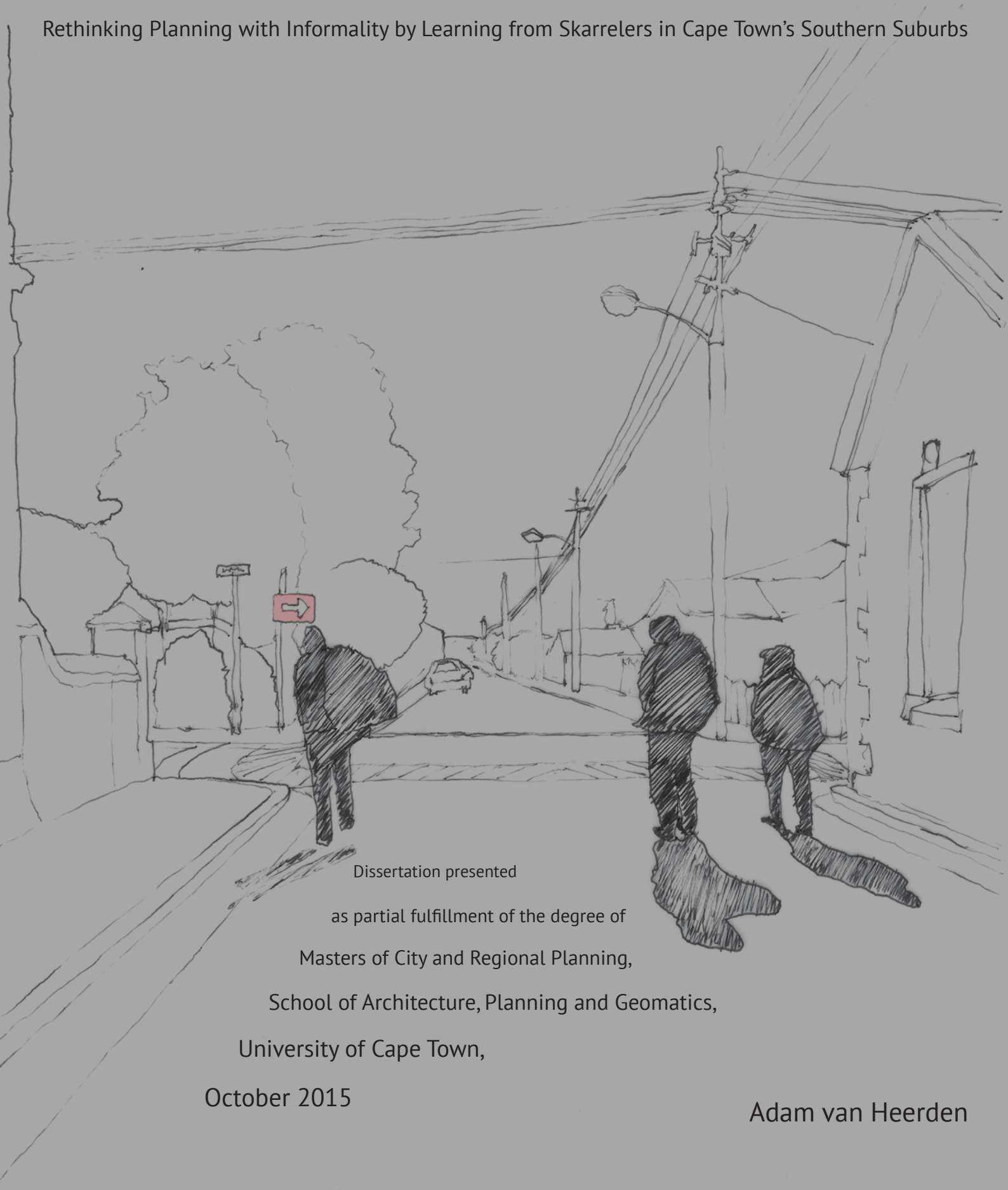


VALUING WASTE AND WASTING VALUE:

Rethinking Planning with Informality by Learning from Skarrelers in Cape Town's Southern Suburbs



Dissertation presented

as partial fulfillment of the degree of

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Adam van Heerden

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Abstract

Since the collaborative turn, planning has been ‘captive to an inclusionary view of society’ and to the assumed value that public participation automatically confers on development outcomes. In the global South however, the extreme diversity of people and activities coupled with ‘advanced marginality’, perhaps inspires different interpretations of ‘public’ and ‘private’ space and the activities enacted within each, as well as of the universal acceptance and application of formal processes which aim ‘to include’. In this dissertation I explore the implicit value of public participation when planning with informality, for 14 skarrelers in Cape Town’s Southern Suburbs, as well as the potential for a ‘deepening’ of democracy through more genuine and flexible forms of engagement and learning. This involves research participants setting the terms and settings of engagement prior to the development of objectives. Joining research participants ‘on the skarrel’, I learn that ontologies are fluid rather than fixed, with skarrelers expressing different desires for inclusion than expected. I argue that, at the heart of such engagements with informally organised and/or marginalized groups, there should be an ethic of care and justice, with a morality that is based on responsibility and relationships rather than rights and rules. This suggests a relational approach to planning that embraces principles of democracy and pluralism, and of difference and multiculturalism – one that is thoroughly flexible in both form and ontology, and that is able to achieve far more nuanced conceptions of what it means to be included – with genuine intentions to plan *with* informality, rather than for it.

Key words: skarrelers, inclusion, diversity, ‘advanced marginality’, ‘public participation’, ‘planning with informality’, ‘an ethic of care and justice’, genuine, engagement, ontology, ‘relational planning’, flexible, nuanced.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

NWMS	National Waste Management Strategy
IWM	Integrated Waste Management
IWMP	Integrated Waste Management Policy
MSA	Municipal Systems Act
CoCT	City of Cape Town
CoJ	City of Johannesburg
WRDM	West Rand District Municipality
PPP	Public Private Partnership
EDD	Empowered Deliberative Democracy
PEAL	Preceding Engagement And Learning
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
DEAT	Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism
DWAF	Department of Water Affairs
NEM:WA	National Environmental Management: Waste Act
SME	Small and Medium-sized Enterprise
SAWPA	South African Waste Pickers Assosiation
LNOC	Local Networks of Care
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
FBO	Faith Based Organisation~
CBO	Community Based Organisation
GSCID	Groote Schuur City Improvement District
MCID	Mowbray City Improvement District
CSDS	Citywide Social Development Strategy
T.B	Tuberculosis
HIV	Human Immuno-deficiency Virus

1.1 Introduction

In the late 1990's, local government legislation promulgated by the post-apartheid state contained policies not only for economic growth, but also for participatory governance. Accordingly, emphasis was placed on the state's social obligations to enable community building, poverty alleviation and citizen involvement in policy making through participatory planning processes (Harrison 2006; Winkler 2011). An emphasis on participatory governance continues to inform public sector planning and policy-making in South Africa. Furthermore, promises of "participatory democracy, accountability, transparency, and public involvement" are enshrined in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (RSA 1996, 1279). So too are such promises enshrined in national and local waste management policies, namely: the National Waste Management Strategy (NWMS), and the City of Cape Town's Integrated Waste Management (IWM) Policy. "The NWMS is an institutionally inclusive strategy because its achievement relies on participation by numerous role-players in the public sector, private sector and civil society" (2011, p.8). Since waste management is a municipal competence, The Municipal Systems Act (MSA) (2000, p.2) is referred to for responsibilities regarding public participation. The MSA tasks municipalities with "develop[ing] a culture of municipal governance that complements formal representative government with a system of participatory governance, and encourag[ing] and creat[ing] conditions for the local community to participate in the affairs of the municipality. A municipality must therefore "establish appropriate mechanisms, processes and procedures to enable the local community to participate in the affairs of the municipality" (MSA, p.29, 2000). Yet, despite an emphasis on participatory governance, people who hope to eke out a living from re-claiming and recycling waste remain excluded from formal planning and policy-making processes. This exclusion is felt in the following interview excerpt from a research participant: "they, [the City,] don't do anything to help us, they[re] just making it more difficult [for us to do our work]!" (Personal Interview, 8th August 2015). Moreover, the City of Cape Town's IWM Policy requires all entities engaging in recycling activities to be registered and accredited by the City Council, thereby effectively excluding the meaningful participation of informally organised waste re-claimers. The only cursory mention of 'informal recyclers' in the City's IWM Policy is with regards to regulating and managing informal recycling activities. Of further concern, the discourse used in this policy document is representative of the Council's misinformed views, as this policy deems informal recycling to be a "negative and disruptive economic [activity that, in turn, has a] safety and aesthetic impact" (IWMP, 2006, p.44).

Meaningful participation is preceded by acknowledgement and recognition of 'the other' (Roy, 2005). This failure to effectively acknowledge, and therefore engage with, informal recyclers regarding future changes to the recycling system, and to their livelihoods, renders an already marginalized group further disempowered and excluded. As Muller (1995, p. 10) observes of South African planning approaches in the early 1990s, "the practice of imposition from above has...proved difficult to break." This legacy of top-down planning intervention still persists in South African cities today, characterised by Arnstein's 'tokenism' and 'non-participation' (see Chapter 2). Yet, as argued by Roy (2005), if we hope to plan with informality in contexts of the global South, planners first need to recognise Lefebvre's (1974) 'right to the city' for all residents of a city. Roy (2005) goes on to argue that prominent theories on informality (see De Soto, and Hall and Pfeiffer) make a number of false assumptions concerning informality. Two of these assumptions include: the belief that poverty and inequality are somehow caused by isolation from global capitalism rather than by global capitalism itself; and that informality operates in a separate domain to formality. As Roy (2005, p.148) sees it, "against the standard dichotomy of two sectors [the formal and informal], informality is not a separate sector but rather a series of transactions that connect different economies and spaces to one another." Indeed, the formal planning system — and its inability to engage with certain activities or groups — is precisely what produces the unplanned and unplannable: namely, informality (Roy, 2005). Such outcomes must be seen as more than simply the 'unintended consequences' of the formal planning system, suggesting that planners need to grapple with the complexity of planning *with* informality. This research aims to test scholars' calls for planning with

informality by including and involving informally organised waste re-claimers in planning processes and outcomes.

However, and somewhat surprisingly, research findings demonstrate that the idea of ‘public participation’ (in-itself) needs to be reassessed and problematized for specific contexts, actions and actors (see Chapters 4 and 5). Since the critiques of the rational comprehensive model of planning in the early 1960s, planning (in most English-speaking democracies) has uncritically adopted the idea of ‘public participation’ as a universally good and appropriate approach to planning. While there are many advantages to collaborative and inclusionary planning approaches (as discussed in Chapter 2), this study yields interesting and unexpected research findings for planning *with* informality in the global South. Such research findings then necessitate more nuanced understandings of discursive planning actions in situated contexts (see Chapter 6). But first I need to explain the research journey undertaken, for I too began this journey with ambitions for greater inclusion.

There have been, and continue to be, varied interpretations of what ‘public participation’ engenders for planners, and indeed for politicians. This has ranged from the narrow rhetoric employed by local and national state departments – which has covertly subscribed to a position of ‘facipuation’ (facilitation and manipulation) – through to more collaborative interpretations that view ‘planning as relation-building’, and which are as much about process as they are about outcome (Healey, 1996; Fainstein, 2005; 2010). The former interpretation can be likened to Arnstein’s ‘tokenism’ (see Figure 2.3), where conveners of participatory processes ultimately get participants to produce results that facilitators want. Here, participation becomes little more than a means of co-opting and justifying the work of planners, rather than enabling the initiative of residents in the decision-making and planning of their environment (Laburn-Peart, 1998). Relational planning approaches argue for embracing principles of democracy and pluralism, difference and multiculturalism, and for exploring different arenas of debate and collaboration regarding planning issues (Laburn-Peart, 1998). This requires finding ways of including a wider range of interests in policy formulation, particularly marginalized groups who are otherwise excluded from both debate and resolution. This conceptual conflict has been amplified by both private and public scepticism regarding genuine participation in planning and development processes. For example, the 1991 Handbook published by the then South African Institute of Town and Regional Planners (SAITRP) (now the South African Planning Institute, SAPI), argues that “The role and image of the planner is frequently undermined, weakened and emasculated (by participat[ory] processes)” (SAITRP, 1996, pp. 1-4). This lack of buy-in continues in the new constitution by SAPI, which although subscribes to the idea of participation, expresses reservations regarding its potential to slow down or even ‘paralyze’ effective and efficient delivery on projects (Laburn-Peart, 1998). Compounding the misgivings that officials have towards public participation processes, these reservations may be mirrored by informal groups who have become accustomed either to processes of tokenism, or to a lack of assistance from the state. Further, one might find that the very notion of ‘formal inclusion’ generates resistance from informal recyclers in this situated context (see Chapters 4 and 5).

1.2 The Background to the Study

Much is written of the need to overcome exclusion by incorporating local or indigenous knowledge into all aspects of development and planning practice, with recent literature suggesting that social exclusion is likely to be as much a cause of poverty as one of its effects (Roy, 2005). Healey (1996) and Laburn-Peart (1998) call for an “inter-discursive policy formulation”, which is fundamentally an inclusionary approach to planning that seeks to incorporate multiple knowledges, including a range of stakeholders who aren’t professionally or technically qualified. This discursive shift is echoed in the following extract:

Planners need to challenge traditional assumptions and representations and develop new practices which enable communicative interaction. Real inclusionary argumentation goes much further; to respect rights and differences, to understand values and claims, to probe the meanings and implications of different issues and suggestions, to draw out areas of agreement and what cannot

be agreed, to make demonstrably impartial and justified recommendations and throughout, to treat people transparently and fairly.

(Hillier and van Looij, 1997, p.21-22)

This refocusing of the professional lens requires what Laburn-Peart (1998) refers to as an occupational consciousness – or ‘occupational conscience’ – to be at the core of all future planning endeavours in South Africa, providing the profession with a moral mandate for genuine and nuanced inclusivity.

Cape Town’s combined population and economic growth has resulted in growing consumerism and a net growth in the volume of waste that is generated by private citizens, tourists and visitors, and commerce and industry (see Chapter 2). The National Waste Management Strategy (NWMS, 2009) has identified the need to implement various waste minimization programmes in order to save landfill space, prevent pollution, and sustain the environment. The following principles are intended to give direction to this drive: “prevention-before-waste-generation”, “waste, streaming and diversion”, and “cradle-to-grave” (NWMS, 2011). To give effect to these strategies the City of Cape Town (CoCT) is tasked with creating infrastructure, facilitating the creation of recycling markets/industries, and enabling job creation through recycling rather than through clean-ups (IWMP, 2006). While waste separation, streaming and diversion are seen as fundamental to the success of this waste minimization strategy, it is regarded as falling into the domain of formally registered businesses rather than informal recyclers. The collection and sorting of recycling materials are essential components of this strategy that already contribute to achieving lower landfill disposal targets in the City. This includes the collection of: scrap metal, glass, plastic, paper, rubber, and e-waste (IWMP, 2006). Aside from the obvious environmental benefits of reduced waste-to-landfill, there are immediate economic savings for the City too. Further, the provision of informal services such as recycling means that the City saves on the costs of formal recycling companies, and subsequently residents save on the increased rates and taxes connected to formal service provision. Regarding the reclamation of re-usable items from bins which are then sold on to second-hand shops, there are other socio-economic and environmental contributions (see Chapter 4).

While one would think that the sustainable development objectives of Rio (1992), reaffirmed at Rio+20 (2012), of ‘protection of biodiversity, promotion of renewable energy, and conservation of natural resources’, would be the drivers of waste management, instead the drivers appear to be largely economic in response to managing energy and resource security (DST, 2014). The National Environmental Management: Waste Act (Act No. 59 of 2008) has been amended by the National Environmental Management Waste Amendment Act (Act No. 26 of 2014), to include a new definition of waste that recognises its resource value, stating that any waste stream identified as having beneficial use can be excluded from the definition of waste. Accordingly, the City of Cape Town (CoCT) is required to regulate the interventions, mechanisms and technologies applied within the City’s boundaries in order to manage and minimise waste in a sustainable, effective, equitable and efficient manner (IWMP, 2006). All entities involved in recycling initiatives will soon be required to be registered and accredited by the CoCT, as well as to formally record quantities of materials that they handle. By formalising and regulating waste management processes through the privatisation and modernisation of waste management systems, informal recyclers and reclaimers are excluded from accessing livelihood resources they depend on.

1.3 Identifying the Problem under Study

The majority of global population growth over the coming decades will take place in cities of the global South. Planning for this dynamic is made more complex by the fact that much of this growth will take place among population groups that are excluded from – and by – formal planning processes and outcomes, contributing to an exploding ‘informal sector’. Planning concerns both ‘the discursive’ and ‘the material’ (i.e. the processes and outcomes of our interventions). Thus, there exists an inseparable connection between the discursive and substantive dimensions of planning, since both “process and substance ceaselessly constitute one another” in theory and practice (Yiftachel

2006, p.213). And “while approaches to decision-making may change or be long forgotten, the material legacy of these decisions remains for generations” (Yiftachel 2006, p.213). Yiftachel’s argument here is contained within his and other scholars’ ongoing critique of mainstream theorists’ predominant focus on the procedural dimensions of planning that ignores outcomes (cf. Fainstein 2005; 2010). I begin Chapter 2 by delving into these discursive and substantive dimensions of planning. For now, and for the purpose of this introductory chapter, it is important to remember that thinking about the future of our cities, and of global sustainability more generally, requires a deep and thorough engagement with the informal. However, what this ‘engagement’ and ‘inclusion’ might look like may be highly context-specific, as demonstrated by research findings and recommendations presented in Chapters 5 and 6 respectively. For the purpose of this introductory chapter, it is also important to keep Roy’s (2005) following two questions in mind: How does formal planning produce the informal? And how can planning engage with issues of informality? As Watson (2009, p.2263) sees it, informality is a multifaceted concept, that in this context, refers to “forms of income generation...and forms of negotiating life in the city” that are either not covered, or insufficiently covered by formal arrangements (Theron and Visser, 2010). Further, Watson (2009) argues that informality has become the dominant mode of behaviour, particularly in the global South, where it is now the norm and no longer the exception. The recognition that there are multiple ‘different voices’ within civil society which represent different but valid perspectives, is vitally important in the global South where planning and development legacies have generally involved top-down or impositionary state interventions (Watson, 2009). Compounding this, contradictory pressures placed on local government planning departments to promote urban economic competitiveness on the one hand, and to deal with social exclusion, poverty, unemployment, and rapid population growth on the other, serve to exacerbate perceptions of distrust (Watson, 2009).

Watson (2009) calls attention to the need for planning theory production to be located in the global South – uniquely positioned to respond to the socio-economic and socio-political complexities of these contexts. Virtually all of the current planning theory that drives development logics in the global South is imported from the global North (ibid.). The same is true for planning law and management regulations, including the management of waste. The result has been an almost complete lack of engagement with prominent development issues that arise in Southern contexts, such as how to include informality in planning processes and practice. Other issues also arise from this subservience to Northern notions of planning rules and processes. For example, assumptions that civil society is definable, relatively organized, homogeneous, and actively consensus-seeking are problematic for participatory planning approaches in the South (Watson, 2009). Furthermore, acknowledging power relationship imbalances must feature more prominently in planning practices that are aimed at including marginalised population groups in such practices, particularly if marginalised groups skirt the boundaries of what planning considers to be legal and manageable (Flyvbjerg, 1998).

Alterations to the recycling system are intended to involve processes of modernization (read: mechanization) and privatization, blocking the access of informal recyclers rather than supporting their activities. A fundamental problem that drives Public-Private Partnerships between the City and private waste management companies is one that affects all local authorities and has its roots in the establishment of the so-called ‘Unicity’ in 2000: existing budgets have been insufficient to meet increased demands for service delivery (Theron and Visser, 2010). As Government departments lack both skills and equipment, it becomes cheaper to outsource operations to specialised firms who have the necessary skills and equipment (ibid.). This manifests itself through public-sector support for established, larger and more ‘efficient’ formally registered recycling companies, and for a subscription to capital-intensive growth strategies rather than labour-intensive strategies that enable more distributive outcomes (Harrison, 2006). Accordingly, Schenck and Blaauw (2011) argue that in a context of severe unemployment and fiscal restraint, creating one’s own work through informal activities should be encouraged rather than be made difficult. While the work of informal recycling is not illegal, during their workday informal recyclers are ignored through their lack of political and institutional support, and during the night they are criminalized for sleeping in public places and a variety of other public nuisance charges (Charlton, 2014).

The IWMP (2006) by-laws regarding recycling, re-use and recovery of waste actively serve to exclude informal players from participating in the system through a variety of techniques that block their entry. These include expensive formal accreditation processes and obligations to submit of a host of plans (EIAs and IWMP) as well as monthly data recordings. “The Council will encourage and control lawful recycling initiatives through various mechanisms” (IWMP, 2006, p.44, my emphasis). Furthermore, specific entities that require a business license from the City of Cape Town in terms of the Business Act (Act 71 of 1991) are expected to submit a waste management and recycling plan for approval by the City’s Health Department and the Solid Waste Management Department in addition to the regulatory requirements (IWMP, 2006).

Towards the achievement of the City’s socio-economic development objectives, the Council has pledged to encourage and support job-creation opportunities linked to the recycling industry. However, this support ignores informal players. Instead, it targets processing and recycling depots and businesses using recycled materials (IWMP, 2006). In this political and institutional framework, it appears that informal players are actively excluded from participating in the City’s waste management strategies, and in generating a livelihood. This then is the problem under study, which, in turn, sets-up the aims of the research.

1.4 Establishing the Aims of the Study

Watson (2009) gives direction to new planning research on informality in the global South, suggesting that research should include in-depth, grounded and qualitative case study research on state-society interactions and the ‘dispersed practices of government’. Rich ethnographic research of this variety is needed to establish more grounded planning theories and practices that are specifically crafted to global South contexts. As such, the overarching aim of this study is to investigate research participants’ desires for inclusion in the City’s waste management strategies, and to explore what this inclusion might look like. This concerns the ways in which informal role players can be included in future planning processes and decisions regarding improvements to the waste management system, and to individual livelihood security. Research findings illustrate highly localised and situated place-based activities, contributing to the production of research on informal re-claimers in Cape Town, as well as the global South.

Examples of ‘inclusion’ and support of informal activities will be drawn from other Southern case examples that have demonstrated their commitment to this endeavour. This should not be interpreted to suggest that results or solutions can be either generalized or imported, but rather, it is useful for highlighting both similar and different experiences of informal re-claimers in cities of the global South, and the various ways in which this group has been excluded, and can be included. That said, and with regards to the un-generalizability of results and solutions from elsewhere, my context-specific findings suggest the need to critically explore taken-for-granted standpoints concerning ‘participatory planning’ as a universally accepted ‘good thing’, and as a ‘one size fits all’ approach. An additional aim of this study is thus to engage with critical discourse theory for the purpose of reassessing and questioning assumptions of ‘inclusion’ and ‘involvement’ in formal planning and waste management strategies. I therefore remain ‘open’ to the possibility that while research findings might corroborate the idea that participatory planning is a ‘good thing’, findings might also suggest something ‘new’ and different with regards to the particular context under study.

