me door-to-door to complete surveys and interviews.

Note on Surveys and Resident Interviews

In the Johannesburg sites, the survey enumerators from Knowledge Pele conducted the household surveys door-to-door. I conducted the focus group sessions and interviews at the Multipurpose Complex and Father Blondel Youth Development Centre in Cosmo City and Diepsloot, respectively. In the Cape Town sites (Freedom Park and Springfield Terrace), I gained more access to critical gatekeepers who were willing to walk me door-to-door to conduct the household surveys and resident interviews. I also hired 1 undergraduate student from University of Michigan and 2 undergraduate BTech students from Cape Peninsula University of Technology to assist me in the surveys and interviews. Afrikaans is widely spoken in Freedom Park, so having students from the local university as well as the community leaders' assistance helped with translation issues.

In Freedom Park and Springfield Terrace, I went door-to-door along with the community leader to notify residents that I would be coming later in the week to conduct the survey and interviews. Many residents let me know their availability so that they could participate in the research. This alerted the residents to the fact that I was present in the community and allowed me to tell residents what my research was about and to begin to establish rapport. As Lepkowski et al. (2009) note, the interviewer must motivate people to participate and rapport can be a "two edge sword" (p. 304). On the one hand rapport with a respondent can motivate them to participate in the research study, but rapport can also jeopardize the goals of the interview if a professional relationship is not maintained (Lepkowski et al., 2009, p. 305). Door-to-door surveys and semi-structured resident interviews lasted about 30-40 minutes each with time for open-ended responses to most of the questions if the resident wanted to provide more information. The focus group mapping sessions lasted 2 hours each. As incentives for

participating in the surveys and interviews, I offered residents R10 in cell phone airtime. I purchased snacks for the focus group sessions as an incentive to participation and to help “break the ice,” so to speak, for the residents to talk to one another.

In addition to the survey questions related to sense of community, I also gathered demographic information such as household size, age, race, gender, and income in order to show descriptive statistics of the residents as shown in Table 4 (see also Appendix 5 for the complete household survey). For the household survey, I developed a code book (see Appendix 17), and I also grouped the evidence gathered into broader themes (Yin, 2012, p. 15). I looked for themes such as participation in community events, mutual trust between neighbors, mobilization to voice a collective issue or concern, and informal sector economic activities for residents’ to make ends meet. I used an audio-recording device to tape the interviews with residents. In order to code and analyze the interviews, I allowed themes and categories to emerge as I examined the data. Some of the themes that emerged included: mutual assistance, crime, housing satisfaction, trust, and neighborliness. I took reflective notes from what I learned from the interviews, and I transcribed the data by typing the text from the interviews as well as typing my observations. Throughout my field work, I noted numerous observations ranging from neighbors’ interactions, children playing in the streets, gang activity, and livelihood activity.

Table 4: Household Profiles (gathered from the household survey)

Age Group Respondents	Cosmo City (n=60)	Diepsloot (n=60)	Freedom Park (n=41)	Springfield Terrace (n=29)
18-30	18 (31.6%)	14 (23.3%)	10 (27%)	5 (19.2%)
31-40	16 (28%)	22 (36.6%)	4 (10.8%)	5 (19.2%)
41-50	10 (17.5%)	11 (18.3%)	13 (35.1%)	9 (34.6%)
51-60	11 (19.2%)	10 (16.6%)	9 (24.3%)	2 (7.7%)
61+	2 (3.5%)	3 (5%)	1 (2.7%)	5 (19.2%)
No response	3	0	4	3
Gender of Respondents				
Men	27 (45%)	26 (44%)	6 (14.6%)	5 (17.2%)
Women	33 (55%)	33 (55.9%)	35 (85.4%)	24 (82.8%)
Missing Data		1		
Household Size of Respondents				
1-3	17 (28.3%)	25 (41.7%)	9 (22%)	7 (25%)
4-6	33 (55%)	27 (45%)	19 (46.3%)	15 (53.5%)
7+	10 (16.6%)	8 (13.3%)	13 (31.7%)	6 (21.4%)
Missing				1
Average	4.6	4.3	5.6	4.72
Range	1-14	1-16	2-15	1-9
Monthly Income of Respondents in Rand²				
0-R3,500	24 (40%)	45 (75%)	35 (85.3%)	18 (62%)
R3,600+	14 (23.3%)	9 (15%)	1 (2.4%)	4 (13.7%)
No response	22 (36.6%)	6 (10%)	5 (12.2%)	7 (24.1%)
Race				
Black African	60 (100%)	58 (96%)	1 (2.5%)	6 (21.4%)
Coloured	0	2 (3%)	40 (97.5%)	22 (78.6%)
White South African	0	0	0	0 ³
Indian/Asian	0	0	0	0
Nonresponse			1	1

From the participatory mapping exercise, I compared the spatial configuration of the residents' current housing developments. There were two objectives of the mapping exercise.

² 1 USD equals approximately 14.7180 South African Rand, based on the March 2016 Treasury Reporting Rates of Exchange of the U.S. Department of the Treasury.

³ One woman identified as White South African during the focus group session, but she did not participate in the household surveys.

First, I wanted to understand where housing is located in relation to physical locations of community activities and infrastructural components such as libraries, medical clinics, community centers, roads, schools, churches, and day care centers. Secondly, I wanted residents to use the mapping exercise to also note infrastructural improvements they would like to see in the future that will help to build community. Examples of improvements might be an additional soccer field, expansion of a community center, or establishing a physical meeting place for a neighborhood watch committee. This acted as a visual appraisal (Sanoff, 2000) of the housing site as well as a form of ethnographic narrative. While the main goal of the community mapping exercise was to illuminate residents' narratives of place through their drawings of houses and sites of activity, it also revealed residents' visions and desires for their neighborhoods in the future. Furthermore, the mapping exercise, itself, became a way to build community and establish common ground amongst residents. This was especially true in Freedom Park where residents used to the opportunity to express grievances and emotions, which then fueled further community engagement in a celebration of Youth Day. Additionally, I allowed residents to keep their community maps in an effort for them to continue the mapping process. In each site, I left the maps with a community leader in the area.

One example of large scale “interactive community mapping” is the Map Kibera project in Kibera, the largest slum in Africa located in Nairobi, Kenya (Shkabatur, 2014). For residents of Kibera, participating in the mapping project allows them to tap into their own tacit knowledge about their local circumstances to digitally map their communities and identify sites of interest such as housing, schools, water taps, roads, and alleys through the use of GPS devices, sensors, and OpenStreetMap to make maps available online (Shkabatur, 2014; McQuillan, 2014; Map Kibera, n.d.). McQuillan (2014) deems this “smart mapping” initiative a participatory process

that empowers residents to monitor and report areas requiring attention to officials. One downside of this “smart mapping” approach is that residents have to be trained to use the devices which is time consuming and costly; although gaining this technological skill is useful for residents to find jobs, McQuillan (2014) suggests that smart mapping technologies cannot simply be dropped into communities without first building the capacity to use them. Furthermore, citizens may feel empowered to map their communities, but this may be short lived if government officials fail to act on citizens’ identified needs (McQuillan, 2014). My project may be the first step of a large-scale mapping process, where residents can eventually digitize the maps. By leaving the maps with the communities, I anticipated that residents would continue the process in the future, and this seems to have occurred in the case of Freedom Park.

The research design for my project is summarized in the following diagram:

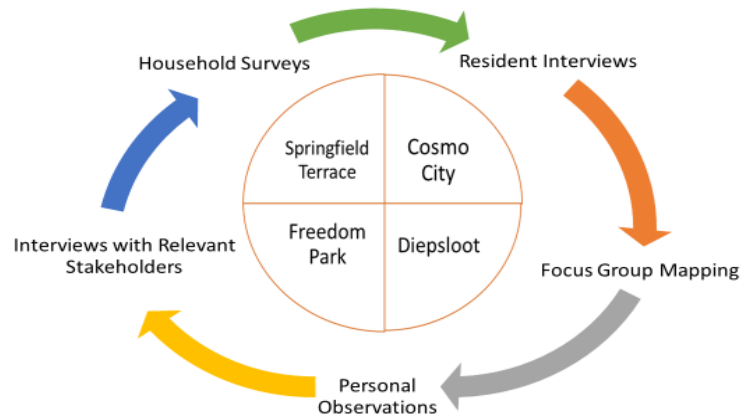


Figure 1: Data Collection Activities

Chapter 3. Site profiles: Varied approaches to housing development

Introduction

The central discussion into which this dissertation seeks to intervene is that little is known about the social implications of low-income mega projects as well as efforts to rehouse informal settlement residents. The efforts to “clean-up” informality in cities operate within the cities without slums framework that Huchzermeyer (2011) suggests has been poorly articulated to national governments. The result is repressive forms of relocation reminiscent of apartheid era evictions. Once residents relocate to new developments, planners and policy-makers should investigate what happens to people’s livelihoods, household structure, and social cohesion. This dissertation takes the position that sense of community is linked to quality of life because residents with a strong sense of community are able to build bonds and networks with one another that ensure safety, participation in community initiatives, neighborliness, and emotional ties to place (McMillan & Chavis, 1986). Additionally, more and more South African citizens are becoming aware of their rights as citizens largely through the advocacy work and capacity building workshops offered to low-income communities by PlanAct and the Socioeconomic Rights Institute of South Africa (SERI). As citizens become more socially conscious, they recognize and fight for their right to housing and human dignity as enshrined in the South African Constitution (Section 26, para 1-3), which states:

- (1) Everyone has the right to have access to adequate housing.
- (2) The state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realisation of this right.

(3) No one may be evicted from their home, or have their home demolished, without an order of court made after considering all the relevant circumstances. No legislation may permit arbitrary evictions. (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Section 26, para 1-3)

The right to housing begs the question of the role of the state in ensuring this right for all citizens. In many ways, through the use of public-private partnerships (PPPs), the state has relinquished its role as the provider of housing and leaves private developers in the driver's seat. For example, Ismail (2013) suggests that PPPs in Lagos lack the necessary institutional oversight to ensure transparency and diffusion of information about how projects will affect citizens. PPPs are easy for governments to advocate since they require less bureaucracy and seemingly result in quicker implementation of key projects, such as sanitation or housing. Much like Johannesburg, Lagos has been striving for a "world class" city, and in order to continue to pursue this status, the government looks to the private sector for efficiency and cost effectiveness for large scale infrastructure projects. Ismail (2013) challenges contemporary planners to consider how PPPs bypass citizen engagement. He calls for a shift in planning in African cities (and cities of the so-called "developing world" more generally) to pay greater attention to the deleterious effects of profit-driven projects on the urban poor (p. 377). Participatory planning and engagement strategies such as public meetings, charrettes, and social mapping are critical to meeting the needs and interests of all citizens and stakeholders. Furthermore, with aided forms of self-help through the People's Housing Process (PHP), the national government in South Africa leaves residents responsible for their own development and upgrading of their housing through the use of state subsidies.

The concept of self-help can be traced back to John Turner based upon his observations of slum dwellers in Peru. His self-help theory proffers that over time, priorities change for the urban poor as they advance more socially and economically. His model as illustrated in the two

figures below conceptualizes what he identifies as the vital needs of the household, namely, identity, opportunity, and security. Households of very low incomes will favor opportunity because of their need to carve out a livelihood. For them, employment is more important than security of tenure, but once they acquire a higher income, then they are more apt to aspire security of tenure. Those of lower incomes exhibit a high demand for housing near their livelihood activities rather than along the periphery, and as Turner and Fichter (1972) indicate “the demand for residential location near work places, for example, can be so rigid in cities like Calcutta and Delhi that the very poor will sleep on the street rather than accept a subsidized house on the periphery” (p. 162). This observation supports the phenomenon behind the practice of residents who are allocated a government subsidized house in South Africa and then decide to rent it out after returning to an informal settlement to be closer to their livelihood activity. Such practices Turner and Fichter (1972) suggest are “non-quantifiable” and indeed require more attention to understand the priorities of residents (p. 165).

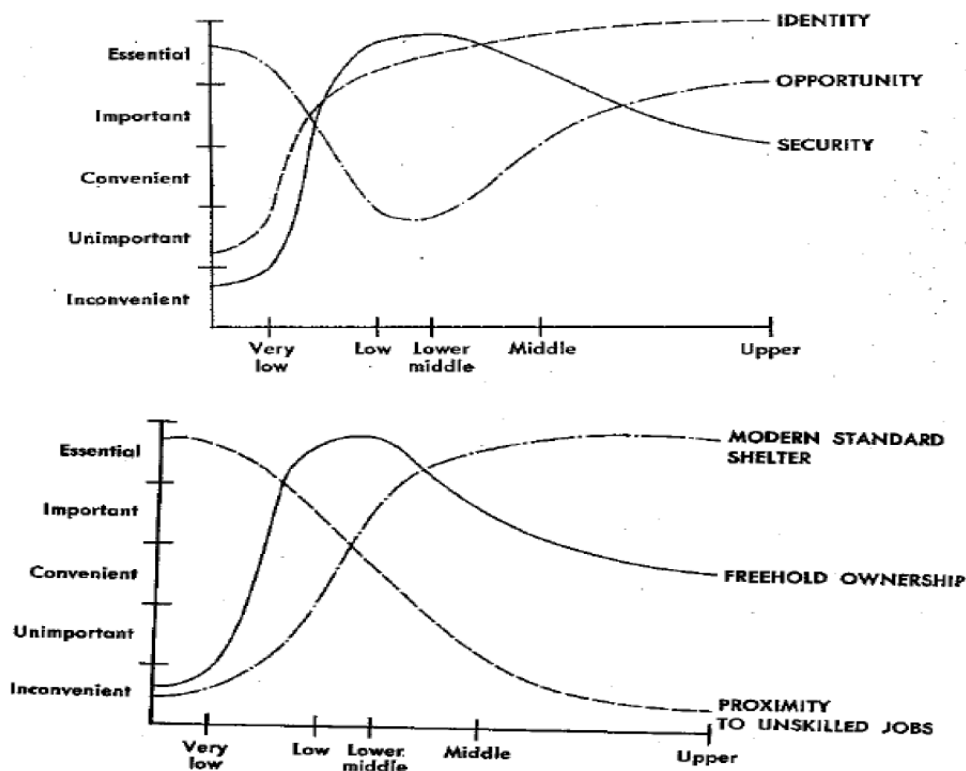


Figure 2: John Turner's models for housing needs and vital needs by income level (Turner and Fichter, 1972, p. 165-166)

Turner and Fichter (1972) suggest that it is not just large organizations or corporations that have all the control over housing resources. Rather, it is the people themselves, through ingenuity, entrepreneurship, and social networks who are able to control critical resources that mainstream sectors cannot. Turner and Fichter (1972) call such people the “third sector” who by “imagination, skills, initiative, co-operation, and determination” manage to do for themselves (p. 136).

Housing that takes a self-help approach should not end with the construction itself but rather extend into the long term maintenance and management. Turner and Fichter (1972) suggest that there has been too much attention placed upon the construction of the dwellings themselves which then takes away from the importance of citizen participation in the long-run on managing resources and maintaining the housing. This dovetails with my argument that residents

who are directly involved in the housing process from construction stages have more to gain in terms of collective capacity to maintain and manage the housing in the long-run. Turner suggests that massive housing programs administered by the state or central agencies result in less satisfactory results:

The scarcity of field personnel and often excessive demands made on their time in the poorer countries inevitably heightens the political and economic necessity for rapid and large-scale results. Projects are therefore large in most cases, and highly standardized in form and procedure. (Turner and Fichter, 1972, p. 150)

This has certainly been the case for mega projects in South Africa, and the large scale emphasis on steady output of housing has been the predominate metric of success. As Turner and Fichter (1972) suggest, the quantifiable measurements of housing such as number of units, financial costs, and number of people accommodated are often used to gauge success. Instead, however, we should shift our attention to a regard for residents' "satisfaction or frustration of needs" (Turner and Fichter, 1972, p. 152).

Turner and Fichter (1972) consider the linguistic implications of housing as a noun and a verb. As a noun, housing takes the form of a commodity, while as a verb, housing is conceived of as an activity or process. As a noun, Turner and Fichter (1972) suggest that we will see large agencies and government bodies that "plan *for* and provide *for* people's housing needs, with the result that the people so planned for and provided for turn into consumers or passive beneficiaries" (p. 154). In the South African context, the immense housing backlog and wait list means that numerous residents wait for their house, but the difficult decision of whether to wait for a house or build your own requires residents to determine whether they have the time, stamina, and resources to construct their own housing (Lemanski, 2011; Landman & Napier, 2010). When housing is thought of as a verb, an activity rather than a commodity, the residents themselves must remain in the driver's seat of the decision-making process (Turner and Fichter,

1972). Turner and Fichter (1972) argues that households should have the freedom to exercise choice in their housing in the construction and decide how and if they want to manage the process themselves. This chapter provides an overview of the policy and history relevant to the four sites of observation – Cosmo City, Diepsloot, Freedom Park, and Springfield Terrace.

Cosmo City

In order to mitigate spatial exclusion, the housing ministry emphasizes mixed-income housing, which is a central component of the 2004 Breaking New Ground (BNG) Sustainable Human Settlement Plan. Several attempts towards spatial integration through housing under the Breaking New Ground (BNG) Plan have developed throughout South Africa. As a model mixed-income development under the BNG, Cosmo City incorporates three housing typologies: RDP, social housing rentals, and market rate houses. I studied residents in the RDP section of Cosmo City. Furthermore, Cosmo City is a public-private partnership, where the city of Johannesburg owns the land and the private developer, Basil Reed, led the planning and construction of the housing. It is important to note that the rise of public-private partnerships (PPPs) is one trend occurring in urban renewal and development projects in African cities more broadly. Ismail (2013) suggests that PPPs in Lagos, Nigeria lack the necessary institutional oversight to ensure transparency and diffusion of information about how projects will affect citizens. Less bureaucracy and the speedy implementation of infrastructural components such as sanitation and housing make PPPs appealing to governments to advocate. Much like Johannesburg, Lagos has been striving for a “world class” city, and in order to continue to pursue this status, the government looks to the private sector for cost effective ways to pursue large scale infrastructure projects (Ismail, 2013). Calling for a shift in planning in African cities, Ismail (2013) challenges

contemporary planners to examine the ways in which PPPs avoid citizen engagement and to pay greater attention to the deleterious effects of profit-driven projects on the urban poor (p. 377).

By emphasizing homeownership through RDP houses, local municipalities feel they are granting low-income residents access to the first rung of the housing ladder, which assumes that they will become upwardly mobile. As Lemanski (2011) suggests:

The basic premise is that poverty-alleviation at an individual or household level is intrinsically linked to homeownership. In other words, government provides beneficiaries with their first step on the property ladder and then hands them over to the existing capitalist housing market in which they now have a stake, with the implicit assumption of market integration, upward mobility and collateral security. (p. 58)

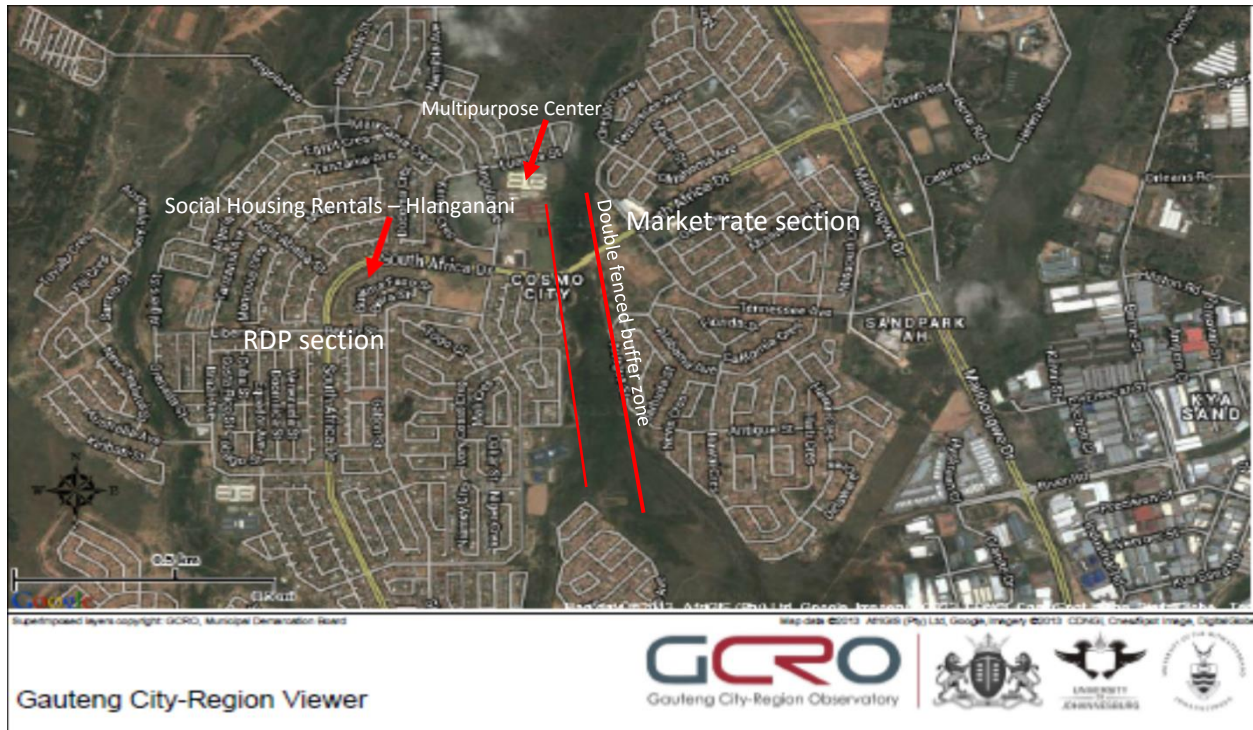
Although the allocation of housing brings with it symbolic pride and significant meaning to people who were denied it under apartheid, homeownership brings added financial burdens such as utility services, transportation, and furnishing (Charlton, 2009, p. 306; Lemanski, 2011, p. 65). As Charlton (2010) suggests, homeownership is linked to inclusion of 'households into the obligations and responsibilities of the city' (p. 4).

Additionally, Lemanski (2011) argues that RDP residents have become "trapped on the bottom rung of the [housing] ladder" because the poor value, location, and construction of RDP houses hinders low-income residents' ability to resell at a higher price and afford market rate housing (Lemanski, 2011, p. 65). Thus, RDP residents are stuck in a "self-contained market" (Lemanski, 2011, p. 65). In many ways, the steady construction of RDP housing along the urban fringe in northern settlements such as Diepsloot and Cosmo City has reinforced apartheid spatial patterning: "On the one hand, the government's housing policy has created vast RDP archipelagos that sit in a kind of peri-urban limbo like loosely associated satellites – quite similar to the old pre-1990s townships" (Haferburg, 2013, p. 263). In this way, municipal governments are acting out of the conception that low-income housing developments need to be constructed

Johannesburg approved the project in October 2004, and the first development phase began in November 2004. Infrastructure and services construction began in January 2005, and the first residents arrived in November 2005 (Anonymous, 2011, p. 68). The City of Johannesburg identified and appropriated 1,100 hectares for the R2-billion project in conjunction with the Gauteng Provincial Housing Department (Onatu, 2010, p. 211; City of Johannesburg, 2007b). The project is a public-private partnership between the City of Johannesburg (land owner), the provincial government (the subsidy providers), and Codevco (a private entity and main developer for the project formed between Basil Reed and Kopano Kematla) (Onatu, 2010, p. 211; Murray, 2011, p. 199). An estimated 4,600 residents from the Zevenfontein and Riverbend Settlements were relocated between 2005 and 2009.⁴ Furthermore, after Zevenfontein residents relocated to Cosmo City, many actually moved again to Diepsloot, an informal settlement located northwest of Cosmo City, due to its vibrant social life (Harber, 2011; City of Johannesburg 2011b; City of Johannesburg 2011c).⁵

⁴ Based on conversations with Mike Makwela, an advocacy officer with Planact (a community development organization in Johannesburg), Personal communication, July 1, 2013.

⁵ Based on conversations with Kate Muwoki, a research manager at Knowledge Pele in Johannesburg, personal communication, July 11, 2014 and August 27, 2014.



Map 3: Cosmo City. Source: Gauteng City-Region Observatory

Haferburg’s (2013) analysis dovetails with my observations that the separation of housing types (RDP, social housing, and market rate) exacerbates social divisions between different classes. Low-income residents occupy the RDP and social housing in the middle and lower area of the valley, while the market rate residents live in the upper area of the valley (Haferburg, 2013, p. 265). The multipurpose center is directly between the low-income and market rate sections, and offers skill development classes, as well as a library and recreation facility (Onatu, 2010, p. 212; City of Johannesburg, n.d.) (See Illustration 1).



Illustration 1: Large, modern, multipurpose center with library, gym, and skills development activities. Focus groups and interviews were held here. Photo Credit: Author

The buffer zone (See Illustration 2) that separates the market rate section from the lower income section further contributes to the limited social interaction between classes (Huchzermeyer, 2011, p. 28).



Illustration 2: View into market rate housing section separated by buffer zone, double fence. Photo Credit: Author

This buffer zone is demarcated by a double fence that “prevents any physical interaction” (Haferburg, 2013, p. 265). The main street, South Africa Drive, is the only infrastructural component connecting the income groups. Additionally, the street naming scheme places low-income residents on streets named after African cities or countries, while upper class residents live on streets named after the states of the USA (Haferburg, 2013, p. 265; Murray, 2011, p. 201). As Myambo (2014) indicates, Basil Reed (the developer) did not anticipate how the street naming would impact residents or how it would be perceived. Myambo (2014) suggests that “this has caused many community members to conclude that the naming was done to reinforce the idea that Africa is synonymous with poverty.” As one resident stated:

To tell you the truth, I don’t like the street names. Names like Zimbabwe – they gave us names of nations that are struggling. Are they saying that we deserve those names because we are the RDP section and we are poor? (Resident account in Myambo, 2014)

These sentiments indicate that residents feel degraded due to the street names based upon their circumstances. As a result, people feel alienated from the community with limited affinity with

the street names. Residents that cannot connect or identify with their street name lack feelings of belonging to the wider community. On the other hand, some residents suggest that the street names make them feel like they are part of an African village that the developer has tried to create for them:

I think they are nice names. They tried to build an African village for everyone. That's why the whole of Africa is represented here. Except for the side where there the names are all American. Maybe they wanted that to be the rich side and because this is the poor side they made it Africa – I don't know...But for me it's like a welcome to people from outside – when you are walking and you see your country's name, you feel welcomed...This place does not have xenophobia towards the foreigners. They understand that life brings people to different places. It is not like Soweto or other places where you are scared that you might be in danger. (Resident account in Myambo, 2014)

Myambo (2014) indicates that Basil Reed prides itself on its vision to “nurture neighborhoods,” but despite such vision, residents feel alienated from the street naming process, which could have benefitted tremendously from resident participation and consultation to get their input on street names. The street naming does not serve to commemorate those who lived in Cosmo City prior to the development, which would enable residents to have an emotional connection to place. Aspiring to a socially integrated South African society may still be out of reach given the limited number of development projects that would have residents of “different backgrounds living in the same street, sharing address, school and super-market (or spaza shop)” (Haferburg, 2013, p. 267). As Mike Makwela, an advocacy officer at PlanAct, indicated “Cosmo City has a poor location in relation to the rest of Johannesburg” (personal interview January 30, 2015; see Appendix 18). Development projects for subsidized housing on cheaper land along the urban fringe perpetuate existing spatial fragmentation and segregation of “peripheral seas of poverty” (Charlton, 2009, p. 306; Huchzermeyer, 2001). Moreover, the continuance of apartheid planning is evident in the orderly, contained rows of RDP houses in former informal settlements (Makhulu, 2015, p. 166).

The lack of employment for Cosmo City residents means that residents have devised adaptive strategies to survive, and as Mike Makwela indicated “there was poor planning for residents’ livelihood activities” (Personal interview January 30, 2015). By operating informal sector businesses in their homes such as “spaza” shops, crèches, beauty parlors, car washes, and hair salons residents strive to make ends meet (City of Johannesburg, 2009; City of Johannesburg, n.d; Murray, 2011, p. 201; Haferburg, 2011, p. 265; Makhulu 2015). Moreover, the construction of backyard rooms and extensions of the RDP houses for rental income further exemplify residents’ survival strategies. While such informal businesses and backyard rooms do not comply with the by-laws that regulate informal trading, Onatu (2010) points out that there is a designated informal trading site nearby the low-income area to continue such livelihood activity (p. 212) (See Illustration 3). The Informal Trading Policy for the City of Johannesburg (n.d.) seeks to have designated informal trading sites, which formalize the trading activity and contain it in a single area (City of Johannesburg, n.d.). Given that residents have continued their adaptive economic activities, Cosmo City resembles more of a township than a suburb as originally intended (Myambo, 2014).



Illustration 3: Designated informal trading site in Cosmo City just below the social housing. Photo Credit: Author

Although the City of Johannesburg portrays the development of Cosmo City as a model development to overcome social polarization, it may take years in order for mixed-income housing to have a concrete influence on people's willingness to bridge class divides. Given the decades of social engineering through the Group Areas Act of 1950 and other pieces of apartheid legislation, spatial segregation of black Africans and the urban poor still persists and is most prominent in instances of gated communities, which insulate elites from the majority through social distancing (Haferburg, 2013, p. 261; Murray, 2011). Physical distancing occurs through the construction of RDP houses that are all too often located along the urban fringe due to cheaper land (Charlton, 2010, p. 7; Haferburg, 2013, p. 262).

Diepsloot

In contrast to Cosmo City, which was planned and constructed through public-private partnerships, Diepsloot is an unplanned informal settlement of the north. Yet, it is critical to note that the housing distinctions blur into one another. For example, although Cosmo City began as a

project led by the state and a private developer, residents constructed attached dwellings and backyard shacks to their RDP housing. Such “hybrid homes” leave residents able to tailor and customize their housing to their family’s unique needs (Makhulu, 2015, p. 132). This combination of bricks and mortar with cardboard and metal is an indication of the limitations of RDP housing. While the state deems success by the number of houses constructed, residents focus on the size of the dwellings (Makhulu, 2015, p. 133). The term *vez’inylau* (“show your feet”) is used frequently by residents to express the small size of RDP housing so tiny that the saying goes, one can sit at the end of the house with feet sticking out the front door (Makhulu, 2015, p. 133).

Similarly, in Diepsloot, where the residents built their own housing in an informal settlement and temporary relocation area, the state has a made presence in planning a mall, taxi rank, and RDP housing. Diepsloot is an example of a post-apartheid relocation area for informal settlement residents in northern Johannesburg. Along with Cosmo City, Diepsloot is also part of NOWETO (Northwestern Townships) (Bénil, 2002, p. 47; Harber 2011). The settlement dates back to 1995 and served as the relocation site for residents who were displaced from other informal settlements in Johannesburg such as Alexandra, Zevenfontein, and Honeydew (City of Johannesburg, 2011a).

According to Harber (2011), population estimates for Diepsloot range from 150,000 to 200,000 (p. 18). Diepsloot was divided into sections such as Diepsloot West that was developed for sites and services with RDP houses and Diepsloot One which is more characteristic of an informal settlement without services (Bénil, 2002; Harber, 2011). For the purposes of this dissertation, I focused on Diepsloot West shown in Map 4 below.

In large part, Diepsloot resembles a vast informal settlement complete with informal spaza shops, street hawkers, and shacks attached to formal RDP housing. McFarlane and Waibel (2012) suggest that there are four ways for us to see the informal-formal dichotomy. The first is to view informal-formal as a “spatial categorization” that is commonly territorialized or situated in a geographical space in so-called “slum” settlements on the margins of a city (McFarlane & Waibel, 2012, p. 3). Secondly, we can think of informal-formal as an “organizational form,” whereby the formal is based on rules, order, and structure, while the informal can be defined as the absence of this structure but rather as a “spontaneous [or] tacit” conception (McFarlane & Waibel, 2012, p. 3). Thirdly, the informal-formal divide is also used as a “governmental tool” that dictates where the state allocates services and resources. McFarlane and Waibel (2012) suggest that the “formal is seen to governmentalize the informal...” and thereby classifies the informal as a “developmental problem” (p. 4). Lastly, McFarlane and Waibel (2012) challenge us to consider the informal-formal dichotomy as a “negotiable value,” whereby the two are blurred distinctions, and in reality, the informal cannot exist without the formal (p. 5). These distinctions and characterizations of informality are exemplified in the everyday lived experiences of people on the city margins, and indeed, the improvisation and unpredictability of the informal spills over into the domain of the formal city through economic activity and policies on infrastructure provision (Simone, 2004; McFarlane & Waibel, 2012).

The blurring of the informal with the formal certainly occurs in the realm of housing allocation. In 1994, the municipal government allocated residents from Zevenfontein (an informal settlement) housing sites in Diepsloot West, which according to Bénit (2002) were 1,124 serviced plots (p. 50). Afterwards, the Rhema Church in Honeydew helped to accommodate homeless families from Honeydew to live in Diepsloot One which is an area

without services currently called “Rhema” (Bénit, 2002, p. 50; Harber, 2011). As Harber (2011) indicates, people who came from Alexandra (an informal settlement) were “dumped” into Diepsloot One in 1994 to the transit camp area known as the “Reception Area” (Bénit, 2002, p. 50; Harber 2011), and 4, 522 people were relocated from Alex to Diepsloot in 2001 (Harver, 2011, p. 18). The exact numbers of residents who relocated from Alex to Diepsloot in 1994 are unknown largely because the first census in South Africa did not take place until 1996. The “core issue” in Diepsloot is housing, the construction of which cannot keep up with the steady demand and influx of newcomers to the area (Harber, 2011, p. 61). Harber (2011) argues that “Diepsloot has taken over the problem of Alex [Alexandra township], where housing improvement could never keep up with the ever-increasing numbers, but now they cannot relocate the problem elsewhere” (p. 61).



Map 4: Diepsloot West areas surveyed circled in red; Source: Google Maps

Although service delivery is limited in areas of Diepsloot, it is very clear that there is abundant street activity and vibrancy to life with small businesses such as crèches, hair shops, clinics, mechanics, and street vendors (Mengistae, 2014; City of Johannesburg, 2011d; City of Johannesburg, 2011c). As shown in Table 5, the business enterprises census carried out in 2014

as part of a World Bank report arrived at a list of 2,509 enterprises in Diepsloot ranging from food stalls, hairdressing, child care, tailoring, welding, and shoe repair (Mengistae, 2014, p. 180). Based on the small business census, a little over 50% of these businesses are owned by South African citizens, while the rest are owned by migrants from Mozambique and Zimbabwe (Mengistae, 2014).

Table 5: Diepsloot Business Owners by Nationality (Mengistae, 2014, p. 181)

<i>Nationality</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
<i>Sample survey^a</i>		
South African	208	47.06
Other African	192	43.44
Non-African	42	9.50
Total	442	100
<i>Census^b</i>		
South African	1,306	52.05
Other African	1,150	45.83
Non-African	53	2.11
Total	2,509	100

a. The sample survey collected data on a wide range of economic and institutional variables from a stratified random sample of 450 firms, drawn from the 2,509 businesses identified in the census.

b. The census registered the identity, location, activity line, and scale of all 2,509 businesses in the township.

As Harber (2011) argues, the vibrant street activity of informal traders and businesses has actually led to the movement of residents from Cosmo City to Diepsloot because “Diepsloot was always lively and interesting...[as opposed to] the showpiece new housing complex of Cosmo City” (p. 31). In an interview with the City of Johannesburg (2011d), Harber indicates that “people love the buzz, the liveliness and street life of Diepsloot”. The multitude of small-scale livelihood activities contributes to the hustle and bustle of daily life with people working in beer halls, taverns, and hair salons, while also renting their backyard shacks for additional income.

My observations in Diepsloot confirm the presence of social services provided by the government such as schools, youth centers, and clinics (City of Johannesburg, 2010; Harber, 2011) (See Illustration 4).



Illustration 4: Father Blondel Youth Centre in Diepsloot - where interviews and focus groups were held. Photo Credit: Author

According to Harber (2011), there are five government schools (two primary, two intermediate, and two secondary) which are vastly overcrowded (p. 59-60). In addition to the public sector, the private sector has also played a role in the development of the new Diepsloot Mall constructed in December 2007 (City of Johannesburg, 2011c; Harber 2011, p. 60). The Diepsloot Mall provides

formal vendors such as Shoprite and banks such as Absa, Standard Bank, and Nedbank (See Illustration 5).



Illustration 5: Diepsloot Mall. Photo Credit: Author

The taxi rank also provides transport to residents to and from the mall, but the majority of residents choose to walk (City of Johannesburg, 2011c) likely due to the inability to afford a taxi and the numerous unpaved, narrow roads throughout the settlement through which cars may find it difficult to traverse in order to transport a resident home. The mall also provides some formal channels for employment for residents such as taxi drivers, shop clerks, or bank attendants.

Johannesburg City Parks constructed the Diepsloot West Park and recently supplied upgrades to the park such as new slides, more trees, swings, and a netball court (City of Johannesburg, 2010; Harber, 2011). The two-week upgrade to the park was aimed to keep children off the streets,

maintain a healthy and safe place for children to play, and encourage environmental awareness (City of Johannesburg, 2010) (See Illustration 6).