Furthermore, this research aims to give ‘voice’ to a marginalised group – whose experiences and perspectives are unlikely to be heard otherwise – and to put forward suggestions for improved livelihood strategies and personal securities. In so doing, the study hopes to shed light on the personal plights of a few of our marginalised many. This includes: waking up before the sun rises; marching across the Southern Suburbs of Cape Town come rain, wind or shine; lugging heavy bags of recyclables over one’s shoulder; sleeping in marginal public spaces; and daily discrimination; all the while trying to make an honest living that contributes to both economic growth and environmental health (for others to enjoy) (Schenck and Blaauw, 2011). For the purpose of this study, it is also important to note that research participants identify themselves as ‘skarrelers’, which means ‘always being ready to move’, to ‘make something from

nothing' (Personal Interview, 23rd July 2015). This term is used throughout the dissertation when referring to research participants who work (and live) in the Southern Suburbs of Cape Town. Both the identified problem and the aims of this research shape the main research questions of my study. It is to these questions that I now turn.

1.5 Establishing the Main Research Question and the Research Methods

The main research questions for this study ask:

- What are research participants' desires for inclusion in the City of Cape Town's waste management strategies? and;
- How can skarrelers be included in future waste management processes and interventions in the City of Cape Town and in public processes more generally?

In order to answer the main research questions (as well as the subsidiary research questions established in Chapter 2) a number of research methods and techniques are used. The former consists of discourse analysis as well as ethnographic research methods. The latter consists of 'hanging out' with research participants, participant observations and in-depth interviewing techniques. Each of these methods and techniques are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3.

1.6 Structure of the Dissertation

The dissertation is structured as follows:

Chapter 2 establishes the conceptual framework for analysing research participants, and for establishing relevant policy recommendations. The two-fold purpose of this chapter is: (1) to explore the existing literature on the topic under study; and (2) to establish subsidiary research questions for the purpose of guiding fieldwork, as well as for the purpose of guiding policy recommendations presented in Chapter 6.

Chapter 3 outlines the qualitative research methods and techniques used to undertake this study. This chapter also encompasses discussions on conducting ethical research, in addition to discussions concerning the limitations of the methods and techniques used to collect data for this study. It concludes with a discussion on how the data will be analysed.

Chapter 4 presents research findings in the form of a personal narrative documenting 'a day in the life of a skarreler'.

Chapter 5 analyses the data collected using the theoretical tools established in Chapter 2 to evaluate the case study group.

Chapter 6 presents policy and other spatial planning recommendations for the purpose of addressing research findings identified. Some of the recommendations are derived from the literature reviewed in Chapter 2, while others are drawn from the primary research findings.

2.1 Introduction

The conceptual framework explores existing literature on the topic under study, and secondly, while establishing subsidiary research questions for the purpose of guiding my fieldwork. This ranges from local to global ontologies surrounding the role and value of participation, through to more nuanced understandings and epistemologies of planning with informality and other Southern complexities. Broad consensus surrounding the need for ‘inclusive cities’ and participatory planning processes is underpinned by the recognition of individual and collective human rights, coupled with concern over authoritative planning approaches that fail to consider and engage with all role players or affected parties in a particular social field. ‘Participatory planning’ approaches are often presumed to be valuable and important in contemporary planning theories, practices and policies, regardless of context. The purpose of engaging with critical discourse theory is to question taken-for-granted conventions by interrogating them and establishing their validity in a situated context, concerning the needs of a specific population group. This assumed value must be analysed with regards to skarrelers’ inclusion and involvement in the City’s waste management strategies.

While proponents of the value of ‘participatory planning’ (see: Winkler, 2011; Watson, 2009) have argued for its centrality in a South African politico-developmental context, where historically, planning has excluded large portions of society; other scholars (Yiftachel, 2009; Cooke and Kathari, 2001) have questioned this inherent and assumed value that ‘participation’ brings to both planning processes and outcomes. Furthermore, scholars such as Miraftab (2009), have presented a more negative and cynical view of ‘participation’, arguing that it is little more than a technique used to implore veiled perceptions of inclusion and legitimacy that are necessary for the achievement, and stability, of hegemonic neoliberal regimes. Taking these opposing views of ‘participation’ into account is a particular focus of this research, which considers the value of skarrelers’ inclusion both discursively and materially. This involves in-depth interviews that aim to understand the degree to which inclusion and involvement in the City’s waste management strategies is desired by research participants, as well as what the ‘cost’ of this inclusion might be.

Although inclusive planning has generally received broad acceptance from political elites—both globally and locally—as well as significant attention in the literature, a gap is still evident between stated policy ambitions and the practical application of these policies. Moreover, the homogeneity of participation models makes them unable to effectively include diverse groups. In a global South context, engaging with informality has become the central challenge if we are to realize more democratic processes and strategies that place greater value on the socioal and political tenets of sustainability. This implies a triple bottom line focus for planning in the global South, rather than the default focal lenses of economic or environmental efficiencies. Including informal re-claimers in formal waste management strategies may provide one such opportunity for satisfying ‘triple bottom line’ objectives (see Figure 2.1, elaborated on in section 2.3). Support for this marginalized group could lead to improved economic growth, environmental health, and social gains stemming from the creation of large numbers of unskilled jobs for a population group that lacks resources and opportunities. Informal re-claimers find themselves at the interface of global and local forces, employing a combination of entrepreneurial survival strategies tailored to context. This socio-economic and political context includes high and rising unemployment, fewer low- and un-skilled jobs available in the formal labour market due to impacts of economic restructuring, and a reduction in the size of social safety nets owing to neoliberal economic austerity measures. This illustrates how global and local forces combine to shape activities and livelihoods in informal waste management. Benson and Vanqa-Mgijima (2010) uncovered in their study, the impact of the 2008 global economic recession on waste pickers in Cape Town, as did Mareello and Helwege (2014) in Latin America, showing an influx of waste pickers as formal labour markets were squeezed, together with a drop in individual waste picker earnings. Socio-economic dynamics that give rise to informality in developing country cities include rapid population growth, migration to urban areas, a lack of funding and affordable services, and a low-skilled labour force. Skarreling

is intrinsically tied to, and a product of, these dynamics.

This conceptual framework unpacks various discursive and material impacts on the livelihoods of informal re-claimers. Subsidiary research questions for my research are established through a review of local and international research on informal re-claimers, predominantly in Southern contexts where these activities are more widely practiced and researched, and where movements towards greater inclusion of these informal activities has gained traction. The structure of this chapter is as follows: It commences with an analysis of the politics of identity for informal recyclers, and its relevance for maintaining positive self-concepts; Section 2.3 deals with several theoretical lenses that provide conceptual leverage to arguments for inclusion and support of informal re-claimers. Section 2.4 discusses various global-local intersections that impact the prevalence of informal re-claiming activities in Southern contexts, where global impacts of advanced marginality are felt locally. section 2.5 discusses policy discourses surrounding notions of ‘participation’ and ‘inclusion’ regarding the City’s waste management system. This turns attention in section 2.6 to myriad complexities that arise when planning *with* informality in Southern contexts, frequently resulting in the discursive and material exclusion of informal re-claimers; while Section 2.7 deals specifically with the improved bargaining power and recognition that organising informal re-claimers can leverage. The chapter concludes in section 2.8 with a systematic summary of the main arguments put forward, and a list of all the subsidiary research questions posed in this chapter.

2.2 Politics of Identity

Tajfel (1982, p. 2) defines social identity as that part of the individual’s self-concept which derives from their knowledge of their membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership. Typically, such membership is categorical, and the boundaries between social categories are rendered clear enough to construct qualitatively distinctive divisions. Positive associations are likely to generate positive self-concepts. Regarding homelessness – which is quite common among informal re-claimers – Patel and Ross (2015) suggest that differentiating ‘in-group’ from ‘out-group’ status is often done through reducing another group to their negative characteristics such as drug abuse – this helps to facilitate a positive sense of self. Festinger’s (1954) work on social comparison argues that all individuals aim to preserve or achieve a satisfactory self-concept and avoid negative self-esteem. This is achieved through making favourable comparisons with similar others. Further, interactions with other in-group members, where living conditions and difficulties may be similar, have the potential to establish a sense of unity and optimism for members, suggesting an important role for collegiality in maintaining positive self-concepts. In this sense, Mccarthy’s (2013) work on homelessness and identity supports the notion of rejecting imposed identities.

The terminology employed to identify informal re-claimers engenders political discourses that shape the treatment and perceptions of this marginalized group. This brings to the fore issues of epistemology and ontology regarding informal re-claimers, and emphasising the multiple ways in which both identities and knowledges of particular social agents are produced, and by whom. This also has major bearing on our socially constructed ontologies and for intervening or ‘dealing with’ a particular group of informally organised social agents. The terminology employed to identify groups of informal recyclers ranges from the more derogatory to the more positive. For example, ‘waste-collectors’, ‘scavengers’, and ‘garbage pickers’ serve to construct a negative perception of this group and lead public sentiment and treatment. Other terminology, such as ‘re-claimers’, and ‘salvagers’ carry more positive connotations, as well as being more accurate descriptors of activities. This group does not collect waste, but rather recyclables, only salvaging and reclaiming recyclable items. While re-claimers may resemble scavengers in the broadest sense – surviving of others’ waste – this conjures up a foul image of rodents rummaging through waste. More positive still, is the identity given to them by artist, Viktor Muniz, ‘soldiers of climate change’ (Documentary: Wasteland, 2011), highlighting the positive contributions of this group as combative agents toward a global environmental challenge. In South Africa, the identities that informal re-claimers assign themselves, and that their communities give them, are particularly revealing. ‘Grab-grab’ and ‘mining’ are more neutral lexicons that do well to describe the physical

nature of the activity (Schenck & Blauuw, 2011). 'Minza' (surviving) implies a struggle, while 'ukuzizamela' (trying for yourself) suggests an element of entrepreneurial pride in making an honest living under difficult circumstances. A subsidiary question in my research thus asks: how do research participants choose to identify themselves, and how are they identified by others? Connected to this, are there any physical markers – such as gender and age – that serve to further marginalise some members within the group? These issues are explored for their impact on research participants' livelihoods and experiences of 'life on the street'. Research findings to these questions will be presented in Chapters 4 and 5.

Viljoen et al (2015) make the distinction between street- and landfill-waste pickers in their South African countrywide research, with the groups involved in the two activities often comprising slightly different demographic make-ups and experiencing different challenges relating to their work. For example, street waste pickers have a larger male contingent and are generally in better health than are landfill waste pickers exposed to more hazardous wastes. Street waste pickers also generally earn more than landfill waste pickers, due to their ability to get more valuable recyclables prior to municipal waste collections. These place-based dynamics will be explored further in my own research on skarrelers in Cape Town's Southern Suburbs, unpacking the extent to which these intricacies, and others, play out in this context. Schenck and Blauuw (2011) suggest that this sex differentiation may be due to items being heavy to lug around, or to streets being unsafe. Benson and Vanqa-Mgijima (2010) discovered that waste pickers in Langa, Cape Town, are identified by their own community as 'mabuyaze' (which means: come back with nothing). My own research directs enquiry into the epistemology of such a term, and explores the impact that these kinds of potentially demeaning identities engender for research participants' self-concepts, as well as for their own strategies of self-identification. This highlights the menial income received by informal recyclers for their tiresome and exploited physical labour. Earning between R10 and R70 a day on average, 36% of 142 waste pickers interviewed by Schenck and Blauuw (2011) stated that they did not earn enough money to take any home to their families despite the fact that, on average, 4 people were dependent on each waste picker for survival (ibid.). The most common description of their own activities, for waste pickers in Cape Town, was 'skarreling' (which means 'always on the lookout', 'scrounging around', and 'struggling, but doing something about it') (Benson & Vanqa-Mgijima, 2010). This self-identification implies a sense of optimism and hardship, while taking the decision to make the most of a bad situation.

In this study, I choose to use the term 'skarreler' for two reasons. Firstly, it is the self-assigned and preferred identity of research participants, and secondly it provides an opportunity to identify a slightly different activity performed by research participants compared with what is generally understood by the more established 'waste picker' terminology. This activity involves collecting and selling re-usables as opposed to recyclables. The following section looks at various theoretical lenses that can be employed towards a re-imagining of skarreler inclusion into formal waste management strategies and processes.

2.3 Theoretical Lenses

2.3.1 Social Ecological Perspective

Social Ecological Perspective argues that understanding any organism and its actions hinges on understanding the environments that organisms interact with, and within which they find themselves performing. The crux of this model is essentially to understand the person-in-context, with constant interaction between individual and environment as each shapes the other's response and behaviour (Piat et al, 2015). This interaction can be framed in terms of individual and structural risk factors (ibid.). For example, they argue that homelessness is the product of interacting individual conditions, socio-economic structures, and environmental circumstances. While this model presents an alternative to reductionism, and gives credence to forces external to oneself, it should not be viewed in a pre-determinist sense. Rather, individual agency is emphasised, with individuals expected to react differently to structural conditions based on previous experiences, perspectives and differences (Piat et al, 2015). The value of this model is that it allows for exploring 'the whole' as a relationship, with individual factors being shaped by socio-economic and environmental

circumstances and vice versa.

2.3.2 Sustainable Livelihood Perspective

The Sustainable Livelihood Approach is founded upon the notion that intervention should be based upon an appreciation of what underpins livelihoods – where livelihood is defined as comprising “people, their capabilities and their means of living, including food, income and assets” (Morse and McNamara, 2013; Didero, p.29, 2011). Viljoen et al (2015) interpret this approach primarily through an economic lens, arguing that any person needs the capabilities to reap the benefits from economic opportunities in order to be able to reduce poverty and to achieve economic security and social well-being. This position is premised on the insistence that a person, or group of people, can withstand and recover from shocks to systems that they rely on for generating a livelihood. The approach is at odds with current populist approaches to modernizing waste management systems through improved technology and mechanization, and through privatizing, which adds large competitors and confers waste management rights. The result of these dual processes is the replacement of scores of low-income and low-skill (informal) jobs, with fewer more skilled (formal) jobs. Modernization and privatization of waste management systems is often driven by environmental and personal health concerns, with municipalities being under pressure to modernize unsightly, unhygienic landfills and adopt Waste-to-energy schemes in their place. At the extreme end of this modernization process is the mechanical separation of recyclables using optical sensors, conveyor belts, and pneumatic blowers to sort materials by type. These modern systems are developed under the pretence of greater efficiency, and are often supported by international donors and organisations, such as the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank, the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, and the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) (Marello and Helwege, 2014). It is concerning that ‘clean development’ is envisaged as the technological and mechanized upgrading of systems, while disregarding sustainable livelihood concerns connected to this system overhaul. Furthermore, the CDM is specifically targeted at funding projects in developing countries that will reduce greenhouse gases. In 2011, the largest landfill in Mexico City, Bordo Poniente, was closed and converted into a biogas incineration plant. This was done to curb the City’s greenhouse gas emissions, to which the landfill was estimated to contribute towards significantly (roughly 25% of the City’s total) (ibid.). While this process is attractive for its public and environmental health benefits, the result of modernisation programmes envisaged as sustainable, is a city that might be ‘greener’, but where the marginalisation of waste pickers is left unaddressed. There are currently 8 sites, and 11 potential alternative waste management projects such as anaerobic digestion (AD) and landfill gas extraction that the CoCT plans to develop in the future – registered under the Clean Development Mechanism (CDMs) Programme of Activities (PoA) (Munganga and Mali-Bolo, 2014). These strategies lie at the wrong end of the waste management hierarchy’s priorities (see Figure 4.2). In Delhi, India, a CDM project to develop a waste incinerator cost 10 000 waste pickers their livelihoods (Forrest and Tuwizana, 2012). Thus, the concept of sustainability continues to be viewed in the narrowest sense, illustrating tensions that exist between policies of inclusion and modernization, leading Marello and Helwege (2014, p.7) to suggest that, “...the involvement of politically disengaged international actors carries a bias toward the techniques used in developed countries regardless of the social consequences.”

Didero (2011) refutes the claim that modernized waste management systems are always more efficient, illustrating that the impacts of modernization and privatization of Cairo’s waste management system have both significantly depreciated the livelihoods of the Zabbaleen (Cairo’s informal waste collectors), as well as reducing the overall efficiency of waste management in Cairo, which has both economic and environmental components. Private waste management companies in Cairo, Egypt, are only required to meet a recycling quota of 20%, with reports suggesting that even this low target is not met (Didero, 2011). The Zabbaleen, on the other hand, were able to recycle up to 80% of the City’s recyclables, before programmes and rights to manage waste were restructured. This evidence is supported by Marello and Helwege’s (2014) research on waste pickers in Latin America, illustrating the higher efficiency rates achieved by informal re-claimers compared with formal recycling systems. For example, in Canete, Peru, 92% of recycled material is collected by informal recyclers, 84% in Managua, Nicaragua, and 67% in Belo

Horizonte, Brazil (Marello & Helwege, 2014). The informal sector in South Africa is thought to collect 80% of recycled glass, 90% of PET plastic and the majority of the recovered paper (DST, 2014). This greater efficiency is related to historically entrenched systems of informal recyclers, who have an intimate tacit knowledge of their context and who have developed systems and beneficial social relations with deep historical roots. In Cairo, the Zabbaleen have been recycling the city's waste since the 1930s (Didero, 2011). Another concern with privatizing recycling initiatives is that commercial recyclers often gather the most valuable recyclables, such as metal, and leave less valuable recyclables. The injustice of these private rights to waste is clearly apparent.

Economic sustainability has not been achieved by the new system either, as contracts with multinationals engender prohibitive additional costs both for inhabitants and political administration. This highlights an important economic contribution made by informal re-claimers: relieving state responsibilities and expenditures on formal waste management systems (Didero, 2011). While reducing expenditure to the state, individual producers of waste are saved from the high rates charges associated with privatized waste collection services (ibid.). Hayami, Dikshit and Mishra (2006) found that waste pickers and collectors add more value than their own income to waste producers' income. This dynamic can similarly be extended to the value that informal re-claimers contribute to the recycling industry, and to economic growth (ibid.). A number of capital-intensive recycling programmes have been launched in South Africa but were unsuccessful (Viljoen et al, 2015). Although mechanically sound, their failure has been attributed to an over-estimation of the value of recoverable materials, unrealistic requirements of the municipalities involved, and a downturn in the economy at the time the projects were launched (ibid.). Formal labour is expensive to employ, while also having less individual and collective drive for productivity than informal recyclers (ibid.). I therefore need to ask for the purpose of my place-based study: do skarrelers contribute towards the reduction of the municipality's costs? And if so, how?

On the other hand, Marello and Helwege (2014) suggest that the inclusion of informal re-claimers in municipal waste management systems should be seen as a potential contributor to the 'triple bottom-line' (see Figure 2.1), with the potential to: create jobs; reduce the environmental damage caused by increased consumerism and the growing use of disposable goods; and cut fiscal costs by both reducing landfill costs as well as civil servant wage bills.

Regarding this increased consumerism, the World Bank

has estimated that the total waste generated in Latin America is likely to increase by as much as 60% by 2025, while global generation of solid waste is expected to increase from 3.5 million tonnes per day in 2010, to more than 6 million tonnes per day by 2025 (Marello & Helwege, 2014). In South Africa, current trends from available data and information indicate that the growth in waste being generated is outstripping population growth by 5% (DEAT, 2011). Worse still, only 9.8% of generated waste was recycled in 2012 (DST, 2014). Recycling in South Africa is largely driven by the informal sector, estimated by the World Bank to sustain some 60 000 – 90 000 people (ibid.). For the Zabbaleen, privatization has eroded natural-, financial-, human- and social-capitals that were relied upon for generating livelihoods. Reports suggest that the natural capital (waste) available to the Zabbaleen has diminished by between 30% and 50%. Social- and natural- capitals have been reduced by geographically excluding informal recyclers from resources and from generators of waste. Reducing these capitals has negative implications for other capital attainments.

Figure 2.1 Three 'pillars' of sustainability



(Source: Google Images, accessed 2015)

Didero (2011) proposes a conceptual socialisation of the Sustainable Livelihood Framework when researching informal re-claimers, arguing that a focus purely on 'structures and processes' is limiting when one considers the range of capitals that impact livelihood security. Bourdieu's concept of Social Fields is a useful lens to include here, with social fields comprising actors who strive to enhance their relative positions, and who use different types of capital to compete with each other (ibid.). For example, Hayami, Dikshit and Mishra (2006) illustrate the centrality of cultural capital in defining Dehli's informal waste hierarchy. Bengali speaking migrants are prevented from climbing up the recycling hierarchy purely by virtue of their low 'caste'. They are excluded from accessing better positions in the recycling chain which are only available to migrants from the adjacent Uttar Pradesh region, with language being distinguisher (ibid.). This finding illustrates the complex nature of livelihood generation for informal recyclers, and the implications that this complexity holds for planning with actors in this social field. My research equally embraces these conceptualisations by asking: do skarrelers in the Southern Suburbs of Cape Town strive to enhance their positions; and, does a hierarchy exist amongst research participants?

2.4 Advanced Marginality: Intersecting Structural and Individual Elements of Exclusion

2.4.1 Structural Factors: Local-Global Intersections

Since the adoption of neoliberal policies in South Africa, the scale of informal recycling has increased, as has availability of poor, unemployed people able to participate, particularly in lower-tier informal activities such as skarreling. Neoliberal policies imply a privatization of resources by outsourcing public services to private firms, which has been a popular trend in South Africa (and in many other liberal democratic countries). Waste modernization strategies are adopted from the global North and implemented in the global South, with scant attention paid to the peculiarities of social, political and environmental context, and what the implementation of modernization strategies might mean for the livelihood securities of complex informal systems. Increasing quantities of waste generated in a city is as much a product of global as it is local dynamics, with increased consumerism being a universal prescription. Schenck and Blauuw (2011) argue that waste generation rates in industrialized cities are typically higher than in developing cities – as a general rule, waste increases as income increases. The same principle applies to more affluent communities in developing cities, which explains why Benson and Vanqa-Mgijima (2010) found that informal re-claimers in the Salt River-Woodstock area managed by and large, to collect more valuable materials than did waste pickers in the Philippi-Gugulethu area. The rapid ascent of globalisation has been mirrored in Southern contexts by exploding informality, largely the product of regulatory policies that aim to exclude participation in formal trade processes. As mentioned at the outset of this dissertation, informality can now be considered the norm in much of the global South (Watson, 2009), and, as such, it is important that planning *with* informality garners significant attention in the development agendas of global South regions.

Watson (2009) argues that it is vital for planning to recognise that civil society takes on very different arrangements in different parts of the world, and that planning processes, strategies and systems employed in the North cannot simply be transplanted onto the South. Cooke and Kothari (2001) argue that participatory planning approaches which are based on the assumption that civil society is definable, relatively organised, homogeneous, and actively consensus-seeking, have frequently underestimated the societal complexity and conflict in such parts of the world. Furthermore, the impact of globalised markets has placed competing pressures on governments in the global South.