Illustration 6: Diepsloot West Park. Photo Credit: City of Johannesburg, 2010

Like many areas of Johannesburg, Diepsloot is plagued with social ills such as rampant unemployment, teen pregnancy, and drug and alcohol abuse. These issues are in the forefront of residents' minds as they go about daily life and likely take precedence over forging greater sense of community or cohesion. Realities on the ground such as failing infrastructure, overcrowded housing, poor roads, and sanitation problems such as waste collection and sewage runoff are also embedded in the landscape of Diepsloot (Illustration 7).



Illustration 7: Trash disposal in Diepsloot. Photo Credit: Author

Some roads have been paved as recent funding efforts have focused on upgrades (City of Johannesburg, 2011a). The Johannesburg Road Agency (JRA) committed to tarring over 12% of the roads in Diepsloot by the end of 2011 by putting aside R10 million for the project (City of Johannesburg, 2011a).

As the City of Johannesburg (2011c) suggests, “Diepsloot residents have a cohesive identity which has sustained the settlement and grown it into what it is today...Life is communal and some people are united into the future social well-being of their neighborhood.” Indeed, the abundant informal businesses feed into the local economy and livelihood activity of locals to make ends meet. People often operate such businesses out of their homes or along the street, which influences the amount of flow and foot traffic on the street. This results in what Jane Jacobs (1961) terms the “eyes on the street,” where people have developed their own conception

of who belongs and who does not, thus creating informal means of security in the township. This vibrant street life creates a social atmosphere that fuels elements of neighborliness through greetings, street clamor, chatter, reciprocity, and the willingness to assist one another in a time of need. For example, my research team encountered car trouble while in Diepsloot, and we had no trouble finding a mechanic with jumper cables to assist us in return for a small amount of cash.

Freedom Park

Initiatives to upgrade informal settlements or relocate residents to formal housing through public participation mechanisms should do so recognizing that the people know their circumstances best and have significant knowledge to share with so-called “experts”. The deliberative and therapeutic participatory planning approaches work best in developing community capacity among informal settlement residents. Central to the deliberative approach is shifting the focus from rushed solutions to *process* (Forester, 1999). The deliberative approach does not solve the problem, but rather rebuilds relationships, social networks, and capacity for local stakeholder groups to solve their future problems on their own (Forester, 1999, p. 150). Additionally, Sandercock (2000) argues that the therapeutic approach departs from the assumed “rational discourse” among stakeholder groups that ignores the need for people to articulate their pain and trauma that are critical for the healing process. If planners require people to behave “rationally,” they are overlooking potential emotional sides of issues. The therapeutic approach is particularly useful in the South African context where residents demonstrate considerable trauma and pain towards evictions and relocation. Although they are technically trained experts, planners and practitioners do not have the same the intimate knowledge of citizens and as a result may not be aware of the everyday intricacies of life. The technical expertise still needs to be

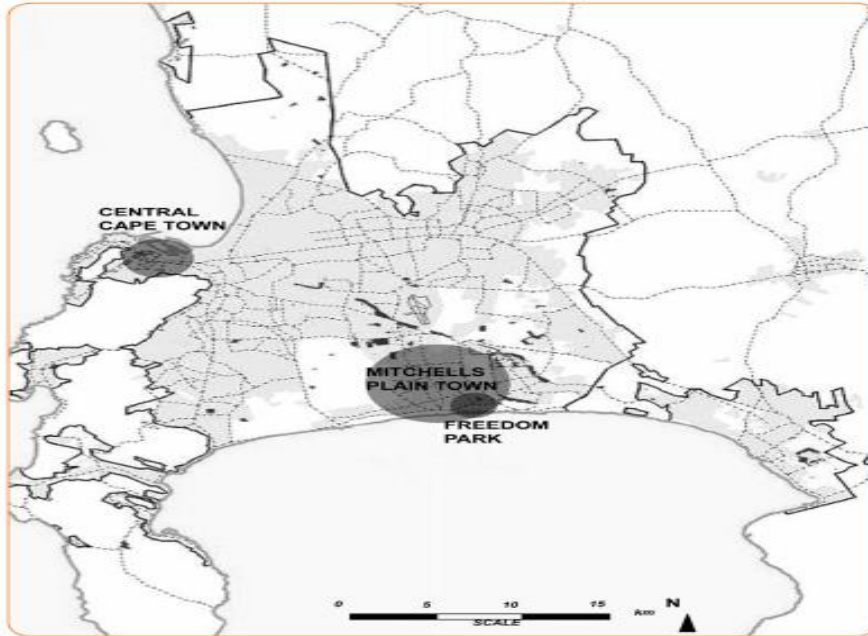
supplemented with gathering information from inhabitants (Mah & Rivers, 2013). This form of joint-fact finding or social learning is a mutual process whereby inhabitants share the local knowledge as spaces and places exist and operate on a daily basis (Schön, 1983).

Moreover, planning that takes a collaborative approach through dialogue between disparate groups enables engaged citizens to build social capital and develop civic capacity (Innes & Booher, 2004). As opposed to one-way processes of citizen engagement, collaborative participation embodies joint problem solving where relevant stakeholders can question facts together and bring their own local knowledge to the table. Yet, collaborative planning has numerous obstacles and operates out of a utopian idea that is nearly impossible to attain. Innes and Booher (2004) point to the hubris of elected officials, time constraints for citizens to be fully involved, and the limited ability for disadvantaged groups to participate due to a lack in resources. Furthermore, Innes and Booher (2004) suggest that a lack of collaborative skills amongst planners and citizens to carry out successful dialogue hinders the results citizens would like to see.

Within informal settlements, it is critical for researchers to recognize the value of joint-fact finding. This approach recognizes that locals have an expertise equal to that of professionals. Additionally, by returning the research findings to the community, participants and other residents are able to use the findings to raise awareness and mobilize for action (Sanoff, 2000, p. 64). Workshops for community mapping exercises enable participants to interact with one another and demonstrate active listening towards a common goal (Sanoff, 2000, p. 80). As Sanoff (2000) suggests, workshops are useful tools in building social cohesion because participants learn from one another. When conflicts arise in workshops, it is important for the workshop facilitator to encourage participants to speak in a “language of acceptance,” whereby

people learn to recognize another's differences and everyone is given a chance to voice their viewpoints (Sanoff, 2000, p. 81). Lastly, visual appraisals of informal settlements are useful tools for residents to gather a description and take inventory of their infrastructural needs (roads, schools, water, electrical lines, and housing types).

The Freedom Park case in Cape Town provides the opportunity to examine the daily lives of former Tafelsig backyard dwellers within the backdrop of citizen engagement through visual appraisals and collaborative planning in the collective struggle for formal housing. Freedom Park is a community located in Tafelsig within the township of Mitchell's Plain, which is one of the poorest townships of Cape Town with an unemployment rate of 24.13% (Statistics South Africa, Census, 2011). The history of Freedom Park dates back to 1998 when a group of informal settlement residents took it upon themselves to construct their own "wendy houses" or shacks on overgrown, vacant land that had been zoned for a school that was never built (Brown-Luthango, 2015; DAG, 2009). The original Freedom Park residents built their shacks on what became known as Freedom Day and lived without services such as toilets, running water, and electricity until the municipal government provided basic services in 2001 (Brown-Luthango, 2015; DAG 2009; Interview, Najuwa Gallant, 18 May 2015).



Map 5: Freedom Park in relation to central Cape Town. Source: Development Action Group, 2009, p. 10

Prior to occupying Freedom Park as informal settlement residents, residents occupied backyard shacks of Tafelsig residents. As Mah and Rivers (2013) indicate, these backyard dwellers of Tafelsig met at Mrs. Najuwa Gallant's house on April 16, 1998. Najuwa Gallant is a community organizer for Freedom Park and a critical informant of my study. The Tafelsig backyard dwellers occupied "wendy houses" or shacks made of metal roofing and siding and some with cardboard. Fed up with the exorbitant rents of their backyard dwellings, the residents came to Najuwa to strategize for better housing. The group of residents met with the city council representative in order to gain access to the vacant land which would become Freedom Park (Mah and Rivers, 2013; Interview with Najuwa Gallant, May 18, 2015). After determining that nothing would come of the meeting, about one week later, the Tafelsig backyard dwellers decided to claim the vacant land. In a very animated and passionate way, Najuwa recounted the story of how she helped the community claim the land that would become the Freedom Park informal settlement:

“I sat in the yard of the councilor waiting for him to respond to the community. After no response to our housing needs, I decided to have everyone go to the bush area and clear it out. This was on Friday. We burned the bush. This was called “Freedom Day” and we began clearing the bush. The police and firefighters found out there was a massive fire, so they came to put it out. When they got here, I said ‘no! no! Don’t put out the fire. I was just raped and I am trying to catch the criminal!’ The police asked me ‘Are you okay? You want us to help you catch him?’ Najuwa said ‘yes! I’m fine, I just want the fire to stay burning to run him out.’ The police and firefighters sympathized with me and decided to leave the area. After they left, I said ‘okay everyone we must finish clearing this land and then build our shacks.’ The authorities told me to go ahead and clear the land. On Sunday, I gathered everyone and said get your building materials and begin constructing your shacks. A shack is considered occupied when there is a bed in it, so I told everyone to put a bed in it their shack. On Tuesday, the Ward Councilor came and was so baffled to see that all of these shacks had been built on the land.” (Personal Interview with Najuwa Gallant, May 18, 2015).

Najuwa went on to explain to me that she needed lawyers to help represent the community because an eviction had been scheduled for the following Monday morning. According to Brown-Luthango (2015), 440 people resided in the Freedom Park informal settlement (p. 6). Najuwa indicated that “the land belongs to the Khoi people and the San, our forefathers of the coloured people.” The Legal Resource Centre (LRC) stepped up to represent the residents of Freedom Park. About 3 months after the court hearing, Najuwa wrote to Nelson Mandela. She told me that she “did not want a black judge because a black judge would not grant them access to the land.” Mandela responded by writing a letter to the court for the mediation process. It turned out that Najuwa had a black judge who told her she would be locked up for life: “I went to jail, but I was released a few days later after the court received Mandela’s letter.” Najuwa indicated that the mediation process continued for about 4-5 years facilitated by Mary Simmons at University of Cape Town. In 2004, the residents of Freedom Park began receiving support from Development Action Group (DAG) to begin People’s Housing Process (PHP) housing and “afterwards people from the outside began moving into the area for housing” (Interview with Najuwa Gallant, May 18, 2015). Najuwa recounted “I went to court for houses that I knew were

ours,” and she fervently stated that “DAG, COURC, and UCT have not given the Freedom Park residents a single dime for the time they have spent explaining their struggle to these organizations.”

It is critical to consider an understanding of the informal in a way that considers multiple spaces not as disorderly chaos but rather as a situation where traditional conceptions of order are suspended (Roy, 2005; Mah & Rivers, 2013). In this way, planners especially in the context of the developing world need to develop a deeper understanding for the inherent social order present in informal settlements as opposed to seeing these environments as chaotic and socially disorderly. Indeed, residents of informal settlements develop adaptive strategies for survival and informal means of security. Such mechanisms of informal social control were particularly evident during the informal settlement phase of Freedom Park.

In the early beginnings of Freedom Park, the residents demonstrated deep collective action and mobilization to refuse to be evicted from the land. At one point, residents formed a human chain to resist eviction and impending bulldozers from razing the informal settlement (DAG 2009; Brown-Luthango, 2015; Interview, Najuwa Gallant, 18 May 2015). An outcome of the collective action was the formation of the Tafelsig People’s Association (TPA) which formed in order to resist an eviction ordered by the City of Cape Town (Brown-Luthango, 2015). As Brown-Luthango (2015) indicates: “They elected a group of men and women from the community to act as marshals responsible for maintaining law and order on the site and to ensure that food and other donations were distributed in an equitable manner” (p. 7). Prior to the 2000 elections, the Freedom Park Squatters Association (FPSA) came about as a result of supposed money mismanagement and poor savings on the part of the TPA (Brown-Luthango, 2015). Najuwa Gallant was former president of the TPA, and our conversations together indicated that

she regrets stepping down from the position to make way for the new committee called the Freedom Park Development Association (FPDA). Recommended by the Development Action Group (DAG), the FPDA came about from the need to reunify the community (Brown-Luthango, 2015; Mah & Rivers, 2013; Smit, 2006). My conversations with former TPA members revealed disappointment in the way the settlement was developed because the residents' visions for the settlement were not taken into full consideration. Yet, as Brown-Luthango (2015) points out, residents actively participated in the development plans for the settlement upgrade. For example, the FPDA led the community in social mapping exercises to identify challenges of the informal settlement and visions for the future. Residents also outlined priorities for the upgrade such as good lighting, parks for children, an art and culture center, and a well-kept settlement (Brown-Luthango, 2015; Mah & Rivers, 2013).

As stated in a Development Action Group (DAG) (2005) report, crime, alcohol and drug abuse, and domestic violence were highly common in the area. Furthermore, the site of Freedom Park is located in the middle of two rival gang territories (Brown-Luthango, 2015; DAG, 2005). My interview with a South African Police Service (SAPS) officer living in Freedom Park revealed the names of the two rival gangs – the “Americans” and the “Hustlers”. The police officer also told me that when she confronts the gangs they generally respect her and will stop whatever activity they are engaged in that is disturbing the community. The SAPS officer also suggested that the lack of a police station in the area means that she is the “go-to” person in the community when there is an emergency. Rather than calling the police themselves, residents go to her to call on her behalf because the police will respond to her call sooner than to a resident's.

Brown-Luthango (2015) examines the presence of “collective efficacy” in Freedom Park and the effects that it has on social control and regulating mutual trust between residents. The

term “collective efficacy” as coined by Sampson (1997) involves two critical components – social cohesion and informal social control. Social cohesion involves solidarity and mutual trust between community members, and informal social control requires residents to work as a collective unit to ameliorate destructive behavior or acts towards the community (Brown-Luthango, 2015; Sampson et. al, 1997). In particular, social control also refers to the extent to which a community is able to self-regulate deviant behavior rather than having rules enforced from outside entities such as the police (Sampson et. al, 1997). Brown-Luthango (2015) examines these two components of collective efficacy within the context of Freedom Park.

Mah and Rivers (2013) argue, in particular, that social mapping especially in the context of Freedom Park acts to “deconstruct” apartheid era power that devalues the informal (p. 291). Resistance under apartheid did not always take the form of armed resistance but rather one of collective organizing that necessitated deep knowledge of social needs and local geography (Mah & Rivers, 2013, p. 219). Within the context of Freedom Park, Mah and Rivers (2013) suggest that social mapping offered the residents an avenue to “empower [them] to claim their right to housing and to own their own property” (p. 291).

The People’s Housing Process, known colloquially as “people-centred development” depends largely on the extent to which beneficiary communities are able to garner the support and sponsorship of an outside partnership with an NGO, religious institution, government or private sector. Development Action Group (DAG) formed in 1986 out of the need to assist black Africans that had been forcibly evicted under the Group Areas Act (GAA) during apartheid (Mah & Rivers, 2013, p. 293). DAG stepped forward to partner with Freedom Park and advocate for settlement upgrades and the development of pro-poor housing policy. As understood by DAG,

the PHP is a self-help scheme that allows residents to pool resources and combine sweat equity to build their own state subsidized houses (DAG, 2009; Mah & Rivers, 2013).

After dealing with impending eviction from the land and following the Grootboom Constitutional Court decision⁶, the national government felt pressured to better prioritize low-income housing in 2001. It was at this time, that the City of Cape Town agreed to provide services to Freedom Park residents (Mah & Rivers, 2013, p. 294). DAG offered Freedom Parkers more administrative and political support, while also recommending that residents formally organize themselves across religious and political divides to form the Freedom Park Development Association (FPDA) in 2003. The FPDA had 10 elected board members from the Freedom Park community, and it established several priorities in addition to formal housing such as child care, a vegetable garden, and a neighborhood watch (Mah & Rivers, 2013). The FDPA was the intermediary body between the residents and DAG. As the formalization process began to take shape, FDPA sought to involve the residents directly through social mapping which would enable them to communicate their concerns and desires to DAG (see illustration 8 below). As Mah and Rivers (2013) suggest,

these maps indicated local concerns and needs that professional designers might see but do not fully understand. Nobody knew the local conditions as well as the inhabitants who can fully describe the place. This included details such as who lives there, where is this and that, among other everyday details that only Freedom Park residents would know intimately. (p. 296)

⁶ Government of the Republic of South Africa and Others v Grootboom and Others (2000) is a landmark case upholding the constitutionality of the socio-economic right to housing. Mrs. Irene Grootboom and others became homeless after being evicted from their informal houses which were located on private land planned for formal low-cost housing. Grootboom applied to the Cape of Good Hope High Court (the High Court) to order the government to provide her family with basic shelter until they obtained permanent accommodation. This case upheld the requirement for granting emergency shelter for those facing eviction. (see Sandra Liebenberg, 2014, "What the law has to say about evictions," http://groundup.org.za/article/what-law-has-say-about-evictions_2185)



Illustration 9: Freedom Park envisioned social map for future settlement (2003). (Mah & Rivers, 2013, p. 297)

In contrast to the standardized RDP houses, Freedom Park houses are multicolor, single-family, and detached built largely from concrete blocks and plaster with wood frame windows. Mah and Rivers (2013) point out this distinction to contrast with “Fordist and bland homes” in the RDP housing (p. 299). In their visioning exercise, residents proposed clusters of housing similar to their informal settlement and 8 “access routes” to integrate Freedom Park with wider Tafelsig. DAG designers reduced this number of access routes in order to better control traffic flow and ensure the safety of residents. Furthermore, the original desire was one large open field, but the final plan called for multiple fields of smaller sizes in order to reduce overall maintenance needs. Residents also preferred narrower roads since many did not own cars, but the City of Cape Town required wider roads of about 8 meters to allow for utility vehicles and ambulances to reach the community (Mah & Rivers, 2013; DAG, 2009). Furthermore, the residents wanted larger plots, but the City of Cape Town wanted to fit as many plots as possible in order to reduce the overall housing and utility cost to residents (DAG, 2009). The final site plan allocated 289 plots for

existing households and 204 for outside beneficiaries on the housing wait list (DAG, 2009, p. 26; Mah & Rivers, 2013, p. 298).

The Legal Resource Centre (LRC), Development Action Group (DAG), and the Niall Mellon Housing Initiative (MHI) have been active in the site to represent the residents and provide legal representation against eviction. Freedom Park is an example of “people-centred development” through the People’s Housing Process (PHP) project, primarily in the early stages of the formalizing the informal settlement to what it is today. In the latter stages of the formalization process such as construction and layout process of the community, the Freedom Park Development Association (FPDA) and Mellon Housing Initiative led the process of housing construction in order to ensure speedy delivery of houses (DAG, 2009). Although some residents laid the foundation for their houses and trenched for plumbing, this was not the case for most residents. Currently, Freedom Park has 493 houses of a variety of types such as two-story sandbag houses, semi-detached houses, detached houses, and backyard rooms. The two-story sandbag houses are part of the 10 x 10 Design Indaba housing project which seeks to use innovative housing solutions that involve community members and the provincial government (10 x 10 Sandbag House, 2011; Illustration 10). In contrast to brick and mortar construction, the sandbags offer thermal insulation and are wind and moisture resistant. In 2009, Design Indaba constructed 10 sandbag houses in Freedom Park along with resident involvement.



Illustration 10: Two story sandbag houses in Freedom Park. Photo Credit: Author

The Mellon Housing Initiative (MHI), established by an Irish developer, partnered with the community of Freedom Park and construction began in June 2007. When I asked residents whether they built their house themselves or whether they had a say in the layout or design of their housing, the majority of respondents stated: “The Irish built my house.” As DAG (2009) indicates, approximately 1,000 Irish volunteers arrived in Freedom Park in 2007 for a “building

blitz” that lasted for about 1 week. As a result, the houses in Freedom Park suffer from poor construction and shoddy workmanship: “MHI worked at high speed to be ready for the Irish volunteers when they arrived, but as a result did not adequately monitor and control the quality of the construction work” (DAG, 2009, p. 44). Furthermore, the voices of residents and the FPDA began to be diminished as the Mellon Housing Initiative overtook the entire construction process. As indicated in the DAG (2009) case study report,

The speed at which houses were to be constructed to meet MHI’s targets for the blitz meant that the committee played an increasingly diminishing role in decision making and implementation. Decisions were made by MHI – with the primary focus on construction progress as opposed to supporting the community to build their own homes. The blitz itself involved the community in providing security, cleaning the neighbourhood and conducting tours of the shacks. Personal relationships were developed between the Irish visitors and the residents leading to certain benefits. Some received donations (e.g. payment of school fees) and many are still in contact with the volunteers. The [FPDA] however, was not directly involved in the construction and was merely expected to follow MHI’s instructions. (p. 44)

As a community that transitioned from an informal settlement (illustration 11) to a formal one, Freedom Park faces considerable challenges along the lines of gangsterism, alcohol and drug abuse, unemployment, and poverty.



Illustration 11: Freedom Park as an informal settlement. Photo Credit: Bender, 2005, p. 32

The formalization process took 8 years and was completed in 2009 (Brown-Luthango, 2015; DAG 2009). After the formalization process was complete, outside beneficiaries who had been

on the housing waiting list, also began moving into housing in Freedom Park. This led to a large divide between “original” Freedom Park residents and “outside” beneficiaries (Brown-Luthango, 2015). The question of social cohesion is particularly applicable to the Freedom Park context, given that residents were engaged in a collective struggle for housing. This collective struggle embodies a shared sense of place and attachment to a common history which in turn fuels cohesion (Brown-Luthango, 2015; Dempsey et. al, 2011). Given the influx of outside beneficiaries into Freedom Park after it was formalized, the overall social trust, cohesion, and feelings of safety began to erode (Brown-Luthango, 2015). This became particularly apparent in discussions with residents during the interviews and focus group sessions. Najuwa frequently asked me “Jennifer what do you see different about this house compared to that house?” She was pointing out the differences in general care, upkeep, and pride towards houses. Najuwa suggested that houses of original Freedom Park residents show more wear and tear and poor upkeep and maintenance compared to those from outside beneficiaries (See illustrations 12-14). As Najuwa stated: “There was no education for us on how to maintain a house and what we should do to make the house look nice.” This point that Najuwa makes is also expressed by DAG (2009), which suggests that although residents agree that without the assistance from MHI to construct the houses quickly, the residents would have benefitted from more education and workshops to build the capacity for them to learn skills to maintain their houses:

The City of Cape Town and MHI agree that the new home-owners need to learn how to take full responsibility for maintenance of their homes after construction is concluded. The lack of responsibility seems to have resulted from MHI’s approach to beneficiaries: with MHI previously encouraging residents and the committee to step back, it is now difficult to encourage people to embrace their responsibilities. (DAG, 2009, p. 50)



Illustration 12: View of streets and housing in Freedom Park. Photo Credit: Author



Illustration 13: One of two open fields in Freedom Park sometimes where gang activity occurs. Photo Credit: Author



Illustration 14: Evidence of gang graffiti near the community hall. Photo Credit: Author

Springfield Terrace

Springfield Terrace is a medium density housing development close to Cape Town's CBD, which promotes more compact housing to middle to low-income residents (Tonkin, 2008, pp. 61, 79; Dewar, 1995). The development goals for Springfield Terrace were to provide affordable flats within close proximity of Cape Town's central business district (see Maps 6-7 and Illustration 15). The Springfield Terrace development is a public-private partnership comprised of HeadStart (a non-profit housing utility company), the City of Cape Town, which acquired the land parcels for the development, and residents from 20 dilapidated cottages surrounding the project area, some of which were earmarked for demolition in the early stages of

development. The households from the dilapidated cottages were housed in the new Springfield Terrace project. As a housing development constructed in 1992, prior to the end of apartheid, Springfield Terrace was part of an initiative to make South African cities “more efficient, viable and convenient” (Dewar, 1995, p. 1). The development of Springfield Terrace was part of a larger effort to reconstruct District Six and allow previous tenants to return to the area after apartheid ended (Dewar, 1995). In many ways, Springfield Terrace was an urban experiment and pilot project that sought to overturn the idea that low-cost accommodation needed to be constructed along the urban fringe in South African cities. Given that Springfield Terrace is within the historic District Six area,⁷ the experiment operates out of the idea that Springfield Terrace can bring back the old ways of life in District Six as a socially and racially integrated development. Small indicators of success of this experiment, in my view, come from the interviews I conducted with residents who explained that children play together in Springfield Terrace:

Children always play, and there are always people outside.

People in the neighborhood know to watch for children.

Children all play together.

If I see a neighbor’s child who is doing something wrong, I feel capable to send them home or say something without the parents getting mad.

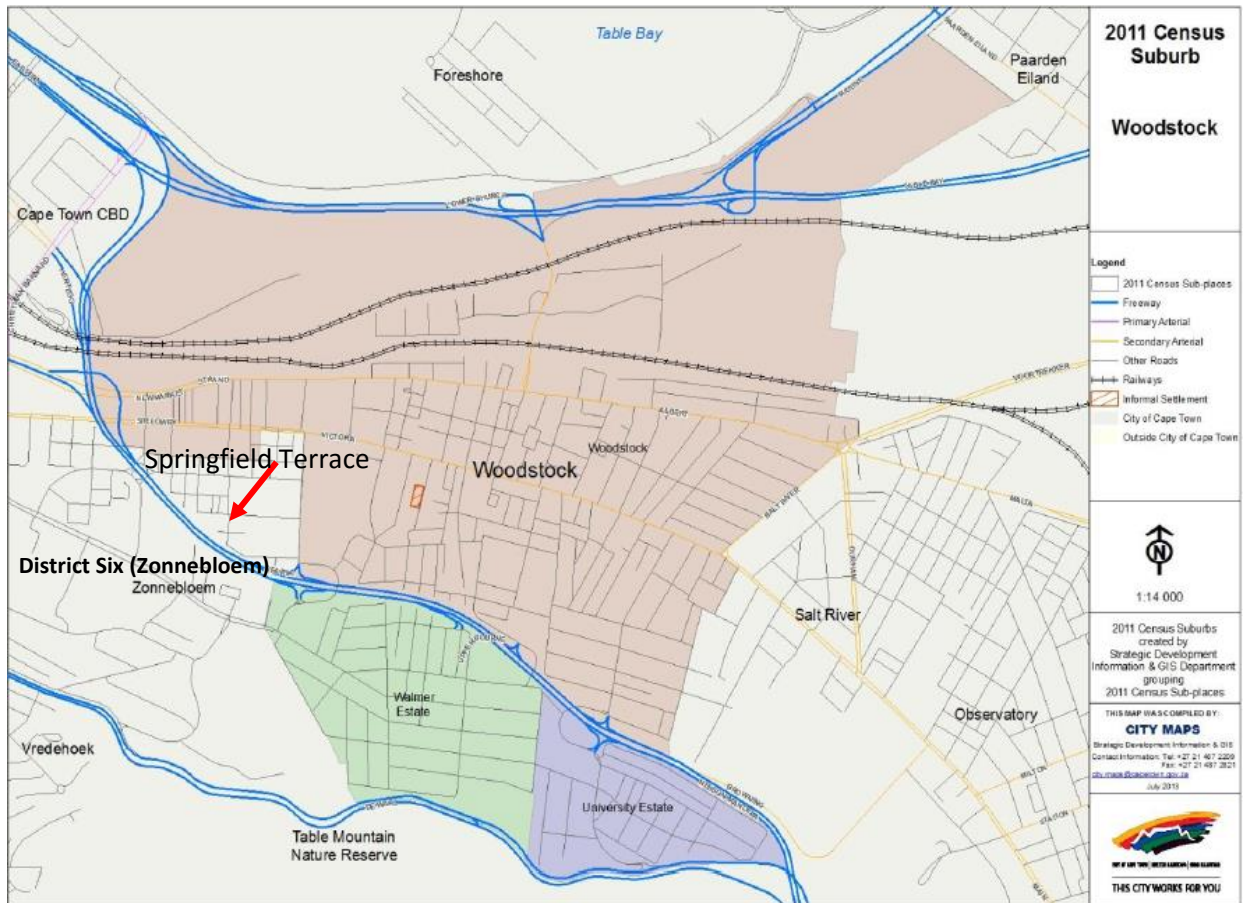
Kids play well together...there is no fighting

Kids...They adjusted well to environment and play together here. [Resident interviews in Springfield Terrace, May 2015].

⁷ Prior to forced removals, District Six was the home of working class black South Africans, coloureds, and white South Africans who were merchants and artisans. The District was known as an integrated area where people of different races worked and lived alongside one another. In the early 1900s forced evictions began to push non-white groups out of the district and into the Cape Flats. Over 60,000 people were displaced as a result of the area being declared “whites-only” under the Group Areas Act of 1950. Under the National Party, the homes of former residents were bulldozed. The apartheid authorities renamed District Six Zonnebloem (see McEachern, 1998).

Springfield Terrace is the only development of its kind near the Cape Town CBD, and I argue that to begin to rectify past injustices more developments of its kind need to be emphasized to bring descendants of those displaced back to the city center. Springfield Terrace has succeeded in the willingness of parents to allow children from different racial groups to play together, as was typical of District Six prior to the forced removals. Yet, Springfield Terrace still has many challenges to overcome in terms of improving community participation, which would contribute to greater social cohesion. As Dewar (1995) indicates, one of the objectives of HeadStart was to “demonstrate a new urban philosophy” that would show more efficiency of urban space within the inner city and to make South African cities more compact and less fragmented (p. 1-2). In this way, Springfield Terrace has been a success because residents are in close proximity to employment opportunities and activities in the inner city.

HeadStart chose the District Six area to redevelop with the broader Salt River and Woodstock region in mind (See Map 6). After analyzing the area, HeadStart determined that two contradictory processes were at play. On the one hand, residents within the inner city faced blight and deteriorating infrastructure. On the other hand, higher-income earners who flocked to the region were attracted by the convenient location near the CBD. Dewar (1995) suggests that this movement of higher earners resulted in rising property values and increased commercial activity in the area to meet the demand of residents. As a result, the broader Woodstock region is developing trendy shops and cafes. Furthermore, former sites of industrial or textile production have been transformed into markets, designer shops, and restaurants.



Map 6: Woodstock Census 2011 Map. Census area includes Woodstock, Walmer Estate, and University Estate. Source: Census 2011

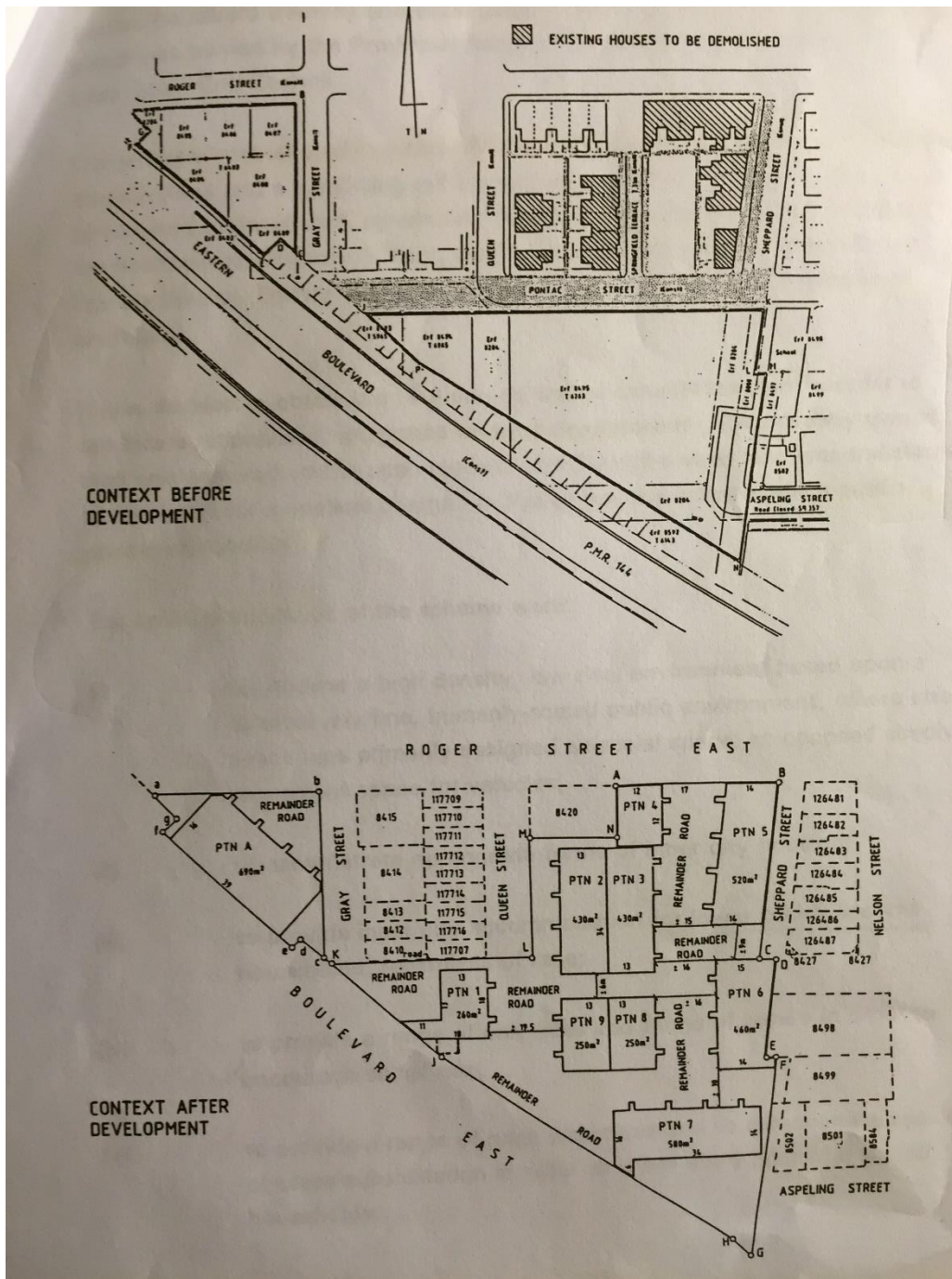
The Old Biscuit Mill now attracts young people and those with financial means to the “Neighbourgoods Market” on weekends for local food and shopping. One informant during my field work, pointed out a house in Springfield Terrace which had sold about R800,000, and purchasers of houses priced at this amount are influencing the changing demographics in the area and pricing out low-income earners. Despite these present transformations in the wider Woodstock region, HeadStart devised six objectives for the area, and chose Springfield Terrace to be its pilot project in the area:

1. Overturn involuntary displacement by allowing residents to stay close to the CBD through infill projects and higher security of tenure.

2. Increased access to social services.
3. Increased housing density in an effort to develop more commercial activity.
4. Encourage the influx of moderate incomes into the housing schemes in order to lessen gentrification.
5. Improve environmental quality.
6. Encourage the development of small businesses to for improved income generating activities.

The first four of these objectives have been successful, in my view, given that residents of Springfield Terrace are walking distance to the Marion Institute, employment within the inner city, churches, and the wider Woodstock-Salt River area that is buzzing with commercial activity. In the focus group session, it became apparent that residents would like to see more skills development workshops at the Marion Institute that would encourage small business enterprises. Residents also indicated that they would like a community garden that would supply vegetables to the residents while also contributing to the overall beautification of the neighborhood.

Prior to the development of Springfield Terrace, the area had vacant land and was occupied by dilapidated cottages which had been given notices by the City of Cape Town to either demolish or repair. Some of these old cottages still remain today and are located on Chapel Street across from the Chapel Street Primary School.



Map 7: Before and After maps of Springfield Terrace (Dewar, 1995, p. 4).

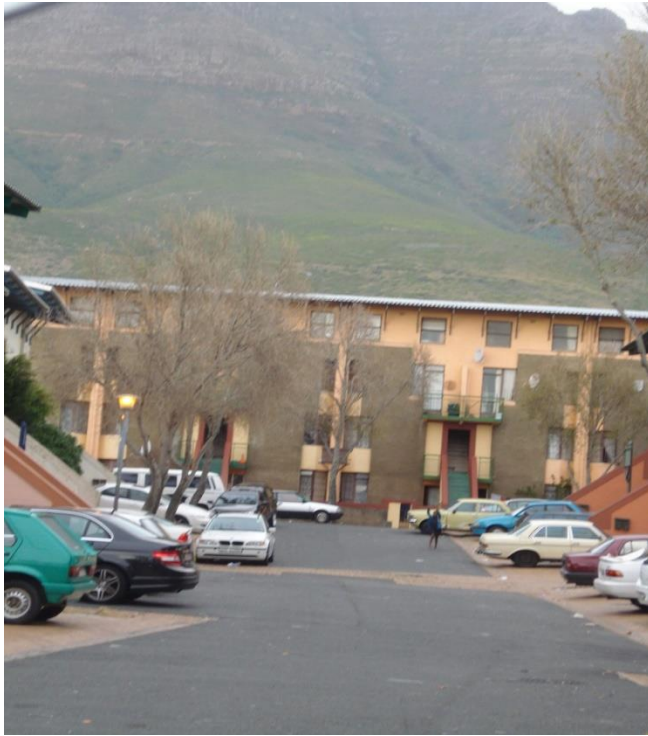


Illustration 15: Springfield Terrace apartment blocks. Photo Credit: Author

As Dewar (1995) notes, the site of Springfield Terrace was well located near public transport links, community facilities such as the Marion Institute, Trauma Center, Chapel Street Primary School, Trafalgar Park, and several churches. HeadStart initially wanted to keep a portion of the apartment flats open to rental accommodation, but it was beyond its scope to maintain and oversee the administration of housing in the long-run. The Cape Town City Council also did not want this responsibility, so this necessitated that all units in Springfield would be placed for ownership on the housing market (Dewar, 1995, p. 13).

Prior to construction, HeadStart took steps that engaged the public on the socio-spatial design of the apartments and to amass public support for the project. HeadStart held a community exhibition that presented the design plan for the Woodstock and Salt River area to gather feedback from residents in the area (Dewar, 1995, p. 21). The Springfield Terrace

Committee was formed to distribute information as the project evolved and liaise with HeadStart about the buying process. The committee prioritized the following types of buyers:

- those who had been displaced or were facing eviction from Salt River or Woodstock on the basis of race;
- people who commute to work in the inner city;
- and existing tenants who would otherwise be displaced by the construction of the development of Springfield Terrace

The committee sought to ensure that the development did not exclude on the basis of race and that new purchasers to the development did not already own another house. Furthermore, the committee required that limits be placed on the number of occupants in order to prevent overcrowding. Prospective buyers would be required to show their sources of income and comply with standard practices of lending institutions (Dewar, 1995, p. 23). Additionally, the committee put into place the social service providers, such as the Marion Institute, would help to acclimate newcomers to the neighborhood (See Illustrations 16 and 17). Dewar (1995) suggests that the refurbishment of the Marion Institute contributed to this vision, but he also indicates that the Institute was underutilized (p. 4). I confirmed this in my own observations and interviews. Beyond its uses as a nursery school for township children, interviews with residents and community leaders such as Haga Moolman and Sheila Reddy (key informants of my study) revealed the cuts in funding to critical programs such as computer skills workshops, Girl Scouts, and other youth programs. There is an active senior citizen group that meets weekly and the Marion Institute operates a van to transport seniors to and from different social events in town.



Illustration 16: Chapel Street and view of cottages in the distance. Photo Credit: Author



Illustration 17: Marion Institute Community Center and Nursery School where the focus group was held. Photo Credit: Author

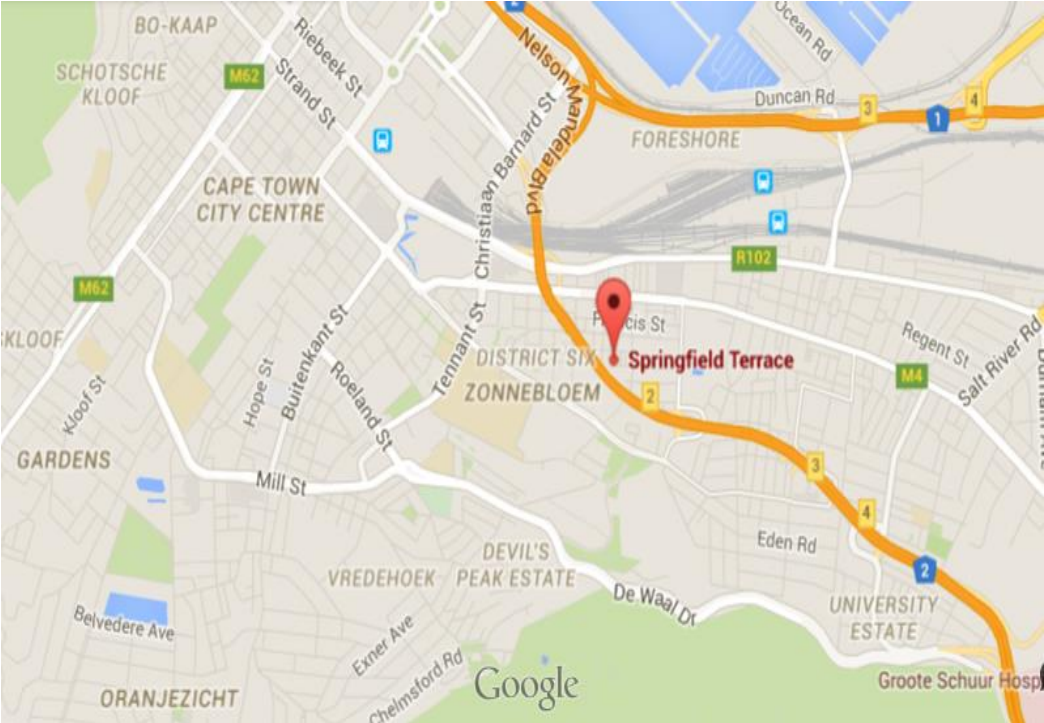
Springfield Terrace encourages racial mixing of residents, as it is “the first nonracial inner city infill project in South Africa” (Tonkin, 2008, p. 192). Many of the original low rise cottages on the surrounding streets were not demolished during the time of forced eviction, and

several of these cottages are still present today. Springfield Terrace has 165 units that offer sectional title in 9 different blocks. The early objectives of Springfield Terrace included (Tonkin, 2008, p. 193; Dewar, 1995):

- Combine vehicle street space as social space
- Become a model for inner city housing developments in South Africa thus overturning the idea that affordable housing needed to be located along the urban periphery estranged from the city center and social services.
- Promote social mix with a variety of unit sizes and forms
- Ensure the accessibility to low-income households through the subsidy scheme
- Focus on upgrading the surrounding area of Salt River and Woodstock without encouraging gentrification and involuntary displacement of current residents and tenants.

One of the original concepts of Springfield Terrace was to encourage the street space and open space within the neighborhood not just as “circulation space” but rather conceived of as “urban rooms” (Dewar, 1995, p. 5). The concept of urban rooms has been relatively successful, in my view, because residents tend to keep their front doors open while they are home so their kids can run in and out from playing. Also, parents use the outdoor terraces to watch over the open space below. For lower income households who occupy smaller apartments by virtue of the lower cost, the outside public spaces become an extension of the interior living space (Dewar, 1995). To accommodate this vision, the apartments were constructed in nine blocks of three- and four-story units which were oriented around the street space and open walking space. As Dewar (1995) notes, this resulted in residents using the back of the units for laundry lines which elicited negative comments from people passing along the highway behind Springfield Terrace. One of the discussion points that emerged from the focus group discussion was planting trees and a

community garden to the back of the apartment flats alongside the highway to shield the apartments from highway noise and to beautify the area. Dewar (1995) also notes that this idea of planting trees was posed in the early development years, so it interesting to note that this is still being discussed today.



Map 8: Springfield Terrace in relation to the Cape Town CBD. Source: GoogleMaps



Map 9: Springfield Terrace in relation to the Nelson Mandela Boulevard. Source: GoogleMaps

Summary and Conclusions

This chapter has provided a historical and theoretical overview of the four housing sites in this dissertation – Cosmo City, Diepsloot, Freedom Park, and Springfield Terrace. As a mega housing project under the Breaking New Ground Plan, scholars have argued that Cosmo City really is not anything new, and instead, the location of RDP housing perpetuates apartheid era spatial patterning (Huchzermeyer, 2011; Makhulu, 2015). Findings from household surveys and resident interviews in Cosmo City indicate that although residents rely on backyard rooms for income, they associate the backyard rooms with overcrowding and increased crime because they no longer know who their neighbors are. The unplanned nature of Diepsloot has spawned 2,509 informal businesses according to a recent small business census conducted by the World Bank. The abundance of street activity in Diepsloot contributes to a buzz and vibrancy to social life and neighborliness. The Freedom Park case represents a situation where former Tafelsig backyard dwellers collectively struggled for their formal housing. This collective struggle has led to a strong emotional connection to place for the original beneficiaries and a strong distrust towards outside beneficiaries moving into the community. Ironically, as a development constructed prior to the end of apartheid, Springfield Terrace is a case that seeks to overturn the idea that low-cost housing has to be located along the urban fringe. Springfield Terrace's location within the Cape Town CBD and within the historic District Six area presents the opportunity to engage with ways to re-integrate non-whites and the urban poor back into the fabric of the central city. The remaining chapters of the dissertation will explain these findings in more detail based upon the indicators of social trust, community participation, and emotional connection to place.

Chapter 4: Understanding the characteristics of social trust amongst residents in varied housing approaches

Introduction

The South African housing policies such as the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), Breaking New Ground Sustainable Human Settlement Plan (2005), and People's Housing Process (PHP) place a large emphasis on homeownership and the idea that owning a house will eventually lead to poverty alleviation and social mobility (Brown-Luthango, 2015; Lemanski, 2011; Charlton, 2009). Although such policies satisfy the immediate need for housing, planners and policymakers should strive to understand the social fabric of a community prior to relocating residents to new developments. Taking into account elements of social life such as trust between neighbors, feelings of safety, greetings, and reciprocity are critical to understanding the quality of life and relations between neighbors. The current efforts to create neatly arranged RDP houses in far out townships, curb the more organic social relations (that which is not government initiated or mandated) common in the informal settlements, thereby instituting more social "order" (Ross, 2005, p. 637).

Ross (2005) discussion on the social life that emerges around the water tap in the informal settlements is an example of organic social life that occurs irrespective of government institutions. Ross (2005) studies residents living in an unplanned informal settlement called The Park in the Western Cape, who would be eventually moving to The Village a planned housing

development funded by a public-private partnership. When asked what they would miss in the informal settlement, one resident replied:

The one thing I will really miss about this community, I will miss the [communal] water tap... Because everybody comes there. Even I'm there by the water tap. Even Sunday mornings, Saturday mornings, you will see everything. You can see jokes, you can see people standing and talking to each other and that music by the subeen is very hard [loud], people dance . . . No, when we are in our houses, when are we going to see each other? Do you understand what I mean? This water tank here means a lot to us, I must tell you. (Ross, 2005, p. 632)

This statement by a resident in The Park informal settlement signals an example of the erosion of sense of community when residents have relocated to new housing developments. The informant suggests that the communal water tap is the site for social interaction, gossip, discussion, and dancing. Although communal water taps are indicators of poverty, in this instance they serve as sites for social activity around a shared meeting place. Such aspects of communal living diminish when residents relocate to housing where they have their own indoor amenities such as water and electricity. The allocation of upgraded housing is a double edged sword in the sense that it grants residents a higher quality of life at the expense of sense of community. Furthermore, homeownership brings additional burdens on low-income households such as paying for utility services, house maintenance, and furnishings (Brown-Luthango, 2015; Charlton, 2009, p. 306; Lemanski, 2011; Seekings et al., 2010; Huchzermeyer, 2001; Groenewald, 2011; Pieterse, 2008).

As Brown-Luthango (2015) states:

Many of the respondents [in Freedom Park] felt that they were actually poorer since they have received their homes as these come with new financial obligations like paying for services. The impacts of poverty and unemployment were mitigated by high levels of solidarity and informal measures of social control, which existed before the upgrading project. Neighbors generally looked out for one another's well-being, and informal structures like the marshals regulated the illegal sale of drugs and alcohol and the antisocial behavior associated with that. (p. 16)

For residents living in poverty, the presence of communal social life and informal social control mechanisms enable residents to survive in such circumstances of unemployment and poverty. As Brown-Luthango (2015) asserts, the presence of collective efficacy can mitigate and “cushion” the effects of life in poverty stricken communities. Moreover, Brown-Luthango’s (2015) findings dovetail with my own research findings, which speak to the broader issue of the need for planners and policymakers to embark upon deeper analysis of pre-existing social fabric prior to implementing a settlement upgrade or constructing a new low-income housing development. Such an analysis could investigate residents’ needs and wants through charrettes, focus group discussions, network analysis to gauge how to maintain existing networks in the new housing, and needs assessments for settlement upgrades. Programs should develop an understanding of social relations and networks in order to make the space for these in the new housing environments. As Brown-Luthango (2015) asserts, “upgrading programmes should take due cognisance of social networks and community structures which contribute toward social cohesion and informal social control within settlements and should find ways to support and enhance these, rather than disrupt them” (p. 16).

This chapter examines social trust in the four field sites using material gathered from resident interviews, household surveys, and focus group mapping sessions. Furthermore, I supplement my findings by drawing from the Gauteng City-Region Observatory (GCRO) 2013 Quality of Life Survey, which examines social cohesion and trust among other variables within the Gauteng Province. The purpose of this chapter is to suggest that the feelings of safety and trust within a housing site are linked to overall quality of life as well as the longevity of the neighborhood.

Much of the literature on “quality of life” recognizes that it is a comprehensive and multidimensional term that can encompass cost of living, infrastructure, safety, social relations, political climate, health, and the environment (Reto & Garcia-Vega, 2012; Cummins, 2005; Hajiran, 2006; Santos et al., 2007). The term “quality of life” is also widely used in the fields of international development, health care, and public policy. Streimikiene (2015) makes the distinction between quality of life and standard of living, the latter which is largely based upon income levels, while the former draws upon indicators concerned with the “built environment, physical and mental health, education, recreation and leisure time, crime rate and social belonging” (p. 140). As referenced throughout this dissertation, the Gauteng City-Region Observatory (GCRO) 2013 Quality of Life Survey, measures quality of life by examining physical characteristics of housing such as electricity, flush toilets, building materials, indoor plumbing, and water sources, as well as household characteristics such as number of people per dwelling. Additionally, quality of life can also be investigated by examining the location of housing, which can explain costs of housing and distance to healthcare and schools, while instances of crime and levels of pollution are indicators of the overall housing environment (Streimikiene, 2015; Reto & Garcia-Vega, 2012). Santos et al. (2007) indicate that the subjective approach to studying quality of life analyzes individuals’ satisfaction with their living environment gathered through interviews and surveys.

The household survey data and resident interviews collected in this study reveal that residents in Cosmo City, Diepsloot, and Freedom Park have low levels of social trust, while Springfield Terrace residents feel relatively safe in their housing environment. This supports my argument that attributes of Springfield Terrace help to explain why it is the best approach to urban resettlement. This chapter examines three major themes that emerged from the data

collection activities related to social trust: fear of crime, mutual support between neighbors, and trust between neighbors to watch one another's children. These themes emerged from responses to five household survey questions:

1. How safe do you feel walking in your neighborhood at night?
2. How safe do you feel walking in your neighborhood during the day?
3. Do you think that most people can be trusted in this neighborhood?
4. Do you trust your neighbor to watch your children?
5. How safe is it for your children to play outside?
6. Do you value the political leadership in your community?
7. Do you value the religious leadership in your community?

Fear of crime: “I don't trust the people around the hood.” (Cosmo City resident)

Crime is a common characteristic that residents use to describe their living environments. The anxiety amongst residents primarily in the Johannesburg sites and especially in the Freedom Park case was extremely palpable during the data collection activities. Residents indicated that their relationships with their immediate neighbors provide avenues for mutual support in time of need. The presence of crime is actually an opportunity for residents to forge collective action to combat it; yet, my findings indicate that while isolated efforts amongst residents to blow whistles when they see a neighbor's house being burglarized, do not necessarily translate into larger scale community efforts amongst the residents themselves to create street watch committees. At the same time, however, crime can have a debilitating effect on the quality of sense of community in a neighborhood (Seekings et al., 2010). The lack of a prolonged police presence in an area such as Freedom Park means that gang violence runs rampant and people fear for the safety on a daily basis.

Of those surveyed in Cosmo City, 78% (46 people) claim that most people can be trusted in their area, while 22% (13 people) suggest that most people cannot be trusted. 56.7% of those surveyed indicated that they do not feel safe at night, while 86.7% feel very safe during the day. When asked why they feel safer during the day, residents say it is “*because day light and police visibility...[and] everyone can see you.*” Another resident indicated that the number of people on the street during the day means that “*even if something bad happens to me people can see the situation.*” One resident feels safe enough in the day time to leave her gate open.

Yet, when asked to name items they dislike about living in Cosmo City, residents referenced crime. The distinction seems to be that within their immediate area they feel safe, but when venturing beyond their extension area and especially at night people feel less safe. There is also confusion as to whether there is a police station; some residents indicate the presence of a police station while others do not, and I believe this is because the station is not easily accessible and widely known. For example, one man explains: “Police are not visible and they are not doing their job properly”. One man indicated that the “police station is small and the patrol cars are few,” which suggests a limited ability on the part of police to have a large presence. In many ways, this means that residents are left to their own devices to work with one another to resolve issues on their own, ensure they know their neighbors, and build trust over time. The community leaders and ward councilors encourage the use of whistles, and residents seem to indicate that whistles are an effective way of alerting one another.

In Diepsloot, 75% of the residents surveyed suggested that they trust most people in their community, while 65% indicated that it is not safe at night. Residents had mixed and often contradictory explanations for their feelings of safety at night with 26.7% saying they feel very safe at night. The responses ranged from little fear because there are street lights and a lot of fear

because people have been killed at night. “[I feel safe because] *the street lights are always on at night...I walk at night and nothing has happened to me.*” “[I don’t feel safe because] *we get robbed at night [and] lots of people do crime. It’s worse at night.*” One resident indicated that his section of Diepsloot does not have street lights and “*people are being robbed and killed. It’s dangerous... there are a lot of criminals and rapists.*” This range of responses indicates the lack of infrastructural components in some areas of Diepsloot. It is clear from this list that some residents have street lights, while others do not, and this influences people’s perception of safety.

Similar to Cosmo City, 76.7% of residents indicated that it is very safe during the daytime in Diepsloot. Their reasons center mainly on the fact that there are so many people around and the numerous “eyes on the street” keep crime to a minimum during the day (Jacobs, 1961). The fact that “*everyone is walking round during the day...everyone is watching*” allows people in Diepsloot to move around with relative ease in the daytime.

On the question of “how safe do you feel at night and why?” the majority of responses in Freedom Park centered around gangsterism and feelings of insecurity at night. 83% of those surveyed were adamant that it is not safe to walk at night: “[It is] *difficult...must not walk outside. At 8:00 or 9:00 I close gate.*” Residents expressed anxiety over the fact that violence can happen at any moment: “*Gangsters, fighting, shooting, robbery. You don't know when [it will happen] ...it is especially bad if they don't know you.*” Parents worry especially for their children who are endangered while walking to school: “*There is gang violence and throwing of stones. Not at all [safe for children]. Children get robbed from school. Even in early morning there are fights with kids.*”

During the focus group session, numerous residents in Freedom Park raised the point that they would like to have a mobile police station. The problem they noted is that the police will

come and circle the area and then leave after about 5 minutes. One woman stated that there is “*No police patrolling and people get robbed*”. Furthermore, there seems to be an “us vs. them” stance which emerged throughout the interviews. In speaking with the original occupants of Freedom Park, they always made it known that “I’ve been here since day 1.” These original residents lived in an informal settlement on the land before the Mellon Housing Initiative constructed permanent houses. The statement “I’ve been here since day 1” connotes a sense of in-group solidarity and a stake for what happens in Freedom Park in the long-run. In contrast, the outside beneficiaries to Freedom Park who were allocated housing in Freedom Park by the Department of Human Settlements, do not have this same sense of group solidarity. Furthermore, original residents continuously stated that “life was better in the informal settlement,” citing a greater feeling of safety, belonging, and limited crime. One informant indicated that in the informal settlement “you could leave money on the ground and come back and it would still be there.” Many residents cite the arrival of outside beneficiaries as the reason why Freedom Park feels so unsafe today: “Outsiders make it unsafe; guns, people are afraid now.”

Daytime hours are just as anxiety provoking as nighttime for residents of Freedom Park. 31.7% feel that it is *very safe* to walk during the day, while 31.7% say it is *somewhat safe*. 36.6% of those surveyed indicate that it is *not at all safe* to walk during the day. There is no clear majority opinion of safety during the day, and residents indicate that it is best to travel in a group during the daylight hours. While most people indicated that crime occurs as all hours of the day in Freedom Park, some residents indicated that they feel marginally safer in the day time because “*everyone is awake*” and “*you can see everyone*.” One resident indicated that daytime is better and it is “*okay [if you are] with someone*”. Another resident suggested that “*most things happen at night, [and] people too careful to try their luck with crime in the day*.” When asked how safe it

is to walk outside in the daytime, one resident indicated: “*sometimes it is okay to walk...until the fighting starts.*” One person says that the “*community stands together,*” while another indicates that he is “*confident, have people’s respect, and willing to confront people*”. Even if a resident chooses to leave their house in the daytime, they still proceed with caution and do not go far from home: “*Only stay nearby.*”

In comparison to Freedom Park, Cosmo City, and Diepsloot, Springfield Terrace has higher levels of social trust and sense of safety. People reported that it is a peaceful living environment and “everyone knows everyone.” Furthermore, Springfield Terrace is considerably smaller in terms of the number of housing units. In contrast to Freedom Park which has 493 houses, Springfield has 133 units across apartment blocks A-H (Dewar, 1995). Furthermore, the size of Springfield Terrace is small considering massive projects like Cosmo City and relocation areas like Diepsloot which accommodate well over 150,000 people. While the total population estimates are unknown for Springfield Terrace, the small scale living environment enables residents to know one another and who belongs and who does not. Moreover, the physical orientation of the apartment units, in contrast to the other sites, are inward facing such that the apartment blocks face one another and are oriented towards inner streets where children often play. In this way, medium density housing promotes visibility and clear sightlines, which support informal social control more so than mega housing developments.

When asked whether they feel safe walking at night 24% of those surveyed indicated that it is *not at all safe*, while 31% suggest that it is *somewhat safe*, and 44.8% state that it is *very safe* in Springfield Terrace. While the majority of residents (44.8%) feel very safe walking at night, this sentiment stumbled slightly in light of a stabbing incident that occurred during load shedding about one week prior to my arrival. People tend to use common sense, suggesting that going out

at night “depends on what time. People won’t at 1am!” Similar to Freedom Park, residents in Springfield Terrace associate the arrival of newcomers to the apartment flats with increased crime: “*Past week some stabbing activity during load shedding. Drugs also a problem in the community.*” Another indicated that “*the area is not the same at night... Used to be safe until certain people moved in back. [Now there is] robbery, break-ins, and drugs.*” One resident told me that she does not leave her house after 6:00pm. She suggested that the area is “*not the way it used to be. Starting to be worse. Gangsters is a new problem and kids don't keep themselves busy enough.*”

For those who feel it is somewhat safe or very safe to walk outside at night they alluded to the fact that “*everyone knows everyone,*” and “*I have been safe all these years.*” One resident indicated that “[we] *know each other. Most of time it is safe to walk free.*” When asked how safe they feel during the daytime, 79.3% indicated that it is *very safe* in Springfield Terrace. 13% suggested that they feel *somewhat safe* and 6.9% suggested that it is *not at all safe*. Broadly speaking, the reasons residents gave for their high feelings of safety centered on people knowing one another, visibility of people in the neighborhood, and children able to play freely outside: “*Most people know each other; [there is a] neighborly feeling.*” Furthermore, in Springfield Terrace “*everybody is outside and knows each other.*” Two residents distinguished life in Springfield Terrace from life in the Cape Flats, a vast area that was designated for non-whites under apartheid comprised of informal settlements: “[Springfield Terrace is] *better than Cape Flats. Children can play. Neighbors are good. Neighborhood is quiet because people are at school or work. However, outsiders do walk around here.*” Another suggested “[we] *count selves lucky we don't live in Cape Flats because here children can play in the streets.*” This account by a resident in Springfield Terrace distinguishes the living environment from informal settlements

and instances where the perception is that such areas are less safe. For those residents who feel somewhat safe or not safe at all, they indicated that: *“There are gangsters with guns. They train kids to fight at day. I’m home alone but cautious of windows. I feel 50% safe.”* Furthermore, *“[there are] people walking around you don’t know... too many unfamiliar people.”* This uncertainty with knowing the people who are around conveys a fear of outsiders entering the neighborhood. People want to know their neighbors, but at the same time are wary of newcomers.

Mutual support between neighbors in times of need: “At signs of danger they [are] first to the rescue.” (Diepsloot Resident)

100% of residents surveyed in Cosmo City stated that they greet their neighbors when they see them. When asked if knowing their neighbors is important the majority of respondents replied in the affirmative suggesting that they can get help from their neighbors if there is a problem. One resident indicated that their neighbors are just like family and they can offer advice. Furthermore, it is very common for neighbors to look after each other’s houses if one is away: *“I am away from home most weekends and my neighbours are the ones that lookout for my house...I am not around most of the time, they can look after my house and report anything if there is a problem.”* This sentiment is further explained by another resident: *“In most cases we watch each other’s backs, his safety is my safety.”* When emergencies and challenges arise, it is important to have positive rapport with neighbors: *“If I don’t build a good relationship with my neighbour there is no one that is going to help me...They are the first to help you when you scream for help.”* Residents communicate with each other when they feel unsafe: *“Let’s say there is an intruder in my house... I can communicate with my neighbours using phones or*

whistles for help.” For most residents their bonds with neighbors are like bonds with family: *“They form part of your family and your daily life.”*

Like residents in Cosmo City, 100% of those surveyed in Diepsloot, indicated that they greet their neighbors when they see them and 95% indicated that it is important to know their neighbors. The majority of responses indicate a reciprocal relationship in the event of danger, child care, or sickness. Residents can call upon one another to help them in time of need: *“He watches my back and I always watch his back.”* Neighbors also come to the rescue in times of emergency: *“If I'm not feeling well I can call my neighbour for help.” “If our house is burning he is the first person to help.”* The mutual support offered between neighbors is a common thread throughout all of the study sites, as one Diepsloot resident says *“If you don't have family members you can have them as your family...Neighbours help each other, without trust you won't find help.”*

97.6 % of residents in Freedom Park indicated that they greet their neighbors when they see them. In general, people reported this as a sign of respect towards one another. 90.2% of the residents surveyed indicate that it is important for them to know their neighbors. When asked if knowing neighbors is important, most of the responses focused on elements of reciprocity, need for one another, safety concerns, and help in the event of an emergency: *If [we] get sick [we] help each other; need people to run to.*” Another resident commented that: *“Anything can happen with my sickness and I am alone, [so I] need to have someone to call.”* If they are feeling unsafe a neighbor can provide support: *“We look after each other, because of the gang violence and house break-ins... Can go for help. If danger they let me know.”* Some respondents were skeptical of neighbors and reported that neighbors have been abusive. One respondent indicated that she is *“too good hearted and people take advantage of me and don't pay me back.”* One

resident stated that his neighbors are “full of nonsense” and are noisy. Another stated that their neighbors use their house for drug dealing and “expose the community to drugs and crime.”

In Springfield Terrace, 100% of the residents surveyed indicated that they greet their neighbors when they see them. 96.5% of those surveyed indicated that it is important to know their neighbors. Similar to the other sites, residents surveyed in Springfield Terrace suggest that knowing their neighbors is important because they can help one another and build unity. Many people suggested that their neighbors check on them, and they provide mutual assistance to one another such as sharing food or helping in times of sickness: *“Ask for help. If I am ill we can depend on each other to take to the hospital.”* [My neighbors are] *like family. If anything should happen neighbors can be there first.*” Like the other sites of this study, residents explained that if they go to work or leave for the weekend, their neighbors will watch over their house while they are away: *“I can leave door open and tell neighbor to keep watch; my neighbors watch house if I need to leave.”* When asked why it is important for them to know their neighbors, residents indicated that *“they can help each other if anything happens.”* Furthermore, one resident suggests that *“it is a small community, so everyone knows each other.”*

Trust between neighbors to watch children: “My neighbour is like my sister.” (Diepsloot Resident)

The fact that so many people are visible during the daylight in Cosmo City helps to make people feel safe. The abundance of foot traffic enables more visible activity and therefore more safety. 28.3% percent of residents indicated that it is not safe for children to play outside, while 56.6% noted that it is very safe, and the majority of residents (81.6%) trust their neighbors to watch their children in Cosmo City. In this way, social trust and neighborliness are closely intertwined. Residents’ explanations of whether it is safe for their children to play outside

illuminate some of the infrastructural and social benefits such as strong neighbor relations and parks, as well as challenges such as speeding cars and taverns in the area: “*A lot of children play together in this community so my neighbours lookout for my children as they watch theirs.*” Speeding cars in the area put children in danger: “*Cars is the problem with my children... some are speeding...Especially on weekends cars are speeding.*” Another resident indicated that “*we have a lot of cars going up and down,*” and one resident “*lives next to a busy road. So it is not safe.*” One resident indicated that she makes use of the parks in the area: “*I have been living here for 7 years so I do let them go play at the parks around.*” Residents indicate that they let their children play together “*and they get to know each other,*” but it is only safe for children to play outside because of the number of people watching them: “*It is safe because we on the watch by all means.*” One resident emphatically stated that “*it is not safe at all. There was a case whereby my neighbours child was raped...They steal children here.*” For people who allow their children to play outside they are still cautious. Even with neighbors that they trust to watch their children, other factors such as speeding cars can place lives in danger.

Of the Diepsloot residents surveyed, 51.7% indicated that it is not safe for their children to play outside, while 33.3% said it is very safe for them to do so. Their reasons why center on fear of rape, kidnapping, and speeding cars. Residents suggest that their children are safe “*as long as I can see them...If I am around they are safe.*” Furthermore, for residents who have gates, they can contain their children: “*Because I have a gate they can't go out...I close my gate.*” [It is safe] *inside the house. Outside is not safe because we have people driving fast.* For those who deem it unsafe for their children to play outside, they fear speeding cars and kidnapping because “*we have criminals here, [and] children can get run over or stolen. Our street is busy with cars so children can be run over by speeding cars.*” Some people fear that

“people on drugs [will] rape our children,” and [they are not safe] since two kids were murdered in 2013.” Similar to Cosmo City, 76.6% of residents surveyed in Diepsloot trust their neighbors to watch their children for a number of reasons ranging from knowing one another for a long time and having good relations. Some responses include:

My neighbour is like my sister.

My neighbour owns a crèche.

They are trustworthy.

We have a good relationship with each other.

We have been living in the same community for a long time, so I trust him.

Yes, because I look after his [children].

There are speeding cars. [Diepsloot household survey, January 2015]

In Freedom Park, 56.1% of those surveyed said they would trust their neighbors to watch their children. Yet, 58.5% of residents indicated that it is not safe to allow children to play outside regardless of the time of day. This was extremely palpable while I was in the area conducting the data collection activities. Local community leaders in the area walked with me from house to house for the interviews and would wait for me to finish. Safety is a major concern for all the residents with whom I spoke. This is evident in the fact that 82.9% of residents indicated that it is not safe to walk at night largely due to gang activity and violence. 70.7% of the residents indicated that people cannot be trusted in Freedom Park. It was frequently mentioned in resident discussions that life was better in the informal settlement because people knew one another and lived a more communal lifestyle despite the lack of access to basic services such as water, flush toilets, and electricity. Freedom Park does not live up to expectations in the literature of self-help projects garnering more community participation and

greater sense of community; rather, the opposite is true. As indicated in my conversations with Freedom Park residents, this particular case of self-help housing has resulted in violence and distrust between resident beneficiaries, largely due to the influx of outside beneficiaries who were not present in the early developmental stages of Freedom Park. The discovery that Freedom Park has low social trust, overturns arguments in the literature put forward earlier in this dissertation (Lemanski, 2008; Miraftab, 2003; Ward, 2012; Turner, 1996; Turner 1980) that aided self-help strategies build the capacity for residents to develop social capital and networks in order to mobilize for their own development. It is also important to note, however, that although Freedom Park began as an aided self-help development through the People's Housing Process, private developers and the Department of Human Settlements oversaw the remaining housing construction in order to complete the project more quickly. This further stifled any community involvement and visions (as depicted in Chapter 3), which were gathered initially by the Development Action Group (DAG) to garner residents' views.

Amongst those surveyed in Freedom Park, there were mixed responses to the question of whether residents trust their neighbors to watch their children. Some indicated that they prefer to watch their own children rather than entrusting them to a neighbor. Yet, there is reciprocity between neighbors who take turns caring for one another's children. Some residents indicated that if they know their neighbors very well, then they feel they can trust them with their children: “[They] *trust me to watch their children. They've known each other for 18-19 years so there is a connection.*” Another resident stated that “*no problems over 8 years...Could do anything to them.*” One resident also says that their neighbor “*knows me and is responsible and reliable...and know what to do in an emergency.*” One resident prefers to keep her children close to home: “*I can trust some of them but not all. I look after them by myself, and homeschool till*

old enough to speak for themselves.” Among those residents who do not trust others to watch their children, they indicated that they prefer to watch their own children and that they “*only trust women because I have daughters...My concern is my own kids. I would rather them to be with me everywhere.*” Another stated: “*Just don't feel safe leaving them with others. There is sexual abuse.*” One resident indicated that “*you can't trust [neighbors] enough for that...most people drink and have drug problems so it's safer not to.*” Many residents expressed trepidation around the uncertainty of not knowing when something could go wrong: “*Anything can happen...I don't allow [my kids] to play outside, only inside then they are safe.*”

In Springfield Terrace, 68.9% of those surveyed indicated that they trust their neighbors to watch their children. Some of the common answers have to do with length of time in residence and bondedness with neighbors. Those who have lived there a long time and have strong bonds with neighbors feel more comfortable leaving their children under someone else's watch: “*I trust them, we stay like a family...My neighbors always looks after each other [and] I do the same for them.*” Another resident indicated that “*I've lived here 12 years and know everyone well, [and] everybody's kids are everybody's.*” One resident trusts her neighbors enough to leave a key with them: “*I have lived here so long. Have a bond with neighbors. If I go out, I can give a key to neighbors...I have bond with them, [and] they are trustworthy.* For the remaining 31% who indicated that they do not trust their neighbors to watch their children, their fears center on the rise of drug use in the area, smoking, and speeding cars: “*Opposite the road they are very nice, but on weekends they drink. [My] neighbors sell illegal substances.*” One resident stated that they “*can't really trust [their neighbors]. Not any respect, too much smoking. Anything could happen and you don't know circumstances. My child will always go with me.*”

Trust in political and religious institutions

The Johannesburg sites of Cosmo City and Diepsloot occupy wards of majority African National Congress (ANC) leaders. The Cape Town sites of Freedom Park and Springfield Terrace occupy wards of majority Democratic Alliance (DA) leaders. The ANC is the party associated with the large scale effort to ease the housing backlog and rectify many past injustices under apartheid through the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). In the years after the ANC took office, however, the movement began to misuse political office and authority for personal gain (Beresford, 2015; Lodge, 2009). Beresford (2015) argues that the rise in “gatekeeper politics” within the ANC heightens the potential for the loss in integrity and trust amongst the populace. The use of public authority for personal gain, wealth, and prestige are indeed present in the present political landscape and contribute to the rise in “private capital accumulation” or the ability for those with political power to garner wealth at the expense of the populace (Beresford, 2015).

In all of the case study sites, religious leadership is placed in a higher regard than political leadership. There is a common sentiment across the housing sites that political leaders only come around to the townships during election time in order to gain votes. Residents indicated that political leaders make false promises and do not deliver on their promises. While this dissertation does not focus on the political terrain of the housing sites under study or the historical political divides in South Africa, it is important to make a connection to trust in political and religious institutions within this chapter on social trust. I asked residents:

1. Do you value the political leadership in your area?
2. Do you value to religious leadership in your area?

In this study, the residents surveyed in Diepsloot, Freedom Park, and Springfield Terrace do not value the political leadership in their area with 63.3%, 53.7%, and 51.7% respectively. They expressed their dissatisfaction with the local municipality by highlighting that the ward councilors only come during election time and do not listen to their needs. Furthermore, residents in Diepsloot, Freedom Park, and Springfield Terrace expressed discontent in the following statements:

Not really helpful.

Nothing happens around here.

They are only around during election times when they need support.

Even though I vote, I don't believe in them. Even now we have no street or pavements.
(Freedom Park residents, household survey, May 2015)

They only look out for themselves and not the community.

I don't know them.

No things happens after voting they disappear. It's all promises.

Only there when they need you.

(Springfield Terrace residents, household survey, May 2015)

The road infrastructure in our street is very bad.

I don't even know the ward councilor and also there is no service delivery.

They are not doing their work accordingly.

I don't even know the councilor.

They don't care about the people. (Diepsloot residents, household survey, January 2015)

In Cosmo City, the 55% who indicated that they value the political leadership in their area said so for the following reasons:

I value them because they work hand in hand with us.

They arrange meetings to address the problems we are facing.

A lot because through them most of our demands are met.

They mostly practise what they preach and we are satisfied about them.

They can bring changes in our communities.

They help a lot and inform us about our community.

We can help us when we need something.

(Cosmo City residents, household survey, January 2015)

Still, 40% of those surveyed in Cosmo City indicate that they are dissatisfied with the current trajectory of political leadership in their area. They offered similar comments to those in Diepsloot, Freedom Park, and Springfield Terrace:

I don't value them because in most cases we have to come up with our own solutions which is like doing their job.

They don't do their work.

They don't take care of the community. We have water problems and road problems. We report and there is no action.

(Cosmo City residents, household survey, January 2015)

Across all four sites, residents place higher value on the role of religious leaders to bring the community together and offer support in times of need, with 80%, 71.7%, 70.7%, and 72.4% in Cosmo City, Diepsloot, Freedom Park, and Springfield Terrace, respectively answering that “yes” they value the religious leadership in their area. Residents gave the following reasons why:

Need them in the community for churches and grooming kids.

They bring community unity.

They try to help w/in the community, they give food parcels.

They try to keep the peace and create change.

They help change children and give them instruments also to keep them busy and away from drugs. (Pastor in Freedom Park)

(Freedom Park residents, household survey, May 2015)

We respect each others' religions [in Springfield Terrace].

I value it very much. There is no discrimination.

They help children w/ studies and soup kitchens.

It's good to belong to church for good reason such as funeral services.

I attends church... good morals taught there.

(Springfield Terrace residents, household survey, May 2015)

They visit us in a regular basis

They show great concern by being there for us at all times.

We get regular visits from church leaders so they play a very important role.