In a context in which the power of governments to direct urban development has diminished with the retreat of Keynesian economics, planning has found itself to be unpopular and marginalised. It has also found itself at the heart of contradictory pressures on local government to promote urban economic competitiveness on the one hand, while on the other dealing with the fall-out from globalisation in the form of growing social exclusion, poverty, unemployment and rapid population growth, often in a context of unfunded mandates and severe local government capacity constraints.

(Watson, 2009: 2266)

2.4.2 Individual Factors

Individual risk factors have an interdependent relationship with structural risk factors (Piat et al, 2015). For example, regarding homelessness, alcoholics are statistically more likely to end up on the street, and at the same time individuals who are homeless are more likely to become alcoholics (ibid.). The same relationship can be seen for other individual risk factors such as mental illness. This illustrates the interdependent nature of structural and individual risk factors for homelessness – neither can be isolated from the other, existing only in relationship, and as a result of, one another. Here lies the value in analysis via social ecological perspectives.

2.4.3 Manifestations of Exclusion: Homelessness

Some of the most pressing issues for informal re-claimers are their living conditions, power relations with the state and police, and relationships of exploitation (Benson and Vanqa-Mgijima, 2010). These issues preclude abilities to save and improve socio-economic circumstances, and from being able to climb up the recycling hierarchy into alternative upper-tier informal activities or even the formal labour market. Thus, I need to ask (by way of another subsidiary research question): what are research participants' living conditions and power relations with the municipality and police; and, what is the impact of these conditions and power relations on skarrelers' livelihoods and on their desires for inclusion in the City's waste management strategy?

An overwhelming majority of re-claimers in Pretoria (69%) slept on the street, while another 15% slept in the veld under bushes (Schenck and Blauuw, 2011). Sleeping arrangements for the remaining 16% were evenly split between backyard rooms, backyard shacks, men's hostels, and home (ibid.). Benson and Vanqa-Mgijima (2010) reported the lack of protection from the elements as being a major challenge for re-claimers in Cape Town, who exhibited a range of health concerns and illnesses, and which prevented them from being able to work on some days. Regarding other barriers to participation as a skarreler, a subsidiary question explores this, asking: does exposure to the elements inhibit research participants' abilities to work consistently? Having to sleep in public spaces physically separates re-claimers from access to amenities such as water, toilets, and washing facilities, amplifying health concerns (Schenck and Blauuw, 2011). Viljoen, Schenck and Blauuw (2015) regard this lack of access as an intrinsically public issue, because without access to amenities, natural resources are utilised and degraded. Other health concerns include a lack of protective clothing while handling hazardous wastes, such as spoilt food, sputum, sanitary pads, dead animals, disposable nappies, and medical waste.

2.4.4 Power Relations

Benson and Vanqa-Mgijima (2010) report further exploitation of informal re-claimers by the CoCT's police service who routinely and unnecessarily subjected them to questioning, harassment them for sleeping in public places, confiscated their Identity documents, and even burnt their accumulated recyclables and other possessions. This level of harassment was heightened during the period surrounding the 2010 Soccer World Cup, with some re-claimers in the Salt River-Woodstock area being removed and relocated to Delft (ibid.). Compounding this discrimination, various capital deficiencies make it difficult for informal recyclers to improve their socio-economic circumstances. These capital deficiencies include: human-, financial-, natural-, social-, and informational-capital (Viljoen, Schenck and Blauuw, 2015), and are the topic of the following subsidiary question. Do capital deficiencies prevent research participants from improving their socio-economic conditions; and do these, and other, deficiencies have any bearing on perceptions of exploitation?

2.4.5 Upper- and Lower-tier Informal Activities

The informal sector is characterized by small-scale, labour-intensive, largely unregulated and unregistered, low-technology manufacturing or service provision. Informal entities do not pay taxes or have trading licenses, and are not included in social welfare or government insurance schemes (Wilson, et al, 2006). Re-claiming activities epitomize this informal sector as they are labour-intensive, low-technology, low-paid, unrecorded and unregulated (ibid.). Dual Labour Market Theory posits that the informal economy can absorb the growing number of people who cannot find economic opportunities in the more productive and remunerative formal economy (Viljoen et al, 2015). However, Viljoen et al (2015) differentiate between upper- and lower-tier informal activities, with lower-tier activities presented as having ‘involuntary entry’, while upper-tier activities are considered to be entered ‘voluntarily’, entry under the expectation that earnings will be higher in the informal economy than in the formal economy (ibid.). Thus, even the informal economy presents barriers to entry for better paying jobs, including: high start-up capital, labour relations issues, and a lack of basic financial literacy skills (ibid.). Uncertainty over income also provides a barrier to improvement (ibid.). Entry into lower-tier activities is reserved for those who cannot find work in the formal labour market and who do not meet the capital and skills requirements for the activities of the upper-tier self-employment informal economy (ibid.). These barriers are self-reinforcing, preventing mobility from lower-tier to upper-tier informal activities as section 2.4.8 shows clearly (ibid.). Hayami, Dikshit and Mishra (2006) illustrate that the ability to leverage start-up capital of some kind can greatly improve incomes earned in the informal economy. Thus, I need to ask: what are the barriers to entry and improvement in a situated context; and, do upper- and lower-tier informal activities exist in the area under study?

For Mareello and Helwege (2014), there are virtually no barriers to entering lower-tier informal activities other than the proviso that one is able to spend long days walking around the city while simultaneously hauling an accumulating quantity of re-claimed material. Still, my research investigates this claim.

2.4.6 Gender Dynamics

In Schenck and Blauuw’s (2011) study on re-claimers in Pretoria, 97% of 142 interviewed are male. The strenuous nature of the work may account for the disproportionately gendered male bias of street waste pickers in South Africa. Or perhaps this overrepresentation of men is due to what Baptista (2015) refers to as the invisibility of gendered homelessness, where women who are homeless hang out in less obvious spaces of homelessness in order to keep safe on the street. Women involved in street re-claiming activities are often partners of male re-claimers, typically collecting lighter and less valuable recyclables such as plastic, paper, cardboard, and clothing, which are both more accessible and more portable (Benson and Vanqa-Mgijima, 2010). Men on the other hand, are likely to collect heavier and more valuable recyclables, such as wire, steel, metal, copper, iron, and zinc (ibid.). For those collecting metal, competition is stiff since incomes are generally slightly higher (an average of R100 a day in Benson and Vanqa-Mgijima’s 2010 study in Cape Town). However, this is offset against insecure living and working conditions where theft and bodily assault are common. This gender split contrasts starkly with the global norm where the overwhelming majority of waste pickers are women. For example, in Pune, India, roughly 90% of waste pickers are women (Chikarmane, 2012). Research findings pertaining specifically to the Southern Suburbs of Cape Town are presented in Chapter 5.

2.4.7 Age Dynamics

Schenck and Blauuw (2011) report that a majority (49%) of re-claimers range between the ages of 41 and 50, with only one under the age of 25. One of the participants in their study speaks of the limited opportunities available for people over the age of 40 who lack work experience in the formal economy (ibid.). This contrasts with Pune, where 50% are under the age of 35 (Chikarmane, 2012). Re-claimer populations often comprise a large percentage of rural migrants who come to cities in search of work and a better life. For example, Hayami, et al (2006) discover that

89% of waste pickers interviewed in Delhi originate from rural areas. Similarly, in Pretoria, only 3% of waste pickers interviewed are originally from Gauteng, with the majority (63%) coming from Limpopo. Of this 63%, 57% have left their families in Limpopo, and enjoy very little familial contact or support (ibid.). Migrancy can contribute towards the marginalization of individuals from society (Hayami, Dikshit and Mishra, 2006), and these dynamics will be of interest in my own research with skarrelers. A subsidiary research question thus asks: do age and in-migration dynamics impact on perceptions of limited opportunities for research participants in this situated context?

2.4.8 Human Capital

Standard Labour Market Theory places importance on education and training as two factors of human capital development that can improve a person's earnings. This position is echoed by Mareello and Helwege (2014), who regard a lack of education and training as two major obstacles to improving re-claimer livelihoods. Viljoen et al (2015) take this impediment slightly further, highlighting dynamics of entrapment that characterize this social field, suggesting that lower-tier informal activities such as waste picking, provide little opportunity for investing in human capital and thus improving socioeconomic prospects. In South Africa, as is the case elsewhere, the field is characterized by low levels of education, deficient language proficiency, and little or no previous experience in formal labour markets (ibid.). In their study of 914 re-claimers in all nine provinces of South Africa, 92,9% have not completed formal schooling, and 47,6% have no previous experience in the formal labour market (ibid.). This research represents the largest sample of informal re-claimers ever interviewed in South Africa, with average daily incomes being R67, supporting Benson and Vanqa-Mgijima's (2010) findings of between R50 and R70 a day on average. Benchmarking this against the World Bank's poverty line of \$3 per person per day, and accounting for each waste picker's income supporting 4 people, this daily income is just above the poverty line of R57 (converted to 2012 purchasing power parity). This income therefore provides minimal opportunity for saving or for capitalized investment, thus preventing improvement of socioeconomic circumstances. A subsidiary research question in my study thus asks what the relationship is between human capital resource constraints and incomes attained? Chapters 4 and 5 demonstrate these findings. Other capital constraints that prevent informal re-claimers from improving their situations are discussed below.

2.4.9 Space, Tools and Information

As a result of discrimination and 'criminalization', skarrelers must navigate the city with detailed mental maps for the prime and marginal spaces through and in which they move and hang out. Prime spaces are generally used for mobility functions, while marginal spaces are occupied for 'hanging out' or selling items. Trancik's (1986) theory of 'lost' space is therefore utilized to research participants' advantage, with marginal spaces conferring particular benefits for research participants who put these spaces to use, while simultaneously presenting disadvantages for other users. This theory suggests that urban spaces and their functionality/use is the product of two main factors. Firstly, the degree of linkage that a space enjoys – connecting it to other spaces, functions and amenities – increases the likelihood that the space will be put to use. Secondly, the sense of place that a space generates is a product of its immediate urban environment. The degree to which a place is connected to other places, and holds place-making qualities, is what makes spaces either attractive or unattractive to users, with this reflected in the functions towards which the space is put.

Informal re-claimers comprise the lowest rung of the recycling industry — lacking support networks and formal organization structures – making them soft targets for exploitation by buy-back centres and other players above them in the hierarchy (Viljoen, Blauuw, Schenck, 2015). For example, informal recyclers are most vulnerable to the effects of global price fluctuations paid for materials (due to either altered exchange rates or demands). Economic vulnerabilities are thus cruelly transposed onto the most vulnerable and marginalized players in the industry. Furthermore, prices offered for recyclables at one buy-back centre can differ significantly from prices offered at another. Without adequate access to information or workers unions, recyclers are easily exploited. Their limited earning potential also makes

saving and investing difficult, which prevents them from valorising collected recyclables. Adding value, known as ‘valorisation,’ comes from collecting, washing, sorting and re-selling materials, or transforming them into recycled products (Marello & Helwege, (2014). To process large volumes, mechanization is needed in the form of shredders, compactors, conveyor belts, scales and collection vehicles, as well as adequate warehouse space (ibid.). In South African cities, there has been no provision of space in which informal recyclers can sort or clean recyclables in order to valorise them.

2.5 Participation and Inclusion

2.5.1 Formalisation: Regulate, Regularize, Privatize?

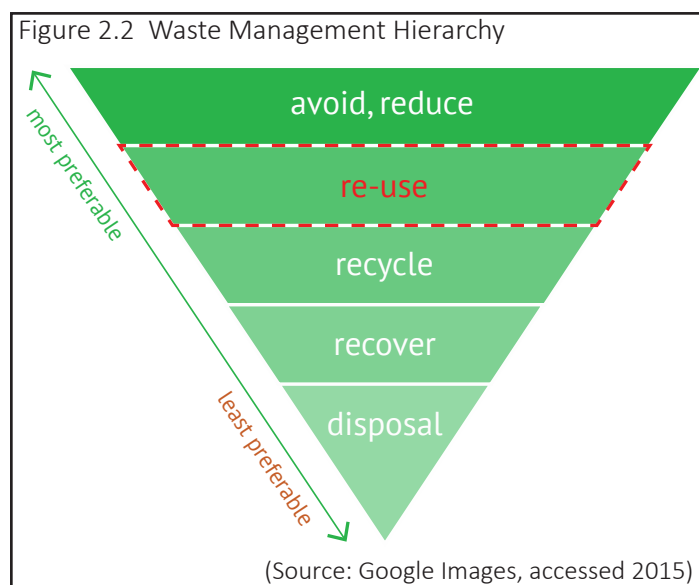
Participation with informality often goes hand-in-hand with formalisation, as a solution to the socio-political and economic disorganization generally associated with informality (Roy, 2005). For example, the NWMS (2011) perceives the solution to stimulating job creation and broadening participation by marginalised communities in the waste sector, to be through formalising the role of waste pickers and expanding the role of SME’s and cooperatives in waste management. Regarding the NWMS goal of, “Growing the Contribution of the Waste Sector to the Green Economy”, the intention is to create jobs in the waste management sector through, among others, “extending and formalising jobs in the various stages of the recycling value chain, including collection, sorting, re-use and repair, product recovery, processing and manufacturing of recyclable materials” (DEAT, p.27, 2011). For example, the NWMS aims to create 69 000 new jobs in the waste sector by 2016 – roughly the number of informal role players currently involved in the industry (DEAT, 2011). My study explores research participants’ opinions regarding the state’s formalisation prescriptions, hence asking a main research question that focuses on whether skarlelers desire to be formally included in the City’s waste management strategies (see Chapter 1).

The City’s IWM Policy (2006) and by-laws (2011), require that all entities and individuals wishing to engage in commercial waste minimisation and recycling activities inside the City’s boundaries, be registered and accredited by the Council to operate in the City’s boundaries. Although formalisation brings with it increased employment securities and benefits, it also includes a range of other formal procedural requirements. The CoCT affirms that all waste management services provided by or on behalf of the municipality must pay rates according to the Council’s Tariff Policy (ibid.). Furthermore, external waste management entities that have not been contracted by the CoCT to provide services on its behalf, must recover costs according to their own terms of contract with a customer (ibid.). This implies that informal re-claimers are unlikely to receive any funding from the CoCT or to be remunerated for daily economic and environmental contributions. Cape Town’s IWM by-laws require all formalized recycling groups or individuals to ensure, by way of an Environmental Impact Assessment, that their recycling activity is less harmful to the environment than would be disposing of the waste. Other requirements include submitting an Integrated Waste Management Plan, and a written report on or before the 7th of each month for WIS purposes.

Informal re-claimers are further excluded by the NWMS (2011) policy that requires any entity engaged in waste management practices inside the City’s boundaries, to comply with Council registration and written accreditation. For these role players, this current accreditation is a South African Identity Document, which is a requirement in order to sell recyclables to buy-back centres (Schenck & Blauuw, 2011); although Benson and Vanqa-Mgijima (2010) report that some buy-back centres do not fully abide by this rigid prescription. While ‘waste separation, streaming and diversion’ are regarded as fundamental to the success of a waste minimisation strategy, such practices are viewed as the work of formally registered businesses. The NWMS (2011) defines the waste management hierarchy in terms of the sequential priority given to each (see Figure 2.2 on the following page).

For example, ‘waste avoidance and reduction’ are seen as primary priorities for managing waste, followed by ‘re-use, recycling, recovery, and disposal’. The City’s waste minimisation strategies include: creating infrastructure, facilitating the creation of recycling markets/industries, and enabling job creation through recycling rather than through clean-

ups (DEAT, 2006). In order to achieve these waste minimisation and recycling targets, the goal is for all metropolitan municipalities, secondary cities and large towns to have initiated separation at source programmes by 2015 (NWMS, 2011). This has not yet happened, but is viewed as a critical step towards improving recycling rates in a city, with various trials underway. Moreover, informal re-claimers' incomes are often impacted negatively by the quality or cleanliness of a recyclable material, and without access to space and cleaning resources they are unable to extract maximum value. Separation at source may therefore be mutually beneficial.

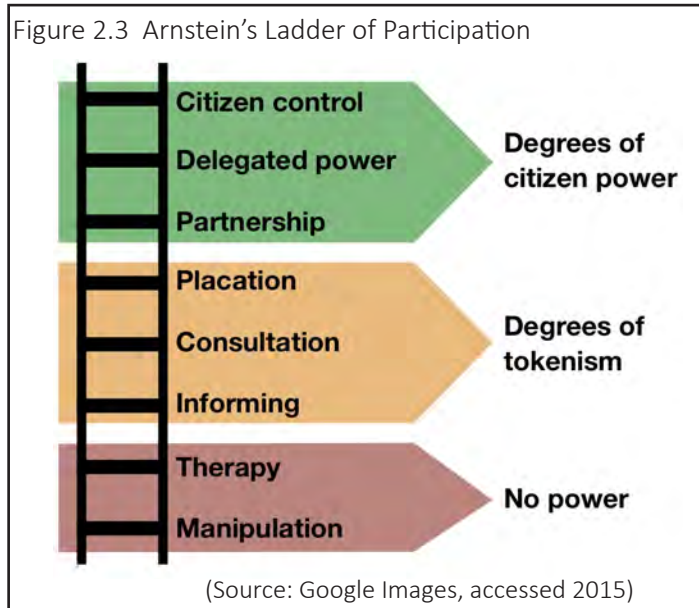


As a result of there being no formalised systems for source separation of waste in South Africa, large quantities of recyclables and re-usables arrive at landfill sites and informal salvaging here is widespread. Landfill re-claimers are exposed to various health and safety risks, as well as presenting operating problems for landfill staff. In the NEM:WA (2008), recycling is defined as, “a process where waste is reclaimed for further use, which process involves the separation of waste from a waste stream for further use and the processing of that separated material as a product or raw material”. By virtue of such definition, waste re-claimers are placed firmly in the waste management system as role players in recycling since they are the people who actually recover recyclable materials from the waste stream. As part of the socio-economic development objectives for the CoCT, the Council will encourage and support development initiatives that enable and encourage economic and job-creation opportunities linked to the establishment of processing and recycling businesses in the City (DEAT, 2006). Moreover, scrap metal collection and the collection of recyclable materials such as glass, plastic, paper, rubber and e-waste, are essential components of recycling and waste minimisation that already contribute to achieving lower landfill disposal targets in the City (DWAF, 1998). However, the perceived negative and disruptive economic, safety, and aesthetic impact of certain activities related to the gathering of recyclables and re-usables by informal re-claimers is cause for regulatory concern. As mentioned, it is the Council’s policy that all entities in the scrap metal/material business register with the City as per standard procedure in order to minimise negative social, environmental and economic impacts, and to encourage further waste reduction practices through mechanisms that will remove recyclables from the waste stream. Enshrined in this policy is the belief that informal activities cannot be easily controlled or incentivised.

The City of Johannesburg (CoJ) Metropolitan Municipality, the West Rand District Municipality (WRDM), and Mahikeng Local Municipality give recognition to waste pickers in their IWMP, but list formalisation as a requirement for inclusion (Komane, 2014). The City of Cape Town does not even grant this recognition, nor the City of Tshwane or Ethekeini (Durban) Metropolitan Municipalities (ibid.). A stated aim of the CoJ has been to achieve a 20% reduction by 2015 in domestic and commercial waste streams disposed to landfills, with one strategy being to develop and implement a Re-claimers’ Management System. This includes: registration of re-claimers at landfill sites, issuing of personal protective equipment to registered re-claimers, and training of re-claimers on health and safety issues on an ongoing basis (ibid.). The CoJ Industrial WMP aims “...to combine the vitality and flexibility of the informal collectors with the organisational and financial strength of the formal sector to create a system that will benefit all” (Komane, 2014, p.35). Collaboration between informal and formal systems seems logical if waste management systems are to be sustainable, as well as efficient. However, whether research participants wish to adopt these kinds of formalisation measures is something that needs to be explored.

2.5.2 Proponents of Participation: Pragmatic versus Meaningful Engagement

Arnstein's (1969) ladder of participation (see Figure 2.3) illustrates various participation typologies that range from more to less genuine types of engagement (Cornwall, 2008). 'Citizen power' refers to participatory processes where participants are actively involved in shaping the outcomes, while 'tokenism' can be described as merely consultation, and is used "as a means of legitimating already-taken decisions, providing a thin veneer of participation to lend the process some moral authority" (Cornwall, p.270, 2008). The latter is referred to as 'non-participation' and is reflective of top-heavy, authoritative approaches to planning and policy formation (Watson, 2009). Fung and Wright (2001) argue for a 'deepening' of public participation processes, which they refer to as Empowered Deliberative Democracy (EDD). They suggest that EDD can lead to processes that are more fair, participatory, deliberative, and accountable, and to outcomes that demonstrate greater responsiveness and effectiveness on the part of the state (ibid.).



Winkler (2011) argues that it is essential for public participation to take place prior to policy formation.

She regards participation during only the implementation and evaluative phases as a mere time-saving and 'pragmatic' approach to planning (Winkler, 2011). Further, "such a pragmatic approach to policy making ... thwarts opportunities to transform the existing planning system, because citizens have little or no say regarding the state's allocative structures" (Winkler, 2011, p.266). This position is premised on the value of an 'active citizenry' able to influence policy outcomes (Winkler, 2011), with Cornwall (2008, p.278) emphasising that "being involved in a process is not equivalent to having a voice". This commentary points to the polyvalence of 'participation' as a notion of inclusive planning (Cornwall & Coelho, 2006). Responsibility is handed over to municipalities to give effect to principles of participation and inclusion. The Municipal Systems Act (CoCT: Local Government, 2000, p.2) tasks municipalities with:

[D]evelop[ing] a culture of municipal governance that complements formal representative government with a system of participatory governance, and encourag[ing] and creat[ing] conditions for the local community to participate in the affairs of the municipality. A municipality must establish appropriate mechanisms, processes and procedures to enable the local community to participate in the affairs of the municipality.

Cornwall and Coelho (2006) argue that opening up more effective channels of communication and negotiation between the state and citizens enhances democracy, creates new forms of citizenship, and improves the effectiveness and equity of public policy. The 2020 vision of the City's IWM Plan is to develop Cape Town as a 'City for all its citizens' (DEAT, 2006). This vision includes an efficient waste management system with recycling efforts that are supported and sustained by the population (The Sustainability Institute, 2007). A significant portion of this population makes a living through informal recycling activities – Benson and Vanqa-Mgijima (2010) estimate that there are approximately 2,000 informal recyclers in the Salt River-Woodstock area in Cape Town alone. Engaging with this marginalised group is therefore thought to be a critical step towards ensuring sustainability of informal re-claimer livelihoods, and of recycling programmes.