They give out food parcels and attend to (help out) funerals.

They support vulnerable families in most cases.

Sometimes they help people with jobs.

So that our kids can be raised in a good manner.

It will lead our kids In the right direction.

(Cosmo City residents, household survey, January 2015)

The crime will be less and people will know each other.

It will show the youth the right way.

So that people can change their lifestyles.

To show the youth the good way of life.

They refuse crime.

They help the people, pray for them when they have problems.

Encourage good behavior.

Many people attend church here.

(Diepsloot residents, household survey, January 2015)

Still some residents in Freedom Park expressed discontent with religious leadership suggesting that “*they empathize with us, but make empty promises to the people. Everyone seems to look out for themselves.*” In times of need one resident suggested that “*they don't come and see you, you must go to them.*” Similarly, in Cosmo City, residents indicated that “*they do their*

own thing without involving the community and so for now I do, I cannot say much about them. They are not involved in communities.” Another resident indicated that “they attend only those who are religious. They are like political leaders. No one ever come to my house, and they only help their own people.” Likewise, in Diepsloot, residents say that religious leaders never come to their house: “I have never seen them come to my house. They don’t do nothing for us.” Another resident stated that “I don't trust them. I don't see the impact they have in my community.” Residents’ sentiments towards religious and political leadership are depicted in Table 6 below.

Table 6: Value political leadership? Value religious leadership?

	Cosmo City n=60	Diepsloot n=60	Freedom Park n=41	Springfield Terrace n=29
Value Political Leadership?				
Yes	33 (55%)	22 (36.7%)	14 (34.1%)	11 (38%)
No	24 (40%)	38 (63.3%)	22 (53.7%)	15 (51.7%)
Non-response	3 (5%)	0	5 (12.2%)	3 (10.3%)
Value Religious Leadership?				
Yes	48 (80%)	43 (71.7%)	29 (70.7%)	21 (72.4%)
No	12 (20%)	17 (28.3%)	9 (22%)	6 (20.7%)
Non-response	0	0	3 (7.3%)	2 (6.9%)

The sentiments of residents surveyed in this study underscore the wider provincial sentiment of people who do not trust political institutions. By drawing from the Gauteng City-Region Observatory (GCRO) 2013 Quality of Life Survey, I also examined satisfaction with municipal government within the Gauteng Province as depicted in Table 7. Four survey questions and opinion statements from the GCRO Quality of Life survey were pertinent to this study:

1. Why not vote?
2. Which level of government most improved quality of life?

3. Satisfaction with local municipality.
4. Politics is a waste of time.

As the GCRO shows, amongst those who choose not to vote, 46.1% do so because they think politics is a waste of time and offers only broken promises. Furthermore, 45.9% of those surveyed indicate that they feel that no level has significantly improved their quality of life.

There is a split on the satisfaction with the local municipality, with 33.7% satisfied and 31.1% dissatisfied. The majority of residents surveyed in Gauteng, 38.8%, disagree with the statement that politics is a waste of time, but there is a mild split in opinion on this question with 31.5% of those surveyed agreeing with the sentiment that politics is a waste of time. Table 6 suggests that residents surveyed in my study value religious leadership much more than political leadership.

As shown in my survey data, residents turn to their religious faiths and religious leaders when government abandons them. The feeling that politics is a waste of time and full of empty promises results in a deeper reliance on religion.

Table 7: Sentiments towards politics (GCRO 2013 QoL Survey)

Why not vote?

	Not allowed to vote, for example not RSA citizen	Don't know who to vote for	Does not think his/her vote will make any difference	Don't care	No ID	Don't like politics, broken promises, waste of time	Other, please specify	Total
Gauteng	1.7% [14]	7.7% [61]	27.9% [222]	10.7% [85]	0.7% [6]	46.1% [367]	5.2% [41]	100% [795]

Which level of government most improved quality of life?

	National Government	Provincial Government	Local Government	None of them	Total
Gauteng	29.6% [8143]	8.9% [2437]	15.7% [4305]	45.9% [12605]	100% [27490]

Satisfaction with Local Municipality

	Very satisfied	Satisfied	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied	Total
Gauteng	3.4% [924]	33.7% [9256]	11.5% [3164]	31.1% [8541]	20.4% [5606]	100% [27490]

Politics is a waste of time

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Total
Gauteng	12.0% [3300]	31.5% [8665]	9.8% [2702]	38.8% [10657]	7.9% [2166]	100% [27490]

Summary

In order to summarize the findings across the four sites, I arrived at the social trust scores as depicted in Table 8 below. When the percentage of responses is at or above 50%, in other words representing the majority, it is shown in the chart as representing the majority sentiment towards the question being asked. When the percentage of responses is split, I show all of the percentages of responses for each level of sentiment (i.e. very safe, somewhat safe, not at all safe). This shows that there is no clear majority based on the sample size of those surveyed. In order to arrive at a score of “high,” a site had to have majority survey responses in the affirmative for all five questions. No single site received a score of high. In order to arrive at a score of “moderate” a site had to show four out of five of the questions answered in the affirmative by the majority. A site with a “low” score had affirmative answers only to 3 out of 5 or less of the survey questions.

Table 8: Social Trust Overall Scores

Survey Question	Cosmo City n=60	Diepsloot n=60	Freedom Park N=41	Springfield N=29
How safe do you feel walking in your neighborhood at night?	56.7% NOT SAFE	65% NOT SAFE	83% NOT SAFE	44.8% very Safe 31% somewhat safe 24% not safe
How safe do you feel walking in your neighborhood during the day?	86.7% [Very Safe]	76.7% [Very safe]	31.7% Very Safe 31.7% Somewhat Safe 36.6% [Not safe]	79.3% [Very Safe]
Do you feel most people can be trusted in this neighborhood?	78% [Most people can be trusted]	75% [Most people can be trusted]	70.7% [Most people CANNOT BE TRUSTED]	58.6% [Most people can be trusted] 41.4% [Most people cannot be trusted]
Do you trust your neighbors to watch your children?	81.6% [Yes]	76.7% [Yes]	56.1% [Yes]	68.9% Yes
How safe do you feel allowing your children to play outside?	56.6% [Very safe]	51.7% [Not safe]	58.5% [Not Safe]	72.4% [Very Safe]
Overall Score	Moderate	Low	Low	Moderate

The qualitative data derived from open-ended questions from the household surveys supports these descriptive statistics. These findings are further supported by the Gauteng City-Region Observatory (GCRO) 2013 Quality of Life Survey as depicted in Tables 9, 10, and 11. The GCRO 2013 Quality of Life Survey represents the Gauteng Province which includes the two sites in Johannesburg in this study. When asked if they can trust people in their community, the majority (75.8%) of people in Gauteng indicate that one needs to be very careful. Similar to my findings, 40.4% of the people surveyed in Gauteng indicated that they feel *very unsafe* walking after dark, while 28.2% feel a *bit unsafe*. Within Gauteng, people feel safer walking during daylight hours. 35.8% feel *very safe* in the daytime, while 48.3% feel *safe* in the daytime. Furthermore, the GCRO data indicates that people feel more safe at home rather than venturing

out. This speaks to the palpable anxiety present in people’s everyday lives as they go about their activities with precaution for their safety. This fear of crime and “fear of the other” fuels residents’ sentiments towards people beyond their immediate community (Zukin, 2005). Oftentimes, the middle and upper class means to mitigate this anxiety are through gated suburban neighborhoods and individual households with surveillance cameras, barbed wire fencing, and walls (Murray, 2011). The presence of gated communities and heightened surveillance among the wealthy serve as reminders of the fear exhibited towards those deemed “other” (Caldeira, 2005; Davis, 2006; Graham, S., Desai, R., & McFarlane, C., 2013; Murray, 2011; Popke and Ballard, 2004; Sandercock, 2000; Zukin, 1995).

Table 9: Social Trust Data, GCRO 2013 Quality of Life Survey

Gauteng	Very Safe	Safe	Neither Safe nor unsafe	Bit Unsafe	Very Unsafe	Total
How safe do you feel walking in the day?	35.8% [9833]	48.3% [13269]	3.6% [984]	9.0% [2471]	3.4% [933]	100% [27490]
How safe do you feel walking after dark?	7.4% [2039]	18.3% [5034]	5.7% [1579]	28.2% [7743]	40.4% [11096]	100% [27490]
How safe do you feel at home?	38.9% [10705]	40.5% [11140]	6.1% [1682]	9.9% [2725]	4.5% [1238]	100% [27490]

Table 10: Can people in your community be trusted? (GCRO, 2013 Quality of Life Survey)

	Most people can be trusted	You need to be very careful	Don't know	Total
Gauteng	17.4% [4774]	75.8% [20842]	6.8% [1875]	100% [27490]

Table 11: How satisfied are you with the safety and security provided by the government where you live? (GCRO, 2013 Quality of Life Survey)

	Very satisfied	Satisfied	Neither satisfied or dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied	Total
Gauteng	6.1% [1664]	40.0% [11009]	14.7% [4040]	26.4% [7262]	12.8% [3515]	100% [27490]

Conclusion

This chapter examined the differences in social trust in the four housing sites. A common sentiment among Freedom Park residents interviewed in this study was that social trust was stronger in the informal settlement prior to the arrival of outside beneficiaries; life prior to formal housing was communal, which meant that residents maintained informal measures of social control. The move towards “one house, one plot” on the part of the Department of Housing creates a more insular community, which hinders people’s ability to get to know one another outside of their houses. The qualitative findings of this chapter suggest that fear of crime can inhibit the long term quality of life in a neighborhood. At the same time, residents’ adaptive strategies for informal social control such as the use of whistles to alert one another of crime, as well as the mutual support shown towards neighbors across all of the sites, show collective action. Residents seem largely dissatisfied with the level of security provided by the government as evident especially in Freedom Park. In these cases, residents live in constant fear of violence and unrest and often resort to staying close to home rather than venturing out.

The high levels of mistrust towards newcomers in housing developments produce a level of in-group solidarity amongst current residents. Yet, with the massive housing backlog in South Africa, the influx of newcomers and migrant populations to housing developments is inevitable. Furthermore, we see instances of current residents renting out their RDP’s and backyard shacks as a source of income (Harber, 2013). This along with the Department of Human Settlements’ allocation of housing to people on the waiting list alters neighborhood composition and has the potential to fuel an “us versus them” mentality amongst current residents. The “fear of otherness” (Zukin, 1995; Sandercock, 2000) can fuel a politics of difference, xenophobic violence, and rigid social boundaries, which may hinder a transformative process for parties to find common ground as a way to move forward.

Chapter 5: Understanding the intersection of community participation and quality of life

Introduction

This chapter examines the ways in which community participation influences quality of life in the four housing sites. It is critical to think of the ways in which fear of crime (as discussed in the previous chapter on social trust) has hindered community participation. Yet, there are small-scale instances whereby this fear of crime has actually fueled citizen engagement to address it especially in the context of Freedom Park. This chapter reveals the challenges of participation in precarious living environments and explains the fact that residents who are fearful of their surroundings tend to stay home rather than engaging with the community at large. At the same time, however, the qualitative data from this study suggests that while community participation may be short lived or minimal in scale, it still illustrates the potential for residents to have more direct influence on the quality of life within their living environment. An understanding of residents' community participation enables planners and policymakers to foresee the willingness and capacity for residents to collectively solve common challenges and mobilize for their own infrastructural and social needs. Furthermore, this chapter also serves to highlight the use of public infrastructural components within the housing developments such as sports fields, gardens, and libraries. The bulk of the planning literature in the field of citizen engagement debates and critiques the usefulness of Arnstein's (1969) ladder of citizen participation. As this chapter will show, the ability for residents to participate in planning decisions in South Africa rests in large part on bureaucrats and planners' willingness to engage,

listen, and act on residents' concerns in order to move from mere consultation to full citizen control (Arnstein, 1969). Yet, the reality is that residents face daily survival challenges which hinder their participation in community life.

As Vidal and Keating (2004) suggest, deconcentration of poverty through slum clearance and urban renewal projects is a global issue wrought with strong reactions among displaced residents, many of whom fuel their sentiments into grassroots networks, faith based organizations, and door-to-door campaigns. While Arnstein's (1969) influential paper laid the ground work for understanding types of citizen participation in urban planning and development, there remain several critiques of her model. How is participation implemented? Who participates? Why is participation important? It is critical for development efforts to gauge the quality of participation by having planners to develop an understanding of the daily lived experiences of citizens. Attention to citizens' everyday lives will shed light on their willingness and ability to participate in planning activities and articulate their points of view.

As Bratt and Reardon (2013) contend, Arnstein's model does not explain specifically *how* to climb the rungs of the participation ladder. Embedded within the transition from "manipulation" to full "citizen control" is the challenge of determining whether citizens can participate with the confidence that their voices will be heard and outcomes will reflect their input. For example, the "consultation" stage in Arnstein's model may take the form of public hearings in which participants may be led to believe that their interests and voices are being heard. Such "illusions of participation" (Bratt and Reardon, 2013, p. 364) can lead to apathy and "participation fatigue" (McGovern, 2013, p. 318) in the long-run.

Historically, this hierarchy of knowledge has subordinated local knowledge to more "expert" based knowledge within the decision making process. Knowledge generated by civil

society actors, ordinary citizens, and research practitioners is equally valuable to the more traditionally prized knowledge of technically trained experts. “Transactive planning” through interpersonal dialogue is a more contemporary method for enabling discussion among multiple interest groups (Lane, 2005, p. 293). Friedmann’s (1987) heavy emphasis on informal knowledge gained through face-to-face interactions, knocking on doors, and hallway conversations demonstrates how social learning can take place through active engagement. For example, locally situated knowledge can guide decision making processes on ways to deter crime and promote public safety. Neighborhood watch groups run by residents who are aware of common sites for crime can inform planners and police who may be unaware of local happenings (Fung, 2006, p. 73).

Mediating the multiplicity of voices requires extensive dialogue in order for people to voice their personal narratives. Furthermore, the question on *who* participates needs to take into account the question of how people categorize themselves as opposed to how power-holders represent people. As Cornwall (2008) suggests, bounded terms such as the “poor,” “marginalized,” or “working class” may be ways to reach target groups, but it is important to also recognize that such categories are fluid and operate relationally with other groups. Planners need an understanding of people’s lived experiences (employment, household characteristics, or access to transportation) before “taking naïve efforts to bring about inclusive development” (Cornwall, 2008, p. 278). The literature on cultural landscapes reveals the importance that people’s social memories, histories, and shared meanings of space have on influencing community development processes.

It is critical to understand that participation is not always positive or easy to implement (Bratt and Reardon, 2013). Indeed, citizen participation requires significant time and energy to

mobilize people, who come from a variety of racial and ethnic backgrounds and experiences that shape their interests. These factors further complicate any consensus building process.

Furthermore, Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation lacks context specificity especially in its applicability to challenges of the 21st century. In practice and depending on the particular context, the forms that citizen participation takes are much more nuanced. The question of *who* participates remains a critical piece that Arnstein's model overlooks. Barriers of participation such as dependent children, illness, work schedules, unemployment, social estrangement, and even apathy (Cornwall, 2008, p. 279; Carr, 2012, p. 645) can deeply limit the representativeness of citizen participation groups and limit the range of outcomes that serve the interests of the most marginalized and vulnerable.

In what follows, I examine the present state of community participation in the four housing sites based on interviews, household surveys, and the participatory mapping exercises. Lastly, I discuss avenues for environmental stewardship given that there are marginally higher percentages of residents engaged in street clean-up projects as well as street watch committees.

The present state of community participation

In a door-to-door household survey, I posed 14 questions geared towards the three different indicators for sense of community. I posed two questions, in particular, to gather information on residents' community participation: 1) What community activities are you involved in? 2) In the last year, did you attend a community meeting? Table 12 depicts the percentage of people who participate in skills development, sports, street watch committee, street clean-up, and others. Compared to the percentage of people who attend community meetings, very few people participate in street clean-up efforts, street watch, or growing community

gardens. A key finding of the door-to-door surveys is that residents in Freedom Park and Springfield Terrace attend more religious activities than those in Cosmo City and Diepsloot.

Table 12: Community Participation percentages

	Cosmo City n=60	Diepsloot n=60	Freedom Park n=41	Springfield Terrace n=29
Traditional Activities	1.6%	3%	0%	0%
Religious Activities	18.3%	11.6%	41.5%	51.7%
Skills Development	5%	6%	2.4%	0%
Sports	11.6%	1.6%	2.4%	17.2%
Library	3%	0%	2.4%	6.9%
Children’s Day Care	1.6%	3%	19.5%	6.9%
Street Watch	13.3%	18.3%	2.4%	0%
Street Clean-up	15%	13.3%	2.4%	0%
Community Garden	1.6%	0%	2.4%	0%
Celebrations	0%	0%	2.4%	6.9%
Attend community meetings	90%	88.3%	58.5%	68.9%
Other	Health trainings, funeral contributions, home based care		Domino club, mechanic, women’s day events	Dance and ballet classes for children at the community center

As Table 12 shows, 41.5% and 51.7% of those surveyed in Freedom Park and Springfield Terrace, respectively are engaged in religious activities such as going to church or the mosque.

As discussed in the previous chapter of social trust, such residents feel that these institutions contribute positively to the living environment, as stated by one Freedom Park pastor and

resident: *“They help change children and give them instruments also to keep them busy and away from drugs.”* These sentiments stand in contrast to those expressed by residents of Diepsloot and Cosmo City, some of whom argue that religious leaders only care about their own followers and do nothing for the wider community: *“They don’t care about me. They don’t help us; our street have potholes, and I never see them [but] maybe they do things for their people”* (Diepsloot resident, January 2015).

More people in Freedom Park (19.5%) are involved in informal childcare arrangements than those in Springfield Terrace, Cosmo City, and Diepsloot. I attribute this primarily to the fear that people associate with leaving their homes to allow children to walk to school. Among those neighbors who trust one another to watch their children, informal childcare arrangements are one avenue for people to participate and also supply a need in the community. I interviewed one woman who told me that she prefers to homeschool her children until they are old enough to fend for themselves on their way to school: *“[I trust] some ... [neighbors], but not all; [I prefer to] look after them by myself and homeschool ‘till they old enough to speak for themselves”* (Freedom Park resident, May 2015).

Cosmo City and Diepsloot have a higher percentage of people involved in street watch committees (13.3% and 18.3% respectively) than those in Freedom Park and Springfield Terrace.

For example, Harber (2011) points to the organic formation of Diepsloot’s social order:

political and social structure grew organically in a situation where there were no rules or regulations, no rule of law, and few state institutions to impose order and structure. So people organised themselves into street committees, which patrolled the streets and dealt with crime – filling the vacuum created by the absence of police and lack of access to the justice system” (p. 224).

As one of the ward councilors for Diepsloot indicated: *“In Diepsloot, there is police work with community patrollers, crime watch, youth street committees, and block committees to ensure*

public safety and knowledge of insiders and outsiders in the community” (Personal interview, Mr. Makhubele, January 30, 2015). Because Diepsloot was an unplanned township for relocated informal settlement residents, it makes sense that these informal social control mechanisms would form in the absence of state institutionalized order in contrast to the top-down planned nature of Cosmo City. Yet, Cosmo City residents did acknowledge the presence of some street watch committees which help to minimize crime, but such efforts seem to be localized to small areas: “[In my area there are] *four community leaders and six street patrollers starting at 8pm. They also use a whistle to alert the neighbors of a robbery taking place.*” As Simone (2004) argues, the people supply their own infrastructure in the face of exclusion from the state. There are current efforts underway on the part of the state, however, to formalize these informal institutions in such a way that would regulate and impose control over policing and security. At the same time, this presents an opportunity for the state to work alongside the pre-existing informal networks of social control. Thus, by working with the Community Policing Forum (CPF), the

police stood back while community volunteers conducted searches, sometimes giving a few sharp blows to those who offered resistance, but taking those who were found with weapons and putting them in a police van waiting nearby. Police could not go at night into many of these areas on their own – they would be outnumbered and outgunned, and the roads are too bad and the area too dark and crowded for them to be safe. But they made it clear that they would not tolerate vigilantism. The CPF, for their part, needed the police for legitimacy, because with the police on their side they can enforce rules, hand over culprits, and avoid getting themselves charged for vigilante action (Harber, 2011, p. 225-226).

As this story illustrates, the CPF and the police are within a symbiotic relationship whereby they support one another in order to mitigate crime. Without the police, criminals would not be caught and apprehended and without the CPF, the police would not have the local knowledge of where

to find criminals and how to traverse the roads. Still, residents frequently articulated the challenges of the community police forum in the following statements:

There is a high level of crime and lack of response from police. The criminals are free in the streets. Much more room available for improvement especially in the police force.

Street committee member acts as the middle man; you talk to him and don't normally have meetings but a representative calls a meeting with relevant parties to sort out issues. The street committee members deal with the culprit. (Diepsloot resident interview, January 2015)

While Diepsloot has a community policing forum, Freedom Park residents indicated that they do not have one. In an environment where they fear for their lives on a daily basis, Freedom Park residents stay within their houses and only venture out if they are with someone they trust. This results in few opportunities for residents to engage with one another for community activities. However, a result of the focus group session was the articulation of the need for a mobile police station, as one resident stated: *"There is no police patrolling and people get robbed."* During the focus group session, residents actually asked me to collect the names and phone numbers for everyone in attendance so that Mrs. Gallant could take the list to the ward councilor to serve as a petition for a mobile police station. This is an example of an act of community participation and collective organizing for a common purpose.

Focus group participants in Springfield Terrace articulated their concerns on the decline in community participation in recent years, which became apparent even in the recruitment of participants for the focus group session. The director of the Marion Institute, Mr. Peter Agulhas, as well as a key informant of my study, a teacher at the Chapel Street Primary School and a lifelong resident of Springfield Terrace, Haga Moolman, shared with me that there are few community activities for youth in the area. Ms. Moolman shared with me the following:

I have a love for caring for children, and I grew up participating in ballet, drama, intramural sports, movie watching nights, Girl Scouts/Girl Guides, Art Classes at the Marion Institute. We also used to do an outing every December for Christmas gifts. But people began moving away. The Marion Institute is a day care center currently under construction and new management. It used to offer piano and computer lessons as well as Scouts groups, but it is under new management. (Ms. Haga Moolman, interview, May 2015)

Mr. Peter Alghaus, the director of the Marion Institute, stated during the focus group session that “we need to make the Marion Institute the home away from home again.” As noted in Table 11, Springfield Terrace has marginally higher participation in sports than the other sites. Children use the interior streets of Springfield Terrace to play soccer after school and the clear sight-lines from the apartment blocks onto the street allow parents and neighbors to watch the children. Furthermore, the presence of the Chapel Street Primary School nearby enables school children to have close access to a sports field for extra-murals and after school activities (Illustration 18). As

Ms. Moolman stated:

Approximately 40-50% of the children enrolled at Chapel Street Primary School live in Springfield Terrace. The school offers extra-murals on weekends, a soccer club, and soccer matches. We maintain strong relations with the church nearby; the school coordinates with the church in order to use the concert hall and conduct rehearsals.



Illustration 18: Chapel Street Primary School soccer field. Photo Credit: Author

In Cosmo City, I attribute the marginally high number of residents participating in sports to the presence of parks and sports fields in the community. The top-down planned nature of the development has enabled residents to be beneficiaries of such social infrastructural projects. I toured the library in Cosmo City in 2013, which is located at the multipurpose complex, and it is mostly used for residents to read magazines and local newspapers. During one interview, a resident indicated that the library lacks internet access, which makes it difficult for them to apply to jobs and to universities.

The Woodstock Public Library in Cape Town, however, serves the greater Woodstock-Salt River area (See illustration 19). I interviewed the librarian, Ms. Mpofu, who provided useful information on the outreach efforts to the wider community:

We offer a variety of programs for children in the area. We have “Storytelling Tuesdays”, which is fun reading programming. We make it fun, give them books, and puzzles, flash cards, literacy programs. For older children extramurals sometimes get in the way of them coming to the library, so there is the “Star Readers Club” from children in G7 and older. Then we have the Teen reading club. For Seniors in the area, we have a Seniors reading club on Wednesday during Library Week in March. We also held a senior tea club during library week but trying to get attendance up. (Ms. Mpofu, interview, May 15, 2015)

Ms. Mpofu went on to discuss the outreach efforts made with local schools:

The library posts notice boards and goes to the schools and does library orientation for students, which includes Traditional rules, research skills. For example, we identify a theme and then relate it to a career, like cooking. There are also some old age homes nearby and the library recruits seniors to come to activities and establish relationships with other people. (Ms. Mpofu, interview, May 15, 2015)

The Woodstock Public Library also currently has 5 computers which all have internet access, which enables people to apply for jobs and search for work.



Illustration 19: Woodstock Public Library. Photo Credit: Author

As previously stated, the focus group session in Freedom Park actually served to spur community participation as evident in residents coming together to form a petition for a mobile police station, while also setting a meeting date to plan Youth Day⁸ events. Mrs. Gallant kept me informed of the plans for Youth Day and sent me pictures of the event complete with a fashion show, soccer match, and food and games as seen in illustrations 20 and 21 below. These events surrounding Youth Day serve as examples of concerted community action towards a common goal. While few people in Freedom Park reported participating in celebrations during the door-to-door household survey, this event certainly qualifies as a celebration and the illustrations show the number of people who came out in support.

⁸ Youth Day, commemorated on June 16, is also known as the Soweto Uprising, which occurred on June 16, 1976 where students in Soweto protested the use of Afrikaans in the schools as the primary language of instruction. Hector Pieterse, age 13, was one of the first students fatally shot during the protests on his way from school. For more history on Youth Day, visit the Hector Pieterse museum in Soweto.



Illustration 20: Soccer match during Youth Day in Freedom Park. Photo Credit: Najuwa Gallant



Illustration 21: Fashion show during Youth Day in Freedom Park. Photo Credit: Najuwa Gallant

Focus group mapping as community participation

This chapter also examines the focus group maps and discussions that took place in the four case sites. The maps created during the focus group mapping sessions graphically illustrate the diversity of social challenges in the settlements. Residents noted a variety of infrastructural and social components of their housing sites including: schools, churches, community centers, builder supply locations, gang activity areas, and parks. In order for residents to continue the

mapping process in the future, I decided to leave the maps with community leaders at each site. The focus group mapping session served as a participatory planning process, whereby I asked residents to hand-draw maps of their communities and then make note of infrastructural or social challenges they would like to see improved. In groups of 4-6 people, we met at a central community hall in each housing site. Focus groups lasted approximately 2 hours. Within Freedom Park, the community mapping process served as a therapeutic planning process where residents actually shared emotions, fears, challenges, and deeply rooted sentiments concerning the outside beneficiaries moving into the area. At the same time, in the Freedom Park and Springfield Terrace cases, the data collection activity of the focus group mapping sessions actually served to spur increased community participation.

Cosmo City

I held 3 focus group sessions at the multipurpose complex in Cosmo City. Like the other sites, residents in Cosmo City acknowledged that crime is a major challenge for the community. Due to these feelings of insecurity, residents indicated that *“there is no police station. We need public phones.”* Another resident suggested that *“police are not visible and they are not doing their job properly.”* One woman expressed similar feelings stating that *“the police station is small and the patrol cars are few.”* The maps also show areas with taverns and pubs which residents cite as disruptions in safety for children and expose young people to negative behaviors: *“Taverns and pubs not good for youth.”*

One resident stated that *“kids cannot play outside,”* and parents’ comments suggested the need for safer places for children to play such as sports fields and swimming pools: *“There are not enough not enough facilities such as pools and sports...No sports facilities for kids.”* One

resident articulated the need for swimming to be taught as a *“survival skill in the time of natural disasters.”*

Residents also discussed infrastructural challenges such as sewage blocking: *“Sewage waste always blocks... going to the river always smelling.”* Another resident stated that Cosmo City is dirty: *“The place I stay is dirty and the sewage is constantly blocked.”* One resident stated that *“the roads are damaged and the sewage bursting.”* Residents are not adequately informed of service delivery interruptions, as one resident stated: *“Water cut off never reported. Garbage truck not come in time take 3 weeks leave on ground.”* Another resident articulated the fact that *“the roads are not safe. The roads are not structured, and residents live far from public facilities.”*

Furthermore, residents highlighted the need for a public clinic that services a wider area of Cosmo City. Residents stated that they need a 24 hour hospital rather than the mobile clinic. The challenge they indicated is that the clinic closes at 5:00 and residents have to wait the entire day to be seen only to be turned away when the clinic closes: *“No hospital or clinic. We have to pay for it and it is too far.”*

Residents frequently noted the need for improved skills development in order to attain employment: *“There are no places for development centers.”* This resident went on to explain that Cosmo City needs local colleges: *“Schools are enough with primary and secondary but need more local colleges [and] technical schools. I cannot afford university.”* Another woman echoed the same sentiment saying *“there are private college but too far away.”* One man stated the same feeling: *“Cosmo City is still developing. It will be good if build more colleges.”* Phashe Magagane, of the Cosmo City Development Forum, indicated that *“Johannesburg is moving in the direction of Cosmo City rather than in the direction of the CBD,”* which will necessitate the

need for more sports, arts, and culture in the area (Personal interview, January 28, 2015). Phashe went on to say that there is an effort underway to “establish a history for Cosmo City and an understanding of where everyone came from,” and Mike Makwela, of PlanAct, indicated that PlanAct is involved in such efforts to compile a history of Cosmo City and information sharing across researchers doing work in the area (Personal interview, January 30, 2015).

In terms of what is working well, one resident pointed to the trainings occurring at the multipurpose center: *“I go to multipurpose center and the computer trainings. Also there is after care takes school kids and does a door to door pick up and drop off.”* There is also “community social investment,” which Phashe Magagane suggests helps “to train people in skills such as brick making, plaster, and masonry with the goal of developing people who can invest money in the community” (Personal interview, January 28, 2015). Residents commonly expressed pride regarding their houses stating that they are *“comfortable,” “happy to have houses,”* and *“glad to have service delivery and flush toilets.”* One woman stated that *“RDP housing has a sense of ownership.”* One young woman I spoke with expressed her desire to move out of Cosmo City:

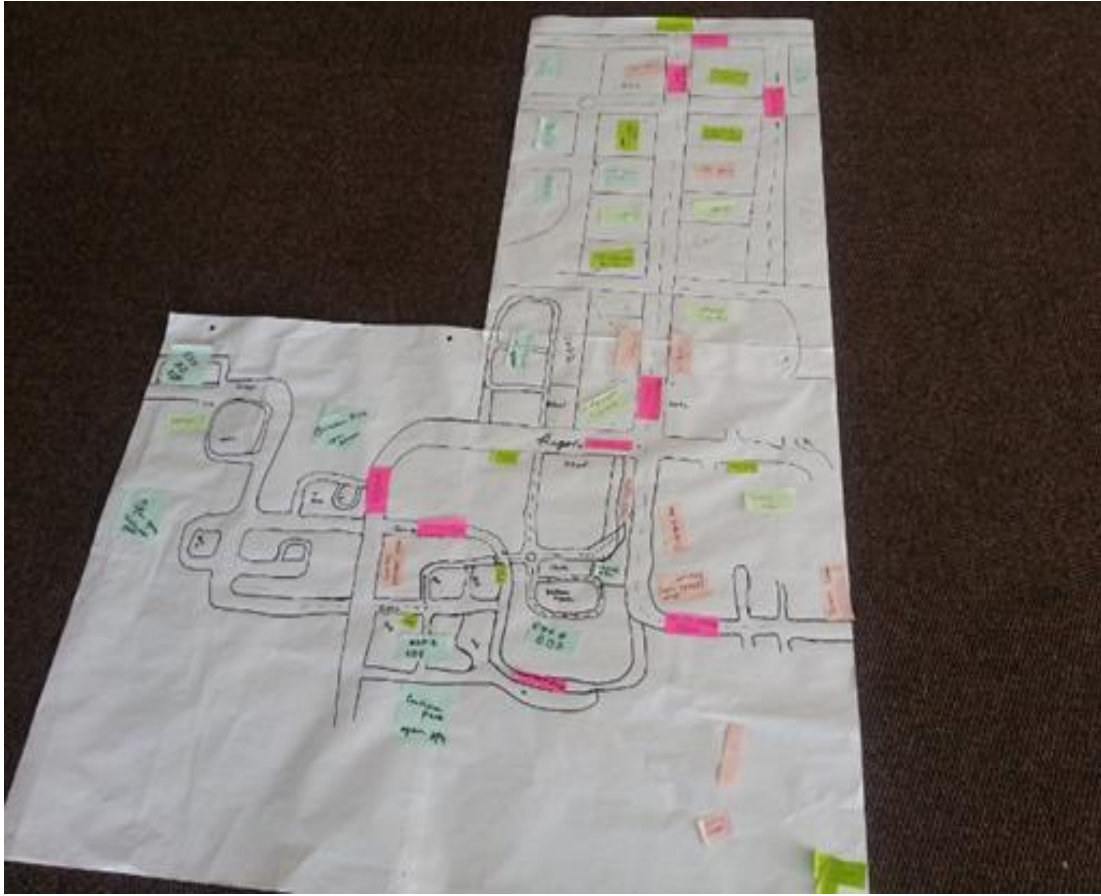
I want better things. I want a bigger house with my own things. I want to build my own house in the future or buy elsewhere. I want to study. I just finished matric. Not what I expected. Not a big house. I wanted a bigger house. Also it is too distant...not close with others. Hardly see each other.

She went on to say that young people in Cosmo City are not aware of the opportunities available to them in central Johannesburg:

Most kids don't know there are things to do in the city center. Volunteer at the multipurpose center and you can do night school if you fail matric. Township is too far from the CBD and University of Johannesburg. Right now I can't afford to go to internet café to apply to school.



Map 10: Hand drawn community map of Cosmo City.



Map 11: Hand drawn community map of Cosmo City.



Map 12: Hand drawn community map of Cosmo City.



Illustration 22: Cosmo City residents participating in focus group. Photo Credit: Author



Illustration 23: Cosmo City residents participating in focus group. Photo Credit: Author

Diepsloot

I held 3 focus group sessions in Diepsloot at the Father Blondel Youth Center located in Diepsloot West. Similar to the other sites of this study, crime was a common theme to emerge from the focus group discussions. On the maps, residents made note of taverns and areas of drug

use, and one resident stated that he dislikes seeing “*young guys smoking and drinking.*” Another focus group participant explained that she is disenchanted with the community “*allowing underage drinking in the taverns.*” When crimes such as theft, carjacking, and murder arise in the area, one resident stated that “*we communicate with community police forum members to try to control it.*” Furthermore, focus group participants suggested that the selling of RDP houses to foreigners “*brings crime to the area.*” Although RDP houses are to be allocated only to South African citizens, the practice of selling or renting them out is a common income generating strategy. Nonetheless, there is a popular perception towards migrant residents, which associates them with crime and distrust. One resident explained what typically happens when trying to apprehend a criminal:

My wish is that the culprits should be called so the community can hear what happened and take the necessary steps, but what actually happens is the community takes matters in its own hands so the wrong person is often taken to be the culprit.

As noted by one resident, “*violence causes children to be fearful of the environment,*” and in terms of resolving crime “*the community doesn’t take issue of things lightly. Community works to reprimand thieves and does not tolerate them.*” One resident made a poignant statement about the need for children to feel safe:

There’s Ubuntu which means humanity. You must feel safe and living in harmony with other people. Children must be able to play around without fear.

In terms of infrastructural components that need improving, Diepsloot focus group participants explained that “*electricity connection is unreliable, and there are no street lights.*” Another resident stated that “*Diepsloot is not a clean neighborhood.*” One resident who lives in the backyard room attached to an RDP house stated that there is “*too much congestedness within one house in the back room, and also the roads in my area are not tarred.*” One resident indicated that there is “*too much noise.*” Similar to comments amongst residents in Cosmo City,

residents also noted that *“water pipes constantly bursting,”* and there is *“no hospital and clinics are too far.”* Yet, one resident stated that he is *“happy to have a house, electricity, running water, and they collect garbage weekly.”* As noted from the focus group session, one resident indicated that *“there are no filling stations. The nearest is 10km away.”* Additionally, one resident indicated that they are *“able to get jobs at the mall, but they are also far from the shops.”*

According to the City of Johannesburg (2015), there are currently 12 schools in Diepsloot. This number was also confirmed by the focus group maps, where residents noted the schools closest to them. One resident noted that *“schools are walking distance,”* while another noted that *“school and work are easier to get to.”* One focus group participant indicated that *“there is a lot of schools and new developments happening.”* Additionally, residents noted *“good schooling...and adequate churches in the area.”*

When asked if they plan to stay in Diepsloot in the future, one resident indicated that he plans to stay because *“there’s opportunities to grow and find a job. I’m planning to further my studies at UJ [University of Johannesburg] and find a job around Diepsloot.”* One resident indicated that the location of Diepsloot is better in order to find work. Yet, another stated that there are job opportunities in the *“surrounding suburbs”* such as Fourways.



Illustration 25: Diepsloot residents participating in focus group. Photo Credit: Author

Freedom Park

Within Freedom Park, I held one large focus group session in Mrs. Najuwa Gallant's backyard room. I split the residents into smaller groups of 4-6 people each. Residents drew their maps for about 45 minutes and then we had a lively discussion for about 1 hour. I provided each group with time to present their maps and then time for an open discussion after every group presented. The discussion was largely spoken in Afrikaans, but Mrs. Gallant gave me verbal translations.

The first group drew their map in order to represent each persons' point of view from where they lived. Residents in group 1 stated that *"In the beginning Freedom Park was very safe place, but as the children grew they became gangsters, and do drugs. For the older people it is no longer safe; there are robberies. People are scared to walk and the small kids aren't safe."* People expressed anger about the gangsters and one woman was very forceful about the need to educate the children. All of the residents agreed that they want speed bumps with one resident saying the *"people drive like it's a race course, and we need more street lights."* Residents

discussed the need to create more activities for young people, and as a result, *“there will be less of a gangster problem.”* One resident stated that *“we need to offer them training to be what they want to be, not just football. We can’t blame the next person. These are our children. We must keep them off the street.”*

The second group that presented, which was all women, indicated that *“kids walking to school in the streets in the morning is dangerous. Kids going to school on an empty stomach so they can’t learn.”* One resident expressed that *“kids are running in the street, and the mothers don’t know they’re stealing from their neighbours.”* Residents expressed the need to bring children *“to the community centre to learn or play and keep them off the streets to show that there is going to be change because right now they feel there is nothing coming back to them.”* The women also expressed the need for there to be more street lamps because *“there are too many gangsters in the main field. Have to run for your life, you can’t even send your kids to the shops. Can’t walk safely. I must feel safe in my home but we can’t even do that because of the gunfire and the fear of gangsters.”*

The third group that presented indicated that the *“kids get to be 9-10 years old and they don’t go to school.”* This group said that the gangsters stay on the corner by their homes making them feel unsafe: *“They shoot guns and we must run for our lives.”* Pointing to environmental concerns, the residents argued that the *“the roads are dirty and unpaved.”* One woman in particular was very worked up and emotional. People nodded and gave verbal agreement with her in her suggestion for a neighborhood watch. As she stated: *“There are drug lords in houses and people don’t run them out because they help some people. We need unity. The community does nothing. They just let the gangsters run everything.”*

As stated by everyone in attendance, the fourth group's main concern was safety. They stated that *"in the beginning FP was a very beautiful place."* Now, they say that only *"3 times a month, for 5 minutes the police patrol and there is no safety."* The residents in this group wanted a police station located within Freedom Park to provide more patrolling. Furthermore, the residents of this group indicated that they want workshops to help people in the community to build skills to better themselves. One resident stated that *"if we stand together maybe there will be change and we will get better."*

After every group presented their maps and concerns, we engaged in a larger group discussion which I moderated with Mrs. Gallant. Residents became more heated in their comments during the larger discussion. Residents stated that *"the gangsters pay the police bribes in order to get away with wrongdoings."* Another resident chimed in saying that *"the community turns their back because they are scared. Some people benefit from the drug lords."* Another resident stated that *"we must have fences in order to keep the gangsters from running through. The Irish gave money for fences but it was stolen instead and used by the contractors for what they wanted. We need the community to come together if we want something everyone can all use."* Again, the tone shifted towards how life was better in the informal settlement: *"In shacks we had a better life, in houses we have a bad life...We need pavement on the street. They don't care about us, honestly."* Another resident stated that *"they took all the small lights out to maintain the one big light which doesn't help anything."* The "they" that the residents are referring to here is the ward councilors and the Mellon Housing Initiative. Mrs. Gallant jumped in the conversation saying that

the people need a good leader, someone who doesn't lie to the people. Our people are suffering too much and enough is enough. The ward councilor for Freedom Park was supposed to do certain things like get speed bumps and they just aren't doing them. We need more employment opportunities. The children are just passing time and they have

nowhere to go. Maybe they can do something like learning to make clothes as employment. We need job creation to help the community. The Freedom Park Development Association [FPDA] wanted to take all of our subsidy money and this corruption was too much. (Najuwa Gallant, translated from Afrikaans, May 2015)

Mrs. Gallant explained to me that the FPDA took over the development process along with the Mellon Housing Initiative after the Tafelsig People's Association (TPA) dissolved. Najuwa was previously a long time leader within the TPA, but during the formalization period the Development Action Group (DAG) suggested the need for the formation of a new association, which would help to unify the development of the new community. Although the FPDA engaged residents early on in the planning process through social mapping and visioning exercises, the desired changes in the community for the new development were not fully taken into account in the final plans because the Mellon Housing Initiative sought to construct as more houses with smaller plot sizes (see chapter 3 for a fuller description of the planning process in Freedom Park).

35 residents attended the focus group meeting and all agreed that they must take initiative for the future of Freedom Park rather than wait for it to happen. Residents suggested the need for workshops on safety and home maintenance. There was wide consensus amongst residents to “*act as one*” and continue to meet in the future. Residents decided to hold a future meeting on June 10, 2015 to begin making plans for improved job creation and activities to celebrate Youth Day on June 16th. Residents suggested that they can sell craft items, vegetables, and fruit.

Residents suggested that the focus group session was very useful in gathering momentum among the community to start working together and solving common concerns. The community participation seems to be on the upswing as residents want to be engaged in matters that affect their safety and well-being.



Illustration 26: Freedom Park residents participating in focus group. Photo Credit: Author



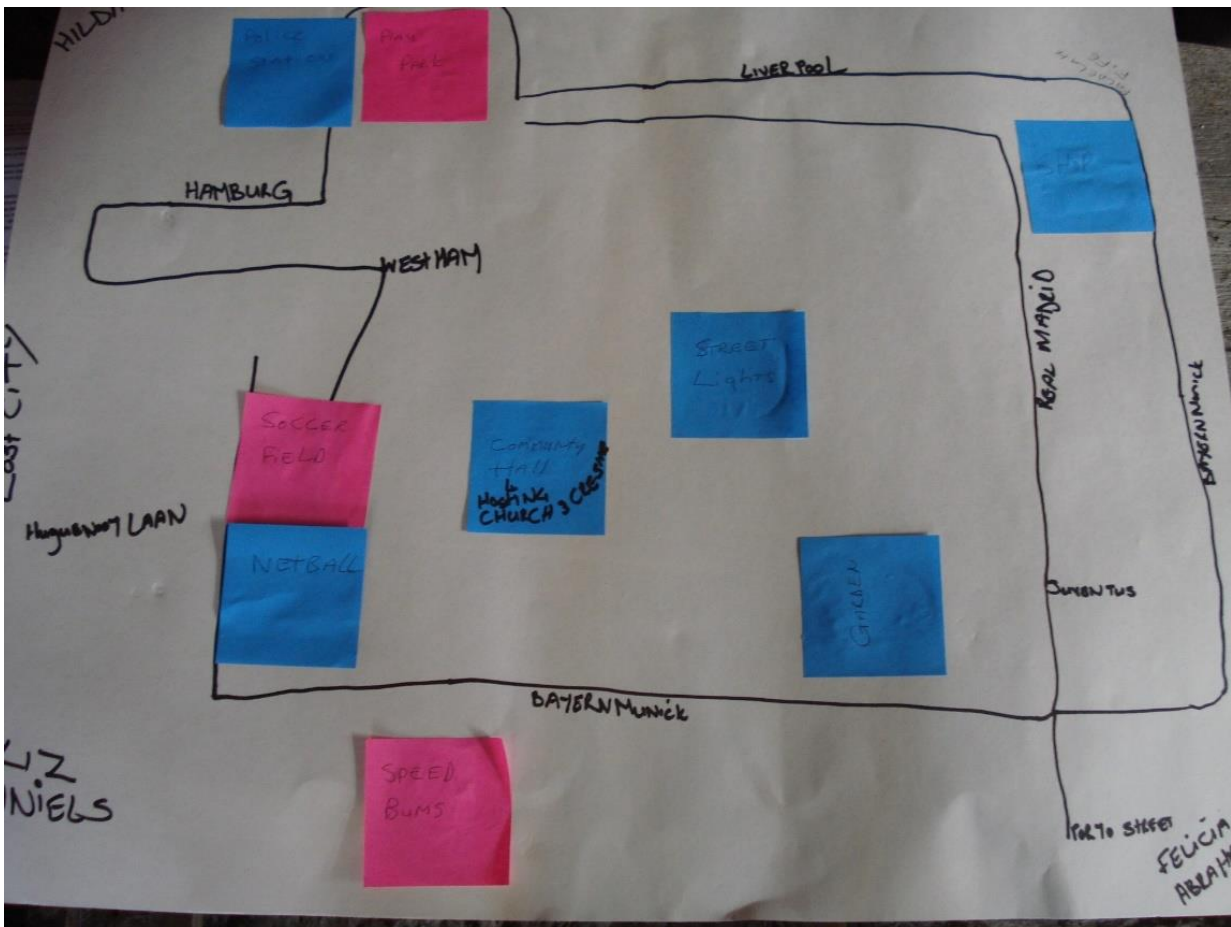
Illustration 27: Freedom Park residents participating in focus group. Photo Credit: Author



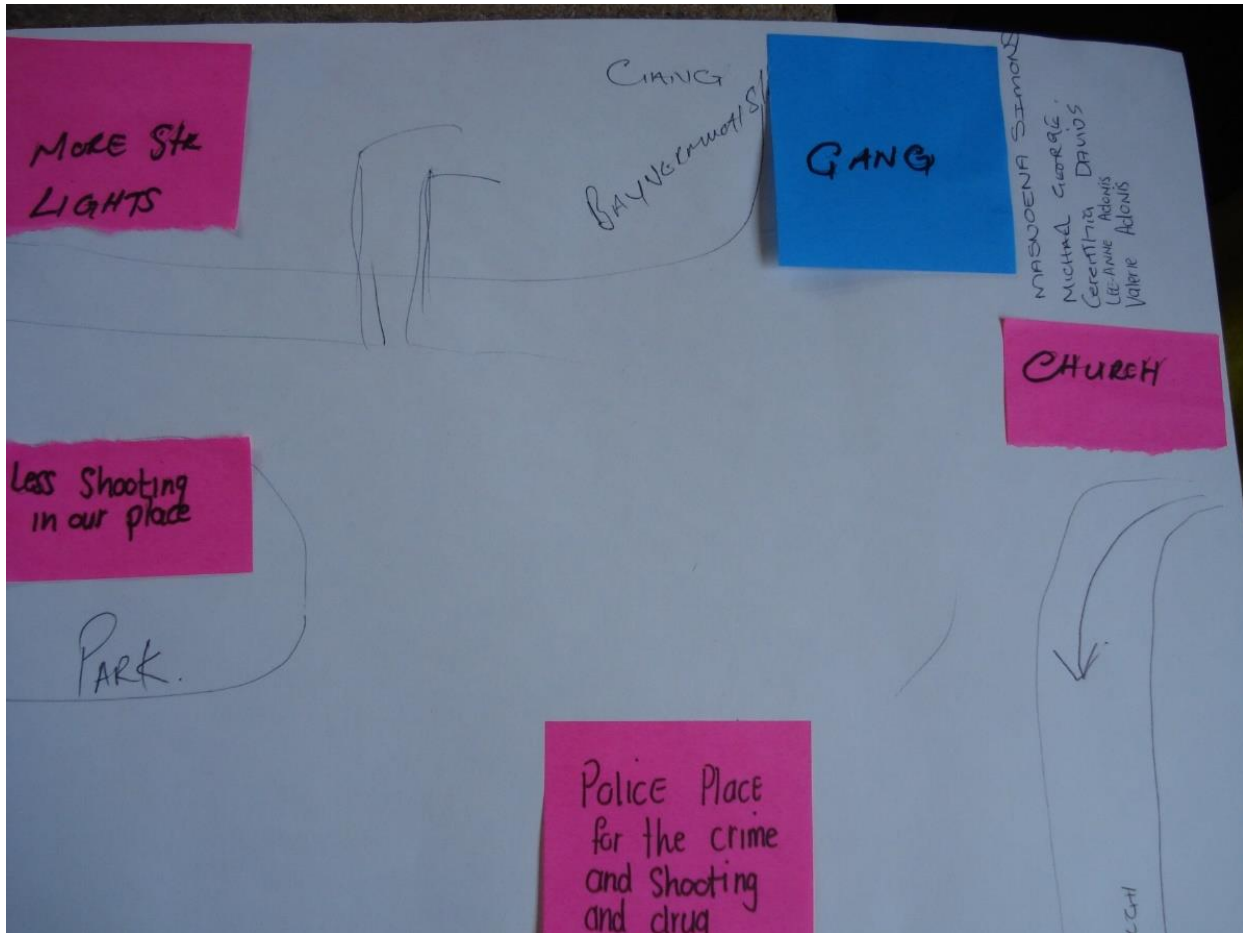
Illustration 28: Freedom Park residents participating in focus group. Photo Credit: Author



Illustration 29: Freedom Park residents participating in focus group. Photo Credit: Author



Map 16: Hand drawn community map of Freedom Park.



Map 18: Hand drawn community map of Freedom Park.

Springfield Terrace

Within Springfield Terrace, I conducted one focus group of 4 residents. It was difficult to recruit participants for the focus group session. I held the focus group session on a Saturday morning rather than a weekday to accommodate people’s work schedules. Still, people were involved in weekend activities with their families so many declined to participate. Of those who participated were two teachers, a stay at home mother, and the director of the Marion Institute. While drawing the map, one of the art teachers indicated that “*Springfield Terrace used to be part of District 6, but it is not featured in the District 6 Museum. After the move from District 6 there was a need for more housing.*” Some of the challenges that have impacted the Springfield

Terrace community have been the decline in funding and change in management especially at the Marion Institute. One resident indicated that the residents should use Trafalgar Park more often in order to have “*markets, entertainment, and keep children busy.*” The high unemployment in the area means that people have very little to look forward to.

The mother at the focus group indicated that “*children don’t listen to parents but they’ll listen to other authority figures. The H block is starting a gang, and they harass the kids that are just sitting in the street. Security in the Trafalgar Park is needed.*” It was also indicated that on the other side of “*District 6 is open land, which is dangerous and people live in pipes. The community demanded that the fence between these 2 areas be fixed.*” Another aspect of safety that was discussed was the need to enclose the community. One focus group participant supported the idea of a gated community, stating:

The community was supposed to be enclosed because right now there are access to rovers. The District 6 area has lots of drug users, gangs, maybe even a drug lab. The neighbourhood watch used to exist but was disbanded for religious and political reasons. We have a close knit community, [but we] need to bring back sense of unity to know where everyone stands. Need to engage person to person to know each other better.

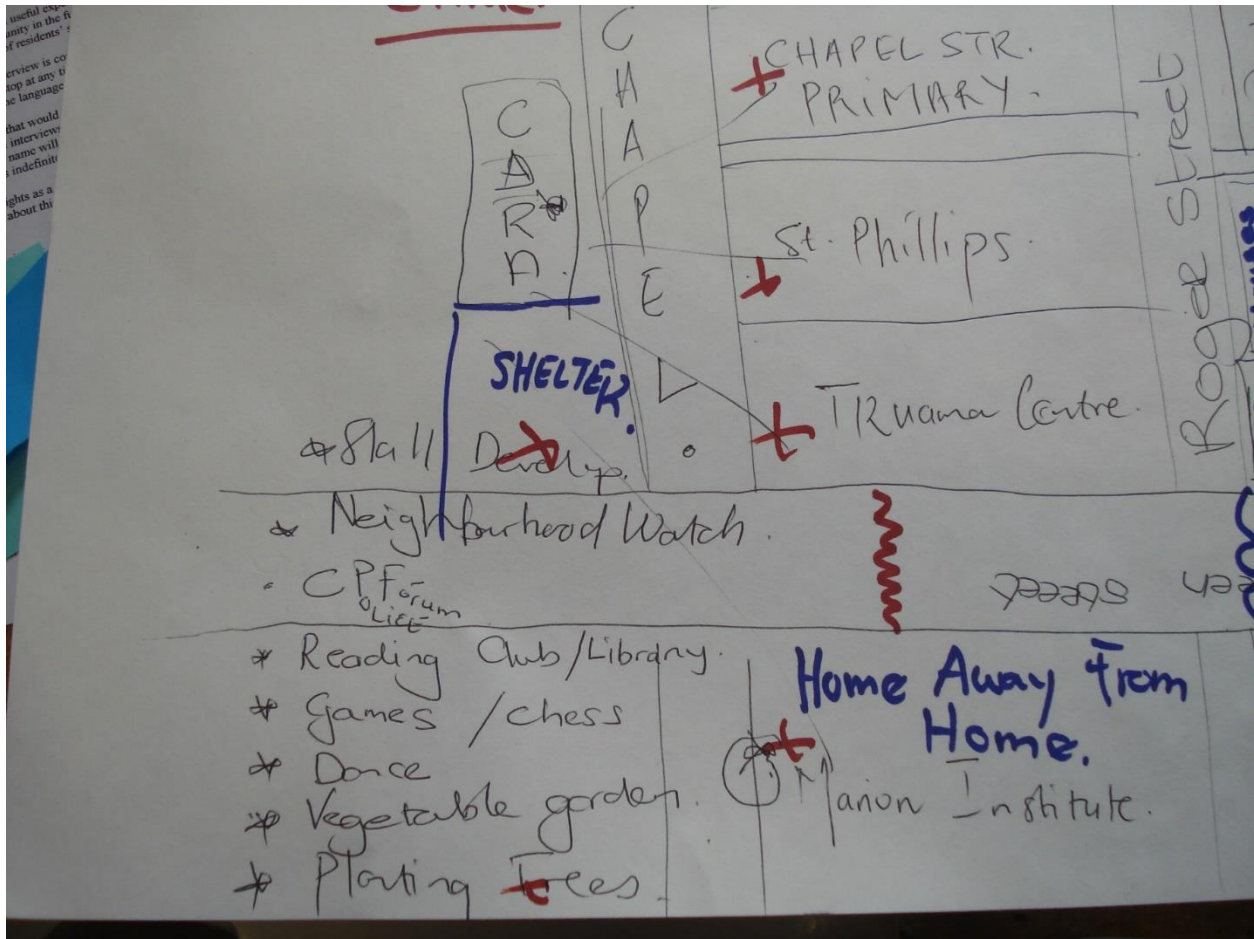
Residents called attention to the need for a community policing forum that would help to patrol in order to mitigate the rise of gang activity coming to the area.

In terms of beautifying the area and encouraging more community participation, one of the teachers in the focus group indicated that “*we applied to make a garden to the councilor, but there were no answers. So maybe we should build our own garden. We could involve the youth.*” It was frequently noted that children are the way to involve adults in the area. For example, by having more youth activities such as dance programs, Girl Scouts, and art workshops, it was suggested that the adults in the community would come out to support these activities as parents of the children who are participating. Mr. Peter Alghaus, director of the Marion Institute,

suggested that the *“Marion Institute should be the center for community engagement and serve as the ‘home away from home’ for residents, but in the last three years the institute has really changed its role”* because of the decline in funding. Ms. Haga Moolman, one of the teachers present at the focus group session indicated that *“we need to start new programs like dancing, music, chess, games day, and reading and do this in such a way that we restructure the community via the community center.”* It was also suggested to get the all of the other centers and churches in the area such as the trauma center and St. Philips church involved in the activities at the Marion Institute. As Mr. Agulhas indicated: *“These groups have never been informed about what is happening, and they have new people coming in and out all the time.”*

It was indicated that Springfield Terrace needs a *“lasting commitment from participants and community members.”* One focus group participant indicated that *“we applied for speedbumps using money from the council but it never came, no change. We need more community involvement. Perhaps we can petition for speed bumps?”* Lastly, Ms. Moolman indicated the need for more skills development workshops to be offered at the Marion Institute for recent “school leavers” in order to assist them in finding employment opportunities.

One focus group participant indicated that politics and religious divides between Muslims and Christians have hindered the progress for more concerted efforts towards community activities and plans for activities at the Marion Institute and Springfield Terrace. The focus group participants agreed that more action needs to be taken to eliminate the politics from programs that would benefit the community at large. Commitment amongst residents to take action has been a problem, but the four residents that met during the focus group session collectively identified a way forward. They suggested the need to develop monthly strategic plans and long-term plans to improve community cohesion and safety. At the conclusion of the focus group



Map 20: Closer view of hand drawn community map of Springfield Terrace



Illustration 30: Back of Queen Street; fenced area is potential space for community garden. Photo Credit: GoogleMaps



Illustration 31: Springfield Terrace residents participating in the focus group session. Photo Credit: Author



Illustration 32: Focus group participants in Springfield Terrace. Photo Credit: Author

Community participation and avenues for environmental stewardship

In January 2015, I interviewed representatives from the Johannesburg Housing Company, which manages the social housing rentals in Cosmo City. The green space interior to the rentals has an area for a community garden which reuses old tires to encapsulate the vegetables and flowers.



Illustration 33: The start of a community garden in social housing rentals in Cosmo City. Photo Credit: Author

Beyond this effort, there are only isolated instances of residents growing plants outside their government subsidized houses in Cosmo City, but these instances do not seem to contribute greatly to bringing people together. The streets in Cosmo City are relatively clean, and I attribute this to the top-down planned nature of the development led by the City of Johannesburg and private developers. Furthermore, Pikitup, the City of Johannesburg's municipal waste collection agency, services the area, while the Johannesburg Housing Company (JHC) collects trash in the social housing rentals twice a week.



Illustration 34: Johannesburg Housing Company (JHC) trash bins in the social housing rentals in Cosmo City. Photo Credit: Author

Recent garden competitions in Cosmo City sponsored by the City of Johannesburg have encouraged residents to invest in the overall environmental beauty and quality of life of the township (City of Johannesburg, 2009). I argue that because such efforts have been administered primarily from the top-down, residents have not built the capacity on their own to continue or

expand environmental and beautification campaigns that would in turn build social capital and sense of community and improve quality of life in the long-run.

In contrast, Diepsloot has significant waste management challenges primarily due to illegal dumping of waste (Harber, 2011). In 2007, 9 young residents of Diepsloot met to change this and formed the Bontle Ke Thlago Environmental Community Forum (BKTECF). Along with Pikitup, the BKTECF removed 17 tons of illegally dumped waste in Diepsloot (City of Johannesburg, 2007a). The illegal dumping still continues and my observations certainly confirm this. The location of the *legal* dumpsites is not convenient to residents living in the informal settlement sections of Diepsloot (City of Johannesburg, 2007a). This results in residents disposing of trash illegally or burning trash rather than walking long distances to properly dispose of waste.



Illustration 35: Example of trash burning in Kliptown an informal settlement south of Johannesburg. Photo Credit: Author



Illustration 36: Water run-off and waste in Kliptown an informal settlement south of Johannesburg. Photo Credit: Author

Furthermore, the narrow streets and overcrowded housing within the informal settlement sections of Diepsloot also make it difficult for municipal vehicles to travel to collect trash. The solution to this has been bulk containers located within the informal settlement areas to encourage residents to dispose of trash properly. According to the City of Johannesburg “about 520 tons of rubbish are removed from Diepsloot every month and the bulk bins are cleared every weekday” (City of Johannesburg, 2007a). When asked what they disliked about living in Diepsloot during the interviews, residents indicated the following related to environmental concerns:

It is not a clean neighborhood.

It is noisy.

There is congestedness within one house in the back room.

The dust bin is too small.

The water pipes are constantly bursting

[We need to] see what we can achieve in order to improve the environment we are living in. (Diepsloot Resident Interviews, January 2015)

Other solutions have centered on youth education initiatives that encourage young people to be environmental stewards of their communities. One example of this occurred in 2008, when

240 children in Diepsloot came together to clean up the wetlands in Diepsloot that border the new Diepsloot Park (City of Johannesburg, 2008).



Illustration 37: Children from Diepsloot schools clean up a street in the township. Source: "Kids Clean Up Diepsloot Wetlands"

The clean-up project coincided with National Water Week and was sponsored by the Johannesburg Parks agency. Here, the BKTECF has been instrumental in creating a collective consciousness amongst young people to create a cleaner environment by teaching them to use the refuse bags given by Pikitup to avoid illegal dumping. The Pikitup waste management agency supports such grassroots efforts and believes that when communities can manage their own living environments, it results in “a real improvement in the quality of their lives” (City of Johannesburg, 2007a). The government has stepped in to construct public parks in Cosmo City and Diepsloot in an effort to grant children safe places to play. For example, Johannesburg City Parks constructed the Diepsloot West Park and recently supplied upgrades to the park such as new slides, more trees, swings, and a netball court (City of Johannesburg, 2010; Harber, 2011). The two-week upgrade to the park was aimed to keep children off the streets, maintain a healthy and safe place for children to play, and encourage environmental awareness (City of Johannesburg, 2010). One project sponsored by the BKTECF is a recycling buy-back program

that encourages people to recycle and pays them based on the weight of the materials they collect. It is a common scene in the streets of Johannesburg to see people pulling heavy loads of recyclables in poorly constructed trolleys.



Illustration 38: Waste reclaimer collecting recycling in Kliptown. Photo Credit: Author

There are an estimated 8,000 waste pickers in the City of Johannesburg, and many come into conflict in the communities in which they operate because they sleep on the streets in order to protect their recyclables (Pikitup Annual Report, 2012).



Illustration 39: Collected recycling in Msawawa informal settlement north of Cosmo City. Photo Credit: Author



Illustration 40: View from rooftop recycling sorting in Maboneng - inner city Johannesburg. Photo Credit: Author

Efforts are underway to integrate informal waste reclaimers into the City of Johannesburg’s recycling program (City of Johannesburg, n.d.b.). The buy-back centers are the first point of contact between reclaimers and the municipality. Some reclaimers reuse the items they find or sell them to make additional cash. The City of Johannesburg has embraced them through the Waste Reclaimers Empowerment Project (WREP) in partnership with the City and Pikitup. Continuing initiatives like this will help to divert waste from landfills, and it boosts, legitimizes, and formalizes a livelihood strategy for individuals. Most waste reclaimers work as individuals, but the WREP has established co-ops that help to train reclaimers in waste management issues and environmental health hazards for 300 registered waste reclaimers (City of Johannesburg, n.d.c.). Thus, WREP serves as a viable option for waste reclaimers in Diepsloot to register for co-ops and maintain livelihoods while also keeping the environment clean. Furthermore, during the focus group session in Freedom Park, one resident raised the point that “*we can recycle to make more money.*” Although this was mentioned only by one resident, waste reclaiming is a viable livelihood strategy in Freedom Park because of the high unemployment and the need to clean-up the streets.

Within GCRO's 2013 Quality of Life Survey, I looked at indicators for community participation as well as environmental quality. Tables 13, 14, and 15 depict responses to themes such as attendance at community meetings, neighborhood watch participation, sanitation, waste disposal, and satisfaction with service delivery. Out of a total sample size of 27,490 residents in the Gauteng Province (excluding Cape Town), attendance is low at neighborhood watch and ward meetings. Of those surveyed, 68.7% and 74.1% indicated that they have not attended a neighborhood watch or ward meeting, respectively. Of those surveyed in GCRO's 2013 Quality of Life Survey, 31.3% and 25.9% indicated that they have attended a ward meeting and street committee meeting, respectively. The Cosmo City and Diepsloot residents that I surveyed in my study, however, reported high levels of attendance at community meetings. The majority of those surveyed in Gauteng indicated that they are satisfied with their waste collection service with 87.1% indicating that their trash is removed from their house at least once a week, while a smaller portion of the population places their trash in a communal dump or burns it (Table 14). 53% of residents are satisfied with the roads, and 21.8% are dissatisfied, which is indicative of what residents discussed in my focus group sessions with the need for more speed bumps and better paving.

Table 13: Community Meetings attended (Gauteng City-Region Observatory, 2013 Quality of Life Survey)

	No	Yes	Total
In the past year have you participated in the activities of: Neighborhood watch?	97.1% [26683]	2.9% [807]	100% [27490]
Types of meetings attended in the past year: Ward meeting	68.7% [18894]	31.3% [8596]	100% [27490]
Types of meetings attended in the past year: Street Committee	74.1% [20359]	25.9% [7131]	100% [27490]

Table 14: Waste disposal in Gauteng. (Gauteng City-Region Observatory, 2013 Quality of Life Survey)

How is rubbish disposed of?	Refuse removed from the house at least once a week	Refuse removed from the house less often	Placed on communal refuse dump	Placed on own refuse dump	Burnt in pit	Buried	Thrown in the street or veldt	No refuse removal service at all	Other	Total
	87.1% [23945]	1.4% [383]	2.2% [615]	1.3% [348]	2.2% [614]	0.3% [72]	3.8% [1048]	1.3% [348]	0.4% [117]	100% [27490]

Table 15: Service Delivery Satisfaction in Gauteng (Gauteng City-Region Observatory, 2013 Quality of Life Survey)

Satisfaction:	Very satisfied	Satisfied	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied	Total
Waste Removal	10.0% [2759]	70.1% [19282]	4.3% [1171]	10.4% [2860]	5.2% [1417]	100% [27490]
Roads	7.4% [2026]	53.9% [14818]	4.1% [1115]	21.8% [5982]	12.9% [3548]	100% [27490]
Street lights	7.0% [1914]	52.3% [14373]	5.9% [1625]	24.1% [6622]	10.8% [2956]	100% [27490]
Gardens/parks	19.2% [1117]	68.5% [3981]	2.6% [153]	7.1% [416]	2.5% [147]	100% [5815]
Sanitation	10.5% [2876]	68.0% [18699]	4.1% [1136]	11.4% [3146]	5.9% [1633]	100% [27490]

In the early stages of Freedom Park, the residents demonstrated deep collective action and mobilization to refuse to be evicted from the land. At one point, residents formed a human chain to resist eviction and impending bulldozers from razing the informal settlement (DAG, 2009; Brown-Luthango, 2015; Interview, Mrs. Najuwa Gallant, May 18, 2015). Given the influx of outside beneficiaries into Freedom Park after it was formalized, the overall social trust, cohesion, and feelings of safety began to erode (Brown-Luthango, 2015). This became particularly apparent in discussions with residents during the interviews and focus group sessions. Mrs. Najuwa Gallant frequently identified the differences between original residents and outside beneficiaries in general care, upkeep, and pride towards their houses. Mrs. Gallant suggested that houses of original Freedom Park residents show more wear and tear and poor upkeep and maintenance compared to those from outside beneficiaries. As Mrs. Gallant stated: *“There was no education for us on how to maintain a house and what we should do to make the*

house look nice” (Interview, May 18, 2015). This point is also expressed by the Development Action Group (DAG) (2009), which suggests that although residents agree that without the assistance from outside developers to construct the houses quickly, the residents would have benefitted from more education and workshops to build the capacity for them to learn skills to maintain their houses.

Prior to the formalization process of Freedom Park residents lived in shacks without flush toilets, electricity, or running water. Once Freedom Park was formalized, residents began to receive service delivery such as trash collection every Wednesday. In reference to the current environment of Freedom Park, one resident stated:

We need streets to be clean if the council can do for us...Pavements not draining [and] the streets are dirty, [when there is] heavy rain. Need more involvement. It is dirty for kids. (Resident interview Freedom Park, May 2015)

The Freedom Park case demonstrates the collective efficacy that can occur in a housing development (Brown-Luthango, 2015). The site was formed on the basis of community participation, and now that the housing and services have been delivered, community participation has declined. Levels of social trust in Freedom Park are extremely low given the high violence and gang activity in the area. Yet, one of the outcomes of the focus group social mapping session was that residents seemed to rekindle their community participation spirit and rallied towards petitioning for a mobile police station. I argue that once residents feel safer going outside and allowing their children to play outside that environmental stewardship will no longer take a backseat.

Table 16 summarizes the desired improvements that residents indicated in the focus group sessions.

Table 16: Residents' Desired Improvements

Cosmo City	Diepsloot	Freedom Park	Springfield Terrace
-more park space -more speed bumps -pools -sports facilities -centrally located police station -better located taxi ranks -More motivational speakers to inspire young people	-street clean-up -better electrical connections -more speed bumps -local technical colleges -schools for children with special needs -better located taxi ranks	-more street lights -clean-up the open fields for soccer and netball -street watch committee -speed bumps -mobile police station -community gardens -soup kitchen -fencing around community hall to keep gangs out -more youth activities	-speed bumps -a gated entrance to the community -a community garden -street watch committee

The levels of community participation in the housing sites as shown in Table 17 are based upon the qualitative interviews and focus group sessions with residents.

Table 17: Levels of community participation in the housing sites

	Cosmo City	Diepsloot	Freedom Park	Springfield Terrace
Level of Community Participation	Low *Based on the top-down planned nature of the development, low instances of residents coming together to solve a common challenge	Moderate *Based on discussions about the Community Policing Forum and whistles to alert neighbors of crime	Moderate *Based on plans for Youth Day, and petition for mobile police station	Low *Based on low interest among residents to become active in the community and decline in funding at the Marion Institute

Conclusion

This chapter has illustrated several barriers to citizen participation such as unemployment, fear of crime, and lack of institutional capacity. Data from household surveys

conducted in Cosmo City, Diepsloot, Freedom Park, and Springfield Terrace indicate that the majority of those surveyed have attended a community meeting within the last year. Given this, community meetings could be used as a forum to discuss environmental concerns in the future. It is important to stress the fact that residents living in these housing sites are really in a fight for their survival.

In their focus group discussions, residents called attention to the insecurity they feel when walking at night, and everyone I spoke to in Freedom Park feels unsettled by the rampant gang violence. Thus, in precarious conditions like Freedom Park, environmental awareness, for example, is not on people's minds; instead, they are focused on daily survival and making ends meet. If people in Freedom Park do not feel safe going outside, it is not likely that they are yet willing to collaborate to improve the environmental quality of the neighborhood. Environmental issues tend to take a backseat to issues more prominent on people's minds such as safety.

If we gauge community participation by the usage of social infrastructure such as libraries, sports fields, and gardens, then all of the housing sites would receive a low score on community participation. Yet, as determined from the focus groups and interviews, Diepsloot and Freedom Park have a moderate level of community participation due to actions taken for the community policing forum and mobile police petition. My findings of use of social infrastructure show that there is a low use across all the sites. This data is supported at the provincial level in Gauteng as shown in Table 18 from the GCRO 2013 Quality of Life Survey. Of those surveyed in Gauteng, the majority have never used the library nearest them, sports facilities in their area, or parks nearby.

Table 18: Infrastructure usage in Gauteng (GCRO 2013 QoL Survey)

	Once	Two to three times	More	Never	Total
Library	2.6% [702]	5.1% [1394]	8.7% [2392]	83.7% [23002]	100% [27490]
Sports facilities	3.2% [880]	5.8% [1585]	8.3% [2278]	82.7% [22747]	100% [27490]
Gardens/park/open green spaces	4.3% [1186]	6.6% [1816]	10.2% [2812]	78.8% [21675]	100% [27490]

I have shown that street clean-up efforts, for example, tend to occur at the level of government institutions or city municipal bodies rather than coming from more organic capacity of the citizens themselves. Given that there are high numbers of residents who are active in religious activities at their churches or mosques in Freedom Park and Springfield Terrace, this might be one avenue to explore to increase environmental cleanup activities in the housing sites. Religious centers are safe havens for residents and even in Freedom Park, where people do not feel safe walking outside, they still manage to attend church and mosque. Moreover, given that the bulk of the programs to improve the environmental landscape originate from top-down initiatives, this illustrates the need for more capacity building workshops and collective organizing on the part of residents themselves to improve their quality of life.

Yet, collective mobilization for neighborhood improvements requires a multiplicity of voices to engage in dialogue with one another. Unlike the focus group sessions in the other sites, the session in Freedom Park took on more of a therapeutic dialogue between residents. This was largely due to the fact that so many residents showed up to participate in the focus group session in Freedom Park, and unlike the other sites, Freedom Park residents were eager to have their voices heard. Sandercock's (2000) therapeutic approach is different from traditional consensus building and deliberation in two key ways. First, the therapeutic approach departs from the

assumed “rational discourse” among stakeholder groups that ignores the need for people to articulate their pain and trauma that are critical for the healing process. If planners require people to behave “rationally,” they are overlooking a deeply emotional side of a given issue. Secondly, Sandercock (2000) suggests that the outcomes of the therapeutic approach, similar to the deliberative approach, are not necessarily supposed to be transformative (p. 23-24). Instead, the therapeutic approach creates the space for people to articulate their fears, hopes, and emotions. Indeed, the 35 residents who attended the focus group discussion in Freedom Park used the space to fervently speak their concerns, worries, and needs.

Nonetheless, residents from all of the sites (Cosmo City, Diepsloot, Freedom Park, and Springfield Terrace) who attended the focus group sessions were able to meet other residents who also voiced their concerns and desires for the neighborhoods. The act of participating in the focus group mapping exercise was one step towards creating “network power,” a form of social capital and mutual understanding that creates the “glue for collaboration over time” (Innes, 2004, p. 13). In this way, the focus group sessions in all four sites offered the space for people to discuss their different viewpoints on the needs of the community. Although the initial goal of the focus group sessions was to allow community members to identify areas to improve in the neighborhood, residents in Freedom Park took it a step further by signing a petition for a mobile police station. The goal was not to arrive at a lasting resolution to the problems of the community, but rather to serve as an effort to open space for collective dialogue.