2.5.3 Livelihood Support

In a context where unemployment is high, and state funding is being thinned out, one would expect active support on the part of government for people able to create their own work and to generate a livelihood (Benson & Vanqa-Mgijima, 2010). Co-operativisation is one strategy that has been quite successful in improving recognition and strengthening bargaining power for informal recyclers in other parts of the globe (see: Marelllo & Helwege, 2014; Hayami, Dikshit and Mishra, 2006; Wilson et al, 2006). An additional subsidiary research question therefore asks: how does the City of Cape Town support skarrelers in generating their own livelihood strategies? To begin to answer this question (which is explored in greater detail in Chapters 4 and 5), I now turn to a discussion on local networks of care and the various role players comprising these networks.

2.5.4 Local Networks of Care (LNOC)

Local Networks of Care generally comprise non-governmental organisations (NGOs), community-based organisations (CBOs) and faith-based organisations (FBOs). These non-profit organisations provide critical support to homeless individuals, and while they may receive a portion of their funding from the state, this is limited and circumscribes the type and quality of services provided. This translates into more of a focus on meeting basic needs as opposed to more complex concerns and services. One characteristic of NGOs is that their non-profit status means they are not hindered by short-term financial objectives. Accordingly, they are able to devote themselves to issues which occur across longer time horizons, such as climate change, malaria prevention, or homelessness. However, there are limits to the 'enabling' social capital provided by these organisations. For example, while they often make critical contributions to sustaining homeless individuals, a lack of funding makes furthering these basic services difficult. This has a range of implications insofar as the quantity and quality of support services is concerned. For example, Miller (2011) argues that there exists a lack of 'productive' social capital in these spaces, making it difficult for users of these services to improve their circumstances. This has contributed to arguments that take aim at the institutionalisation of homelessness, without developing meaningful solutions surrounding root causes (Culhane, Metraux and Byrne, 2010).

Shelters and other homeless services are frequently not accessed by homeless individuals for a variety of reasons. For example, shelters are not considered to be places of safety for homeless women – this and other more obvious spaces of homelessness are often avoided through gendered performances of invisibility on the street, protecting oneself through making oneself scarce or less obviously homeless (Baptista, 2010). Restrictions on alcohol consumption and intoxication levels also deter some homeless individuals from accessing services 'designed' to help them. Regarding faith based organisations, it can be difficult to separate out religious elements from the empathy and care that faith promotes, leading some scholars to suggest the value of more secular partnerships of support systems (Culhane, Metraux and Byrne, 2010). My research thus asks the subsidiary research question: What services do non-profit organisations in the Southern Suburbs provide research participants with, and are these services optimally utilized?

2.5.5 Social Capital

Besides this 'enabling' social capital provided by Local Networks of Care, homeless, unemployed, and underemployed individuals employ a wide variety of performances intended to elicit support from potential caregivers. For example, homeless individuals in Bristol argue that begging in regular 'pitches' can lead to increased earnings (Clope and may, 2013). This is directly linked to building familiarity between oneself and 'the public'. Furthermore, trust is built through regular predictable interactions, making people more likely to provide assistance (ibid.). Other survival mechanisms and performances include friendliness and providing informal services intended to extract some kind of reciprocated support from benefactors of this service. While these support networks are also critical to the survival of recipients, they similarly lack productive potential, being unable to facilitate upward social mobility. The provision of informal

services is a common strategy utilized by unemployed and underemployed communities in informal settlements, with services often being traded for reciprocated support measures (Ross, 2005). This trading of services is mutually beneficial for both parties involved, but also has limits in terms of productive capacity.

2.6 Discursive and Material Inclusion/Exclusion?

Although informal recyclers will no doubt be impacted on by policies and strategies that intend to ‘manage’ their work, they are not considered to be a valuable source of knowledge on the subject. On a similar note, they may in fact be rather astute at identifying obstacles to recycling and strategies for combating these. Research findings presented in Chapter 5 provide examples of this astuteness. “The recognition that there are ‘different voices’ within civil society which represent what may be valid and valuable points of view is vitally important in the South where planning and development interventions in the past have often been top-down or impositionary” (Watson, 2009, p.2272). I therefore need to ask: how are skarrelers’ voices accommodated in local planning and waste management strategies? What is needed and what is missing? Answers to these subsidiary research questions are relevant if we consider that the National Legal Framework Document for Recycling (DEAT, 2000) asserts the importance of inclusion and participation with all role-players in the waste industry. It acknowledges the need for all stakeholders in the complete recycling chain to be ‘appropriately involved’ in the City’s recycling strategies, in order for these strategies to be sustainable and effective at minimising and reducing waste. Informal ‘waste collectors and re-claimers’ are identified in this document as two of the many stakeholders who need to be involved in this recycling chain (ibid.).

Yet, the NWMS (2011) fails to include marginal players in the list of actors to engage in order to achieve waste minimisation targets. Its pledge to public participation, during the implementation of the waste management hierarchy, includes “households, businesses, CBOs, NGOs, parastatals, and the three spheres of government” (NWMS, p.19, 2011). While participatory community projects are seen as key to the success of the NWMS, informal recyclers seem to be excluded from this call for participation and coordination. This concern is further explored via my research.

2.7 Organising Informal Activities

Informal re-claimers often go about their work as if invisible, un-noticed by the majority of the city’s inhabitants who pass them by on a daily basis. Moreover, this physical invisibility may be just what enables their survival in a system that aims to exclude their involvement. Increasing political visibility is often done through organising re-claimers into co-operatives, thus improving their political recognition and bargaining power, which has enabled significant progress to be made in other contexts (see: Marello & Helwege, 2014; Didero, 2011). Waste re-claimers in South Africa are also beginning to organise themselves. Samson (2010) states that after the failure to bear fruit of topdown attempts to formalise recycling in Tshwane, by the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality, re-claimers took the initiative to organise themselves into a network comprising members of re-claimers’ committees of the seven landfills in

Photo 2.1 SAWPA Protest



Source: Google Images, accessed 2015

the City of Tshwane. This resourcefulness has helped the sharing information, identification of new buyers, stabilisation of prices paid for recyclables, removal of middleman, and negotiation of prices directly with re-claimers, among others (Samson, 2010). The Mooi River Re-claiming Co-operative has also been successful at garnering support from NGOs and Local Government (ibid.). As a further impetus to organising re-claimers in South Africa, the South African Waste Pickers Association (SAWPA) was formed in 2009 as a waste picker movement. SAWPA's main objectives are to unite the informal recyclers of South Africa, and to encourage a healthy, safe, and secure working environment for all involved in waste reclamation. As a final subsidiary question, I thus ask: what organisational structures exist amongst research participants in a situated context, and are they members of SAWPA?

2.7.1 Co-operativisation

Marello and Helwege (2014) argue that co-operation between informal re-claimers and municipalities will make room both for better waste management and for greater social inclusion. Latin America has a long history of co-operativisation, with Brazilian (MNCR) and Colombian (ARB) cooperatives forming in the early 1990's. Other Latin American nations have formed cooperatives more recently, with Argentina in 2002 as a response to the financial crisis, Chile in 2010, and Ecuador in 2013 (Marello & Helwege, 2014). While Schenck and Blauuw (2011) estimate South Africa to have roughly 37,000 informal re-claimers (almost half of the World Bank's estimate), Marello and Helwege (2014) estimate Brazil's re-claimer population to be approximately 230,000. Latin America is thought to have anywhere between 500,000 and 4 million waste pickers – up to 2% of the population (ibid.). It makes sense then that this region of the globe has lessons to teach in terms of supporting and co-operativising informal re-claimers. Wilson et al (2006) argue that, as a general rule, the less organized the informal recycling sector, the less potential there is for valorising items and the more vulnerable workers are to exploitation from intermediate dealers. Moreover, because informal re-claimers are restricted to the base of the recycling hierarchy, their capacity for adding value to items is further limited. Organising and training informal re-claimers into Small and Micro-Enterprises (SMEs) can be a very effective way to increase earnings through circumventing middlemen (ibid.). Often the lead in this is taken by NGOs and CBOs, sometimes with support from international donor agencies, with the agenda generally concerning the development of supportive policies, and improvement of working conditions (ibid.).

Organising re-claimers into cooperatives creates a sense of unity, a common purpose, and a stronger claim to both social and political recognition (Marello & Helwege, 2014). Some of the tools for achieving this include protective clothing, uniforms, and ID tags that imbue a sense of professionalism and facilitate reduced discrimination and prejudice (ibid.). Raising productivity or increasing valorisation for co-operatives involves capitalizing them with processing equipment, trucks and warehouses (ibid.). In Buenos Aires, the city provides a one cooperative of 2500 re-claimers with "buses and trucks, as well as a monthly stipend of \$209 per member to supplement earnings" (Marello & Helwege, p.10, 2014). Access to a range of other welfare services has also been improved, including health insurance, liability insurance, and subsidized childcare (ibid.). In Bogota, informal recyclers are now paid for their waste collection services, effectively doubling their income (ibid.). A drawback to co-operatives such as these, is that not all re-claimers can be included (ibid.). For example, in Brazil, each programme provides for approximately 400 workers, which is only a fraction of the re-claimer community (ibid.). In the case of landfill closure, such as Bordo Poniente in Mexico City, inclusion programmes focus on developing alternative livelihood strategies in order to address the needs of those displaced (ibid.). However, this essentially involves skills development programmes, with re-claimer skills being highly situated and non-transferrable. Thus, there seems to be scholarly consensus surrounding the argument that a lack of skills, limits what can be done to improve both living and working conditions, but also that a blinkered focus on skills only fails to address a broader set of poverty-related issues impacting informal re-claimers. This points to the merit of multiple foci for those programs that intend to improve the socio-economic circumstances of informal re-claimers, sensitive to their being multiple factors that impact their marginalization and entrapment therein. Truly holistic approaches are required to facilitate their upward social mobility (Viljoen et al, 2015).

What are research participants' desires for inclusion in the City of Cape Town's waste management strategies? And, by extension, how can skarrelers be included in future waste management processes and interventions by the City of Cape Town, and in public processes more generally?

2.8 Conclusion

The overarching aim of this research is to firstly explore what the desires of informal re-claimers are regarding inclusion in the City's waste management strategies, and by extension, how might skarrelers be included in future waste management processes and interventions by the City of Cape Town, and in public processes more generally. Engaging in Critical discourse theory, in this context, requires questioning the homogeneity of public participation processes, and the assumed value that these processes automatically confer onto formal strategies and interventions, particularly when it comes to planning *with* informality. The universal validity of this assumed value is questioned through exploring the needs of a specific population group in a situated context. Much of the literature reviewed in this chapter argues for the inherent value of 'inclusion' and 'involvement' in formal planning processes. However, the extreme diversity of people and their subsequently variegated demands on public space, urges thorough investigation into this assumed universal applicability. Planning in Southern contexts must negotiate many more complexities, some of which enter under the banner of 'informality'. In these contexts, engaging with informality has become the central challenge if we are to realize more democratic cities and spaces, but exactly how to engage is the question. This literature review has revealed many discourses surrounding informal livelihoods and inclusion. Regarding social identities, previous research has identified both prescribed and self-adopted terms. A subsidiary question in my research thus asks about issues of identification as well as context-specific issues relating to place-based activities in a situated context. Gender dynamics among 'waste pickers' are notable across the literature, and it is worth looking into whether similar dynamics – insofar as gender, age and other notable markers of division are concerned – play out amongst skarrelers in Cape Town's Southern Suburbs.

The literature is examined through various theoretical lenses. The Social Ecological Perspective is grounded by an understanding that individuals exist and operate within an environment or context that sets certain parameters for, and influences, action (Piat et al, 2015). As such, individual and structural factors interact with one another to bring about specific manifestations and experiences of inclusion and exclusion. The Sustainable Livelihood Approach is founded upon the notion that intervention must be based on an appreciation of what underpins livelihoods (Morse and McNamara, 2013). At odds with this approach is the modernization and privatization of waste management systems, which is often driven by the need to remedy environmental and personal health concerns. However, informal re-claimers are regularly more efficient and effective than formal waste management systems (Marello and Helwege, 2014). Formal labour costs are high, and lack the historical spatial capital required to be efficient (see Chapter 5). Recycling in South Africa is largely driven by the informal sector, 60,000 – 90,000 people who are responsible for the overwhelming majority of national recycling rates. Viewed through a purely macro-economic lens, one finds similar irreplaceable contributions by informal re-claimers. They reduce expenditure to the state, as well as to individual producers of waste, with Hayami, Dikshit and Mishra (2006) finding that informal re-claimers valorise the recycling industry, thus assisting economic growth. Regarding individual valorisation and survival mechanisms, my research asks: how do skarrelers strive to enhance their positions; and, does a hierarchy exist amongst research participants?

Viljoen et al (2015) differentiate between upper- and lower-tier informal activities, with lower-tier activities having 'involuntary entry', while upper-tier activities are considered to be 'voluntary'. Various capital and skills deficiencies serve to restrict mobility from lower-tier to upper-tier informal activities (ibid.). A subsidiary question thus asks: what are the barriers to entry and improvement in the area under study; and, do upper- and lower-tier informal activities exist in this context? Extending this inquiry into capital deficiencies, human capital is argued to be particularly crucial for improving a person's earnings. A subsidiary research question explores this, asking: what is the relationship between human capital constraints and socio-economic improvement for skarrelers in the Southern Suburbs of Cape

Town?

Regarding Benson and Vanqa-Mgijima's (2010) suggestion for state's supporting informal livelihood strategies, a subsidiary research question asks: how does the City of Cape Town support research participants in generating their own livelihood strategies? 'Pragmatic' planning approaches, such as the ones presented by Winkler (2011), refute the value of an 'active citizenry' able to influence policy outcomes through involvement in the early stages of policy formation and adoption. Engaging informal role players in this pragmatic approach may prove to be more complicated. However, various measures of formalisation conspire to exclude informal workers. These include: registration and accreditation of informal re-claimers according to the NWMS (2011) and Cape Town's IWM Policy (2006) and by-laws (2011); paying rates according to the Council's Tariff Policy, an EIA, an IWM Plan, and a written report on or before the 7th of each month for WIS purposes. Questioning this, my study explores research participants' opinions regarding the state's formalisation prescriptions, hence the main research question asked in Chapter 1 regarding desires for inclusion. Regarding Didero's assessment that informal re-claimers save the City public expenditure, I need to examine whether such dynamics play out in a situated context. I therefore ask: how are research participants contributing to the reduction of the municipality's waste management costs?

The collaboration between informal and formal systems espoused by the CoJ Industrial WMP is a conceptual step in the arguably right direction, providing political recognition for activities. However, its prerequisite of formalisation as a strategy for inclusion may require further exploration in situated contexts. Some of the most pressing issues that serve to complicate saving and socio-economic improvement for informal re-claimers include their living conditions, as well as their discrimination and exploitation (Benson & Vanqa-Mgijima, 2010). Thus, a subsidiary research question asks: what are research participants' living conditions and power relations with the municipality and police; and what are the impacts of these conditions and power relations? Barriers to improvement are also manifest through various capital deficiencies, including human-, financial-, natural-, social-, and informational-capital (Viljoen et al, 2015), leading to a pair of subsidiary questions that ask: do capital deficiencies prevent research participants from improving their socio-economic conditions?; and do these, and other, deficiencies have any bearing on perceptions of exploitation? Age may be another barrier to finding alternative work. Schenck and Blauuw (2011) report that a majority (49%) of informal re-claimers in South Africa are between the ages of 41 and 50, with age impacting perceptions of limited opportunities. An intersecting aspect of marginalisation could relate to an individual's migrancy status, with informal recycling populations often comprising a large percentage of rural migrants. A subsidiary research question thus asks: do age and in-migration dynamics impact on perceptions of limited opportunities for research participants in this situated context? Benson and Vanqa-Mgijima (2010) highlight the lack of protection from elements as another major challenge for re-claimers, sometimes preventing their abilities to work consistently. A further subsidiary question asks: how does exposure to the elements inhibit research participants from being able to work?

Organising informal recyclers through co-operatives and associations has shown relative international success with regards to improving the political recognition of informal re-claimers. Other than this, a variety of support measures are provided to re-claimers via LNOC (NGOs, CBOs, and FBOs). Looking into this impact, an additional subsidiary question asks: What services do non-profit organisations in the Southern Suburbs provide for research participants', and are these services optimally utilized? The South African Waste Pickers Association (SAWPA) was formed in 2009 as a 'waste picker' movement. As a final subsidiary question, I ask: what organisational structures exist amongst research participants, and are they members of SAWPA? If so, how has membership impacted their livelihood support and political voice? The prevailing message in the literature is that there are multiple aspects (social, environmental, and political) that impact on the livelihoods of informal recyclers, and their abilities to be upwardly mobile. This is a complex social field in which to work, and requires innovative and multi-pronged interventions with multiple development foci that engage with the sensitivities of multiple factors of exclusion. It also requires thoughtful approaches to data collection, which I expand on in the following Chapter on research methods and techniques.

Table 2.1 Summary of subsidiary questions

Subsidiary research questions derived from an in-depth review of the relevant literature	
1.	How do research participants choose to identify themselves, and how are they identified by others? Connected to this, are there any physical markers, such as gender, that serve to further marginalise some members within the group?
2.	What are research participants' living conditions and power relations with the municipality and police; and, what is the impact of these conditions and power relations on skarrelers' livelihoods and on their desires for inclusion in the City's waste management strategy?
3.	Does exposure to the elements inhibit research participants' abilities to work consistently?
	Do capital deficiencies prevent research participants from improving their socio-economic conditions; and do these, and other, deficiencies have any bearing on perceptions of exploitation?
5.	A subsidiary research question thus explores whether age and in-migration dynamics impact on perceptions of limited opportunities for research participants in this situated context?
6.	A subsidiary research question in my study thus asks what the relationship is between human capital resource constraints and incomes attained?
7.	How does the City of Cape Town support skarrelers in generating their own livelihood strategies?
8.	What services do non-profit organisations in the Southern Suburbs provide research participants' with, and are these services optimally utilized?
9.	How are waste pickers' voices accommodated in local planning and waste management strategies? What is needed and what is missing?
10.	What organisational structures exist amongst research participants in a situated context, and are they members of the SAWPA?

3.1 Introduction

Research with marginalized groups requires attention to detail throughout the research process, ensuring that methods and techniques applied are both sensitive and thorough, and that analyses are performed with rigour, consistency and respect for research participants. In qualitative social research, the method of enquiry is a direct product of the particular aims and objectives of the research – both the main and subsidiary research questions guide the fieldwork and data collection process. Again, the main aims and objectives of this research include: firstly exploring research participants' desires to be included in the City's waste management strategies; and then investigating how skarrelers might be better included in future waste management processes and interventions by the City of Cape Town, and in public processes more generally. Measures of support or inclusion will need to be sensitive to current informal organisational structures within the group. Skarrelers are a highly marginalized group, skirting boundaries of regulation and legality, excluded from participating in the majority of the City's formal exchanges, and also from benefits associated with this inclusion, financial and otherwise. The intention of this research is therefore to give a political 'voice' to skarrelers, through documenting their stories, and participating with them in the exchange of information from our very different epistemological and ontological schemas for relating to the 'world' (and specifically to systems of regulation and power). Research with this marginalized group therefore required excavating local, tacit ontologies, and applying more codified knowledge (see Chapter 5 for discussion on different knowledge bases) towards interpreting the data and crafting localised solutions that are sensitive to informal structures.

This qualitative research aims to provide detailed accounts of skarreling through in-depth interviews, observations, and interactions with a group of 14 skarrelers, who work, predominantly, in Cape Town's Southern Suburbs. Ethnographic research of this nature requires the building of trust and rapport with a group of research participants before research can begin in earnest, and, although research of this nature has been criticized for its lack of generalizability, Abu-Lughod (1994) reminds us that it is possible for place-based and situated qualitative research to contribute towards the generalizability of process, rather than of form.

The purpose of this chapter is to explain research methods and techniques used to gain answers to the main and subsidiary research questions presented in chapters 1 and 2. Following the introduction, a note on positionality is made at the outset in order to lay bare the impacts of this on the research process. A discussion follows, in section 3.2, on ethnography and discourse analysis as research methods, and how these methods are apt for a study examining 'skarreler' inclusion in the City's formal waste management strategies. Section 3.3 discusses multiple research techniques employed to this end, including drawing on secondary research data, participant observations, in-depth interviewing, oral histories, and simply 'hanging out' with research participants. Section 3.4 discusses the sampling procedure employed in meeting a group of skarrelers willing to participate in the research over an 8-week period, while section 3.5 goes into the analysis and interpretation of research findings. This is an iterative process first involving interviews and interactions with skarrelers, and then an interpretation phase, followed by feedback with participants where consent for publishing findings is reaffirmed. Section 3.6 expands on this theme with a discussion of limitations and constraints to research, and includes ethical considerations, time constraints, and concern over the psychological harm of generating what could be false optimism among a politically disenfranchised and socio-economically marginalized group. Section 3.7 concludes the Methods Chapter in this research with a systematic summary of the methods and techniques used.

3.2 A Note on Positionality

Qualitative research, particularly that involving highly marginalised groups, cannot be a neutral and objective process.

Instead, as Roulston et al (2003) argue, the researcher influences, for better or worse, the type of data elicited from research participants. It is thus necessary to scrutinise the multiple personal positionalities and subjectivities at the outset of the research process, so that this can contribute positively towards research techniques deployed and to the various interpretations of the data. Regarding interpretations, Mottier (2005) argues in accordance with Jorgensen and Phillips (2002), and with Jacobs (2006), that reality is socially constructed and fluid, comprising both more and less dominant discourses of meaning, suggesting that meaning can therefore only be grasped through interpretative understanding. Interpretation of data is therefore a subjective matter, influenced by 'learned' epistemologies and ontologies. Ethnographic research requires spending time with different cultures and 'getting to know' them, which may involve integrating oneself into unconventional contexts and situations where you are unlikely to 'blend in'. Some elements that identify me as an outsider in this field are more visible than others, while others become more evident over time. For example, being a young, white male immediately calls attention to the fact that I am an 'outsider' among skarrelers. Speaking English and not being very well versed in Afrikaans, is another easy marker of my 'difference' among the group. The fact that I am clean and neat, and smell good, are other signifiers for those who get close enough. Less obvious signs include my epistemological and ontological worldviews, developed over 17 years of formal education and 26 years of socialisation into very different schools of knowledge compared with research participants. These obvious and more discrete markers of difference, mean that occupying an outsider-insider position, as Hill-Collins (1994) describes of black feminist researchers, is not possible for this research. I am constantly reminded of this outsider status during the skarel with research participants, with my participation drawing perplexed expressions from passers-by. Physical markers of my outsider status also make power imbalances between me and the group more visible (Flybjerg, 2002). However, through building trust and establishing a rapport with participants based on genuine interest, concern, and a moral obligation to support the 'less fortunate', it becomes possible to gain access to research participants' knowledge, skills and values, and to be accepted by the group, thereby forging unexpected connections in the sharing and co-production of knowledge.

Co-production of knowledge is necessary, as I hold a different knowledge set to research participants', one that is codified and formal and another that is tacit and informal, with both sets valid and useful. My majors in a Bachelor of Social Sciences Undergraduate Degree, sociology and human geography, collide with one another in City and Regional Planning through a privileged vantage point into the politics of space and sustainable livelihoods thinking. Thus the focus of this research is on working with skarrelers, a highly marginalized and politically disenfranchised group, in order to propose discursive and material interventions that facilitate improved livelihoods. Sustaining (and improving) the livelihoods of this marginalised group is at stake, especially if global waste modernization and privatization trends continue apace.

3.3 Research Methods

3.3.1 Ethnography

While theoretical perspectives provide us with invaluable guidance, they also inadvertently hinder our recognition of important insights only perceptible through other lenses. Thus, while diversity in theoretical perspectives often leads to intractable debates and conflicting empirical interpretations and perhaps normative visions, it increases our ability to capture important understandings of society's complex social relations.

(Lauria and Wagner, 2006, p.369)

Ethnography is the study of cultures through close observation, reading, and interpretation. This method is qualitative and subjective, making it suited to place-based studies of cultures and groups. Some of the main tasks of an ethnographer are to discern the unusual in the usual, and "the Great within the Small and vice versa" (Flybjerg, 2002, p. 134). Greed (1994, p.119) identifies the role for ethnographic research in planning, as resolving "the contest between spatial, physical land use themes, and social, aspatial planning [objectives]." Furthering this socio-spatial connection, Lelieveldt (2004, p.534) suggests that participation in planning and research processes becomes obvious

once we realise that “citizens themselves are the key to the quality of neighbourhoods...[opening up] a new avenue of policy intervention.” The ethnographer participates, overtly or covertly, in peoples’ daily lives for an extended period of time – 8-weeks in this case – observing what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions; in fact collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues with which she or he is concerned (Greed, 1994). Hammersley and Atkinson (1983, p.7) state that, “[t]he task [of ethnographers] is to document the culture, the perspectives and practices of the people in these settings. The aim is to ‘get inside’ the way each group of people sees the world”.

The focus of my research is on providing thick descriptions of context and place-based cultural behaviours and experiences. This includes sights and smells – of which, there are many. Actor Network Theory argues that actors “are not defined outside their relationship but in their relational networks” (Cordella and Shaikh, 2006, p.5) Indeed, they are “generated in and by these relationships” (Cordella and Shaikh, 2006, p.9). Getting participants to document their own networks and relationships thus reflects “an aversion to accept a priori the existence of social structures and differences as somehow intrinsically given in the order of a thing” (Cordella and Shaikh, 2006, p.9). Events are documented through photographs and illustrative narratives, recording the daily activities of skarrelers (see Chapter 4). This helps to bring participants’ ‘voice’ into the research, as well as being a useful alternative communication tool with research participants who are not first-language English speakers. Illustrative narratives are in no way intended to trivialize research participants’ activities or experiences, but rather to present their stories through a neutral medium that can be easily understood by all.

The pragmatics of collecting relevant data for my study involve two distinct but connected, and iterative, processes. The first entails an analysis of secondary data from the relevant policy and scholarly literature regarding informal re-claimers and their inclusion into formal waste management strategies. The method adhered to for this phase of the research can be regarded as similar to Laclau and Mouffe’s (1985) Critical Discourse Analysis, involving firstly studying multiple policy texts for recurring discourses surrounding skarreler inclusion, and the need for ‘public participation’ (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002). This is followed by an examination of the literature on informal re-claiming, noting similar themes and experiences raised by this population group in different situated contexts, as well as various supportive measures that have been rolled out and which enjoy relative success. The second research phase involves the gathering of primary data through fieldwork interviews, participant observations and conversations. This requires utilising a range of research techniques, while working ‘in the field’ with skarrelers, in order to both excavate and co-produce relevant information with research participants. Multiple research techniques are employed in conducting this ethnographic research. Before presenting these techniques, I briefly discuss how discourse analysis is used in this study.

3.3.2 Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis seeks to understand layers of meaning hidden in texts, images, conversations, and perspectives of skarreling and of skarrelers. Various discourse-generating mediums and sources have been analysed. This secondary data comprises literature in the form of books, journal articles, policy documents, and legislation relevant to the study area. Such literature serves to inform the conceptual framework for the study, as well as to establish the institutional and political context within which the study is conducted. Furthermore, secondary data from this literature enable the forming of subsidiary research questions that guide the primary research along particular areas of focus. Jorgensen and Phillips (2002, p.1) argue that, “our ways of talking do not neutrally reflect our world, identities and social relations but, rather, play an active role in creating and changing them.” This highlights the dynamic interplay between discursive and material outcomes, particularly with regards to planning policy. Discursive and material exclusion of skarrelers is a prominent discourse, manifest in statements concerning the objective of eliminating scavenging, and their omission from lists of stakeholders to engage in Municipal waste management strategies (see Chapter 2).

Other texts, such as journal articles, are analysed in a more deductive manner, with discourses regarding re-claimer

livelihoods gleaned from this literature. This enables the unearthing of various themes regarding research participants' livelihoods and treatment, by way of a thematic analysis. Themes extracted include: politics of identity, the global within the local and vice versa, discourses surrounding 'participation' and 'inclusion' in the City's waste management system, the complexities of planning *with* informality, and the power of organising workers. These themes give structure to the conceptual framework in the preceding chapter, as well as direction to the fieldwork in the upcoming chapter.

3.4 Research Techniques

A range of research techniques have been employed in this study, with some aimed at synthesising and analysing secondary data sources, and others tailored towards the gathering of primary data. A desktop study involves analysing the literature for information on informal reclaimers and waste management – the secondary data. Primary data gathering techniques include: semi-structured interviews, participant observations, and 'hanging out' with skarrelers. Other techniques incorporate members 'higher up' in the value chain as well as security guards and other prominent role players impacting the lives of research participants. These techniques are expanded on in the discussion that follows.

3.4.1 Desktop Study

A desktop study consists of analysing the national and municipal waste management – and recycling – policies and strategies, as well as secondary data gathered by other researchers on re-claimers. Secondary sources include: Journal articles, books, video documentaries, state reports, legislation, policies and strategies. This involves studying the literature for various themes and discourses, and is a two-phased process. An inductive process is followed regarding institutional and policy texts, with discourses highlighted beforehand. Texts are searched for the theme 'participation' via discourses such as: 'inclusion', 'participatory governance', and 'stakeholder involvement'. Another theme identifies skarrelers via discourses of 'salvagers', 'scavengers', 'recyclers', and 're-claimers'. Other texts are analysed through a more deductive process, where various discourses are learned and extracted from the literature. This analysis of secondary data gives rise to the subsidiary research questions for the primary research phase of the project (see Chapter 2). A thorough analysis of the literature, both from South Africa and from other global South regions, gives good indication for what might be encountered during fieldwork. Roulston et al (2003) suggest that it is important to go into interviews with an open mind, and to learn from observations in a reflexive manner. However, due to time constraints of the research process it makes sense to acquire some thematic cues before embarking on primary data gathering.

3.4.2 Semi-structured Interviews

Oral history interviews are a good technique for extracting suppressed knowledges and stories. For example, from a Foucauldian perspective, "truth is a discursive construction and different regimes of knowledge determine what is true and false" (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002, p. 13), and only those 'truths' exercised by the class in power will become 'normalized' and seen as valid. This suggests that 'power' and 'discourse' are inextricably linked, with expert knowledge/perspectives conveyed by the mass media as 'truths'. Therefore, what has been written on skarrelers has been the 'voice' of various scholars' interpretations of skarrelers lives, as is this research. Jorgensen and Phillips (2002, p.21) argue that this problem is intrinsic to all social constructionist approaches; thus we need to ask: "what do we do about the 'truth' that we, as researcher-subjects, produce?" Furthermore, researching informality, where activities are unregulated and unrecorded, also forces one to utilise alternative techniques for gathering context-specific data. Although many narratives crop up during group discussions with skarrelers after the morning's work, when we would typically 'hang out' and talk in some marginal space on the edge of a small park-with-no-name in Observatory, some standardized questions are asked of all participants during one-on-one interviews. These relate to age and years

spent skarreling, whether they have families or dependents, and how skarreling for them has changed over the years. These biographical questions also enable easy identification of participants in the voice-recorded files. All other questions are loosely structured to facilitate free-flowing and emergent discussions with research participants (Roulston et al, 2003). Interviews with other role players – who either interact with my research participants, or hold pertinent information – follow the same structure.

In total, 14 'skarellers' are interviewed, as well as 1 bottle store owner, 4 second-hand shop owners, 1 GSCID (Groote Schuur City Improvement District) employee, and employees from 2 different homeless shelters.

Extensive note taking is done after each interview and fieldwork session. This enables conversational authenticity without being distracted by note taking during fieldwork interactions (Roulston et al, 2003). While ethical concerns and interviews are recorded, most fieldwork sessions are not because time constraints impede lengthy transcription apportionments. The open-ended structure of this style of interviewing facilitates the capturing of views, opinions and attitudes often not readily observable, and which might be omitted in a closed interview process, where, for data collection purposes, answers must fit into predetermined categories (Berg, 2009). Each interview is "[e]ssentially a conversation in which the interviewer establishes a general direction for the conversation and pursues specific topics raised by the respondent" (Babbie and Mouton, 2002, p.289). Interviews are conducted in English, although participants make use of expressions in other languages too, such as Afrikaans or Xhosa, for reasons of both familiarity and descriptiveness. Giving credence to these contextual and cultural specificities, as well as other noteworthy articulations, exact interview excerpts are used, in places, to highlight participants' 'voice' in the research findings, as well as to call attention to the myriad ways in which multiple oppressions intersect (Hill Collins, 1986).

3.4.2.1 Sketching the Skarrelers

My core group of research participants comprises five members who work together each morning, and then hang out together each day after work. These members are: Troubles, Aaron, Rommel, Phillip and Caster. Below, is a short description of each of the skarrelers interviewed, starting with the core 5 and followed by the rest.

Troubles, nicknamed so because he drinks alcohol and is Muslim, enjoys the most authority in the group. He says, "It's not like I'm the leader or anything, but something like that ... I've been doing it the longest out of everyone, and I've taught most of these guys that you see, how to do it right" (Personal Interview, 30th July 2015).

Aaron (Troubles' uncle): who Troubles introduces, "one day when he [Aaron] saw me pull two cellphones out of a bin, he realized the value in it, and ever since then [about 20 years ago] he's been skarreling with us" (Personal Interview, 30th July 2015).

Rommel, tells me that he's nicknamed after Erwin Rommel, a highly decorated German officer in both World Wars and who was generally regarded as having been a humane and professional officer. However, 'rommel' is also the Afrikaans word for 'rubbish', making him 'the officer/captain of the rubbish team'.

Phillip, at 64 years, is the oldest member of the group. He has been skarreling for 30 years, but now joins the group intermittently, disappearing to do other jobs whenever he can secure them. Although he has a shack in Khayelitsha, when he joins for the skarrel, he sleeps on the street so that he can be up early enough. He is the only skarreler interviewed who is married.

Caster is a man in his mid-forties, and although he is a member of the core group, joining the other three each morning on the 'skarrel', he does not enjoy the same degree of trust that Troubles, Aaron, Rommel, and even Phillip, reserve for one another.

Thandi (Phillip's wife) is pregnant and drinks excessively. Although the core group say that she sometimes joins them skarreling, I never observe this. She does not wish to engage with me because, "Xhosas and whites don't mix, like the coloureds and whites" (Personal Interview, 7th August 2015).

Peter (Troubles' older brother) and his girlfriend, Sharon, occasionally cross paths with Troubles and the rest of the crew on their routes through the Southern Suburbs. He wears a head-torch strapped to his forehead – rescued from the bins a few months back. Troubles tells me nonchalantly that "the two of them do lots of drugs, so they won't last very long".

Alan is dressed from head-to-toe in black and blue plastic packets strapped together. He tells me that he's 25-years old, but his face tells a different story.

Erefaan is covered from head-to-toe in tattoos – the kind one gets in prison. "Spit on my Grave" is tattooed across his forehead, and "I hate you, Mum" on his left cheek. He walks on crutches, with a prosthetic leg – having lost his leg to gangrene a year ago. He tells me to google him when I get home, so I can see how he's turned his life around.

Derek is a guitarist who tells me that when he plays music, "all [his] problems become small". His guitar was unfortunately stolen four-months ago. While taking a break from squeezing a mini-yoghurt down his throat, he asks if I can please help him to get a new one.

Andre is in his sixties, with a long white beard and stone-faced expression – hardened by decades of life on the street.

Nomsa works alone and has endured terrible hardships. She tells me heart-wrenching stories: of her husband being murdered by gangsters two years ago; and of random abuse and hostility towards homeless people while they're sleeping. Last year she was in hospital for appendicitis, "but I'm a tough cookie, I'll always survive" (Personal Interview, Wednesday 12th August 2015).

Wilma is a gentle woman in her mid-forties, but she's a fighter. She was told by doctors that she'll never walk without crutches again – after being hit by a drunk driver 8-months ago, breaking one arm and both legs in the process. Following casts on both legs, pins in her arm, a month in ICU, and occupational therapy to learn to walk again, she tells me that, "the doctors are very impressed with my recovery. They say it's a miracle that I made it, and that I'm learning to walk again!" She hasn't seen her 4 children in 8 months after they were removed from her custody, and she can no longer sweep at the laundromat where she was employed two days a week. Aaron says to me – "you must look on the plus side though – now she can get a lifetime grant for her disability".

The Terminator, so nicknamed because he used to be very big (muscular), now has TB and is emaciated, yet refuses to die! He blames his illness on not receiving adequate protective clothing for a painting job that he did a while back. Trapped in a room with poor ventilation, he started bleeding from the mouth and his eyes started to sting intensely.

Regarding the subsidiary research question of whether age and in-migration dynamics impact on perceptions of limited opportunities for research participants, among the 14 skarrelers interviewed, 8 were born in the Eastern Cape, 5 in Cape Town, and 1 in the Northern Cape. Three of the Capetonians are family members – two brothers and their uncle. Although these are the only family members, 'family' is a loose construct with these skarrelers, with the existence of Troubles' older brother only becoming apparent to me on the final fieldwork session when our paths crossed. Other than two research participants who are in their late-twenties and late-thirties respectively, all are over the age of forty, and all appear older than their years suggest. Age does not seem to be a major factor in terms of research participants' perceptions of limited opportunities and neither are birthplaces since this group has mixed

backgrounds.

3.4.3 Observation

'Participant' observations of skarrelers are performed simultaneously with other primary research techniques during the entire 8-week data collection process, taking place whilst in conversation and 'hanging out' with the core group after the morning's work, as well as during the mornings' work when I join them for the 'skarrel'. Observations are invaluable towards deciphering informal and unspoken hierarchies within the group – such as who has claim to which bins, who pays for the alcoholic spoils after completing the work, and so on – as well as instrumental in decoding more 'spoken' forms of interactions – which include arguments between various research participants throughout the morning. Working in the early hours of the morning, from 6:30 to 9:30, skarrelers are a difficult population to study through 'non-participant' observation techniques, particularly during winter when the sun only rises around 7:30. Moreover, their movements through the Southern Suburbs along residential streets, and between interstitial less-prime spaces, combined with their socio-political marginality, make them seemingly invisible through the car-window-glare of the majority of the city's inhabitants. Observing this group requires purpose and effort. Although trust, accountability, and an openness to co-constructed knowledge production is established between myself and the group, it is still possible that my presence may have impacted research participants' behaviours (see chapter 5; Berg, 2009).

3.4.4 'Hanging Out'

This research technique involves spending time with skarrelers, both on the job, where I join them for the morning's 'loot', and after work in the 'lost' (to use Trancik's, 1980, term) public space where we just hang out and chat. The sessions when we hang out after work turn out to be the richest in terms of data gathering, and in terms of building trust and rapport with the group. This has a lot to do with the fact that, as one skarreler put it: "Ya, after we dop, you're gonna see how the conversation is flowing" (Personal Interview, 16th July 2015). But there are other reasons for this too. During the 'skarrel', it's early and cold and so conserving warmth and energy is more important than making conversation. Moreover, it is hard work, and competitive, requiring focus on the job at hand. Once the skarrel is over, and the accumulated spoils can be enjoyed while relaxing, the tension in the air lifts and conversation indeed begins to flow. I gather that not all mornings are successful, but spirits are generally unchanged by this variability. Through 'hanging out' with research participants, rich ethnographic data is gathered that provides the foundation for the analytical discussions presented in Chapter 5, as well as the recommendations and conclusions put forward in Chapter 6.

While hanging out one day after the skarrel, the core group of 5 take part in a cognitive mapping exercise, where they map routes followed on different days of the week. This is done to elicit any nuances involved in decisions to move along particular routes, motivated by both economic and security considerations, or the presence of social networks. Furthermore, tracing the extent of the areas covered and serviced by these informal recyclers is a necessary step towards better understanding this place-based activity as well as to record and acknowledge the spatial extent of their services. This map is presented in Chapter 4 (see Map 4.2).

One morning, after running late to join the core research participants on the skarrel, I decide to drive around looking for them expecting to find them close by, but cannot find their roaming silhouettes. This alerts me to their invisibility and elusiveness to other urban flows, moving along residential streets where many are probably wholly unaware of their activities or presence.

3.5 Sampling Procedures

Participants are approached and recruited for the research on the basis of a number of characteristics, outlined below. This follows a purposive sampling strategy, also known as selective, or subjective, sampling, which is a non-probability sampling technique (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). The population sample is selected on the basis of its suitability to the research aims and process. Such a population sample is unlikely to demonstrate average-ness among the population group, due to the selective manner in which participants are sampled, and therefore findings cannot be generalized across the entire population group. When doing ethnographic research with marginalized social groups, stark power imbalances exist between the researcher and participants, making it important that the researcher be invited to join in and record experiences. I am fortunate in that a colleague of mine at UCT, Teresa Perez, is currently completing her PHD thesis with the same population group, and agreed to introduce me to a group of skarrelers that she has worked with weekly for the past 2-years. This follows a purposive sampling strategy because I know that identified participants will be able to communicate with me in English, since Teresa is from the UK, and that they will be comfortable with and accustomed to the research process (Babbie and Mouton, 2002).

Teresa introduces me to a group of 5 skarrelers one Thursday morning, and has asked beforehand if they would be interested in doing 'similar' research with another student. Furthermore, she assures me that the group will take good care of me on our journeys through the Southern Suburbs. This has the effect of accelerating the establishment of trust between the group and myself, and after an initial 2-hour session of 'hanging out' and getting to know them, a foundation of rapport is established, aiding the value of future interactions. Once trust has been built with the core group of 5 skarrelers, snowball sampling is used to meet other participants in their network, of which there are another 9, making a total of 14. Furthermore, other role players with whom skarrelers interact, such as second-hand shop owners (where items are often sold), homeless shelters, and security guards, are recruited with these place-based networks identified by research participants. This technique is used for two reasons: firstly, as a time saving measure, I can be relatively sure that participants identified by the group as impacting on their lives will hold valuable information and perspectives. Secondly, this sampling sequence enables me to first engage with the group of skarrelers, and then to analyse accounts from more powerful role players against these critical and more marginal perspectives.

3.6 Data Analysis and Interpretation

Jorgensen and Phillips (2002) suggest that discursive psychology is a useful technique for analysing participant accounts and interview discussions. With this technique, participant responses are studied for commonalities and dominant discourses, such as those surrounding power or insecurity – both financial and personal. Implicit in this is an acknowledgement of the social constructed-ness of reality, as well as of the performative and interpretative aspects of language. Reality is constructed through various articulations and interpretations of experiences (Jacobs, 2006). Data is thus analysed with an open-mind, interrogating the taken-for-granted, questioning interpretations made, deciphering meaning, and 'making sense of it all'. This involves analysing some of the data with participants to ensure that interpretations are thorough and grounded - a deeply iterative process. Extensive field notes are made following all interactions and observations, once I am back in front of my laptop. This is done immediately after engagements to ensure that all information gathered is recalled and recorded as accurately as possible (Berg, 2009). 'Sense' is then made of this data by categorising and coding participant responses into the structures and analytical themes set out by the subsidiary research questions developed in the previous chapter. Data that does not fit this structure is analysed for its inherent value, and if deemed useful, literature is searched again to try to corroborate these findings, and to test their uniqueness as a place-based activity. This brings me to a brief discussion on the identified limitations of the research methods and techniques used, and how I aim to address and acknowledge methodical limitations.

3.7 Limitations

3.7.1 Ethical Considerations

Ethnographic research with politically disenfranchised groups must be sensitive to ensure that the research in no way furthers the group's marginalisation. This requires being morally and ethically responsible towards participants (Halse and Honey, 2005), and is particularly important for research with groups that have multiple intersecting oppressions (Hill-Collins, 1994), such as *skarrelers*. For my research participants, these intersecting oppressions include: all are either Coloured or Black, homeless, and lack proficiency in English; and the majority are over the age of 40 without matrics or much formal work experience. Ethical and morally responsible research requires taking a number of precautionary steps. Firstly, an application for ethical clearance is submitted to the Ethics Committee for approval, detailing the scope and methods anticipated by the research, as well as a list of interview questions. In agreement with Halse and Honey (2005), this is somewhat of a tricky task, as semi-structured interviews are inherently emergent and reflexive, with the planned focus of interviews often shifting as new accounts emerge. However, fieldwork cannot commence before this ethics approval is granted.

Secondly, informed consent needs to be gained from all participants involved in the research (Halse and Honey, 2005). For this research, it was anticipated that printing out an information sheet to give to participants may not be the most accessible means of conveying information regarding the project. Rather, upon meeting each research participant, the aims of my research are verbally delivered and translated into Afrikaans by one of the *skarrelers* who acts as my interpreter to the group throughout the research process. Before each new fieldwork session, I ask the group if they are still happy to participate in the research, and inform them that they are free to leave at any point. This is voice-recorded each time in order to accurately and securely document the process of gaining informed consent. Replacing participants' names with pseudonyms is considered as a measure of preserving anonymity and confidentiality of information divulged (Roulston et al, 2003). However, I decide to use the nicknames that have been adopted by my research participants on the street for two reasons. Firstly, participants express a desire to have their own names included in the report – as proof that they have been 'a part of something' – and secondly, their names and identities tell a story in and of themselves that will otherwise be lost in translation.

While following these steps toward an 'ethic of justice' are requirements of ethical research, they by no means make the research ethical. Halse and Honey (2005, p.2158) argue for "a way forward through a morality based on the interdependence of a care ethic and justice", with an 'ethic of care' comprising "a morality based on responsibility and relationships rather than rights and rules ... [and] grounded in concrete circumstances rather than abstractions." This requires that ethical research is an ongoing process of critical reflection, action, and accountability throughout the research, rather than as an act of compliance and approval at the beginning of the research (Halse and Honey, 2005). This 'ethic of care' informs all interactions with, and responsibilities towards, *skarrelers* during and after the research process has ended, with genuine friendships having been established and maintained.