Chapter 6: Exploring place attachment in the context of housing approaches

Introduction

Attachment to place is a critical facet of sense of community because it is linked to residents' willingness to stay in their current community in the future and their inclination to have an influence on the long-term maintenance of the neighborhood. Planners' emphasis on physical environments through neighborhood revitalization can overlook the psycho-social impacts on people and their underlying historical memory and meaning attached to place (Manzo & Perkins, 2006). Lombard (2014) suggests that place attachment is "the almost unconscious, repeated, routine activities that we carry out in our everyday lives." Place-making is a continual process characterized by "people's everyday, incremental investment in a place" (Lombard, 2014). Disruptions such as forced removals, slum clearance, the influx of newcomers to a neighborhood, or the designation of a place as "whites only" under apartheid, undeniably threaten "place attachments" and can cause loss and alienation by altering the physical fabric of a neighborhood (Manzo & Perkins, 2006, p. 337-338). As Rigers and Lavrakas (1981) argue, there are two elements of place attachment that are particularly communal. The first is a sense of "bondedness" where one feels connected and part of one's neighborhood. The second is a feeling of "rootedness" to the community as demonstrated in interactions between people and place and the ability for members of a community to put their own stamp, so to speak, on a place, be it in rituals, community events, public memorials, and street art.

As Manzo and Perkins (2006) argue, a sense of bondedness and rootedness are the underlying contributors to the feeling of belonging and sense of community within a neighborhood. People who are more attached to their neighborhood experience greater levels of social cohesion and trust (p. 338). A key limitation of Manzo and Perkins' (2006) literature review is that they never specifically define their notion of "community". As this study indicates and as Creed (2006) rightly acknowledges, the concept of "community" is an obscure term that takes on a variety of meanings surrounding relationships, hope, security, and even violence, which manifest themselves via virtual or physical places and locations. Yet, knowing the particular stakes that residents have in an area is necessary in order to "create successful places" (Manzo & Perkins, 2006, p. 338). Furthermore, it is important to note that the mere sharing or presence of a common space for multiple groups does not necessarily lead to a sense of community. Place-making processes are simultaneously demonstrations of power among particular groups of people, and places are rarely static, but rather "places in progress" (Lombard, 2014).

Manzo and Perkins (2006) call for a shift in the planning literature to examine community development planning in the context of environmental and community psychology in an effort to "cross pollinate" the two disciplines to shed more light on place attachment (p. 336). They suggest that planners do not discuss environmental psychology terms such as "place attachment," "sense of community," and "social capital" in planning literature and research, and at the same time, environmental psychologists studying place attachment rarely connect this in the context of community development. Manzo and Perkins (2006) argue that "a cross disciplinary analysis" is necessary in order to develop a more comprehensive view of community development and participation.

If people find they have shaped their values and daily routines as a result of where they live, then the extent to which they have bonded with such places will influence their willingness to contribute to maintaining them and living in the same place in the future (Manzo and Perkins, 2006; Pretty, Chipuer, and Bramston, 2003). Brown, Perkins, and Brown (2003) argue that one needs to exercise caution in equating decent housing quality with strong neighborhood bonds. For example, in his study of Boston's West End, Fried (1966) determined that residents had a strong attachment to the neighborhood regardless of the visibly dilapidated buildings. Thus, the urban renewal in the area was wrought with sentiments very similar to grief and loss for one's past life. Fried (1996) found that relocation from the West End disrupted former supportive relationships between neighbors and fragmentation of a shared group identity that was previously rooted in place. Similarly, prior to the forced evictions in the District 6 area of Cape Town, the area was largely impoverished with deteriorating infrastructure; yet in its heyday, District 6 was rich in terms of a variety of small businesses, churches, schools, and diversity (Murray, 2013, p. 112). In contrast, numerous scholars have critiqued the failures of the iconic Pruitt-Igoe public housing high rise in St. Louis, which was physically sound yet lacked "close-to-ground" sightlines to promote informal measures of social control (Heathcott, 2012; Newman, 1972; Rainwater, 1967). Such an environment lacked and did not foster place attachment and organic social life amongst tenants, leading to its demolition, among other factors, in 1973.

Place attachment relates to "positive bonds" between inhabitants and physical surroundings such as houses. Moreover, such bonds instill group identity, pride for the area's appearance, and well-being (Brown, Perkins, & Brown, 2003; Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 1996; Harris, Werner, Brown, & Ingebritsen, 1995). Place attachments are strengthened through human-environment interaction, celebrations, personalized spaces, and sentimental feelings

about the neighborhood (Brown and Werner, 1985; Werner, Altman, Brown, & Ginat, 1993; Manzo and Perkins, 2006). It is also critical to note that place attachment changes over time as the demographic composition of a community changes and ages, newcomers arrive in the area, and the infrastructure ages (Manzo and Perkins, 2006).

An understanding of the place attachments that residents hold for their housing environments is critical in knowing the reasons behind different reactions to planning initiatives in an area. Given the layering of history in a place, any change in a neighborhood can signal the elimination of history and group identity (Murray, 2013), thus resulting in resistance to change (Manzo and Perkins, 2006). When confronted with a change in space through demolition, forced eviction, or large scale urban renewal, residents simultaneously must come to grips with a shift in the shared identity of the place. As Murray (2013) contends there never is a true break with the past, and instead, residents subjected to urban renewal or forced evictions teeter between “what should be remembered” versus what can be forgotten. This “selective amnesia” is what guides the post-apartheid national government in deciding what areas of cities to “smooth over,” “sanitize,” or “embellish” in order to forge a “new” way forward for the nation (Murray, 2013, p. 8).

Within the context of Johannesburg specifically, the particular rootedness to an area varies by the nature of the experience of a group of people and their ability to carve out an existence and livelihood. Landau (2010) examines the experiences of migrants in Johannesburg and their constant movements in and out of the central city. This movement often results in the degradation of social cohesion, strain on relations with neighbors, and reduced attachment to place (Landau, 2010, p. 320). Migrant populations teeter on the city margins in a limbo where they “place themselves, however shallowly, in the networks and spaces needed to achieve

practical goals” like finding a job or a place to stay (Landau, 2010, p. 324). Landau (2010) further asserts that migrant populations “in Johannesburg and elsewhere are shaping their own forms of transient belonging, a way of living in the city without becoming a permanent part of it” (p. 323). For migrants in Johannesburg, for example, it is a matter of leading an ephemeral existence – one that is not integrated or settled into mainstream life of the destination city.

The process of forging collective memory is inextricably linked to residents’ emotional connection to place. Collective memory is “socially constructed around some sense of place,” and in this way it is connected to shared experience (Murray, 2013, p. 14). The ability for residents in Springfield Terrace and Freedom Park, for example, to recall a memory or consider the past family members who have lived there before them influences their willingness to stay. At the same time, however, efforts that re-housed residents in mega projects such as Cosmo City wipe away the past and in many ways do not allow residents to connect with the present landscape. Furthermore, housing developments such as Cosmo City and Freedom Park, in particular, resulted in residents feeling distanced from their former neighbors.

This chapter examines place attachment in the four housing sites – Cosmo City, Diepsloot, Freedom Park, and Springfield Terrace. This chapter presents findings based upon resident interviews and door-to-door household surveys. Interview questions such as “do you see yourself living in your current house in the future” shed light on residents’ willingness to reside in their present community and their reasons why. I recognize that I cannot truly isolate the relationship between housing approach and emotional connection to place given that there are numerous spurious factors that simultaneously influence residents’ emotional connection to place. For example, as I showed in Chapter 4 on social trust, relations with neighbors influence the level of safety that one feels in the neighborhood. Furthermore, the personalization of a

house, memories of celebrations and community events in the neighborhood, and family ancestors who resided in the area also can contribute to the level of emotional attachment to place amongst residents. In this chapter, I use Shamsuddin and Ujang's (2008) differentiation between functional attachment and emotional attachment to place. The factors gathered in this dissertation that influence place attachment include: length of time in residence, sense of belonging, greetings between neighbors, plans to reside in one's current house in the future, and perception of better opportunities where they are now as opposed to where they lived before.

Survey findings related to place attachment

Hidalgo and Hernandez (2001) define place attachment as “an affective bond or link between people and specific places (p. 274). Other scholars have further defined it as a “positive affective bond or association between individuals and their residential environment” (Shumaker and Taylor, 1983, p. 233) and “an individual's cognitive or emotional connection to a particular setting or milieu” (Low, 1992, p. 165). As Rigers and Lavrakas (1981) contend, there are both social and physical components of attachment that are worthy of exploration; their components overlap with Shamsuddin and Ujang's (2008) functional and emotional attributes. Physical attachment is linked to rootedness to a particular place while, social attachment is linked to bonding with people (Rigers & Lavrakas, 1981). In their study of 177 residents in Santa Cruz de Tenerife (Spain), Hidalgo and Hernandez (2001) determined through door-to-door interviews that social attachment was greater than physical attachment. Moreover, as my study seeks to suggest, place attachment (especially the social and emotional components of it) is linked to length of time in residence (Rigers & Lavrakas, 1981; Hunter, 1975; Kasarda & Janowitz, 1974). The longer the time that residents live in a particular area, the more time they have to build up

attachment and develop links to other residents, organizations, and physical spaces (Guest & Lee, 1983; Cuba & Hummon, 1993).

For the purposes of this study, I also suggest that place attachment is linked to the length of time in residence as shown in Table 19. One of the respondent selection criteria was that in order to participate the resident had to have been living in the housing site for 6 months or more. The idea is that the longer the length of time in residence, the more time residents have to build trust between other neighbors, establish themselves in the community, and find employment opportunities.

Table 19: How long have you lived in your current house? (Survey Question)

Site Name	Cosmo City (n=60)	Diepsloot (n=60)	Freedom Park (n=41)	Springfield Terrace (n=29)
Mean length of time in residence	9.1 years	12.87 years	8.66 years	19.38 years

Table 20: Do you greet your neighbors when you see them? (Survey Question)

	Cosmo City (n=60)	Diepsloot (n=60)	Freedom Park (n=41)	Springfield Terrace (n=29)
Yes	100%	100%	97.6%	100%
No	0%	0%	2.4%	0%

Interview findings related to place attachment

In order to identify with a place, residents often demonstrate emotional ties, “but it may also involve a sense of shared interests and values. This identification with place is often expressed as a sense of being ‘at home’ – of being comfortable [and] familiar” (Cuba & Hummon, 1993, p. 113). Cuba and Hummon (1993) use the term “place identity” to examine “an interpretation of self that uses environmental meaning to symbolize or situate identity” (p. 112). They suggest that the question of “where do I belong?” is critical in examining residents’ place identity.

As shown in Table 21, most of the residents interviewed indicated that they feel they belong where they are living. This sense of belonging implies that they feel accepted in the community and share the values and practices of others living in the community. Moreover, 100% of those surveyed in all of the sites, indicated that they greet their neighbors when they see them (Table 20). While some residents pointed to this as a surface encounter and mutual sign of respect, it is still a valuable indication of residents’ perceived importance of knowing their neighbors and developing rapport as a first step to developing mutual trust and support in time of need.

Table 21: Do you feel you belong here? (Interview Question)

	Cosmo City (n=18)	Diepsloot (n=18)	Freedom Park (n=32)	Springfield Terrace (n=14)
Yes	94.4%	94.4%	81.2%	93%
No	0	5.6%	12.5%	0
Maybe	0	0	6.3%	7%
Missing	5.6%	0	0	0

In this dissertation, nearly all the residents interviewed expressed some sense of belonging and the data suggest length of time of residence, feelings of safety, and community participation contribute to belonging. Moreover, the data of this study indicate that much of the place attachment is at the functional level, that is, proximity to work, school, and parks. Interview questions 1 and 2 which asked residents to name three things they liked about their current housing and three things they disliked about their current housing. The answers to these questions revealed the importance of functional elements of a housing development on residents’ attachment to place.

Table 22 depicts the number of times residents mentioned a functional element that they like in their current housing. For Cosmo City residents, the top three “likes” were amenities,

safety, and comfort and space. In the interviews in all four sites, residents referred to amenities they like about their current housing such as nearby schools, parks, churches, taxi ranks, and clinics. Schools, parks, and the newly constructed Cosmo City Mall were the main amenities that Cosmo City residents mentioned. Parents of young children want to ensure that their children have access to education, and in fact, children of a nearby informal settlement called Kya Sand walk 3 kilometers to attend school in Cosmo City (Site Visit, Kya Sand, June 12, 2013). Comfort and space was also on the minds of Cosmo City residents who noted that the structure of the houses as well as the spaciousness of the yard contributes to their comfort level and is an improvement on their previous living conditions in the informal settlements.

For Diepsloot residents, amenities, service delivery, supportive neighbors, and comfort and space ranked high on their list. Diepsloot residents noted that the Diepsloot mall, schools, and churches supply the supportive infrastructure that contributes to their comfort. Service delivery was also high on residents' list of "likes" although it was also frequently mentioned as a "dislike" because of the tendency for service delivery to break down through water cut offs, sewage backups, and limited trash collection. Residents in Diepsloot also mentioned their supportive neighbors as a source of emotional attachment to the community because of reasons identified in Chapter 4 on social trust. Residents rely on their neighbors to watch their houses while they are away at work and the community policing forum in Diepsloot further contributes to the support between neighbors to alert one another of crime in the area.

Freedom Park residents placed a large emphasis on the proximity of their housing to nearby churches which falls under the amenities category. Furthermore, the ability to feel comfortable and "at home" was prevalent in Freedom Park residents' responses. Freedom Park residents also highly value service delivery which they lacked as residents of the informal

settlement and backyard dwellings in Tafelsig. Freedom Park residents also rely heavily on their neighbors for support and solidarity, which contributes to their emotional attachment to place. The fact that the original beneficiaries of Freedom Park occupied an informal settlement on the land prior to the development of formal housing, means that they established networks of trust and support to pool resources necessary to survive in difficult circumstances. It is this solidarity that was palpable during my interviews with original beneficiaries who frequently emphasized that they have lived in Freedom Park since “Day 1.”

The functional elements that rank highly in Springfield Terrace include access to jobs and the CBD and safety, as well as supportive neighbors (emotional element of place attachment). Residents in Springfield Terrace value the stability that comes with the ability to live close to the city center. The location of Springfield Terrace makes it an attractive place for residents to walk to jobs, schools, and the Marion Institute. However, long term residents frequently indicated to me during interviews and focus group sessions that there are fewer community activities for children than there once were at the Marion Institute. Nonetheless, the daily scene of children playing together in the open space between the apartment blocks indicates the support between neighbors as well as the sense of safety that residents feel in allowing their children to play outside.

Table 22: Name three things you like about your current housing. (Interview Question)

	Cosmo City	Diepsloot	Freedom Park	Springfield Terrace
Amenities	14	9	11	3
Access to jobs and CBD	0	4	0	8
Service delivery and flush toilets ⁹	2	7	6	0
Safety	8	4	0	8
Comfort and space	9	6	14	1
Supportive neighbors (*emotional attachment)	7	6	6	8

The responses collated in Table 23 are counts representing the number of times a respondent referenced a topic in response to the question of “what does sense of community mean to you?” Therefore, the counts in this chart are not necessarily an indication of sample size but rather the number of times a particular theme or arose in the conversation with a respondent. For example, an interview with one woman in Freedom Park elicited two themes of sense of community as safety and also helping neighbors when they are in need:

[We] must know and care about neighbors and be aware of the surroundings and help each other in any way we can. Also, the children must be kept safe and it must not be only the parents’ responsibility, but the whole community. [Freedom Park Resident Interview, May 25, 2015]

The question of what sense of community means to residents is linked to their attachment to place. The top three responses across the sites, as shown in Table 23, were unity, good relations with neighbors, and safety. Freedom Park residents mentioned that the community was more united and “life was better in the informal settlement” 6 times when this question was asked.

⁹ Water, electricity, sanitation, garbage collection

Freedom Park residents’ responses to this question indicated a yearning for the sense of community once felt while living in the informal settlement. Yet, those same residents who expressed their “likes” of their current housing cited warmth, running water, and flush toilets as elements that they are indeed grateful to have in their current housing, which were lacking in the informal settlement.

Table 23: What does sense of community mean to you? (Interview Question)

	Cosmo City (n=18)	Diepsloot (n=18)	Freedom Park (n=32)	Springfield Terrace (n=14)
Safety	2	4	6	0
Unity or stand together	4	2	10	2
Communication with neighbors	4	2	1	0
Good relations with neighbors; helping each other and working together to make improvements	3	7	9	9
Comfort	3	0	0	0

Functional and emotional attributes of place attachment

Based upon interviews and door-to-door surveys with residents in the four housing sites, it became apparent that attachment to place was linked to both functional needs and emotional needs of the residents. As Shamsuddin and Ujang (2008) suggest “functional attributes” of a place relate to the users’ ability to carve out livelihood activities for economic gain as well as supply personal needs (p. 403). Emotional attributes are linked to residents’ daily activities and are commonly expressed in terms of pride for one’s house and belonging (Shamsuddin and Ujang, 2008, p. 403). As explored in their study of place attachment on the streets of Kuala

Lumpur, Shamsuddin and Ujang (2008) suggest that people with a strong emotional bond demonstrated deep involvement in street trading activities and also expressed concern for their living environment.

Appendix 19 shows the positive responses to two interview questions:

1. Do you see yourself living here in the future?
2. Do you believe that the opportunities for you to improve your education, safety, and stability in the future are better here? Why?

Using Shamsuddin and Ujang's (2008) terms, the table also separates the responses from the residents into categories based upon the emotional attachment and functional attachment factors that residents describe. Appendix 20 shows the negative responses to the same questions. When asked whether they see themselves living in their current house in the future and why, I received mixed responses. For those in Cosmo City who indicated that they plan to stay, residents indicated that they have no other housing option: *"Yes, it's my house and don't have another option."* *"Yes, I stay in an RDP house and there's no other option for housing."* Arguably, residents living in RDP houses without any other option for housing are subject to a government institutionalization of emotional connection to place; the idea is that over time they are forced to put down their roots in the government housing. Furthermore, the 8-year rule imposed by government under which residents are not permitted to sell or rent their RDPs for the first 8 years of ownership is the government's way of institutionalizing homeownership as the ideal, while also encouraging residents to stay in their RDP houses. Residents in Cosmo City also expressed the fact that numerous family members already reside there, so having family nearby makes them feel at home: *"Yes, my wife lives here and I have lots of family here Aunts Uncles grandparents. It's home."* One woman in Diepsloot expressed this same sentiment: *My*

whole life is now here. I have also brought my children to come live with me.” Diepsloot residents expressed similar sentiments to those in Cosmo City when asked whether they plan to stay in their current house in the future:

Yes, [there is] no other place like Diepsloot. It is home.

Yes, there is no other option.

Yes, but eventually I want to save enough cash to buy my own house since I am living with my mother currently.

Yes, because I am unemployed and there is no other option.

The majority of residents suggested that they plan to stay in Freedom Park in the future, some because they have nowhere else to go and others because they have lived in Freedom Park “since day 1.” For original Freedom Park residents, the emotional connection to place is very apparent especially given that they were engaged in struggle for housing, whereas outside beneficiaries were brought in to the area and allocated housing. The divide between outside beneficiaries and original residents became particularly clear during interviews because original Freedom Park residents share a common struggle. That struggle for housing binds them as a community. While many residents cite a decline in sense of community, it seems to be reviving with projects for youth engagement such as the Minstrels Group, Love-Life youth soccer team, and future plans for Youth Day events. One woman in Freedom Park stated the following when asked whether she plans to stay in her current house in the future:

“Yes, because it is my children’s future and so I won’t move. I can’t leave it and won’t. I have an emotional attachment to it and I believe children will come back here to live when I am gone even though they have family elsewhere.”

Residents interviewed and surveyed in Freedom Park also discussed similar sentiments with one woman stating: *Yes, I see no other place I can go and stay... most definitely not shacks again ... they leak and flood.*

If one lives close to one's place of employment, then one is not having to commute long distances. This means that people would have more time to devote to establishing themselves in the community while also building memories and attachment to place. This is supported by the following responses of Diepsloot residents to the question of whether residents see themselves living in their current residence in the future:

Yes, because I am able to provide for myself while looking for a permanent job.

Yes, because it's closer to work

Yes, because I am looking for a job and hoping to get my own house so my children can come stay with me.

Yes, there's opportunities to grow and find a job.

There are opportunities for her kids and grand-children to get educated and jobs.

Yes, because I know a couple of people who are willing to assist me in finding a job.

Residents also exhibited a sense of ownership over their houses and as indicated in previous chapters hold pride towards their houses. This, in a way, is one of the goals of the Department of Human Settlements. Overtime, residents have started to invest in their houses and put their own stamp on it. By personalizing their housing, they become emotionally connected to the area and their house as well. Homeownership brings with it a financial responsibility to maintain the housing and invest in it. In Cosmo City, some residents expressed happiness towards owning an RDP:

"I am proud of it. I own it. It's mine."

"RDP housing has a sense of ownership."

One young woman shared with me her desire to eventually move out of Cosmo City in order to get a house of her own:

“No, I want better things. I want a bigger house with my own things; I want to build my own house in the future or buy elsewhere; I want to study I just finished matric. No, too quiet and I need my own space. There are 5 kids in my house and not enough space.”

In Diepsloot, one resident expressed a similar statement: “Yes, [In RDP] I learn a lot of things.”

This statement links housing with learning – specifically the link to learning how to maintain and finance housing. Similarly, in Freedom Park, residents expressed the following:

“Yes, because it’s my investment.”

“Yes, I like it here, this is his home and final.”

“Yes, I feel I belong here until I die. I had to squat for 10 years to get the house and make hole and water.”

“It is a solid house because I shacked for more than 10 years. I feel privileged to have water without stealing it. The community is similar to before we moved where we had to struggle for 10 years. I want to grow old and have my grandchildren here. I want to see them have schooling and finish varsity.”

In Freedom Park, residents expressed a strong attachment to place in terms of how prideful they are of their houses:

Yes, I love my house.

Yes, the children live in the house and it’s safe because people look after each other to prevent crime.

Yes, because I put money in it. I need a place for the kids.

No, not forever, I want my own house not a shack.

The statements collected in Table 22 suggest that place attachment is more closely linked to the functional indicators of attachment such as being close to jobs, schools, clinics, or universities. The findings also suggest some overlap with the findings in the social trust (Chapter 4) of this dissertation. That is people who feel safe in their housing environment are more likely to develop an attachment to place. Furthermore, residents with higher levels of place attachment

show pride for their housing as indicated in statements from one woman in Cosmo City who said the following when asked whether she plans to stay in her current house in the future: “Yes, I am proud of it. I own it and it’s mine.” For some residents in Cosmo City and Diepsloot, they indicated that they plan to stay in their current housing out of necessity. Two different residents in Diepsloot stated the following when asked whether they plan to stay in their current housing in the future:

“Yes, because I am unemployed and there is no other option.”

“There’s no other option.”

A Cosmo City resident expressed a similar sentiment stating:

“My RDP house belongs to me and there’s no other option for housing.”

Across all of the sites, much of the emotional attachment factors brought up in both of the interview questions center around feelings of security. In Freedom Park, in particular, residents pointed to the willingness of neighbors supporting and assisting one another in times of need. On the functional attachment side, people in Cosmo City, Diepsloot, and Freedom Park are optimistic about future development happening in the areas in terms of what it could mean for improved access to employment. Nonetheless, on the side of negative impressions to the interview questions in Freedom Park, residents expressed their concerns for the lack of safety in the area. One woman tearfully expressed to me her desire to eventually leave Freedom Park saying:

“I am afraid to walk at night to prayer meetings. I really want to leave because I have no feeling for Mitchell’s Plain. “If you don’t have feelings for a place, how can you stay.” If people of Mitchell’s Plain and Tafelsig and mostly Freedom Park, if they can send people to school there will be no problem at all.”

Freedom Park is lacking in the functional factors that would influence place attachment with residents drawing attention to the need for opportunities for children, an accessible clinic, parks, and a community rehabilitation center. Yet, Freedom Park residents, as expressed in the

surveys and interviews, demonstrate an emotional attachment to place due to their collective struggle, which built group solidarity for the development of formal housing. The findings in Springfield Terrace, on the other hand, suggest that residents have a functional attachment to place due to the decent location of the housing site to schools, jobs, universities, churches, clinics, and the central business district.

Conclusion

Place attachment is central to sense of community because it focuses on bonds between people and physical spaces, and it can instill a spirit of participation amongst inhabitants in revitalization efforts and community events (Manzo & Perkins, 2006; Rivlin, 1987; Perkins, Brown, & Taylor, 1996; Cuba & Hummon, 1993). Moreover, as has been discussed at length in this dissertation, strong community participation as evident in celebrations, street cleanup campaigns, and mobilization for common concerns also requires attachment to place as a precondition. In order to be active in one's community one must also be concerned with the maintenance of the neighborhood and committed to its success.

The findings of this chapter indicate that overall place attachment does not vary a great deal by housing approach and instead, is most differentiated by location, specifically the proximity to the city center as in the case of Springfield Terrace. In the sub-categories of functional attachment and emotional attachment there is some variation between the different housing approaches. Throughout the data collection activities, three themes emerged regarding residents' place attachment:

1. Residents have no other housing option;
2. RDP housing gives a sense of ownership;

3. Proximity to employment and the city center is linked to place attachment.

Table 24 shows the levels of functional and emotional attachment based on the qualitative findings from the door-to-door interviews and household surveys.

Table 24: Summary of place attachment levels

	Cosmo City	Diepsloot	Freedom Park	Springfield Terrace
Functional attachment	Moderate	Moderate	Low	High
Emotional attachment	Low	Moderate	Moderate	High

Residents who previously lived on the current land in an informal settlement prior to the formalization process, as was the case in Freedom Park, have a stronger emotional attachment to the community and how it develops over time because they collectively struggled for housing. Functional attachment in Freedom Park is low because of its lack of proximity to job opportunities, the city center, and schools. In the case of Springfield Terrace, the majority of residents interviewed indicated that they plan to stay in their current housing in the future largely due to the history of the area and its connection to District 6. Residents also have a stronger functional attachment due to Springfield Terrace’s close proximity to the city center. Yet, resident beneficiaries of relatively new housing developments such as Cosmo City are less emotionally connected to the housing site because they are still in the process of establishing roots in the new area. This is especially the case for residents who relocated from the Zevenfontein informal settlement and are now living far from their former neighbors. Additionally, the lack of participation in the development process of Cosmo City also means that people are less willing to be active in maintaining the site in the future. Nonetheless, Cosmo City demonstrated a moderate level of functional attachment due to the proximity of schools, clinics, parks, and shopping mall. For those of Diepsloot, emotional attachment to place is stronger than

that of Cosmo City because of the relatively communal atmosphere, and the close proximity to jobs and abundance of informal livelihood activities contribute to the moderate level of functional attachment.

Chapter 7: Conclusion and implications for planning practice

This dissertation sought to examine how different housing approaches influence sense of community among low-income residents. Although the particular housing approaches blur into one another, this study explored state-driven private developer built RDP housing (Cosmo City), an unplanned informal settlement with some RDP housing (Diepsloot), aided self-help housing (Freedom Park), and public-private partnership medium density housing near Cape Town's CBD (Springfield Terrace). This study sought to fill a research and policy gap on the need for more understanding on the interdependence of physical surroundings and sense of community. At the level of housing policy, this study advocates the need for more focus on residents' sense of community in housing developments. Long-run evaluations of how residents are doing socially, politically, and economically in new housing environments are critical if the South African government is to follow through on its goal of creating "sustainable human settlements".

Although the initial focus of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) was to quickly grant housing for those who had been denied such under apartheid, residents' resulting sense of community in such projects must be weighed equally against the physical output of housing. Furthermore, the resurgence of the use of the term "slum" characterizes informal settlements in a negative light as disorderly, and given the vast inequalities of such areas, viewing informal settlements as a "problem" to be solved results in worrying trends towards slum-clearance and displacement (Gilbert, 2008; Lombard, 2014; Huchzermeyer, 2011). As Lombard (2014) contends, the use of the term "slum" oversimplifies and obscures the inherent

complexity and social order of such places. This dissertation calls for a reconsideration of the pitfalls of the Department of Human Settlements' preoccupation with the construction of mega housing projects. The low emphasis on upgrading informal settlements in South Africa, as Tissington (2011) discusses, means that low-income residents who occupy informal settlements will witness more displacement and removal from these areas where they have developed social supports and livelihoods.

In an interview with Mr. Makhubele, one of the ward councilors of Diepsloot, he indicated that "houses can't just be built for everybody, [and] the government's role is not to just give houses but the focus is also on economic growth and education" (Personal interview, Mr. Makhubele, January 30, 2015). Mr. Makhubele's statement indicates a reconsideration of the role of the state in housing delivery. In a sense, this statement and others like it from the Minister of Housing, Lindiwe Sisulu, cast low-income housing beneficiaries as consumers of the state who *expect* to receive a house. In order to mitigate the burden on government to construct housing, Minister Sisulu is putting forward a new initiative to shift housing subsidies to the private sector so that companies will be required to provide housing for their employees (Makinana, 2015). Such a policy would enable those residents who fall through the cracks (making more than R3,500 (~\$350) and still unable to afford decent housing) to get a housing subsidy from their employer (Makinana, 2015).

A particular finding of this dissertation was that, while the housing approaches are different, the findings on sense of community are largely the similar across the sites except in the case of Springfield Terrace. The location of housing developments makes the difference in terms of access to social amenities, schools, churches, transportation, and livelihood activities. As was determined by this study, Springfield Terrace is close to the city center of Cape Town and is

walking distance to schools, Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT), jobs, and amenities in town. A major finding among the residents surveyed and interviewed in Springfield Terrace was that residents have higher levels of social trust and attachment to place largely stemming from the location of the housing and the close knit community where children play freely outdoors in the open space interior to the housing.

Interviews and household surveys with residents reveal that residents are prideful of their housing and rely heavily on neighbors for support in terms of watching their houses when they are away or alerting them of crime in the area. On social trust more broadly, however, the household surveys reveal that in large part residents in both Cosmo City and Diepsloot feel unsafe walking at night or allowing their children to play outside. Moreover, the findings of my work indicate that government programs to re-house low-income residents do so with little attention to the pre-existing social fabric. Several residents reported feeling uprooted when arriving to their new housing because they no longer lived near their former neighbors. The necessity of feeling safe has significant implications for the longevity of a housing development.

Table 25 shows the empirical findings for the levels of sense of community in each site based on the indicators and relevant survey questions. The reason why some of the empirical (actual) findings were different from the predictions (as discussed in Chapter 2) is because the predictions were based upon exploratory research and my reading of the literature. Once I completed the field work, some of these predicted ratings changed due to the conclusions I gathered from the survey data and resident interviews. My predictions that differed from the empirical findings were social trust in Cosmo City (predicted low, but the actual was moderate) and functional and emotional attachment to place for all four sites. Once I decided to differentiate between functional and emotional attachment (following Shamsuddin and Ujang,

2008), it became clearer, for example, that Cosmo city rated higher for functional attachment than it did emotional attachment.

Table 25: Sense of Community Ratings per site

		Cosmo City	Diepsloot	Freedom Park	Springfield Terrace
Indicato	Social Trust	Moderate	Low	Low	Moderate
	Community Participation	Low	Moderate	Moderate	Low
	Functional Attachment	Moderate	Moderate	Low	High
	Emotional Attachment	Low	Moderate	Moderate	High

Across all of the sites, I found high levels of “neighborliness” mostly exhibited in greetings to one another and a rather surface encounter of a sign of respect. Furthermore, in all of the sites, I determined that most residents are willing to loan a neighbor money if they are in need. Lastly, residents in all of the sites indicated that they will alert one another of an impending crime either through whistles (common in Cosmo City and Diepsloot) or via word of mouth. This was further confirmed in my interview with Mr. Phashe Magagane of the Cosmo City Community Development Forum who indicated that “block communities use whistles to help identify issues and crime” (Personal interview, January 28, 2015). If someone is going to be away for a few days or is heading into town for work, it is common for residents to notify their neighbor so that they can keep watch over their house. This represents a close reliance on informal means of security and networks.

Cosmo city can be classified as a private developer planned township led by the state with RDP houses under the Breaking New Ground plan. It is a relatively new development, and many residents of Zevenfontein were not relocated near their former neighbors once they were allocated housing in Cosmo City. Cosmo City has a moderate score on functional attachment because residents interviewed indicated that some of their needs are being met such as access to jobs, the shopping mall, and schools. Yet, Cosmo City has a low score on emotional attachment

largely because residents interviewed indicated few ties to the area prior to its development. As evident in the focus group discussions, crime is still a serious concern on the minds of Cosmo City residents. Many residents suggested that it is somewhat safe for children to play outside and I attribute this largely to the presence of parks in the area and dedicated play spaces throughout the development even in the social housing rental area of Hlanganani. Although I did not interview or survey residents in Hlanganani, I toured it in 2013 with the housing administrator. This social housing rental, maintained by the Johannesburg Housing Company, has numerous sites dedicated to children's play including a jungle gym, a cement area for riding bikes or playing soccer, and an indoor tumbling mat area. Within the RDP section of Cosmo City, residents are still cautious of speeding cars and prefer to allow their children to play where they can be watched easily. For these reasons, Cosmo City has a moderate level of social trust. Although Cosmo City has a multipurpose center comprised of the library and meeting spaces it is underused. Many residents indicated that the library does not have internet connection so people are unable to search for jobs or apply to school. The limited informal trading in the area seems to diminish larger community participation. Residents do indicate that they attend church and funerals to show support to the bereaved. However, there is not a street watch committee and people do not seem socially involved to make changes in their community.

Diepsloot can be described as an unplanned informal settlement with recent RDP housing attached to informal dwellings. Social trust in Diepsloot received a low score with the majority of the residents interviewed citing crime, house break-ins, rape, and speeding cars as a detriment to social well-being. One resident stated that "no one can be trusted in Diepsloot." Community participation receives a moderate score due to more abundant street activity and informal businesses throughout the area in contrast to Cosmo City. People also attend churches nearby

and nearly everyone indicated that they attend funerals and assist with bringing food or collecting money to support the bereaved family. There are also several crèches (children's day cares) in the area. Furthermore, the Father Blondel Youth Development Centre, where I conducted the focus groups and resident interview sessions, serves as a meeting place for community organizing. On the place attachment indicator, most people stated that they feel they belong in Diepsloot, and that it is home. For this reason, Diepsloot has moderate scores for functional attachment and emotional attachment. On the functional attributes of place attachment, residents in Diepsloot cited proximity to jobs as a factor that makes them feel attached to place, while the bonds between people in Diepsloot as well as the communal atmosphere contribute to its moderate level of emotional attachment.

Freedom Park began when several residents in Mitchell's Plain decided upon themselves to occupy vacant land that was originally zoned for a school that was never developed. The Legal Resource Centre (LRC) and Development Action Group (DAG) assisted in granting the residents protection from eviction from their "wendy houses" or shacks. In order to formalize the housing site and grant the residents access to running water and electricity which they lacked in their shacks, Freedom Park initially became self-help housing under the People's Housing Project (PHP). While a few of the residents I interviewed did indicate that they constructed their houses themselves, this was not the case for the majority of residents. With the disbandment of the Tafelsig People's Association (TPA), this gave way for private developers to enter the area and grant housing to beneficiaries under the government subsidy scheme. In order to develop housing more quickly, the Mellon housing initiative came to the area and constructed the majority of the houses for residents.

Social trust is extremely low in Freedom Park, and people are fearful of gang violence; however, residents know where the gangs congregate and people tend to work with one another to keep each other safe. In this way the “us versus them” mentality seems to maintain the solidarity amongst those residents against the gangsters. I interviewed a woman who is a police officer with the South Africa Police Service (SAPS). She shared freely with me that residents have her phone number if they experience a crime or house break-in. She is typically the one to call the authorities because if residents attempt to call the police on their own, the police do not respond. Furthermore, she told me that she often confronts the gangs, largely comprised of youth who have dropped out of school. She indicated that they respect her and often listen to what she has to say. The overall social trust is low in the area due to the fact that residents are anxious to venture out of their houses especially at night. During the day, residents are fearful of sending their children to school, so sadly many children do not attend school. Furthermore, everyone I spoke with indicated that “life was better in the informal settlement.” Residents told me that there was no crime when they lived in the informal settlement on Freedom Park and children could play freely. When they were allocated formal housing through the Mellon Housing Initiative, the government also allocated housing to beneficiaries from all over Cape Town, which brought in numerous outside beneficiaries to the area further increasing tension between original beneficiaries and outsiders.

Community participation in Freedom Park is moderate because social consciousness is extremely high and most people I interviewed indicated that they are willing to organize with one another for various activities; however, there is limited capacity for people to organize largely due to infrastructural challenges and the lack of a well maintained community hall. The residents of Freedom Park who attended the focus group sessions were very vocal in expressing

their concerns and also collectively decided to come together for a future meeting to plan for a Youth Day celebration. This outcome of the focus group session leads me to believe that Freedom Park has the capacity for higher community participation in the future. Thus, the focus group community mapping session served as a source of collaborative planning that fueled dialogue, networks, and social capital. As Innes and Booher (2004) contend, “collaborative processes build networks,” and help to spur social trust between participants and build capacity for solving issues on their own. I maintain contact with Mrs. Najuwa Gallant, and she sent me photos from the Youth Day celebration that the residents organized for themselves. Highlights of the event included a talent and fashion show, soccer match, food, and games. There is a high level of neighborliness and people certainly have tremendous respect for Mrs. Gallant as a community leader in the area. Emotional attachment is moderate in Freedom Park because residents demonstrate that their emotional needs are met in the support between neighbors, the functional needs such as access to jobs, schools, and clinics are not well met. Furthermore, the original residents of Freedom Park all occupied the informal settlement prior to when the area was developed. This collective experience is what binds the community members who are original residents to the area. The common struggle for housing helps to ensure a shared emotional connection to place in Freedom Park.