3.7.2 Participant Wellbeing

One of my initial concerns is developing a false sense of optimism amongst research participants, namely that my research can contribute towards material livelihood improvements for them. As the research progresses, it becomes clear that this group has been hardened by years of living on the street, with little to no support from the state for the "honest work" that they do. Furthermore, previous involvement with other student research has not yielded material livelihood improvements. Connected to this, ethical considerations include ensuring that the research does not impact negatively on the mental and emotional wellbeing of participants. For example, recounting difficult and emotional life experiences – such as being beaten with a stick by a private security guard, as Rommel has been (see Chapter 4) – can bring suppressed emotional trauma to the surface once more. While Halse and Honey (2005) reiterate this concern for qualitative ethnographic research to impact negatively on research participants' emotional

wellbeing, they argue that the risk of distress is generally considered to be minimal when the probability of magnitude of harm is not greater than those ordinarily encountered in daily life. Moreover, a growing body of evidence suggests that telling your story to an interested listener can have emotional and therapeutic value (ibid.). I thus make a concerted effort to let my ears guide me through the research, aware of this therapeutic value and the impact that a genuinely interested listener can have on research participants' wellbeing and positive self-concepts.

3.7.3 Time Constraints

Research is constrained by a number of external variables, including a tight timeline imposed on the process, and the delivery of designated outcomes. The entire research process takes place over a four and a half month period, with the primary research component being carried out over a period of 8-weeks. This translates into shorter reflection times between longer data gathering sessions. Further, due to the time consuming nature of the specific research methods and techniques employed, the decision is taken to not interview an employee at the City – as the City's 'voice' can be explored via policy analysis. The need to deliver on designated outcomes means that the research cannot simply be completed for the sake of researching a marginalised social group who suffer multiple manifestations of exclusion. The outcome needs to include proposals (either plans or policies) as well as to draw out the appropriate spatial or physical implications that such proposals might have. Regarding the focus for the research, this has to be a planning issue, defined in terms of a specific temporal and geographical context.

3.8 Conclusion

This Chapter details the research methods and techniques employed in this qualitative study on skarrelers in Cape Town's Southern Suburbs. Research with a group experiencing multiple intersecting oppressions and exclusions – advanced marginality (Wacquant, 1999 and 2007) – is a sensitive matter. This entails ethnographic fieldwork with skarrelers, 'hanging out' and joining them for work – skarreling and rummaging through rubbish for re-usables with value. It also includes 'hanging out' with them in the truer sense of the term, by relaxing in some 'lost space' on the edge of a park-with-no-name in Observatory, trading stories with one another. This allows me to participate in some of their daily experiences beyond work, and to observe closely, glean rich and personalised informational data. Because of the advanced marginality of research participants, I consciously aim to ensure that my research maintains an ethic of care and justice throughout. Various other constraints to the research have also been highlighted, including that of time, participant wellbeing, and the need to satisfy pre-determined deliverable criteria. The following chapter begins to discuss some of the results produced by adhering to this research process, in the form of a personal narrative.

4.1 Introduction

Before critically analysing research findings against relevant theories and discourses presented in Chapter 2, this chapter serves to ‘set the scene’ of what it means to be a skarreler in Cape Town’s Southern Suburbs area. A descriptive narrative traces daily movements and activities of this group of skarrelers, as well as the obstacles and insecurities confronting them. The study has been undertaken during Cape Town’s Winter months and provides stark evidence of the resilience demonstrated by research participants, both in the face of inclement weather, and the advanced marginality characterising their socio-economic circumstances. Being homeless, navigating their way through, and hanging out in the Southern Suburbs requires an intricate knowledge of prime and marginal spaces in this part of Cape Town, as well as the relative temporalities surrounding these shifting spatial politics at different times of the day or week. Prime spaces are employed predominantly within cartographies of mobility and work, while marginal interstitial public spaces are used for more personal, and more hidden functions. Knowing when to make oneself either more or less visible is entrenched in these movements and activities, with performances of service or affection following established temporal and spatial geographies, while other ‘unacceptable’ performances such as alcohol consumption are concealed in ‘lost’ spaces (Trancik, 1986; see Chapter 2). For example, drinking is sometimes done while tucked away behind a low wall in the park. Personal and work-lives are enacted and performed entirely in the ‘public eye’, open to public scrutiny and othering, but also to performances that provide some opposition to apartheid legacies of structured socio-spatial division that do much to define formal interactions and exchanges in the city. These alternative cartographies include relationships of care, support, and charity, while the ephemeral occupation of public spaces for domestic functions, similarly challenges hegemonic constructions regarding ‘public’ and ‘private’ space. The remainder of this chapter maps these place-based movements and activities, as well as the various performances deployed by research participants, in an attempt to better understand their specific dynamics of inclusion/exclusion, and what relevance this holds for their involvement in the City’s waste management strategies, or for other forms of inclusion or support. This is presented as ‘a day in the life of a skarreler’, and highlights the interplay between individual and structural exclusionary elements, with findings analysed in accordance with a social ecological perspective (Piat et al, 2015; see Chapter 2).

4.2 Setting the Scene

Two postponed bedside alarms, a cup of coffee, and a 15 minute drive across town, windscreen wipers powering. It’s 06:30am and I’m at the street corner in Observatory where Troubles has agreed to meet me. He’s standing there, waiting, recognisable only by the street light reflecting off his white-ringed beanie. No cellphone, watch, or alarms to wake him up. He’s walked 15 minutes

Photo 4.1 Early bird



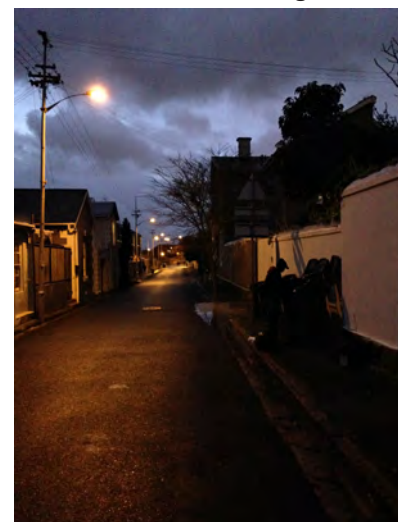
(Source: Author’s own, 2015)

Photo 4.2 ‘Look with your hands’



(Source: Author’s own, 2015)

Photo 4.3 Lone street lights



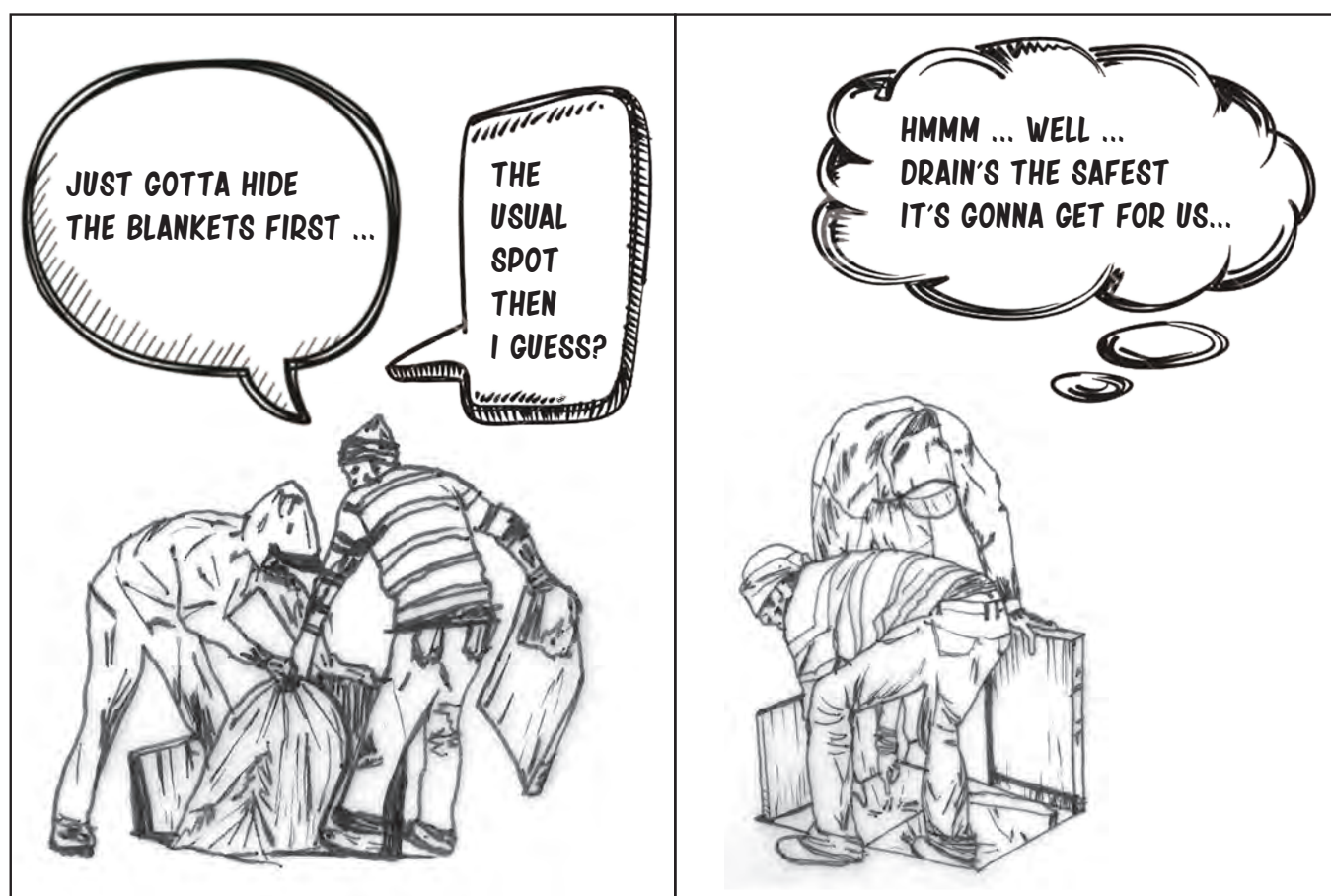
(Source: Author’s own, 2015)

across town from Salt River to look through rubbish bins in the rain, and he's on time.

On day 3, when I question his remarkable punctuality, he responds that, he 'sleeps lightly' on the street, waking easily and frequently during the night, and that his body-clock tells him when to get up for work.

I exit the car and approach the corner where he's standing. We exchange cursory morning greetings, but his uncontrollable shivering tells me that although his raincoat keeps him dry, he's cold, and making conversation is less of a priority at this hour than clinging onto remaining energy stores for warmth. Barely 5 degrees celsius, it's dark, rainy and windy. This is just another winter's morning in Cape Town for Troubles and the crew, surviving off re-usable wastes disposed of by wealthier, more privileged consumers residing in the area. We set off down a windy alley, constantly moving to raise our body temperatures a little, and meet up with three of the other core research participants. The hunt has begun. But first, drain-covers are lifted and bags of vital possessions shoved inside – informal safes/lockers if you will, except where the key comprises nothing more than the foresight and energy required to lift the drain. Possessions frequently 'go missing'. After the skarrel, these possessions are sometimes moved on to vendors on the side of the road who look after research participants' blankets during the day-time.

Illustrative Narrative 5.1 **SAFE SPOT**



SKARRELER.STORIES

(Source: Author's own, 2015)

In these early hours, street light is a precious commodity, with bins wheeled under street lights or angled towards them as they're emptied and re-filled. Only residential (Municipal wheelie) bins are searched, as public (street-pole) bins comprise mainly food and packaging wastes rather than re-usables. Bins are 'scratched through' from the bottom up, one at a time. All bags of waste are removed, and then returned to the bin one at a time, minus the plastic packets that once contained the rubbish. While the contents of the bags are scratched through for anything

of value, the majority is spilled back into the bin, which is stacked neatly on the curb side for the municipal waste collection truck and crew to empty. A 'clean-ish' big bag is retrieved from one of the early bins and kept intact for storing collected items. If research participants are lucky, they'll find an old canvas bag in a bin, that can be used instead, but this isn't retained from one day to the next. Items are accumulated and stored in these bags, slung over shoulders as they trudge through the Southern Suburbs. Previously – up until a few years ago that is – trolleys or wheelie-bins were used to move things around relatively swiftly, but this has been made illegal by the state, making participants' work more strenuous. Aaron tells me that, "all of the bins and the trolleys have tiny little trackers in them now, so they'll catch you if you steal them" (Personal Interview, 4th August 2015). One research participant spent thirty-days in Pollsmoor Prison for repurposing a municipal wheelie-bin to transport his collected items around in. The imposed difficulty of collecting items without having a vehicle to transport them, has led to a shift in the items collected, away from recyclables, and towards reusables which generally store more value per kilo – less work for their money.

Work is slow in the early hours of the morning, because very few residents put their bins out the night before – and those who do, have had their bins searched by a team of night-skarrelers. Lots of time is spent pacing on street corners, always at points of intersection, waiting for specific residents or caretakers to bring out their bins. Houses responsible for producing valuable waste are indelibly remembered by the group, as are those of residents who donate weekly leftovers to research participants. Indeed, research participants genuinely believe that residents strategically leave the remains of bottled drinks and other valuables in bins for them to find (Personal Interview, 12th August 2015). Apartment blocks are also targeted, and hence waited-on, for a number of reasons. Firstly, the sheer mass of bins located in one place is attractive. This enables greater efficiency during a morning's work. Secondly, due to the proximity of serviced areas to UCT, many apartment blocks house students – a demographic identified by the group as frequently disposing of valuable waste, sometimes so valuable that research participants are convinced it has been accidentally thrown away. Troubles explains to me that in his bag he has many of the gate remotes to apartment blocks in the area, "because when the foreign students leave they just throw them away," but that he would rather wait for caretakers to bring the bins out, so that it doesn't look as if he's stealing and he can't be arrested for trespassing (Personal Interview, 30th July 2015).

Photo 4.4 Confluence 1



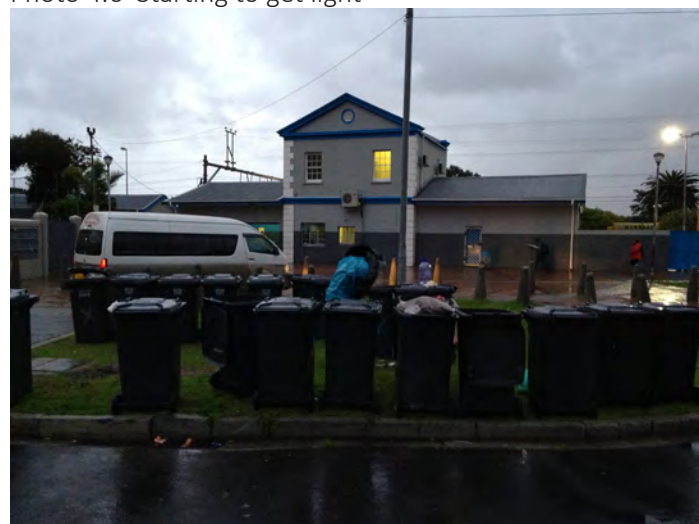
(Source: Author's own, 2015)

Photo 4.5 Innovative clothing



(Source: Author's own, 2015)

Photo 4.6 Starting to get light



(Source: Author's own, 2015)

With no public taps in sight, and an insatiable thirst for anything that has an ABV (alcohol by volume), the first drink of the morning has arrived, and it is a prized one. The end of a bag of wine is ripped from the box and squeezed with gusto down thirsty throats, draining every last drop as warmth radiates from the inside out. Although only 3 sips remain, five are portioned out haphazardly and hastily – one for the postman who approaches us from a dimly-lit street corner. When he arrives, he lifts his head towards us and raises his eyebrows, graciously receiving the bag of wine thrust into his grip. He squeezes out a sip, returns the now empty bag, and continues on his merry way – a little warmer than before. No words are exchanged in this interaction. Small-talk requires energy and interest – something that is in large part reserved for residents, who have the potential to provide support to skarrelers in return for their apparent friendliness and familiarity. This is reminiscent of Goffman’s (1959) emphasis on the importance of impression management among homeless people, and Cloke, May and Johnsen’s (2007) emphasis on the performativity of homelessness, with performances intended to invite support being enacted at strategic times and locations. For example, although the act of consuming alcohol takes place on a suburban street corner, the streets are quiet at this hour, and participants are not subject to any onlookers who might otherwise retract potential future support. Cloke, May and Johnsen (2007) corroborate this finding regarding impression management among homeless people in Bristol, such as maintaining sobriety during begging hours, or fronting a friendly, joking attitude.

Illustrative Narrative 5.2 **THIRST FOR ANYTHING WITH AN ABV**



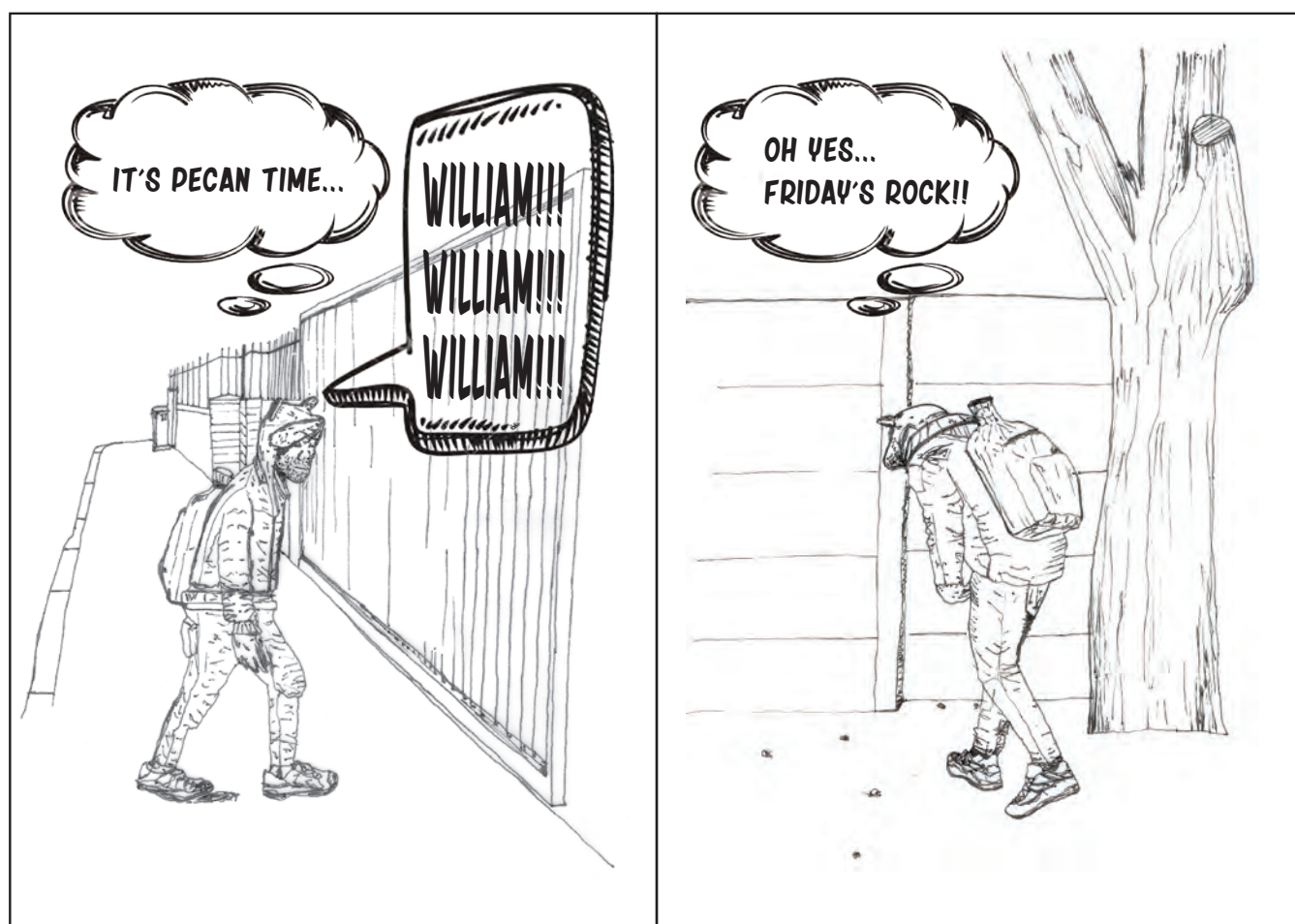
SKARRELER.STORIES

(Source: Author’s own, 2015)

Daily movements are shaped as much by the the presence of valuable re-usables, as by the presence of alcohol – places to find or ‘earn’ it, and places to buy and consume it. Information is stored regarding residents in the areas they serve: whether they have offered assistance or disposed of wine or valuable waste previously; what cars they drive; what jobs they hold; how many children they have; how fancy their house is; and a range of other inferences regarding peculiar habits evidenced in their waste. A teenage girl walks along the sidewalk on the other side of the road. Troubles calls out to greet her, but she keeps her eyes on the pavement, too nervous to make eye-contact – something that Troubles is quick to pick up on. He tells me that “people are scared of us”, and also that he finds it strange to see this girl walking alone today – not in the company of her older brother whom he saw leave the

house just a few minutes earlier – deducing that, “they must be fighting”. In this example and others, research participants demonstrate acute sensitivities to observing and interpreting their lived worlds that are these Southern Suburbs streets, and in identifying any possible lifelines to which they might attach themselves. Indeed, their survival depends on making these attachments, with unearthing potential lifelines being part of daily performances in the areas serviced and visited. At many points, Troubles instructs me to watch him as he tactically shows up at identified homes, greeting residents warmly and making conversation with them in order to elicit donations of goodwill. Without doubt, particular streets are trawled at strategic times, as residents known to the group leave for work. For example, ‘the lawyer’ who often gives Troubles money, is one of this morning’s targets. On a Friday, if Rommel arrives at the right time, he’s allowed into the yard of a property with a pecan-nut tree so that he can scrape together a handful of pecans off the driveway – his “Friday morning treat”.

Illustrative Narrative 5.3.1 **FRIDAY MORNING TREAT**



SKARRELER.STORIES

(Source: Author's own, 2015)

A stiff concoction of fermented fruit and food works its way in with the rich smell of used diapers, and wafts up into nostrils. Any queasiness for these types of smells or textures has been lost a long time ago – stone-faced and unflinching, the scratching continues. Other hazardous wastes encountered on a daily basis include dog turds and broken glass, with each presenting its own associated health traps. After learning first-hand of the hazards involved with ‘scratching’ through bins, I decide to buy myself some protective gloves, and assume that research participants would also appreciate gloves and so without consultation, buy each a pair, only to discover that the gloves are unwanted. Although scars litter the hands of research participants, they work without gloves, safety or otherwise, and prefer it this way – explaining that if they wore gloves, they “wouldn’t be able to feel [their] way through the bins”, which is particularly crucial when light is scarce. “It’s dark in the bins so early in the morning, so we must use our hands to feel our way through. I can’t use those gloves because I wouldn’t feel anything” (Personal Interview, 6th

August 2015). This serves as a small lesson in planning *with* informality, and a quick reminder to me that successful interventions, particularly those targeting informal activities, require thorough engagement with the intended users and beneficiaries, from the outset. This is reminiscent of what Winkler (2011) emphasizes regarding public participation processes in South Africa – that it is essential for genuine engagement to take place prior to any intervention, policy or otherwise.

Great care is taken to ensure that every bin is left neat and tidy. Research participants are very aware that their work relies on the co-operation of both residents and municipal collection teams, and are determined not to make their lives more difficult. It's windy this morning, making containment of the rubbish a complicated task. Time is spent sweeping the streets for any dispersed litter from their activities – another task in impression management. Further, other groups' mess is often restored to cleanliness to preserve their own reputations.

Photo 4.7 Trashing reputations



(Source: Author's own, 2015)

The sound of a bin being rolled out by a resident around the corner catches the attention of one of the group members who gestures to the rest of the group that 'he's on it'. He heads in the direction of the sound, hoping to secure the bin before another skarreler does, and to retrieve any reusables. Recyclables, which are of no use to this group – cardboard, books, or scrap metal – are left either on top of the bin or beside it, for informal recyclers to collect on their way through. The same procedure is followed for any edible fruit, bread or other packaged food found in the bins. The majority of 'research participants do not eat from the bins, rather begging for food either from door-to-door or outside of Spar (which is a regular begging 'pitch'). This position is taken for 'health reasons', although I suspect that stigma also plays a role.

Not all bins are searched – there's a strategic element to this too. Troubles knows which apartment blocks are likely to produce the waste he's looking for. For example, he tells me that he's not interested in waiting for the bins to come out at a particular property, because he says "it's an office space and mostly produces paper waste" (Personal Interview, 6th August 2015). Some properties put their bins out infrequently, and can only be included in the search by chance, rather than design. A few caretakers at particular apartment blocks utilize their superior access to waste generated in these blocks and 'scratch' through these bins themselves before putting them out – having first dibs on any discarded valuables. Other targeted/prized bins can be waited on for lengthy periods in order to gain access to concealed valuables, sometimes waiting up to half an hour for specific residents to bring out their bins, or to leave for work.

Between 07:30 and 8:00am, people typically start to leave their homes for work, usually by car, while others arrive for work in these areas on foot. Skarrelers must now be on their toes and especially alert to any activity in the neighbourhood. Most residents bring their bins out onto the curb just before leaving for work. Other bins are drawn out by domestic help or caretakers as they arrive. This is the time for performance. Attempts are made to build relationships with all of the above. One member of the group rummages through a bin and greets a resident warmly as he leaves his house. Another has set off

Photo 4.8 Man's best friend



(Source: Author's own, 2015)

down a street, making friendly conversation alongside a caretaker who is on his way to remove the first set of bins from one of eight apartment blocks in the area that he's responsible for – his first duty of the day. These personal connections with caretakers, domestic help, and residents allow research participants to secure certain bins ahead of others, making disputes over bins a non-starter (see discussion on socio-spatial capital in Chapter 5). Another member waits, perched on a street corner, with his attention focussed on a house at the end of the street. A local bends down on one knee to scratch one of the two dogs belonging to Troubles – “Hello Donna”, she says; this, albeit unorthodox ‘family’, is well known by residents.

The two small dogs trot alongside research participants from bin to bin. They sleep on the street, Donna with Troubles, and Tina with Rommel, surviving on off-milk and leftover meat found in the bins, and on bags of pellets donated by sympathetic residents in the areas serviced. The dogs' healthy mane of hair, placid demeanour, and plump appearance contrast starkly with emaciated and ashen countenances of their human counterparts, who survive on a steady diet of fermented grapes. The dogs serve multiple purposes, some of which are explained to me by the group, while other purposes are observed. They provide well-camouflaged security to the group, but particularly to their owner, Troubles, with a lack of security being a major issue for homeless individuals. Their affectionate nature quickly turns to fangs when hands are laid on his possessions. One of the dogs sleeps next to him at night, while the other sleeps next to Rommel, spreading the only line of security that runs between the men. If an attempt is made to relieve them of their possessions while they're sleeping – as is often the case – the dog-alarms alert the men. They also attract sympathetic responses from residents, which spill over onto their owners. This strategy is echoed by Cloke, May and Johnsen (2008) of homelessness in Bristol, using dogs to gain public sympathy. It seems that more empathy is generated for the dogs than for people, who are often only bystander recipients of this empathy and generosity. Perhaps the fact that this group cares daily for two dogs is evidence of their humanity, identifying them quickly as worthy of support in the eyes of residents who can more easily relate to this ‘middle-class value’ of caring for pets.

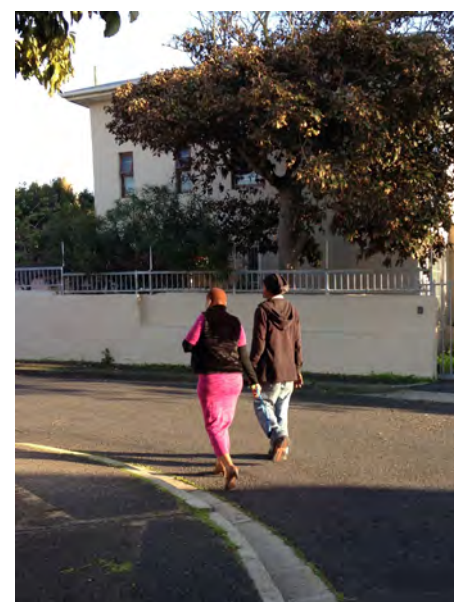
Troubles joins a caretaker, Bernie today (Rebecca tomorrow, and so on), as he walks from one apartment block to the next, pulling out bins. Bernie has been doing this job for 2 years now, and has established a relationship with Troubles and others based solely on this weekly interaction. Cloke and May (2013) suggest that building up ‘regular clientele’ necessitates polite performance or performing sensitively to ‘the public’. Regular, predictable interactions enable the development of familiarity and relationships between research participants and their social support systems. During rainy mornings, the group is more scattered, with each servicing different designated streets – the same streets each week so that familiarity and trust can be built. Troubles speaks proudly of his longstanding connections with residents – “They all know me!” (Personal Interview, 30th July 2015). Like the Zabbaleen of Egypt whose longstanding connections with residents was key to their success in Cairo's informal recycling industry (Didero, 2011); or the beggars of Bristol who claim increased earnings associated with holding regular begging ‘pitches’, performances in familiarity become survival strategies for homeless people hoping to establish trust from residents (May and Cloke, 2013; see Chapter 2). Regarding informal

Photo 4.9 Dogs' breakfast



(Source: Author's own, 2015)

Photo 4.10 Domestic help

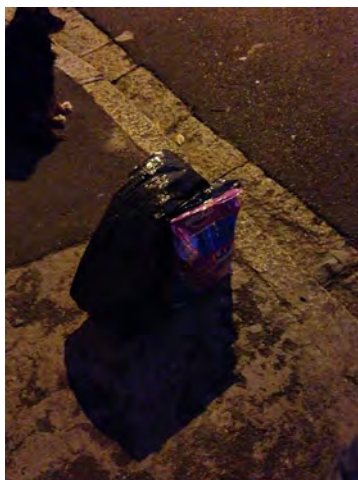


(Source: Author's own, 2015)

day labour, Theodore et al (2014) report increased earnings associated with repeat work for the same employers, suggesting here too, that through developing relationships of trust and familiarity with employers, and through careful impression management, informal service workers are able to improve livelihood securities (Cloke, May and Johnsen, 2008). Troubles has a mental map for where and when to meet Bernie, so that he can have the first 'scratch' through these bins. Bins are then scratched through fairly rapidly, so that the next set can be secured as they are pulled out. However, by the third set, another younger far-less-weathered-looking skarreler has joined in on the trail. When Troubles arrives, there is some hesitation from the younger skarreler, who then asks Troubles for permission to look through the bins. This alerts me to the presence of a finely structured informal hierarchy on the street (see Chapter 5).

The arrival of the municipal collection truck sounds the siren for the end of the morning's collection, usually between 8:30 and 9:00am. This is most often preceded by some panic over the final few bins yet to be released from properties. Research participants whistle and ring doorbells to alert residents and convey some urgency, even going into some properties to pull out their bins for them. Troubles assists Municipal collectors in loading up the bins onto the lift and pulling the lever, and then with placing the bins neatly onto the curb afterwards. The municipal collection team are friendly towards skarrelers, trading brief stories with one another as paths cross. Troubles reports sometimes receiving donations of goodwill from these workers around payday, in return for this assistance, and which could amount to R50. On a similar note, he reports often receiving gifts from residents around his birthday, or other holidays like Christmas and Easter. This would either be in the form of money or alcohol – if he could have it his way – otherwise it'll be food or clothing. He frames this goodwill as a kind of 'payment' from residents for his hard work servicing them over the entire year, 'without asking for anything', and for doing it consistently for years on end. Through this logic, research participants argue that they provide a service, albeit one that is informal, and possibly even unknown to the wider public who commonly assume that they're scrounging in bins for food. Didero (2011) suggests that the provision of informal services, has multiple socio-economic impacts (see Chapter 2). Troubles emphasises the importance of being a familiar face to residents – someone they can trust – having serviced the area consistently for the last fifteen years.

Photo 4.14 Dogfood donation



(Source: Author's own, 2015)

On this day, other than pellets for his dogs from a resident, Troubles gets nothing but a promise from one resident, that she'll pour him a glass of wine if he comes around that evening. Many research participants speak aspirationally of accessing a shelter in Salt River – known colloquially as 'The Winter Project' (The Winter Readiness Plan,

Photo 4.11 loading...



(Source: Author's own, 2015)

Photo 4.12 Still loading...



(Source: Author's own, 2015)

Photo 4.13 Stack 'em neat boys!



(Source: Author's own, 2015)

capetown.gov.za, 2013). A once-off fee of R27 gains one entry to a warm bed, shower, and food, for the whole winter period. For skarrelers outside of my core group, after making enough money to buy food for the day, the next priority is to earn enough money to gain access to The Winter Project. This represents a rare but meaningful hope for research participants. Hanging onto promises and hopes such as these, and onto others for support, are significant for research participants' perseverance. Whether attainable, or even actively sought out, does not detract from their impact on research participants wellbeing, and their struggle to persevere. Further, and taking a distinctively more cynical view of this, we are reminded of Goffman's (1959) discourse analysis of the routinised ways in which society is conditioned to relate to homelessness – 'promising that we'll give something next time'.

Troubles reports having tried his hand at collecting many different waste streams in the past, but found scrap metal too heavy, and near impossible without a vehicle to transport, and other streams such as paper or plastic, not as profitable. I only observe one skarreler collecting paper (mostly books, which are heavy) – and which, at R1,50 per kilogram, is not very economical. Research participants agree that it is more viable to recycle paper around July and

November when students often throw away their old textbooks which are thick and heavy, increasing earnings. Instead, this group of skarrelers now collect re-usables with value, removing them from the waste stream and putting them back into the economy as second-hand goods requiring no added energy to breakdown or recycle (see Chapter 5).

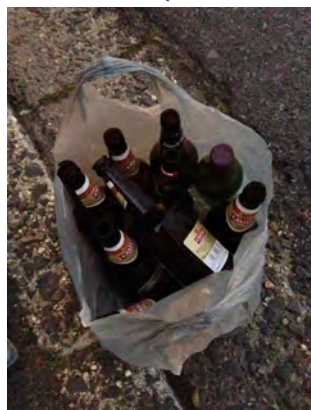
Items collected from this morning's work include: a cellphone; an mp3 player; a decent pair of shoes; a pair of women's jeans; a set of three clean blue towels; and an unbroken wineglass. Most of these items are then sold onto second-hand stores in the area – or on the side of the road where the group hangs out – for a nominal amount, with each item trading for roughly R20. While a particular owner of a second-hand shop refuses to purchase anything from research participants – due to not wanting to support their substance abuse – other shop owners such as Natasha enjoy the interaction as well as the ability to provide some vital support to research participants – "and besides, they bring me nice stuff, I don't mind that it's been in a bin" (Personal Interview, 23rd September 2015). This suggests an element of mutual benefit between research participants and shop owners. Cellphones are generally sold to either cash converters or cash crusaders, but require a 'go-between-er-ID' fee. An interview with a sales assistant at Cash Crusaders reveals that some second-hand stores are highly suspicious of research participants and the items they bring in to sell – "they have to have an ID to sell it, and if it's a high-value item then they need to bring in the receipt as well, to show where they bought it" (Personal Interview, 23rd September 2015). A pack of playing cards is also discovered, and hung onto, and the group begins looking for a second pack to play with. Cigarette butts are a daily collectable – together with newspaper, tobacco ends are emptied out and recycled cigarettes rolled, a virtually continuous and unlimited supply. Quart beer bottles are another daily collectable,

Photo 4.15 Sunglasses to fix



(Source: Author's own, 2015)

Photo 4.16 Quarts



(Source: Author's own, 2015)

Photo 4.17 Ceramics



(Source: Author's own, 2015)

Photo 4.18 Cellphone



(Source: Author's own, 2015)

Photo 4.19 Mp3 player



(Source: Author's own, 2015)

with each bottle earning 70 cents deposit. These are exchanged at the bottle store, which is a daily checkpoint for the crew once they have made enough money to collectively pay for alcoholic spoils. All bottle stores are obliged to recycle quart bottles, and don't make much money off this transaction. However, connections of familiarity are forged here as well, with the owner, Demetri, passing on old household and clothing items to research participants one day, and he makes a guaranteed wine-sale on most days of the week (Personal Interview, 23rd September 2015).

Some mornings are good and others not, but there is little change in mood one way or the other. Good mornings are short-lived, and bad ones will pass almost as quickly – something known all too well by research participants. In the daily battle to survive on the streets, there is scarcely room for emotional highs and lows, with facial expressions frozen for the most part. This particular morning has cleared the benchmark of affording the group some after-work wine from the local bottle store – and the task of begging is staved off until later in the day when they're once again broke. After the group has some wine, conversation and laughter flow, as do arguments between them. On other mornings, items collected can be limited to a few plastic storage containers, a dismantled computer tower with cd-writers and drives (which isn't of much use), and a box of cd's and books that could have been sold on to second-hand shops, if they weren't damaged and rendered valueless by heavy rains. Disappointments are common, with items deemed profitable often turning out to be worthless, but skarelers are habituated to reversals of fortune, knowing better than to get hopes up before the cash is in hand. After a relatively fruitless morning's work, Troubles tells me that "some days are better than others – mustn't worry, it's how it goes. Yesterday was better – I found a nice small Nokia in the bins yesterday that I got a hundred rand for" (Personal Interview, 30th July 2015). On another morning, he finds a brand new CD player which he suspects that he can get R300 for, but he ends up settling for R54 instead. Happy with the outcome anyway though, he tells me, "it's more than I started the day with, so it's okay" (Personal Interview, 4th August 2015). Research participants roll with the punches of urban injustices, and generally accept any amount offered for an item they've re-claimed. Aaron says: "It came to me free from the bins – I can't expect to get a lot for it" (Personal Interview, 6th August 2015). Troubles remarks that it can be difficult to sell their collected items for more than a menial amount, "because they all know that this stuff comes from the bins" (Personal Interview, 4th August 2015). A pair of knee-high women's black boots is re-claimed one morning, and besides having blotches of food waste strewn all over them as record of their premature disposal, they resemble new boots. An old sponge is re-claimed at a later bin along the route, so that the boots can be cleaned before selling them. Troubles says that "Mama Lemons might buy them...for R20 or R30" (Personal Interview, 6th August 2015), despite the fact that they are still in good condition and clearly worth more. When questioned about this, Troubles explains to me that "It comes to us free from the bins, so how can I expect the amount that it's actually worth, like if it's from a shop...I don't want a lot of money from it anyway, just enough" (Personal Interview, 6th August 2015). This epitomizes their easy-come-easy-go attitudes regarding both their work and their lives in general, having lost the urge to become invested in anything.



SKARRELER.STORIES

(Source: Author's own, 2015)

Caster comments on how it can be difficult to sell valuable items to second-hand shops because they are assumed to have stolen such articles; much as they are assumed to be stealing copper piping and other recyclable infrastructure (Personal Interview, 12th August 2015). The excerpt from *Cash Crusaders* supports this felt discrimination. Furthermore, one morning, shortly after starting work, a member of GSCID (Groote Schuur City Improvement District) approaches the group and seems to chat quite cheerily. Approaching me, he questions my presence among the group, and requests proof of my research motive, to which I present my student card. His reasoning is that he needs to profile every new face going through bins or recycling things, in order to clamp down on stolen copper piping and theft of other valuable recyclables (Personal Interview, 4th August 2015). Boasting about having previously arrested many of the skarrelers present at this early-morning confluence, he says they “now have an understanding with one another” (ibid.). One skarreler recalls having being arrested by this security guard for ‘possession of a dangerous weapon’ – a pair of scissors that he’d found in a bin that morning; and another for theft – a municipal wheelie-bin used to transport collected items (ibid.). Rommel recounts being beaten with a stick by a private security guard outside of Spar one day, because he was begging for food (Personal Interview, 4th August 2015) – essentially tarnishing the purity of public spaces perceived as conduits of consumption. Unfazed by sudden reversals of fortune, maltreatment, a bad day’s work, or dire news regarding a friend, the quest is for day-to-day survival. For example, Meth (2003) argues that homelessness transforms many taken-for-granted safeties and securities into daily struggles of survival. Security of oneself and ones possessions, and simply sustaining oneself, becomes all-encompassing and overwhelming, making it virtually impossible to engage in concern for others, or to imagine and work towards better futures (see Chapter 5). Perseverance under these conditions is admirable and difficult to plan for, with personal circumstances driven more by chance than by aspirations or goals.

By the time the morning’s work draws to a close, the rain has backed off, making the hang-out spot in the ‘lost’ space workable. ‘Lost’ spaces are those places in a city that lack adequate linkage and form to encourage urban activity and foster ‘place-making’ functions within them (Trancik, 1960; see Chapter 2). Instead, usage of these spaces is sub-optimal – from a state’s, and a planner’s perspective – both in terms of the number of people using these spaces,

and the activities performed within them. However, for homeless individuals, it is these 'lost' spaces that offer a greater sense of 'privacy' to daily activities, enabling research participants to find refuge in marginal spaces within the Southern Suburbs. For example, the 'park-with-no-name' in Observatory is used regularly by research participants and other homeless people who simply 'hang-out' with one another. Its lack of formal identity is reflective of the absence of state ownership for this park, and is a crude manifestation of its marginal status. The park has no recreational facilities (swings, or even tables and benches), is inaccessible from two sides, and has a low wall along the other two sides, which research participants either use as an informal bench, or to conceal themselves from authorities while consuming alcohol. So, while usage of this 'lost' space – and others, which may be sites of rough-sleeping or of drug use for example – does not conform to popular conceptions of 'place-making' or to the prescribed functionalities of 'public space'. It allows for a different kind of coding and place-making in a City where marginality is ubiquitous and public spaces are perceived in a purely neoliberal mindset, as facilitators of consumption. For research participants, the close proximity of this park to the local bottle store along with its marginal status, make it a 'prime' space to hang out in, perhaps even suggesting fluidity and perspectival qualities to conceptions of prime and marginal space. No shelter there means that on mornings when the rain continues, other interstitial spaces that have shelter must be sought out and occupied – from shop roof overhangs to bottle store porches.

As research participants 'set up shop' on the edge of the park, items are laid out, both to take stock of what has been collected, but also to sneakily advertise what's on sale to people passing by (Personal Interview, 23rd July 2015). Within minutes, familiar faces have approached to see what's available. A pair of shoes is purchased by a woman passing by, and a bag of fruit – reclaimed from a bin – is given to another woman with whom they're friendly. Rommel explains: "We scratch each other's back you see – another time, she'll give us something" (Personal Interview, 23rd July 2015). Ross (2005) suggests the importance of relationships of reciprocity and mutual benefit in an informal settlement community in Cape Town awaiting relocation to an RDP settlement. For this community, tasks are frequently performed for, and traded with, one another in a highly informal and organic structure, with remuneration often being in kind. Community members 'help each other out' where they can, and repay favours in a variety of methods. This points to the fluidities with which the informal economy operates, and according to different capital logics, where mutual benefit holds weight (see Chapter 2). As well as seeking 'privacy' in marginal spaces or sanitation services, daily movements and activities are also shaped by the presence of institutional and non-institutional support networks, with these networks being rooted in space. These skarreler-cartographies are elaborated on in the following section of this chapter.

4.3 Skarreler Cartographies

The following maps represent a spatial analysis of the research findings encapsulated in this narrative.