The main finding of this dissertation is that, ironically, a housing development that was created prior to the end of apartheid currently offers the best sense of community compared to the other sites of this study. Although the development is not “perfect,” the case of Springfield Terrace demonstrates that older, medium density developments close to town fulfill residents social and personal needs. Social trust in Springfield Terrace is high. The area is safe for those who belong there. In other words, insiders can tell who the outsiders are. One respondent

indicated that the recent influx of outsiders in the area led to more crime. It is very common for children to be seen playing in the street and in the center of the apartment blocks after school and on weekends. Many of the residents have direct site lines of the street and can watch children play.

Community participation is low in Springfield Terrace. The residents who have lived there all their lives indicated that community participation was better years ago when the Marion Institute was more vibrant with Girl Scouts, dance teams, computer skills workshops, and game nights. In the focus group session, participants recalled the way the Marion Institute used to be. The director of Marion Institute indicated the need to make the Marion Institute “home away from home again.” It was very clear that the Springfield Terrace community is very insular in that residents are not interested in extending themselves much beyond their households and everyday routines. This resulted in only 4 participants attending the focus group session. People are not socially organized. Nevertheless, functional attachment and emotional attachment are both high because the majority of people surveyed indicated that they feel they belong there and the functional needs of the residents are met such as access to schools, the city center, and jobs. Springfield Terrace’s connection to District 6 is another reason commonly cited by residents as a contributing factor to their emotional attachment to place. One of my key informants, Ms. Haga Moolman, introduced me to her grandmother, who I met while I was there; she was the oldest resident at 103 years of age and passed away shortly after my return to the U.S. Original residents like Haga, are very much committed to the success and vibrancy of the neighborhood.

Implications for planning practice

This dissertation adds to the urban policy body of knowledge by examining an understudied area in the planning literature concerning the influence of different housing approaches on low-income residents' sense of community. The results of this dissertation have the potential to inform policy at the national level in South Africa and international development agencies. Few studies in urban planning literature examine the interdependence of sense of community and physical surroundings. Urban planning literature places more emphasis on the physical, *exterior*, elements of housing typologies – that is their structure, layout, or design. However, this literature does not pay sufficient attention to the residents' lives *interior* to such housing typologies – that is residents' feeling of belonging and attachment to place.

Furthermore, this dissertation largely contributes to the community psychology literature through the use of indicators for sense of community derived from such literature in order to further understand how the built environment impacts sense of community. Additionally, the major contribution of my work to urban planning literature is to encourage planning practitioners, students, and professors of planning to consider the psycho-social impacts of various approaches to housing. Furthermore, within the field of planning in so-called developing countries, my work encourages us to recognize that informality is not necessarily an indication of disorder. Instead there are several merits of informality, as demonstrated in the case of Diepsloot, which showed promise in the area of community participation through informal child care arrangements and the community policing forum.

Efforts to rehouse residents to public-private partnership (PPPs) projects such as Cosmo City should consider residents' social networks and relations with previous neighbors prior to the allocation of housing. Nonetheless, such PPPs do provide much needed supportive infrastructure

that residents may have lacked in the informal settlements such as parks, malls, formal schools, taxi ranks, paved roads, and clinics. Furthermore, the formal housing of such PPPs means that residents have improved access to basic services such as running water, flush toilets, electricity, and trash collection. Such functional attributes of a place certainly do contribute to a satisfaction of personal needs and improved quality of life.

For resident beneficiaries of aided self-help projects such as Freedom Park, one benefit is strong emotional attachment to place because residents played an early role in the construction process. Nonetheless, in the case of Freedom Park, private intervention sped up the delivery of housing and opened the housing to outside beneficiaries which seemed to erode social trust amongst residents. Springfield Terrace seems to offer the best example of strong sense of community largely due to the proximity to town, the smaller size of the development, and open sightlines for residents to see one another coming and going and children playing. A major factor contributing to sense of community is *time* – governments and policymakers cannot do much about time, but other functional factors such as proximity to town, schools, services, and jobs as well as the spatial layout of the development are very important according to my study.

Although more data needs to show the number of people selling or renting out their RDP houses, some local knowledge suggests that many residents return to the informal settlements because of affordability and a longing for improved social connectivity (Harber, 2011).¹⁰ Furthermore, Mr. Phashe Magagae, of the Cosmo City Development Forum, indicated that “RDPs are ways for residents to make revenue and [serve as] a revenue tactic” (Personal interview, January 28, 2015). It is critical to shift the policy discourse towards a consideration of residents’ sense of community when planning new housing developments because doing so will

¹⁰ Based on conversations with Kate Muwoki, a research manager at Knowledge Pele in Johannesburg, personal communication, July 11, 2014 and August 27, 2014.

enable policymakers and planners to understand residents' overall satisfaction with housing and their willingness to stay in the future. Furthermore, when it comes to slum clearance, for example, planners need to acknowledge that slums are not disorderly, but rather have a social structure that governs everyday life. Informal childcare, surveillance, or "eyes on the street" (Jacobs, 1961) are particularly useful in generating social cohesion, distinguishing insiders from outsiders, and ordering life. A critical facet of being a reflective practitioner is the ability to be open to alternative ways of knowing with an interest in locals' "perceptions of the issue" (Schön, 1983, p. 300). The emphasis on *process*, as opposed to a ready solution on the part of planners (Forester, 1999), is critical for various stakeholder groups to understand their ways of working, interests, and common ground. Given the massive rollout of government subsidized housing in South Africa after apartheid ended, planners and policymakers need to assess the social consequences of such programs. Although millions are still without decent housing in South Africa, planners need to shift their attention towards enhancing networks and growing local organizations that can then work together to arrive at solutions to common problems (Forester, 1999). This deliberative participatory planning process rests on the need to create spaces of trust where people can feel safe about expressing their needs, stories, and memories (Forester, 1999). Planners should focus less on immediate fixes and more on capacity building so that local communities can articulate their own problems and arrive at their own collective solutions.

Lessons from the global literature on sense of community indicate that full completion of a private developer housing project, as opposed to leaving some elements for residents to work on collectively, may actually be a hindrance to increasing sense of community (Rosenblatt et al., 2009). In order to satisfy immediate housing needs, state-driven private developers quickly deliver government subsidized housing to low-income residents with limited community

engagement. This dissertation calls attention to more consideration of informal settlement upgrades and medium density housing closer to the city center such as Springfield Terrace, as opposed to the predominate method of housing allocation through mega housing located along city peripheries. If the goal is for low-income residents to eventually gain more upward mobility, then more careful attention needs to be paid to the location of new housing developments to ensure that residents are living near potential employment areas and that their housing will be appraised to sell in such a way that permits them to move up the housing ladder.

Recommendations for Future Research

As developing countries like South Africa look to create more housing options for under-housed populations, it will be critical to do so with close attention to how residents will fare socially, economically, and politically once they are re-housed or granted upgraded housing. More research needs to focus on how the built environment intersects with sense of community in broader contexts. Future studies can examine additional housing approaches such as slum upgrade projects, mixed-income housing, or rental housing; this study touches on these types of housing, but did not cover such housing types in depth as individual case studies. Future studies could examine mixed-income housing as an approach in order to determine the extent to which low-income residents are integrating with the middle class in contexts such as Cosmo City. Furthermore, an index could be created for sense of community, which would establish a framework for cities to evaluate the impact of housing approaches. Local municipalities and housing officials could use such an index as a way of measuring progress towards goals of creating sustainable human settlements.

As discussed in the limitations in the Introduction of this dissertation, this study had a small sample size of residents relative to the overall population of each housing site. Thus, future studies could increase the resident sample in order for the findings to be more representative of the total population. With a larger sample size, a regression analysis would be useful in order to measure quantitatively the extent to which a particular indicator drives sense of community more or less.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the Map Kibera Project is a large scale mapping initiative led by residents, who identify areas of their community that are in need of repair or maintenance using GPS devices. Future studies could embark on a similar mapping exercise that goes beyond the pencil and paper mapping approach of this dissertation. Doing so requires training residents to use GPS devices, and this places them in the driver's seat of articulating their infrastructural needs to policymakers.

Additionally, future studies could examine sense of community in other housing contexts within other African countries or Latin America in order to broaden the scope. A longitudinal study could also be conducted in order to trace individual residents to determine their housing patterns as to whether they are staying in their government allocated housing, returning to informal settlements, or moving up the housing ladder.

This study advocates the need for residents' sense of community to be more fully examined when crafting housing policy and planning future housing developments for low-income residents. The results of my work demonstrate that medium density housing that is more closely located to the CBD, as opposed to large scale mega projects along the periphery, fosters a greater sense of community because of residents' ability to access functional needs such as amenities, jobs, and schools in the city center.

Furthermore, the results of my dissertation speak to the need for more on-the-ground implementation of the Upgrading Informal Settlements Programme (UISP) under the Breaking New Ground Plan in order to maintain residents' livelihoods and social networks, rather than rehousing residents in large scale mega projects. Yet, as discussed in this dissertation, I recognize that the possibility of *in situ* upgrades in informal settlements requires a legitimization of their illegality on the part of the Department of Human Settlements and local municipalities. Doing so necessitates local housing authorities and municipalities to overcome their obsession with large scale mega housing projects as the answer to the housing backlog. The fact that some residents choose to rent out their RDP housing and return to informal settlements is an indication that government plans to rehouse low-income residents are falling short. The draw to the informal settlement rests largely on the fact that people can maintain their livelihood activities to make ends meet without the financial and maintenance burdens of homeownership as espoused by the Department of Human Settlements. Furthermore, in order to maintain a low-income housing market in the long-run, my study demonstrates the need to examine attributes of residents' sense of community in order to plan more closely to their stated needs and wants with intentions for them to stay in the future.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Institutional Review Board Approval Letter



Health Sciences and Behavioral Sciences Institutional Review Board (IRB-HSBS) • 2800 Plymouth Rd., Building 520, Room 1170, Ann Arbor, MI 481092800 • phone (734) 936-0933 • fax (734) 998-9171 • irbhsbs@umich.edu

To: Ms. Jennifer Williams

From:

Thad Polk

Cc:

Martin Murray
Jennifer Williams
Kate Muwoki

Subject: Initial Study Approval for [HUM00091463]--Two Year Approval

SUBMISSION INFORMATION:

Study Title: Understanding low-income residents' sense of community in post-1994 housing developments in South Africa

Full Study Title (if applicable): Understanding low-income residents' sense of community in post-1994 housing developments in South Africa Study eResearch ID: [HUM00091463](#)

Date of this Notification from IRB: 1/9/2015

Initial IRB Approval Date: 12/23/2014

Current IRB Approval Period: 12/23/2014 - 12/22/2016

Expiration Date: Approval for this expires at 11:59 p.m. on 12/22/2016

UM Federalwide Assurance (FWA): FWA00004969 (For the current FWA expiration date, please visit the [UM HRPP Webpage](#)) OHRP IRB Registration Number(s): IRB00000246

Approved Risk Level(s):

Name	Risk Level
	No more than minimal risk

[View](#)HUM00091463

NOTICE OF IRB APPROVAL AND CONDITIONS:

The IRB HSBS has reviewed and approved the study referenced above. The IRB determined that the proposed research conforms with applicable guidelines, State and federal regulations, and the University of Michigan's Federalwide Assurance (FWA) with the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS). You must conduct this study in accordance with the description and information provided in the approved application and associated documents.

APPROVAL PERIOD AND EXPIRATION:

The approval period for this study is listed above. Note that this study has been granted a two year approval period as the research poses no more than minimal risk to subjects and there is no federal funding associated with this research effort. If your funding source should change to include federal funding, please notify the IRB. Federally funded research must follow federal regulations, one of which is an approval period not to exceed one year. Please note the expiration date. If the approval lapses, you may not conduct work on this study until appropriate approval has been re-established, except as necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to research subjects. Should the latter occur, you must notify the IRB Office as soon as possible.

IMPORTANT REMINDERS AND ADDITIONAL INFORMATION FOR INVESTIGATORS

APPROVED STUDY DOCUMENTS:

You must use any date-stamped versions of recruitment materials and informed consent documents available in the eResearch workspace (referenced above). Date-stamped materials are available in the "Currently Approved Documents" section on the "Documents" tab.

RENEWAL/TERMINATION:

At least two months prior to the expiration date, you should submit a continuing review application either to renew or terminate the study. Failure to allow sufficient time for IRB

review may result in a lapse of approval that may also affect any funding associated with the study.

AMENDMENTS:

All proposed changes to the study (e.g., personnel, procedures, or documents), must be approved in advance by the IRB through the amendment process, except as necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to research subjects.

Should the latter occur, you must notify the IRB Office as soon as possible.

AEs/ORIOs:

You must inform the IRB of all unanticipated events, adverse events (AEs), and other reportable information and occurrences (ORIOs). These include but are not limited to events and/or information that may have physical, psychological, social, legal, or economic impact on the research subjects or others.

Investigators and research staff are responsible for reporting information concerning the approved research to the IRB in a timely fashion, understanding and adhering to the reporting guidance (<http://medicine.umich.edu/medschool/research/office-research/institutionalreview-boards/guidance/adverse-events-aes-other-reportable-information-andoccurrences-orios-and-other-required-reporting>), and not implementing any changes to the research without IRB approval of the change via an amendment submission. When changes are necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to the subject, implement the change and report via an ORIO and/or amendment submission within 7 days after the action is taken. This includes all information with the potential to impact the risk or benefit assessments of the research.

SUBMITTING VIA eRESEARCH:

You can access the online forms for continuing review, amendments, and AEs/ORIOs in the eResearch workspace for this approved study (referenced above).

MORE INFORMATION:

You can find additional information about UM's Human Research Protection Program (HRPP) in the Operations Manual and other documents available at: <http://hrpp.umich.edu>.



Thad Polk

Chair, IRB HSBS

Appendix 2: Oral Consent to Participate in a Research Study
Sense of Community – Household Survey

Hello:

I am Jennifer Williams and I am a post graduate student doing research about sense of community in housing settlements in South Africa. If you agree to participate, I will ask you questions about your involvement in community activities here and your satisfaction with your housing. This will take about 15 minutes of your time. You will receive R10 in cell phone airtime for participating. I will not use your name in my report.

I do not anticipate any risks to participation. You may find that sharing your story is a useful experience. I hope that this research will contribute to a better understanding of the importance of residents' sense of community and housing needs. It is completely up to you whether to participate. Even if you decide to participate now, you may change your mind and stop at any time. You may skip questions you would prefer not to answer. You may respond to questions in your home language.

I will not include any information that would identify you. Your information will be kept safe in a locked cabinet. Information from the survey will be entered into a computer that is password protected to keep your information safe. Your name will not be used in the written copy of the discussion. I will keep this study data indefinitely for future research.

If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, or wish to obtain information, ask questions or discuss any concerns about this study with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact:

University of Michigan Health Sciences and Behavioral Sciences Institutional Review Board
2800 Plymouth Road
Building 520, Room 1169
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48109-2800
Email: irbhsbs@umich.edu
Phone: (+1) 734-936-0933

Do you have any questions?

Here is my contact card in case you have further questions.

For questions about the Sense of Community Study you may contact:

Jennifer Williams (Doctoral Student)	Martin Murray (Faculty Advisor)
Email: jwillia@umich.edu	Email: murraymj@umich.edu
Local number: (071) - 058-2988	
U.S. number: (+1) 404-368-3418	

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Ann Arbor, Michigan 48109-2800

Email: irbhsbs@umich.edu
Phone: (+1) 734-936-0933

If you agree, then we will proceed with the survey.

Appendix 3: Oral Consent to Participate in a Research Study

Sense of Community – Focus Group and Resident Interview

Hello:

I am Jennifer Williams and I am a post graduate student doing research about sense of community in housing settlements in South Africa. If you agree to be part of the research study, you will be asked to participate in one focus group session at your library or community centre and a 45 minute follow-up interview. Kate Muwoki, a trained facilitator, will conduct the focus group and Jennifer Williams will conduct the follow-up interview.

6 residents will meet together for a community mapping exercise. In your group, you will draw a map of your current community. You will be given the opportunity to explain the map. A member of the research team will ensure everyone has a chance to speak. The focus group discussion will be videotaped. The interviews will be audio recorded. The focus group will last about 2 hours and the follow-up interview will last about 45 minutes. You must agree to be videotaped and audio recorded to participate. The researcher will take photographs of your map. You will receive refreshments and R30 in cell phone airtime for your participation in the focus group and interview.

You may find that sharing your story is a useful experience. You will be able to keep your community maps to share with others in your community in the future. We hope that this research will contribute to a better understanding of the importance of residents' sense of community and housing needs.

Participation in the focus group and interview is completely voluntary. Even if you decide to participate now, you may change your mind and stop at any time. You may skip questions you would prefer not to answer. You may respond in your home language.

We will not include any information that would identify you. Your information will be kept safe in a locked cabinet. Information from the interviews will be entered into a computer that is password protected to keep your information safe. Your name will not be used in the written copy of the discussion. We will keep the audio and video recordings indefinitely for future research.

If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, or wish to obtain information, ask questions or discuss any concerns about this study with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact:

University of Michigan Health Sciences and Behavioral Sciences Institutional Review Board
2800 Plymouth Road
Building 520, Room 1169
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48109-2800

Email: irbhsbs@umich.edu
Phone: +1+734-936-0933

Do you have any questions? Here is my contact card in case you have further questions.

For questions about the Sense of Community Study you may contact:

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Martin Murray (Faculty Advisor)
Email: murraymj@umich.edu

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Ann Arbor, Michigan 48109-2800
Email: irbhsbs@umich.edu
Phone: (+1) 734-936-0933

If you agree, then we will proceed.

Appendix 4: Oral Consent to Participate in a Research Study

Sense of Community – Stakeholder Interview

Hello:

I am Jennifer Williams and I am a post graduate student doing research about sense of community in housing settlements in South Africa. If you agree to participate, I would like to ask you questions about the development process in housing settlements in which you work, residents' involvement in community activities, and your vision for future developments. This will take about 1 hour of your time. The interview will be audio recorded.

I hope that this research will contribute to a better understanding of the importance of residents' sense of community and housing needs. It is completely up to you whether to participate. Even if you decide to participate now, you may change your mind and stop at any time. You may skip questions you would prefer not to answer.

I will not include any information that would identify you. Your information will be kept safe in a locked cabinet. Information from the survey will be entered into a computer that is password protected to keep your information safe. Your name will not be used in the written copy of the discussion. I will keep this study data indefinitely for future research.

If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, or wish to obtain information, ask questions or discuss any concerns about this study with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact:

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Phone: (+1) 734-936-0933

Do you have any questions?

Here is my contact card in case you have further questions.

For questions about the Sense of Community Study you may contact:

Jennifer Williams (Doctoral Student)
Email: jwillia@umich.edu
Local number: (071) - 058-2988
U.S. number: (+1) 404-368-3418

Martin Murray (Faculty Advisor)
Email: murraymj@umich.edu

University of Michigan Health Sciences and Behavioral Sciences Institutional Review Board
2800 Plymouth Road

Building 520, Room 1169
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48109-2800
Email: irbhsbs@umich.edu
Phone: (+1) 734-936-0933

If you agree, then we will proceed with the interview.

Appendix 5: Household Survey

Respondent number: _____

Site (Circle one): Cosmo City Diepsloot Freedom Park Springfield Terrace

1. What year did you move into your current housing?

2. How many people live in your house?

3. What community activities are you involved in? Check all that apply.

- Traditional activities
- Religious activities
- Skills development
- Sports league
- Library
- Crèche
- Street watch committee
- Street cleanup
- Community garden
- Celebrations
- Other: _____

4. In the last year, did you attend a community meeting?

- a. Yes
- b. No

5. Is knowing your neighbours important to you? Why?

- a. Yes
- b. No

6. Do you think that most people can be trusted in this neighbourhood?

- a. Yes
- b. No

7. How safe do you feel walking in your neighbourhood at *night*? Why?

- Very safe
- Somewhat safe
- Not safe

8. How safe do you feel walking in your neighbourhood during the *day*? Why?

- Very safe
- Somewhat safe
- Not safe

9. How safe do you feel allowing children to play outside? Why?*

- Very safe
- Somewhat safe
- Not safe

10. Would you trust your neighbour to watch your children? Why?***

- Yes
- No

*Respondent may not have children so they may speak in general if they watch their neighbour's children or if they had children of their own would they allow them to play outside?

** Respondent may not have children, so they may speak in general as if they do have children

11. How willing are you to let your neighbour borrow money if they need it?

- Very willing
- Somewhat willing
- Not willing

12. When you see your neighbours, do you greet them?

- a. Yes
- b. No

13. Do you value the political leadership of your community leader? Why?

- Yes
- No

14. Do you value the religious leadership in your community? Why?

- a. Yes
- b. No

15. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

- No formal schooling
- Informal schooling only (including Koranic schooling)
- Some primary schooling
- Primary school completed
- Some secondary school / high school
- Secondary school / high school completed
- Post-secondary qualifications, other than university (e.g. a diploma or degree from a polytechnic or college)
- Some university
- University completed
- Post-graduate

16. What is your monthly income? _____

17. What is your country of citizenship? _____

18. What is your ethnic group? _____

19. What is your age? _____

20. What is your race?

- Black African
- Coloured
- Asian/Indian
- White

21. What is your gender?

- Male
- Female

Appendix 6: Focus Group Guide

Consent

I will use the Oral Consent Script in Section 10-1 for the Focus Groups and Interviews. The focus group and interview oral consent will be done together because I plan to interview the same residents who attend the focus groups. Residents at the focus group will receive refreshments and then after completing the follow-up interview they will receive R30 in cellphone airtime.

Welcome and Purpose of Focus Groups (5 minutes)

Welcome:

“Thank you for agreeing to be part of the focus group. We appreciate your willingness to participate. Please feel free to help yourself to some refreshments.”

Purpose of Focus Groups:

“The reason we are having these focus groups is to understand your sense of community here in _____ (Cosmo City, Diepsloot, Freedom Park, Springfield Terrace). In your group, you will draw a map of your current community. You will be given the opportunity to explain the map. We will ensure everyone has a chance to explain the map. The group will last for about 2 hours. We are grateful for your participation.”

Pass out materials (markers, sticky notes, flipchart paper) and go over directions (10 minutes)

1. “Today you will be drawing a map of your community together”
2. “The first step is to draw houses and sites of community activities such as community center, library, gym, gardens, roads, shops, day cares, livelihood areas, or sports fields”
3. “The second step is to use a sticky note to indicate what you would like to see improved or developed in the future that would help to build a sense of community. Examples could be a community garden, a taxi rank, a crèche, or improvements to an activity centre. On the sticky note, you may write what it is you want improved and place the note on the area of the map where you want it to be.”
4. “We would like everyone to participate in drawing the map and discussing how it should be drawn.”
5. “Every person's experiences and opinions are important.”
6. “Speak up whether you agree or disagree. You may speak in your home language.”
7. “We will be video recording the group mapping and discussion.”
8. “We will not identify anyone by name in our report. You will remain anonymous.”
9. “Are there any questions?”

1 hour: Mapping

30 Minutes:

- “Now we will have a discussion about the map that you have drawn.”
- “Let’s go around to each person and describe the different components of the map”
- “We want each person to have a chance to speak”
- Wrap up and thank everyone for coming.
- Distribute airline vouchers.

Appendix 7: Resident Interview Questions

Respondent number: _____

Site (Circle one): Cosmo City Diepsloot Springfield Terrace

1. Name 3 things you like about your current housing?

2. Name 3 things you do not like about your current housing.

3. What does “sense of community” mean to you?

4. Do you feel that you belong here?

5. What was the last place you lived before you moved here?

6. Describe the relocation process to where you are now.

7. How do you work with others to respond to an issue in your neighbourhood such as crime?

8. Discuss your involvement in funerals and weddings for people outside your immediate family in your township (such as help plan ceremony, bring food, attend to pay your respects)

9. Where does the rest of your family live?

10. Do you see yourself living in your current house in the future? Why?

- Yes
- No

11. Do you believe that the opportunities for you to improve your education, safety, and stability in the future are better here? Why?

- Yes
- No

Appendix 8: Resident Interview Questions

Respondent number:

Site: Freedom Park

1. Name 3 things you like about your current housing?
2. Name 3 things you do not like about your current housing.
3. What does “sense of community” mean to you?
4. Do you feel that you belong here?
5. What was the last place you lived before you moved here?
6. Describe the relocation process to where you are now.
7. Did you build your house yourself? [If yes, continue to Q8 and Q9. If No, skip to Q10]
8. Discuss the experience of building your house.

9. Who helped you build your house?

10. How did you get the house you have now? [**only ask if No to Q7**]

11. How do you work with others to respond to an issue in your neighbourhood such as crime?

12. Discuss your involvement in funerals and weddings for people outside your immediate family in your township (such as help plan ceremony, bring food, attend to pay your respects)

13. Do you see yourself living in your current house in the future? Why?

Yes

No

*Optional

14. Do you believe that the opportunities for you to improve your education, safety, and stability in the future are better here? Why?

Yes

No

Appendix 9: Resident Interview Guide

Beginning the interview:

“Hello Mr./Ms. _____. I am Jennifer Williams and I am a post graduate student doing research about sense of community in housing settlements in South Africa. I appreciate you taking the time to meet with me today.”

[Give description of project and gain oral consent]

[Note the resident’s respondent number at the top of the interview form]

During the Interview:

I will record the stakeholder interview using an audio recording device. I will also take written notes.

[See Section 29 “Survey Research” for Resident Interview Questions]

[I may need to use probes in order to facilitate conversation. The following probes will likely be used]:

- “Is there anything else?”
- “Can you explain that further?”
- “Can you elaborate on that idea?”
- “Can you give an example of what you mean?”

Concluding the interview:

Thank you Mr./Ms. _____ for your time. As a token of appreciation, you will receive R30 in cell phone airtime.

Following the interview:

I will fill in my notes and check the audio recording device for additional clarity. I will also summarize the main points of each interview in paragraph form.

Appendix 10: Non-Resident Stakeholder Interview Guide

[For government representatives, non-governmental organizations, rental housing agencies, and community based organizations]

Beginning the interview:

“Hello Mr./Ms. _____. I am Jennifer Williams and I am a post graduate student doing research about sense of community in housing settlements in South Africa. I appreciate you taking the time to meet with me today.”

[Give description of project and gain oral consent]

[Write the name of the organization at the top of the interview questionnaire]

During the Interview:

“I will record the stakeholder interview using an audio recording device. I will also take written notes.”

[See Section 29 “Survey Research” for Stakeholder Interview Questions]

[I may need to use probes in order to facilitate conversation. The following probes will likely be used]:

- “Is there anything else?”
- “Can you explain that further?”
- “Can you elaborate on that idea?”
- “Can you give an example of what you mean?”

Concluding the interview:

“Thank you Mr./Ms. _____ for your time. As a special token of my appreciation I wanted to give you a thank you note and a pencil from the University of Michigan.”

Following the interview:

I will fill in my notes and check the audio recording device for additional clarity. I will also summarize the main points of each interview in paragraph form.

Appendix 11: Non-Resident Stakeholder Recruitment Email

Dear _____,

I am an urban planning PhD Candidate at University of Michigan doing dissertation work on low-income housing in Johannesburg and Cape Town. I am scheduled to be in Johannesburg the end of January through February and then Cape Town from March through early April 2015. I would like to meet with you and others at your organization for about 1 hour for an interview to learn more about your work. Mr./Ms. _____ suggested that I speak with you and gave me your email address. I have browsed your organization's website and your work in community development and housing advocacy is aligned with my research interests.

My research examines the influence of different housing approaches (RDP & People's Housing Process) on residents' sense of community (social trust, community participation, neighborliness, emotional connection) in low-income housing.

Please let me know if you would be interested in setting up a meeting once I am in South Africa.

Kindest Regards,

Jennifer Williams

Appendix 12: Stakeholder Interview Questions

Ministry of Housing and Representative(s) from Developers (2 per site)

1. Describe the process of relocating residents from informal settlements.
2. How did/does the government work with private developers to facilitate housing construction?
3. What is the process for allocating houses to relocated residents?
4. How were residents engaged in the planning process for this development?
5. How were/are local residents engaged in the building process and maintenance?
6. Have public meetings continued in the township?
7. What would you say are the biggest challenges here? And how are you working to overcome them?
8. What are some of your major successes and how were they achieved?
9. Describe community participation in the township.
10. What is your vision for the township?
11. Are there future development plans for the township?

Appendix 13: Stakeholder Interview Questions

Non-Governmental Organizations (2 per site)

1. What would you say are the biggest challenges here with People's Housing Process (PHP) housing? And how are you working to overcome them?
2. How does your organization engage with residents in capacity building or advocate for services on residents' behalf?
3. What are some of the major successes here and how were they achieved?
4. For residents engaged in the People's Housing Process (PHP), how do residents acquire loans to purchase building supplies?
5. Do residents serve on teams to build their own housing? How does this work?
6. Describe community participation in the township such as skills development, street watch committees, and public meetings.
7. There is discussion of this area transforming from a township to a suburb. Do you share that vision? What is your vision for the township?
8. What are some of the future development plans for this area?

Appendix 14: Stakeholder Interview Questions

Housing Rental Agencies (2)

1. What is the process for residents to acquire rental housing?
2. Are efforts underway to construct additional social housing rental units?
3. Do you know if residents have relocated from government housing to your rentals? Is this a frequent occurrence?
4. How are the rentals maintained?
5. Is your agency involved in resident engagement efforts such as public meetings, efforts to reduce crime and gather feedback on residents' housing satisfaction?
6. What would you say are the biggest challenges here? And how are you working to overcome them?
7. What are some of your major successes and how were they achieved?
8. What is your vision for the township?
9. Does your agency have additional future development plans at this site?

Appendix 15: Stakeholder Interview Questions

Community Based Organizations (day care center, library/gym/skills development personnel, neighborhood watch committee representative)

1. Is your facility widely used in the community?
2. When did this center/group start?
3. What was the reason for starting this group/center?
4. How do residents work together on common concerns or issues?
5. *For neighborhood watch committee only:
How many people are active in neighborhood watch?
6. Would you say that your group or center has contributed to increased community cohesion here?

Appendix 16: Training Manual

Understanding low-income residents' sense of community in post-apartheid housing developments in South Africa.

Principal Investigator: Jennifer Williams

Name: _____



Training schedule

Friday 23 rd January		
Time	Activity	Facilitator
09:30	Arrival	
10:00 – 10:15	Welcome and Introduction	Kate, Bongani
10:15 – 10:30	Description of role & responsibilities	Kate
10:30 – 12:00	Walking pattern piloting	Bongani
12:00 – 13:00	Informed Consent	Bongani
13:00 – 13:30	Lunch	
13:30 – 15:00	Survey practise & translations	Bongani
15:00 – 15:45	Survey pilot in community & Assessment	Kate, Bongani
15:45 – 16:00	Codes of conduct & Daily schedule	Kate, Bongani
16:00 – 16:15	Debrief	Bongani
16:15	End	

Training Ground Rules

These are to be defined by the group:

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

Introduction to Knowledge Pele

Knowledge Pele (Pty) Ltd (reg no. 2013/039680/07) is a private research and development company based in Johannesburg. We strive to deliver value for all our clients and stakeholders. What sets us apart from our competitors is our ability to translate complex problems into opportunities for a diverse range of partners.



L-

R: Gugu.Magwaca; Boyd.Ndlazi; Fumani.Mthembu; Bongani.Ntsele; Kate.Muwoki

Our Vision is:

To become Africa's leading source of research and innovative solutions for development.

Our Mission is to:

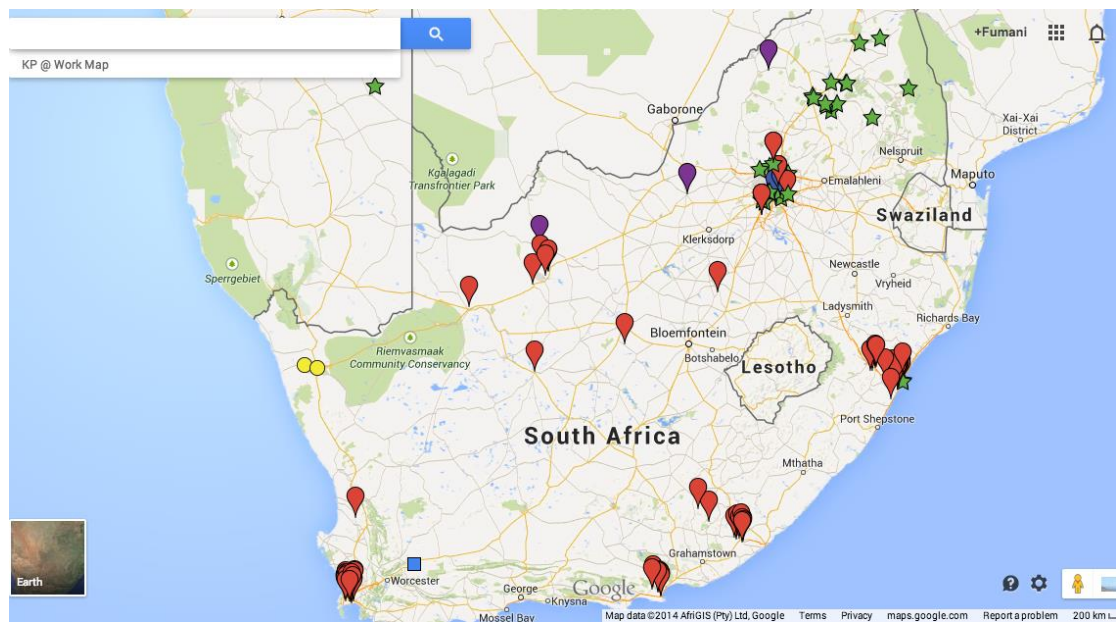
Generate knowledge that accurately reflects the conditions, assets and aspirations of under-served and/ excluded communities.

Design development strategies that are compliant, competitive and possible to implement in collaboration with all stakeholders.

Share the tools to be agents of development with communities that have been denied socio-economic participation.

Our National Footprint

Below is a snapshot of our national presence, denoting the type of work done in each community.



Key

Red: Social Research & Economic Development Advisory

Blue: Community Development

Purple: Economic Development Advisory

Green: SME Mapping

Welcome to the team, we look forward to working with you and hope that you find this opportunity both enjoyable and enriching!

Introduction to the Research study

Knowledge Pele is assisting a PhD student from University of Michigan in the implementation of a research study. The study will investigate the sense of community in the neighbourhood of the Cosmo City and Diepsloot areas. This study will utilize three forms of data collection; namely a questionnaire survey, focus group discussions and resident interviews of the RDP residents of the Cosmo City and Diepsloot community.

Although the South African government has delivered millions of subsidized houses, several challenges remain in order to more fully integrate low-income residents into the mainstream of urban life. Many new arrivals to housing developments in South Africa come from informal settlements, where they have developed social capital and networks of trust, support, participation, and livelihoods. A great concern with slum clearance and relocation projects is that new low-income housing developments disrupt the pre-existing sense of community, which is crucial for quality of life.

This dissertation will take a mixed-method approach. A community mapping exercise will act as a form of narrative, whereby residents will draw their current housing developments and sites of activity. Through semi-structured interviews with low-income residents, housing administrators, developers, and NGOs, the researcher plans to gather stories of how different housing approaches in each site influence sense of community among low-income residents. The researcher plans to examine community engagement and participation in activities such as build teams for housing construction, church involvement, sports leagues, skills development, and capacity building.

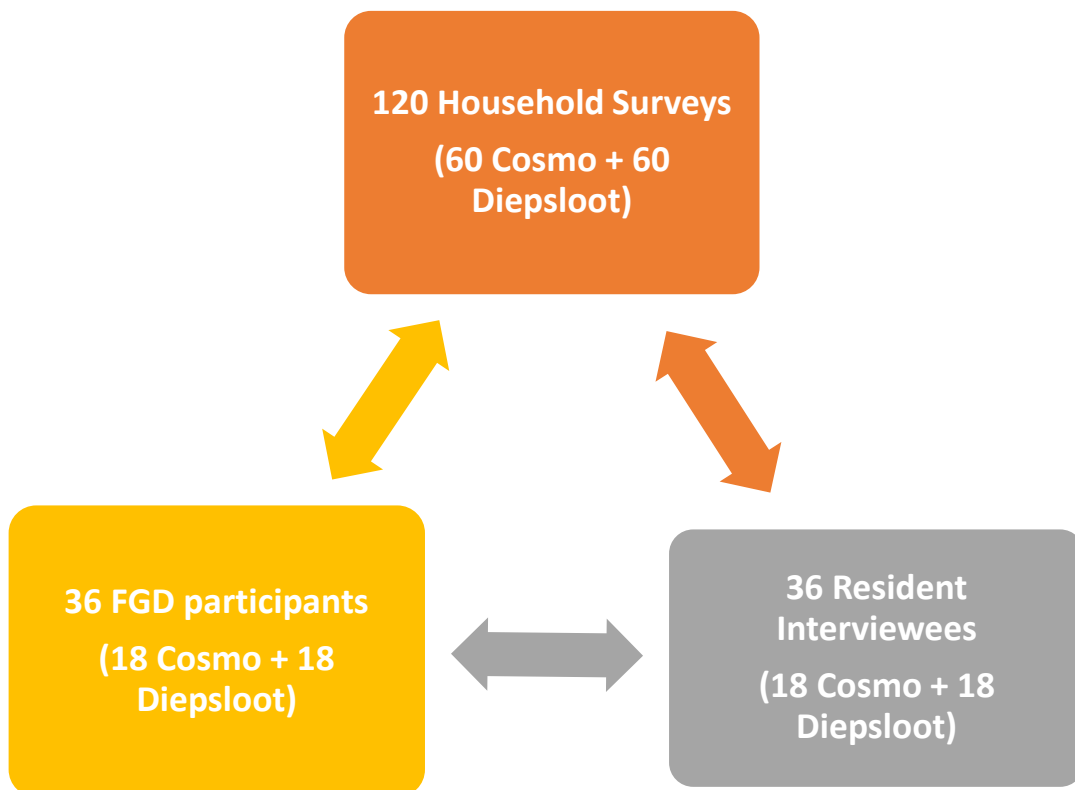
Description of role & responsibilities

As an Enumerator in this study, you will play a key role in the smooth running of the household survey. You will be expected to follow your designated walking pattern, identify and complete the survey with homeowners from within the RDP sections in the townships of Cosmo City and Diepsloot. This research approach will equip you a unique set of research skills to add to your professional work experience.

Summary of your responsibilities:

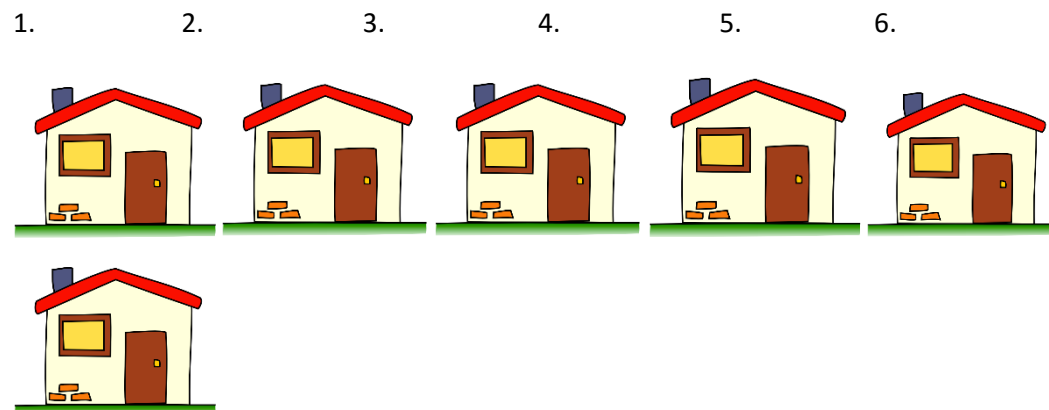
- To complete the Enumerator training (this includes attending the training day and pass the practical assessment)
- To interview and conduct a survey with a total of 120 households across both research sites (60 households in Cosmo City and 60 households in Diepsloot)
- To recruit 6 participants from the household surveys to partake in the Focus Group Discussion and Resident Interviews and distribute appointment cards for the focus group.
- To communicate in a clear, respectful and professional manner at all times during study implementation
- To remain punctual & contactable throughout the duration of the study implementation
- To conduct any other related task(s) on request

Summary of Research Targets



Household Survey: Walking Pattern

In both research sites you will follow the same walking pattern whilst conducting the household survey. In order to ensure a random sample of participants, you will only approach every 5th household along each of your designated areas.



Things to remember

- Do not walk where you feel uncomfortable or in danger in any way.
- You can engage in small talk to make the person feel comfortable and trusting, but do not take extra time for this purpose.
- Take care to listen carefully to the participant's responses and ensure you write down their responses correctly on the survey form.
- Speaking clearly and politely is essential.
- Write the responses clearly on the survey form
- Remember to write all the household details on the [Participant Tracking Sheet](#)

Individual Targets

In total, the survey will be conducted across the following RDP areas in Cosmo City and Deipsloot. The table below details the streets where each Enumerator is expected to complete all household surveys. The first street under your name is where you will begin on day one. You can then choose other additional streets listed below to complete your target. It is important that you stick to these streets, as we will be monitoring this at the end of each day. If you experience any problems in any of the areas, you must inform your KP Manager via phone or whatsapp.

Cosmo City		
<p>Enumerator: Lapon AREA A Start: Sierra Leone Avenue Gambia Crescent Cameroon Street Yaounde Crescent Malabo Street Equatorial Guinea Crescent Congo Crescent</p>	<p>Enumerator: Thabang AREA B Start: Sierra Leone Avenue Burundi Street Bujumbura St Bangui Street Gabon Street Ubreville Street Benin Street Porto Novo Crescent</p>	<p>Enumerator: Enzo AREA C Start: Liberia Street Guatemala Street Venezuela Street Dominica Street Cuba Street Ecuador Street Costa Rico Street Brazil Avenue</p>

Diepsloot Walking Pattern

Enumerator: Lapson

AREA A

Start: Diepsloot Road

Third Pine Street

Fourth Pine Street

Fifth Pine Street

Sixth Pine Street

First Pine Street

Enumerator: Thabang

AREA B

Start: Apple Street

N Kiaat Street

Fifth Kiaat Street

Fourth Kiaat Street

Third Kiaat Street

First Kiaat Street

Enumerator: Enzo

AREA C

Start: Pear Street

Tenth Street

Ninth Street

Eighth Street

Seventh Street

Sixth Street

Exercise 1: Look at your individual map and the walking pattern highlighted. Ensure you are comfortable with the selected streets and finalise the daily plan for conducting the survey. Try to identify any potential issues that could arise whilst doing the research.

(20 mins)

Exercise 2: We will now go and visit each of the selected areas to ensure the household survey can be completed successfully in the identified streets above. We will then come back and finalise your individual walking patterns.

(1.5 hours)

Informed Consent

[LOCAL RECRUITER: ASK THE FOLLOWING CRITERIA QUESTIONS]:

Are you the head of your household? [If the head of household is not available, you may survey another adult that lives in the same house]

Are you at least 18 years old?

Have you been living here for 6 months or more?

[ONCE YOU GET A “YES” TO ALL THESE QUESTIONS, YOU MAY PROCEED TO SAY THIS TO THE POTENTIAL PARTICIPANT]:

Respondent Number _____

Hello:

You are invited to be a part of a research study that is looking at the sense of community in your neighbourhood. If you agree to be part of the research study, you will be asked to answer a brief survey that will take about 15 minutes. You will receive R10 in cell phone airtime for participating.

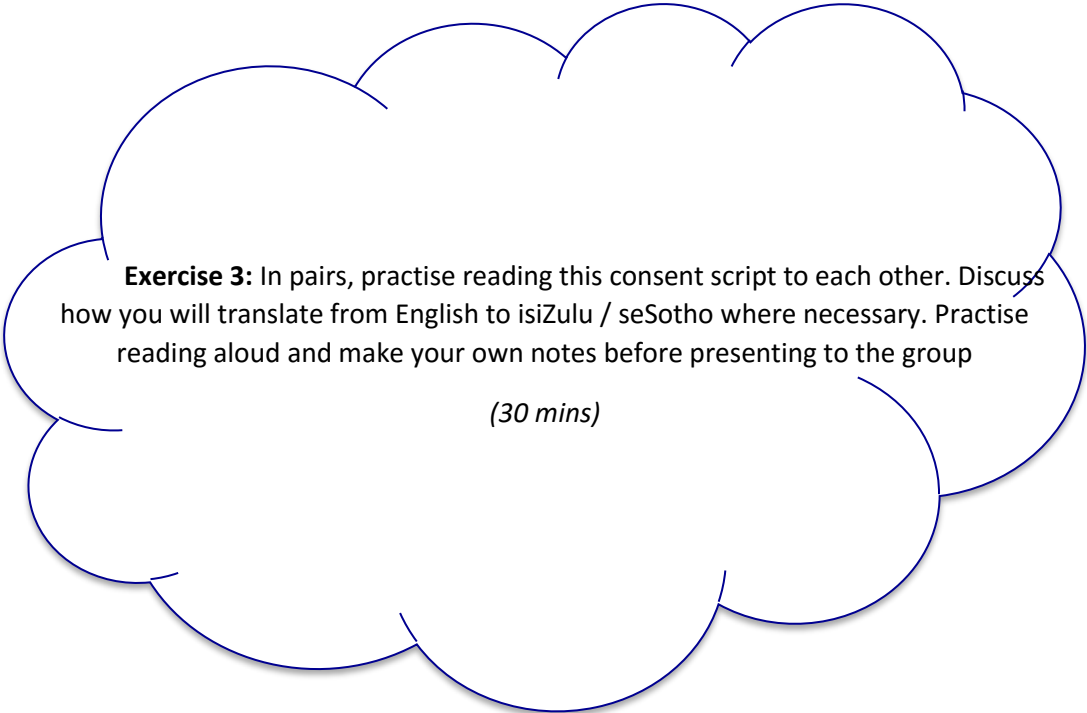
You may find that sharing your story is a useful experience. We hope that this research will contribute to a better understanding of the importance of residents' sense of community and housing needs. It is completely up to you whether to participate. Even if you decide to participate now, you may change your mind and stop at any time. You may skip questions you would prefer not to answer. You may respond to questions in your home language.

We will not include any information that would identify you. Your information will be kept safe in a locked cabinet. Information from the survey will be entered into a computer that is password protected to keep your information safe. Your name will

not be used in the written copy of the discussion. We will keep this study data indefinitely for future research.

Here is a written copy of information about the study and who you may contact if you have questions. **[GIVE EACH PARTICIPANT A COPY OF THE ORAL CONSENT DOCUMENT THAT HAS MY CONTACT CARD SEE ATTACHED]**

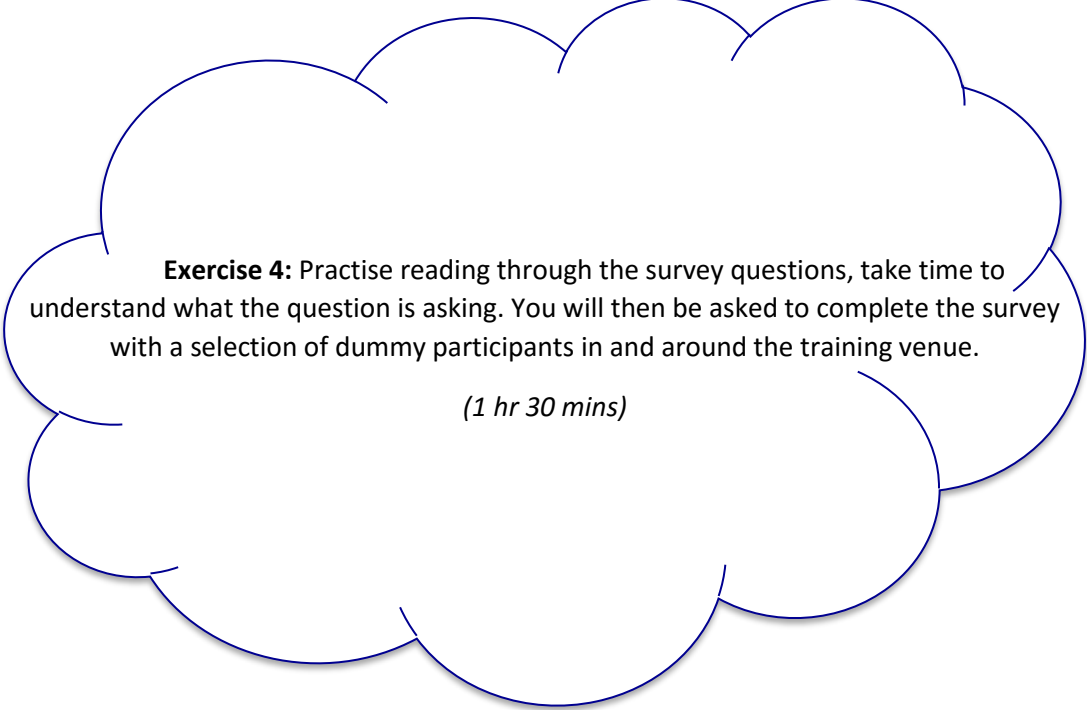
If you agree, then we will proceed with the survey.



Exercise 3: In pairs, practise reading this consent script to each other. Discuss how you will translate from English to isiZulu / seSotho where necessary. Practise reading aloud and make your own notes before presenting to the group

(30 mins)

Household Survey Practise



Exercise 4: Practise reading through the survey questions, take time to understand what the question is asking. You will then be asked to complete the survey with a selection of dummy participants in and around the training venue.

(1 hr 30 mins)

Focus Group Discussion

Once you have completed the survey, you will ask the participant to join one of the focus group discussions taking place on Monday 26th January or Monday 2nd February. Strive for recruiting 6 participants to join one of the focus group discussions. Write their names legibly on the sign-up sheet below and give them an appointment card for a timeslot.

Example Appointment slip:



Appointment Slip

Thank you for taking part in our research study! We look forward to seeing you at the Focus Group Discussion & Resident Interview.

Date: Monday 26th January

Time: 9.30 am

Place: Cosmo City Multipurpose Complex, Cnr Angola and South Africa Drive, Cosmo City

Things to remember

At the end of each household survey, you must ask the participant if they would like to earn an extra R30 by coming to the venue to complete a focus group discussion (FGD) and resident interview (RI)

Of the twenty households you survey, you need to sign up a total of six participants for the FGD and RI.

The participants who agree to come should be the same as the one who completed the household survey (where possible)

Example Participant Tracking Sheet

	Street name	House Number	FGD time	Cell phone Number	Cell phone network	Participant signature
1.			Monday			
2.			Monday			
3.			Monday			
4.			Monday			
5.			Monday			
6.			Monday			
7.			Monday			
8.			Monday			
9.			Monday			
10.			Monday			

Things to remember

You must complete this form every time you finish a household survey

Take care to double check the phone number of the participant

Any missing or wrong information on this form could result in a deduction in your salary

Research Activity Calendar

Month	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
Jan					23 Training of Enumerators @ Cosmo Venue (9am-5pm)	24 Cosmo Household survey (9am-3pm) Each Enumerator = 10 households per day	25 Cosmo Household survey (9am-3pm) Each Enumerator = 10 households per day
Jan	26 Cosmo Venue FGD 1 - 6 ppnts (9:30am) FGD 2 - 6 ppnts (12.00pm) FGD 3 - 6 ppnts (2:30 pm) Resident Interviews (8 slots from 10am)	27 Cosmo Venue Resident Interviews (8 slots from 10am)	28	29	30	31 Diepsloot Household survey (9am-3pm) Each Enumerator = 10 households per day	Feb 1st Diepsloot Household survey (9am-3pm) Each Enumerator = 10 households per day
Feb	2 Diepsloot Venue FGD 1 - 6 ppnts (9:30am) FGD 2 - 6 ppnts (12.00pm) FGD 3 - 6 ppnts (2:30 pm) Resident Interviews (8 slots from 10am)	3 Diepsloot Venue Resident Interviews (8 slots from 10am)	4				

Your Daily Checklist

Please ensure you have all of the following each day:

10 blank household surveys

10 Consent forms

1 clipboard

Two pens

1 Participant Tracking sheet

6 Appointment slips

Transport money

KP T-shirt and name badge

Your phone to communicate with KP Manager

Daily Implementation schedule

Saturday 24th January, Sunday 25th January, Saturday 31st January & Sunday 1st February.

Time	Activity
9:00	Arrive at first destination
9:15 – 11:00	Begin walking route and survey
11:00 - 11:15	Break & update to KP Manager
11:15 -13:00	Continue to surveys in alternative streets if necessary
13:00 - 13:00	Lunch break & travel to next street
13:00 - 14:30	Continue to surveys in alternative streets if necessary
15:00	Arrive back at meeting place
15:00 - 15:30	Debrief Survey + tracking sheet submission, troubleshooting, allocation of materials, payments
15:30	End

Codes of Conduct

As a contracted Enumerator and short-term employee of Knowledge Pele, you are obligated to follow the codes of conduct as stated below:

Consistent communication - You must follow the survey questions at all times. In order to ensure valid data, **it is essential that each participant understands the questions being asked.** This means reading from the informed consent and survey questions word for word and not adding any other words or explanations. You must write clearly on all survey forms.

Respect – This includes acting in a respectful manner during the study. Respect for yourself, the entire research team, management, participants, materials and resources.

Integrity – It is essential that you adhere to the all rules of the game. Any deviation from the prescribed rules and instructions could result in your expulsion from the study and non-payment.

Professionalism - You must also ensure you behave in a respectful and professional manner at all times. You will be responsible for managing the activities in your room; therefore all participants will expect you to act accordingly to ensure the game can unfold with ease.

Punctuality - You are a critical part of the research team and we rely on you to be punctual throughout the training and implementation of the study. You are required to arrive at least 15 minutes before any of the stated activities.

To remember the codes of conduct...think of the acronym **CRIPP!**

Notes

Appendix 17: Household Survey Codebook

<u>Survey Question</u>	<u>Code for Response</u>
Q1. What year did you move into your current housing?	Enter year moved in 99 = No Response
Q2. How many people live in your house?	Enter number of people in household 99 = No Response
Q3. What community activities are you involved in? (Check all that apply) – Traditional Activities	1 = Yes 2 = No
Q3. What community activities are you involved in? (Check all that apply) – Religious Activities	1 = Yes 2 = No
Q3. What community activities are you involved in? (Check all that apply) – Skills Development	1 = Yes 2 = No
Q3. What community activities are you involved in? (Check all that apply) – Sports League	1 = Yes 2 = No
Q3. What community activities are you involved in? (Check all that apply) – Library	1 = Yes 2 = No
Q3. What community activities are you involved in? (Check all that apply) – Crèche	1 = Yes 2 = No
Q3. What community activities are you involved in? (Check all that apply) – Street watch committee	1 = Yes 2 = No
Q3. What community activities are you involved in? (Check all that apply) – Street cleanup	1 = Yes 2 = No

Q3. What community activities are you involved in? (Check all that apply) – Community Garden	1 = Yes 2 = No
Q3. What community activities are you involved in? (Check all that apply) – Celebrations	1 = Yes 2 = No
Q3. What community activities are you involved in? (Check all that apply) – Other	[Type In Response]
Q4. In the last year, did you attend a community meeting?	1 = Yes 2 = No 99 = No Response
Q5. Is knowing your neighbours important to you? Why?	1 = Yes 2 = No 99 = No Response [Write in “Why”]
Q6. Do you think that most people can be trusted in this neighbourhood?	1 = Yes 2 = No 99 = No Response
Q7. How safe do you feel walking in your neighbourhood at <i>night</i> ? Why? — Very Safe	1 = Yes 2 = No 99 = No Response [Write in “why”]
Q7. How safe do you feel walking in your neighbourhood at <i>night</i> ? Why? — Somewhat Safe	1 = Yes 2 = No 99 = No Response [Write in “why”]
Q7. How safe do you feel walking in your neighbourhood at <i>night</i> ? Why? — Not Safe	1 = Yes 2 = No 99 = No Response [Write in “why”]
Q8. How safe do you feel walking in your neighbourhood during the <i>day</i> ? Why? — Very Safe	1 = Yes 2 = No 99 = No Response [Write in “why”]
Q8. How safe do you feel walking in your neighbourhood during the <i>day</i> ? Why? — Somewhat Safe	1 = Yes 2 = No 99 = No Response [Write in “why”]

Q8. How safe do you feel walking in your neighbourhood during the <i>day</i> ? Why? — Not Safe	1 = Yes 2 = No 99 = No Response [Write in “why”]
Q9. How safe do you feel allowing children to play outside? Why? – Very Safe	1 = Yes 2 = No 99 = No Response [Write in “why”]
Q9. How safe do you feel allowing children to play outside? Why? – Somewhat Safe	1 = Yes 2 = No 99 = No Response [Write in “why”]
Q9. How safe do you feel allowing children to play outside? Why? – Not Safe	1 = Yes 2 = No 99 = No Response [Write in “why”]
Q10. Would you trust your neighbour to watch your children? Why?	1 = Yes 2 = No 99 = No Response [Write in “why”]
Q11. How willing are you to let your neighbour borrow money if they need it? – Very Willing	1 = Yes 2 = No 99 = No Response
Q11. How willing are you to let your neighbour borrow money if they need it? – Somewhat Willing	1 = Yes 2 = No 99 = No Response
Q11. How willing are you to let your neighbour borrow money if they need it? – Not Willing	1 = Yes 2 = No 99 = No Response
Q12. When you see your neighbours, do you greet them?	1 = Yes 2 = No 99 = No Response
Q13. Do you value the political leadership in your community? Why?	1= Yes 2= No 99= No Response [Write in “why”]
Q14. Do you value the religious leadership in your community? Why?	1= Yes 2= No 99= No Response [Write in “why”]

Q15. What is the highest level of education you have completed?	1= No formal schooling 2 = Informal schooling only (including Koranic schooling) 3 = Some primary schooling 4 = Primary school completed 5 = Some secondary school / high school 6 = Secondary school / high school completed 7 =Post-secondary qualifications, other than university (e.g. a diploma or degree from a polytechnic or college) 8 = Some university 9 = University completed 10 = Post-graduate
Q16. What is your monthly income?	Write in income amount 99 = No Response
Q17. What is your country of citizenship? --South Africa	1 = Yes 2= No
Q17. What is your country of citizenship? - Other	[Write in Other country of citizenship]
Q18. What is your ethnic group?	Write in ethnic group [Jennifer will aggregate later]
Q19. What is your age?	Write in age [Jennifer will aggregate later]
Q20. What is your race?	1=Black 2= Coloured 3=Asian/Indian 4= White
Q21. What is your gender?	1 = Male 2=Female

Appendix 18: Stakeholder and Community Leader Interviews

Organization or Community Representative	Date(s) of Interview	Areas of work	Challenges articulated	Ways forward or major needs
PlanAct	July 1 2013; January 30, 2015 Meeting with Mike Makwela	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Civic Empowerment -Capacity building workshops -Fill critical knowledge gaps between government and the citizens 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Turning over Cosmo City to a private developer -Government relegates the responsibility to the private sector -Poor location in relation to the rest of Johannesburg -Poor planning for residents' livelihood activities -Little interaction between residents living in bonded houses and those in the RDPs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Work with the Cosmo City Development Forum invited interest groups to help close the gap between the RDP and bond house area. -Reinforce networks through tourism to enable a local economy to take root -PlanAct is working to establish social histories of residents who came from Zevenfontein because there are different stories of the relocation process to Cosmo City. This would help to have more public participation which was bypassed in the development stages.
Socio-Economic Rights Institute of South Africa (SERI)	<p>July 2013; February 2015 Meeting and email communication with Kate Tissington</p> <p>Presentation by Mbekezeli Benjamin (SERI) at the Housing Roundtable at University of</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Training and popular education workshops to assist communities with legal advice and assistance -Research -Litigation -Advocacy -Four Thematic Areas: Inner City Housing, Informal Settlement 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -<i>In situ</i> informal settlement upgrading is not a priority and instead the emphasis is on relocation to mega-projects which can result in signification relocation and displacement of settled communities. -The UISP (Upgrading of Informal Settlements Programme) suggests that relocations and evictions of informal settlements should be the last resort. -Unlawful occupation of vacant land results in forceful evictions by the police. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Involved in litigation around upgrading two informal settlements in Johannesburg and Ekurhuleni (Makause and Slovo Park) and represents occupiers of informal settlements in Cape Town who are facing eviction. See pictures of Slovo Park below.

	the Western Cape (UWC) May 26, 2015	Upgrading, Basic Services, Participation	-Little political will has dissipated; Minister of Housing is silent on informal settlement upgrading -Mega projects are more likely to continue entrenched spatial patterns and worsen inequality.	
Ward Councilor, Diepsloot	January 30, 2015 interview with Mr. Makhubele	-Publicly elected official -Different sectors such as housing, youth and women, and the environment -Holds community meetings in different wards about 4 times per year. -Encourages the People's Housing Process (PHP) in Diepsloot; the government is encouraging people to do for themselves "because the government's role is not to just give houses but the focus is also on economic growth and education."	-“Houses can't just be built for everybody.” -Public-private partnerships with developers who buy the land and build housing that people can afford with a focus on “bring[ing] people together” and clos[ing] the gap” between rich and poor.	-In Diepsloot, there is police work with community patrollers, crime watch, youth street committees, and block committees to ensure public safety and knowledge of insiders and outsiders in the community. -Need more programs that build community with a focus that is on a “united community that works together in one direction.” -Stronger business formations, need more business people, more professionals in the community -A need for more sports, music, and arts. -Private companies need to improve the lives of people in Diepsloot
Johannesburg Housing Company (JHC)	Interview with Mr. Manie Meyer, January 2015 Meeting and tour of Hlanganani with Samuel a	-An independent social housing institution -Managing social housing buildings -Social Support programs	-Affordability is a significant challenge because of the high cost of utilities. -JHC installs pre-paid electricity meters in the buildings to help residents manage usage. -Affordability of deposits are set at the two month's rent is a challenge for residents	-Social housing fosters social integration and access to facilities and transportation -Social housing has also helped to open the options of housing available to low-income residents -There are no future development plans for more social housing in Cosmo City

	Housing Administrator in July 2013	<p>-Operates townhouse complex called Hlanganani in Cosmo City, the first social rental housing in Cosmo City.</p> <p>-Participates in community policing forums</p> <p>-Conducts a customer service survey to gather feedback on residents' satisfaction</p>		
Cosmo City Development Forum	Interview with Phashe Magagane January 2015	<p>-“Community social investment” (CSI) where the service provider helps to train people in skills such as brickmaking, plaster, and masonry with the goal of developing people who can invest money in the community (see picture of building supply company where people can buy construction materials)</p> <p>-Block committees use whistles to help identify issues and crime. There is no xenophobia in Cosmo City.</p> <p>-CCDF assists in schooling through the “City Educational Desk” which</p>	<p>-RDPs are ways for residents to make revenue and a survival tactic</p> <p>-The act of selling or renting an RDP house means that beneficiaries are “leaving behind their children who will have nowhere to live in the future and children will eventually want their homes back.”</p>	<p>-Currently trying to establish a history for Cosmo City and an understanding of where everyone came from</p> <p>-Need for museums and information sharing in the area</p> <p>-Need for more sports, arts, and culture.</p> <p>-Future development plans for Cosmo City include a food court located on Angola Drive near the multi-purpose centre.</p> <p>-“Cosmo City is currently a future development for Johannesburg. Johannesburg is moving in the direction of Cosmo City rather than in the direction of the CBD.”</p>

		holds basic education meetings with principals and the Department of Education to help children get sponsors to cover school fees and uniforms.		
Woodstock Public Library	Ms. Ntombegugu Mpofo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Annual reading competition for G7 Learners that tests their reading comprehension, speed, and spelling -Library does orientation programs in the schools to teach research skills to children -Collaborates with the Sports and Recreation department -Assists senior citizen homes nearby by recruiting seniors for activities and to establish social gatherings 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Challenges with social cohesion in the Woodstock area of Cape Town -Funding comes from the municipality and sponsors children’s programs and Friends of the Library, but the library is still lacking resources for additional computers and books in the children’s library. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Efforts to improve attendance at community events such as the Seniors reading club and Senior Tea Club -Also need more teens involved in the teen reading club
Marion Institute, Springfield Terrace	<p>Ms. Sheila Reddy, Nursery School Teacher, May 19, 2015; May 27, 2015 for classroom observations</p> <p>Peter Alghaus – Marion Institute Director, May 30, 2015</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Early childhood development -Nursery school -Offer children breakfast and lunch -Social services for adults and programs for children such as Girl Scouts and work is now being done to bring another troop together 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A commuter school with a lot of township kids who live in Mitchell’s Plain and Khayelitsha, and some children live in Springfield Terrace as well. -Programs at the Marion Institute have declined because it is under the process of finding new management. Girl Scouts, piano lessons, and computer skills were previously thriving in the past but now have been discontinued because a lack of funding 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Peter Alghaus indicates the need to make Marion Institute the “home away from home again” -Focus group session revealed the need for more community engagement and social programs for families and children. -Marion supports the idea of a community garden in Springfield Terrace and also holiday programs or games nights for children -There is an active senior citizen group that meets regularly for coffee and chats. The Marion Institute has a van that picks

				up residents in Springfield Terrace to drive them to areas in town.
Haga Moolman and Edgar Moolman (Haga's Uncle) Lifelong residents of Springfield Terrace	Meetings, informal chats, interviews May 15, 2015; May 25-30, 2015	-Original purpose of Springfield Terrace was to provide housing to those evicted from District 6 and to further bring working people back into the area to develop District 6 again. -The idea was to have more affordable housing within close proximity of the CBD	-Challenge of residents being priced out of the market because of the high values of houses in the area selling for R800,000 and upward - Results in the original premise of the development being wiped out because it is no longer an affordable place to live	-More skills development -More activities to keep youth engaged -More collective action from residents to stop gang activity
Community Organisation Urban Resource Centre (COURC), Slum Dwellers International (SDI)	Moegsien Hendricks, May 13, 2015	-Emphasizes upgrading informal settlements -Community mapping which is useful in incremental upgrading -Savings groups (Kuyasa Fund – a microfinance fund that DAG set up for people to access a loan) -Encourage saving building materials and reusing old materials -Capacity building -Mobilization -Moegsien suggests that planners consider the flipside which is “the actual prevention of informal settlements.”	-Struggle between engineers and housing officials -DAG did community mapping but there was limited scope and the process was not participatory; instead planning consultants were asked to weigh in	
Chapel Street Primary School	Mr. Alexander (School Principal), May 13, 2015	-A “commuter school” with children coming from Bontuvel, Langa,	-Getting government sponsorships for children to attend school -Children travel from townships to attend school	-Financial support for intramural activities and subsidized school fees

		<p>Mitchell's Plain, and Khayelitsha.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">-Originally part of the District 6 area, and dates back to 1845 as a Wesleyan Missionary School-Provides a "feeding scheme" – daily cooked breakfast and cooked lunch-Food parcels to poor parents and children	<p>-Difficulty for children to afford school fees and school uniforms</p>	
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Appendix 19: Interview responses related to place attachment (Positive Impression)

Interview Question		Cosmo City	Diepsloot	Freedom Park	Springfield Terrace
Do you see yourself living here in the future?	Residents' statements related to emotional attachment	<p>"Sometimes, but I currently live with my daughter here in Cosmo City, but I have a house in Polokwane and I go back there sometimes and it is not an RDP."</p> <p>"Yes, I like the area because of the peacefulness and low crime rate, but don't know what the future holds."</p> <p>"Yes, because it is a nice place."</p> <p>"Yes, I live in RDP. I plan to stay forever but I usually go out to visit extended family members."</p> <p>"Yes, I am proud of it. I own it and it is mine."</p>	<p>"Yes, I enjoy the environment."</p>	<p>"Yes, stay for life."</p> <p>"No other way to go."</p> <p>"Yes, I believe that God gave me the place for a reason and everything happens for a reason."</p> <p>"Yes, here to stay."</p> <p>"Yes, it's a good place for kids. They need a place."</p>	<p>"Yes, here I want to die. I bought it."</p> <p>"Yes because I am happy here."</p> <p>"Yes, I would never want to move out of the house. I love it."</p> <p>"Yes, retire here. Nice environment and it is central."</p> <p>"Yes, I love this house."</p>
	Statements related to functional attachment	<p>"Yes, it is a better place and it is developing because it is new, so I would like to see myself staying here."</p> <p>"Yes, Cosmo City is developing and a lot of infrastructures are being developed."</p> <p>"Yes, because it is a bonded house and I stay with my parents and siblings."</p> <p>"My RDP house belongs to me. There's no other option for housing."</p>	<p>"Yes, in RDP I learn a lot of things."</p> <p>"Yes, because I am unemployed and there is no other option."</p> <p>"There's no other option."</p>		
Do you believe that the opportunities for you to improve your education, safety, and stability in the future are better here? Why?	Residents' statements related to emotional attachment	<p>"Yes, because security is getting tight."</p>	<p>"Yes, there is much more room available for improvement especially in the police force."</p> <p>"Yes, safety is better here."</p>	<p>"Yes, there is hope because I believe in God so anything is possible."</p> <p>"Yes, there is hope."</p> <p>"Yes because we help and support each other when we can."</p> <p>"Yes, because of the new generation...our grandchildren can bring change."</p> <p>"Yes there are, but not as much with gnagsterism."</p> <p>"Yes, I know people, school is not far, and children are safe."</p> <p>"Yes, it is a safe environment."</p>	<p>"Yes, I have been 10 years on a committee at the Marion Institute for social activities. Seniors are picked up on Wednesdays for special outings in town."</p> <p>"Yes, I think there are too many people who walk around. Neighborhood watch would be good."</p> <p>"Yes, we have meetings and promise to do things."</p>

<p>Residents' statements related to functional attachment</p>	<p>"Yes, it is a new location and things are changing in order to find a job."</p> <p>"Yes, there is promise of getting permanent employment because I am currently working part-time."</p> <p>"Yes, grandkids have the opportunity to finish schooling here. There is safety for the kids and they can teach themselves to get a good job."</p> <p>"Yes, kids can get help for school uniform and fees. I am a pensioner and elderly and no longer considered for work."</p> <p>Yes, the multipurpose center and computer trainings [offer opportunities to improve education]. Also, there is after care that takes school kids and does a door to door pick up and drop off."</p> <p>"Yes, there's education opportunities but not job prospects for my kids."</p> <p>"Yes, I am a student. There is a public library and we use the facility for free."</p> <p>"There is a new school being built around the neighborhood."</p> <p>"Yes, people are now trying to improve their education and community members share their knowledge and skills where they can."</p>	<p>"Yes, I am planning to further my studies at UJ and find a job around Diepsloot."</p> <p>"Yes, Diepsloot is definitely better and the standard of education is better. If I get a permanent job, I will get my kids from the Free State."</p> <p>"Yes, there is a lot of schools and new developments happening."</p> <p>"Yes, although it was difficult, I definitely see better opportunities for my children. When I compare my children from their peers in the rural area, my children are better off."</p> <p>"Yes, I believe that there is employment everywhere. I was fortunate to get a job and worked until retirement."</p>	<p>"Yes, things are settled, and the school is close for the kids and close to taxis to town."</p> <p>"Yes, because the church inspires us. There are opportunities for jobs in the future. Even now there are forms of PnP [Pick N' Pay stores] for employment."</p> <p>"Yes, if only we get formal education and schooling is properly attended."</p>	<p>"Yes, I don't have to pay for boarding fees."</p> <p>"Yes, schools are nearby. CPUT [Cape Peninsula University of Technology] is nearby. It is walking distance."</p> <p>"Yes, kids are at a good school."</p> <p>"Yes, there are education programs nearby."</p> <p>"Yes, people bring information about jobs and schools a lot."</p> <p>"Yes, I can talk to the children and education them and they listen to me."</p> <p>"Kids here go to school and go to college, so I don't think we need much improvement."</p>
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Appendix 20: Interview responses related to place attachment (Negative Impression)

Interview Question		Cosmo City	Diepsloot	Freedom Park	Springfield Terrace
Do you see yourself living here in the future?	Residents' statements related to emotional attachment	<p>"No, I don't like the environment. Nothing is controlled. There's a high crime rate."</p> <p>"I don't know. It is not good to be here in my old age. I was lucky to get the house because my patience was lacking."</p> <p>"It is a temporary situation. I see getting a place of my own. There is vacant land and I want a place to call my own."</p>	<p>"I don't feel I belong here really because I am currently unemployed and I don't see growth in my life. It is not safe here."</p> <p>"No, because if you are not part of a political party then you'll be overlooked."</p>	<p>"No, I don't feel safe. I miss a small community of youth."</p>	<p>"No I want to improve my living."</p> <p>"No, I need to move out and spread my wings."</p>
	Statements related to functional attachment	<p>"No, this is a temporary situation until my children finish school. The clinic is closer here so that is good."</p>			<p>"No, I want to be closer to town and live independently."</p>
Do you believe that the opportunities for you to improve your education, safety, and stability in the future are better here? Why?	Residents' statements related to emotional attachment			<p>"No, not how things are negative. Rob even in the day time and small children are at risk."</p> <p>"I am afraid to walk at night to prayer meetings. I really want to leave because I have no feeling in Mitchell's Plain. If you don't have feelings for a place, how can you stay? If people of Mitchell's Plain and Tafelsig and mostly Freedom Park can send people to school there will be no problem at all."</p> <p>"No, there is no work for us here. I don't even work, but I make sure there is enough for family here. I get money from daughter sometimes. Problem is people forget where they came from and put money, rather than people, first, so they don't care about what you did for them."</p> <p>"The Councilor does not go door-to-door in the community to see what is going on. They do not ask what you need in the community. It is the same with the religious leadership."</p>	

<p>Residents' statements related to functional attachment</p>	<p>"No the library is small and there is limited books for school children."</p> <p>"No, most kids don't know there are things to do in the city centre. The township is too far from the CBD and University of Johannesburg. I can't afford to go to the internet café to apply to school. I would be good if there are more colleges."</p>	<p>"No there's no assistance from the government."</p> <p>"No there are job opportunities in the surrounding suburbs. The jobs are elsewhere."</p> <p>"No, my wish is to take courses; my mother is not working currently so I must take any job in order to survive."</p> <p>"No because there's a lot of people who are unemployed."</p>	<p>No, not yet. We need job creation. Lifestyles will change if there are jobs.</p> <p>"Somewhat. Options are better here. Need streets to be clean if council can do for us. Pavements not draining. Streets are dirty. It is dirty for kids."</p> <p>"No because we need more improvement in stability of work to reduce gangsterism and dropouts."</p> <p>"Need opportunities for children, so they don't join gangs. Need better opportunities for money."</p> <p>"We need a community rehab centre, an accessible clinic, and a park for children."</p>	
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