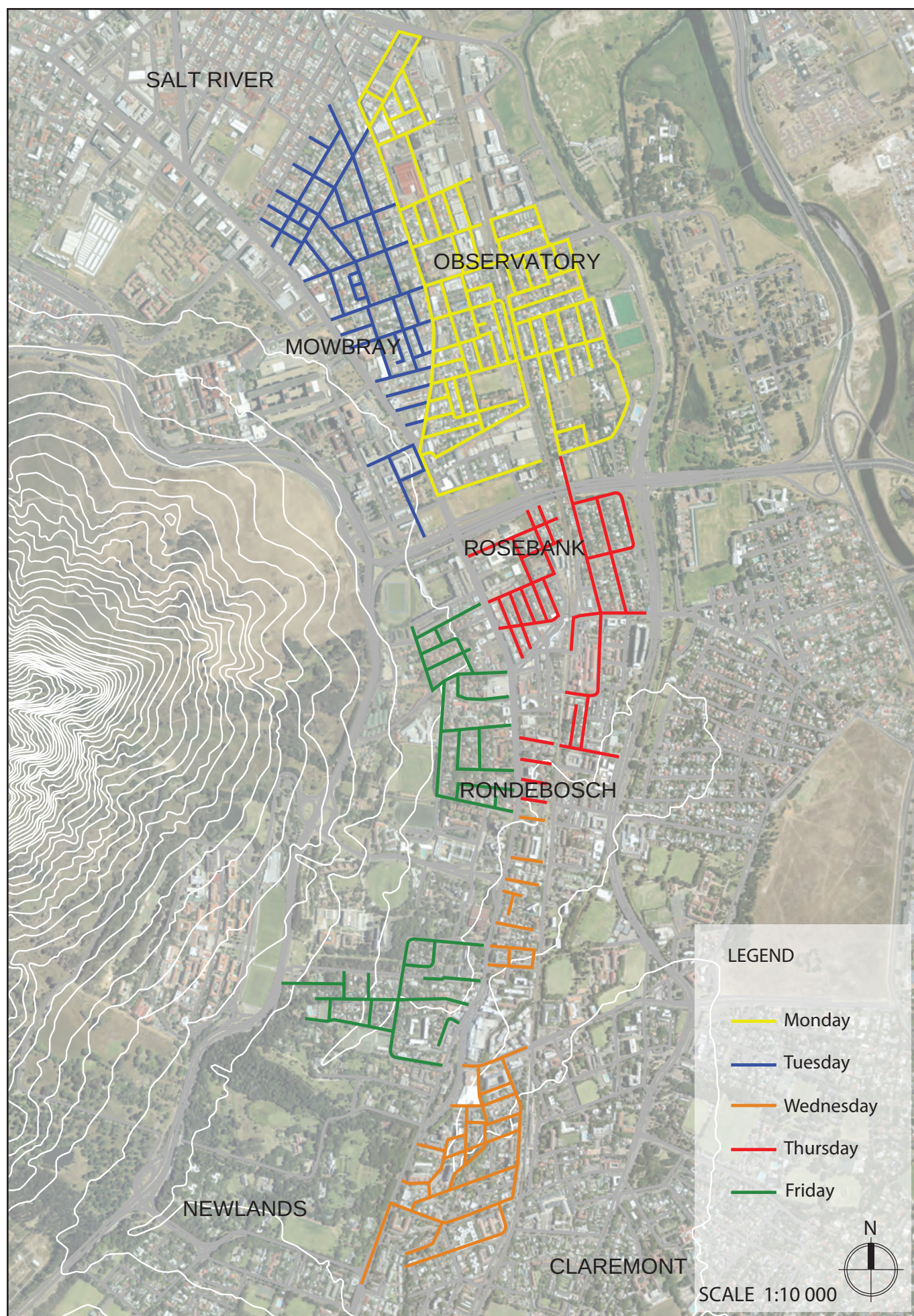
Map 4.1 Spatial Scope of Skarrelers' Activities



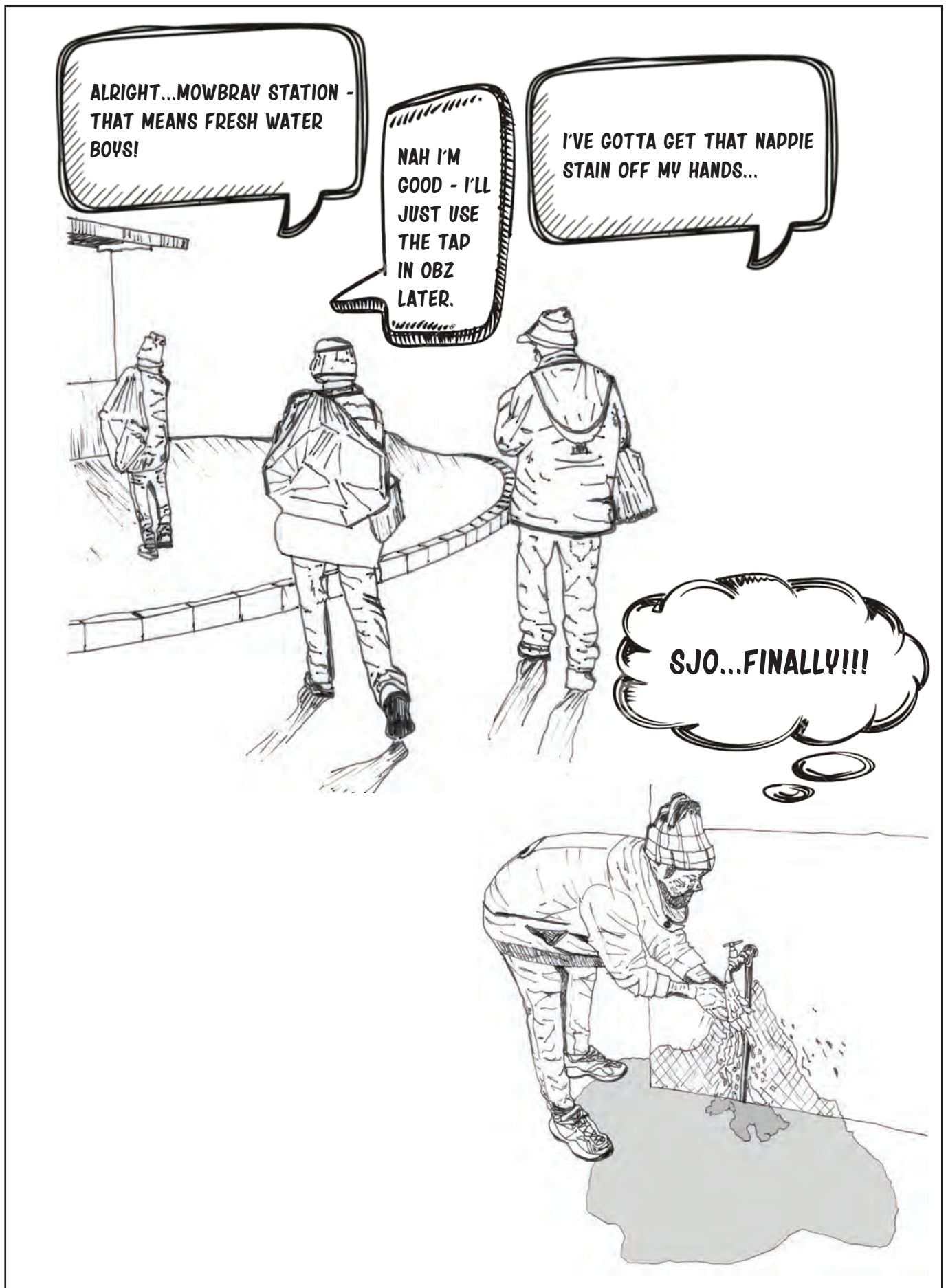
(Source: Data from GIS, Author's own map, 2015)

Research participants service an area that stretches from Salt River, where many live, almost as far South as Claremont. The discussion that follows explains the various spatial, economic and social logics that structure the movements of this group of skarrelers.

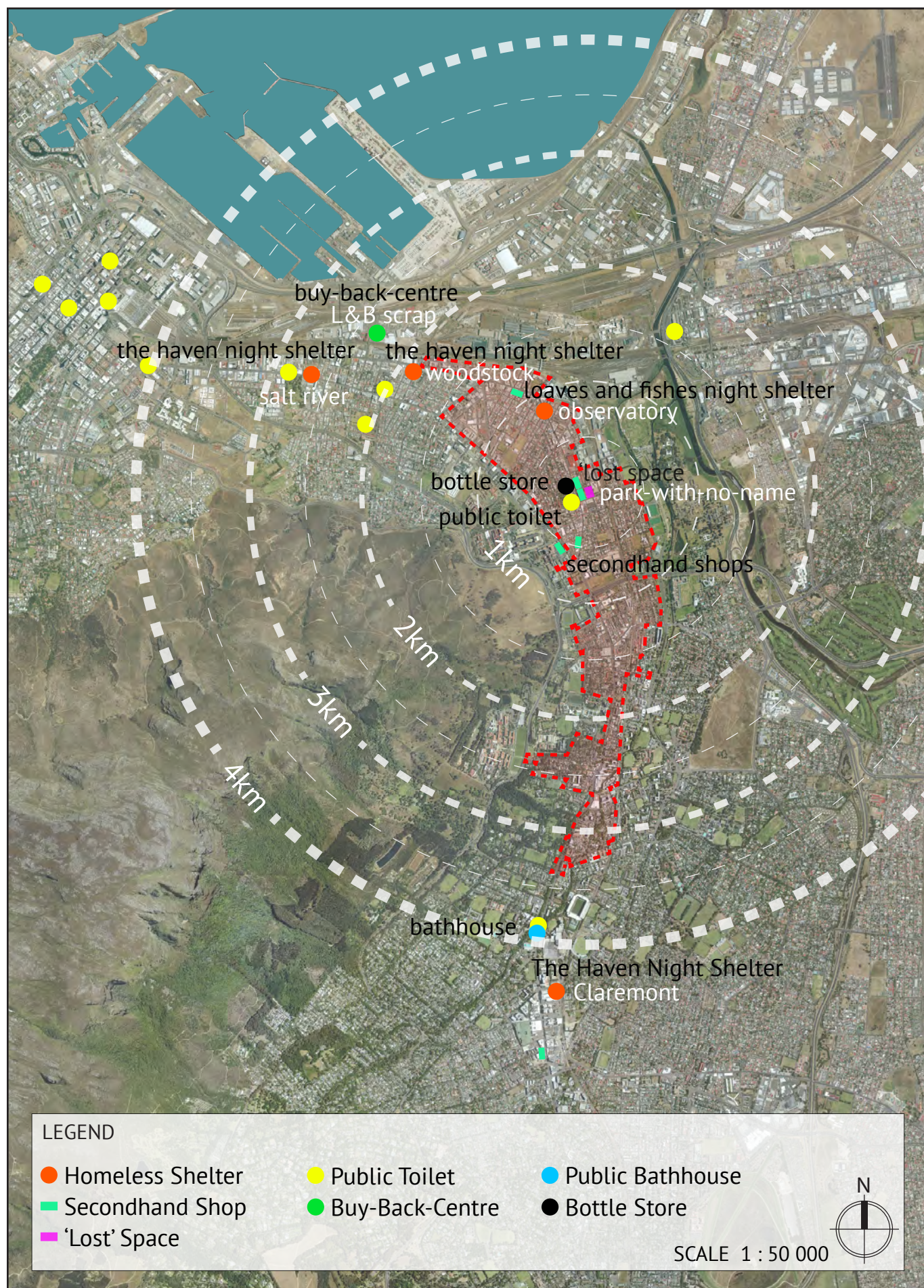
Map 4.2 Weekly Routes Taken by Skarrelers



(Source: Data from GIS, Author's own map, 2015)



Map 4.3 Mapping 'Essential Elements'



(Source: Data from GIS, Author's own map, 2015)

Daily areas serviced are marked out by various spatial and social logics. Firstly, the routes followed from Monday to Friday – stretching from Observatory in the North to Rondebosch in the South – are all immediately adjacent to one another, and can generally be classified as middle-to-upper-income suburbs. The areas also feature a mixture of houses and apartment blocks, increasing the area's population density. Owing to the combination of this form and socio-economic status, greater volumes of more valuable waste are generated in these areas, when compared with other more sprawled or poorer suburbs. This correlation between household income and the value of waste generated is supported in the literature (see Chapter 2). Each area has their own collection day of the week, enabling for consistent skarreling activities five days a week, and bins are generally put out on the same morning, meaning that bins must be searched before the municipal collection truck arrives. Monday: Observatory; Tuesday: Mowbray; Wednesday: Rondebosch, below Main Road; Thursday: Rosebank; Friday: Rondebosch, above Main Road. Although each morning's route has pre-defined starting and ending points, the pathways in between include much back-and-forth, with exact routes dictated more by schedules of residents than of research participants, or by the routes followed by caretakers in the areas. Because residents only need to put out bins before the municipal collection truck arrives sometime after 8:30am, there is some retracing down the same streets to scratch through new bins as they emerge led by silhouettes in the distance. The thump of a bin rolling over a gate-rail in a nearby street lures one member backwards to a street that's just been combed. While the core group of five typically service areas between Salt River and Claremont, another group of three skarrelers service an area further South (Newlands) and to the East (Rondebosch East). Paths overlap on a Wednesday, and the two groups trade stories and laugh with one another.

Having serviced many other areas in Cape Town over the past 35-years, Troubles believes that “this area is the best” (Personal Interview, 4th August 2015). While areas like Green Point and Sea Point are seen as having the highest earning potential, there are other reasons for this spatial sentiment. Research participants assert that this area has a good mix of all the ‘essential elements’. Alongside higher volumes of valuable waste generated, the area is relatively flat throughout and can be negotiated fairly easily on foot with bags over shoulders (see contours on Map 4.1). The locale has some marginal public open spaces, public toilets, second-hand shops, a bottle store, and concerned residents with capacity and willingness to provide support. Although these elements are present in the study area, it is by no means well serviced. While there are public taps and toilets, freely accessible public services are few and far between. Sanitation is limited to two public toilet blocks in the area – one at Mowbray Station, requiring a train ticket for entrance, and one that is freely accessible and well maintained in Observatory, open from 8am until 4pm. Public taps are also limited to these two locations, with hands often being ‘washed’ on wet grass or bushes on the roadside, or with an old rag found in a bin that is then dipped in a pavement puddle. On occasion, research participants freely enter private gardens to use outdoor taps and wash their hands along the way, or to have a quick sip of water. However, they report that many owners remove the tops of their taps to prevent homeless people from accessing them.

A shelter in Salt River, close to where Aaron sleeps, offers a meal every night of the week, but is generally turned down because “it's like prison-food” (Personal Interview, 14th August 2015). Another shelter in Salt River provides the homeless with food and a shower on the first Tuesday of each month, but there are restrictions on intoxication levels. A church in Observatory provides meals for the homeless every Tuesday night. Another donates shoes and clothing “every few months” (Personal Interview, 4th August 2015). These critical services are provided by Local Networks of Caore [(LNOC) – NGOs, FBOs and CBOS], and called on occasionally by research participants, when they really need a shower or a meal. Such organisations provide a critical last line of support (see Chapter 5).

Comparing the territoriality and competitiveness of different areas, there are still further dynamics that inform the scope of their movements. Aaron expands on this:

Other areas have more people [skarrelers] and they're more competitive. For example, in Bishops Court they're very territorial about which streets belong to who[m]. Each person has their own

street, and you don't go and look in those bins. If you go into someone else's street there'll be fights.
(Personal Interview, 13th August 2015).

Although all research participants mention the frequency of fights over bins, claiming that some try to stake a claim to particular bins, my core group says that this hostility is worse in certain competitive areas (Personal Interview, 6th August 2015). I witness no hostile interactions amongst my research participants, although this could have been a product of the group's apparent 'authority' on the street in the areas they service. Furthermore, it's possible that my presence as a researcher may encourage the application of skillful impression management, purposefully avoiding physical conflict at times when I join them (see Chapter 3). Others speak of the importance of sharing streets and bins, "because everyone is struggling to survive – everyone must find something" (Personal Interview, 12th August 2015). This response suggests the importance of collegiality among research participants – a sense of unity that stems from an acknowledgement that there are others who struggle like they do, connected by commonalities of inequity and purpose (Rowe and Wolch, 1990; see Chapter 2). Further, the genuine empathy and care given by non-profit organisations can also be characterised in terms of its collegial elements, facilitating coping among research participants. May and Cloke (2014) support this, alluding to the positive emotional and psychological impacts associated with genuine interactions of interest and concern between homeless people and members in their social network. This finding is reminiscent of the ethic of care and justice that Halse and Honey (2005) speak of, guiding ethnographic research with marginalised communities (see Chapter 6 for further discussion).

Chapter 5 continues with presenting and analysing research findings, with the intention of connecting these and other research findings back to the main research question, which looks at desires for 'inclusion' in the City's waste management strategies. It does so with specific reference to the subsidiary questions developed in Chapter 2, and in line with the methods of analysis put forward in Chapter 3.

5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to present and analyse research findings in line with research methods discussed in Chapter 3, and to establish links between findings and the main theoretical arguments discussed in chapter 2. In this situated context, research participants' livelihoods are impacted by so much insecurity and unpredictability, that imagining, planning or actualising alternatives to current exclusions and marginality is virtually unthinkable. Insecurities and unpredictabilities characterise both the working and 'private' lives of research participants, with all being homeless. Thus work and 'private' lives take place in the public realm, enabling easy surveillance by both security and the broader public. Without homes, assumptions regarding privacy and security (of both person and property) are transformed into daily struggles for survival. For example, concern over having ones blanket stolen makes safekeeping thereof a daily task, occupying both physical and mental space among research participants. Constant anxiety over basic survival kits and needs is exhausting and overwhelming, relegating interests for betterment into the background. Moreover, the securitization and 'purification' of public spaces as conduits of consumption, requires that movements and activities be sensitive to this prescription, applying learned dynamisms of prime and marginal space in this situated context – which are central to daily performances of visibility and invisibility, knowing when to be seen and when not to. Unable to fortify oneself or one's few possessions, and subject to wide-ranging discrimination, research participants are 'criminalized', both for their homelessness and for their work activities, with research participants accustomed to frequent monitoring by security personnel. 'Private', and informal, activities conducted in the public realm are seen as transgressing appropriate behavioural codes for these spaces, with both harder and softer enforcement strategies deployed to 'sanitise' public spaces of vagrants. This includes the 'performance' of security, keeping neighbourhoods 'clean'. Consistent with a social ecological perspective that stresses the dynamic interplay between individual and contextual systems, and with Wacquant's (1999) analysis of advanced marginality and its structural political and macroeconomic foundations for exclusion (see Chapter 2), findings demonstrate the impact that these factors have on research participants' livelihoods, and on their desire for greater forms of inclusion in the City's waste management strategies. Regarding this inclusion, Sibley (1998) suggests that models of social justice are based on the idea of social integration, making us captive to an inclusionary view of society, and that perhaps a deeper understanding of what it means to be placed on the margins (spatially, economically and socially) may lead to different interpretations (see Chapter 2). Indeed, research participants do demonstrate some opposition to being involved in a regulated-something-bigger, instead finding solace in their own autonomy and perseverance in the face of a politico-economic regime that refuses to assume a greater degree of responsibility for their wellbeing. Taking this into account, and analysing it against a sustainable livelihood approach – against a backdrop of global trends that see formalised and mechanised overhauls to waste management systems – planners may need to imagine alternative improvements that are distinctly more human-centred. Moreover, taking this approach will require rethinking the universal applicability of current 'public participation' models and strategies, with more genuine forms of engagement required when planning *with* marginalised groups - such as skarralers. The impactful strategies utilised by some NGOs and FBOs offer possible direction for the kinds of interventions likely to be fruitful, as well as a platform on which services can be furthered. Added to this, they are frequently driven by an ethic of care and justice, which this research finds to be a critical point of departure.

This chapter is structured as follows: the section below deals with politics of identity for research participants, looking at issues of self-identification and other-. Thereafter, I analyse the interdependent nature of structural and individual elements of exclusion which contribute to research participants' advanced marginality. Section 5.4 takes a closer look at some of the survival strategies and performances utilised by research participants from day to day, while section 5.5 speaks directly to notions of participation and inclusion and the extent to which research participants desire to collaborate with the City. Chapter 6 commences with taking up the challenge, suggesting nuanced recommendations

that are sensitive to research findings and to theoretical arguments presented in this chapter and Chapter 2 respectively. Discussion now turns to various politics of identity among research participants, and the impact of these identities on skarrelers' self-concepts.

5.2 Politics of Identity

Research participants' identities are multiple and fluid, each with its own layer of stories and meanings attached. For example, all research participants have nicknames or 'street-names' used by colleagues and trusted friends while official names are reserved for others, as if keeping a part of themselves 'private'. Nicknames have layers of meaning: Troubles for example, offers a brief explanation of his street-name - because he's Islamic and drinks alcohol - although one imagines that there could be numerous other reasons for this name too, many of which may have worked themselves into these pages, and many of which he may have chosen not to share with me. While some identities are accepted – particularly those that are self-assigned and denote more positive connotations – other imposed identities are often resisted or challenged, corroborating Mcarthy's (2013) findings (see Chapter 2). For instance, all research participants had an issue with 'waste picking' as terminology for identifying their activities, insisting that they do not 'pick waste' but rather 'look for valuables' (Personal Interview, 23rd July 2015). Instead they identified themselves as 'skarrelers'. This particular finding had implications for the terminology employed in this research. In terms of official Identity Documents, their fate on the street is to be either lost, stolen, confiscated, or burned, with their absence being significant for research participants and their perceptions of limited opportunities. This is elaborated in the following section regarding individual and structural factors of exclusion.

Research participants also demonstrate identity fluidities, such as those ascribed to 'family' and 'friends'. Although Troubles tells me that he has many friends who aren't homeless, my own observations contradict this, as does Rommel's perspective. The term 'friends' is used somewhat loosely to define connections, acquaintances, or relationships of dependency, while 'family' is generally reserved for the core group of research participants who provide daily respite for one another from the ongoing judgement of their lives. This 'family' status is underpinned by a familiarity with each other's plight, and bolstered by 'complete' trust in one another – a rare but critical resource on the street. Collegiality among research participants enables general discrimination and exclusion to be punctuated by moments of dignity and non-judgement, established through engagement with others who share similar living and working conditions. Homeless identities worn on one's sleeve can be temporarily cast aside as *not* the most important thing about oneself, contrasting with the dominance of this 'identity' in virtually all interactions with non-homeless people. The term 'homeless' provides an identity that is defined by what is lacking, and also that which is seemingly all-encompassing, at the expense of multiple other identities adopted by homeless people and which contribute positively to the development of a sense of self and other (Farrington and Robinson, 1999). While being homeless engenders very real implications and challenges for research participants, granting primacy to this identity may be problematic.

5.2.1 Homeless Identities

Homelessness is one marker of identity that is particularly difficult to conceal and has wide ranging implications for research participants. Gerrard and Farrugia (2015) argue that homeless individuals are open to the public's gaze, unable to escape public scrutiny and judgement (see Chapter 2). Goffman (1963: 127) refers to this as being 'fully stigmatised', where homeless people "must suffer the special indignity of knowing that they wear their situation on their sleeve". The opportunity to view, represent and judge occurs in every encounter, making these encounters actively constructed – "we all 'see' and 'encounter' homelessness, and in myriad fashion we all respond: we stare, ignore, avert our eyes, give money or purchase a street magazine, gawk, smile, speak or don't speak" (Gerrard and Farrugia, 2015: 2223). Within these encounters, a whole raft of judgements are made in an attempt to understand and explain this 'out of joint' phenomena: judgements of social success and failure, of appropriate and inappropriate public behaviour,

of respectability and disrespectability, of luck and bad luck, of inequality and justice, and of productivity and laziness (Gerrard and Farrugia, 2015, p.2227). Time in public space is spent managing feelings of surveillance, judgement, invisibility and visibility, with these aesthetic politics being acutely felt (Gerrard and Farrugia, 2015). Homelessness is seen to transgress the normative function of streets and public spaces as places to facilitate consumption (Gerrard and Farrugia, 2015), while their bodies become signifiers of their 'failed consumer' status (Bauman, 2007). Beyond the immediate impacts, homelessness also impacts a person's ability to improve their situation, thereby entrenching and perpetuating poverty. Further, Dolgon and Baker (2011) argue that social stigma (the ways in which people discriminate against and devalue others based on physical or behavioural attributes) actually hinders anyone who has become homeless from ever re-joining the ranks of the housed: because they look poor, unkempt or "scary," no one gives them a chance, including the City (see Chapter 2). Turning attention to subsidiary questions on identity raised in Chapter 2, the following section looks at how research participants in this situated context self-identify, how they are identified by others, and what these various identities 'mean' to skarrelers? Further, markers of division such as age and gender are explored for their impact on research participants' livelihoods and experiences of 'life on the street'.

5.2.2 Skarreler Identities

All skarrelers interviewed communicate with each other in Afrikaans – 11 out of 14 are first-language Afrikaans speakers, while the remaining 3 are first-language Xhosa speakers. Research participants identify themselves as skarrelers, an Afrikaans term that Caster interprets as 'making something from nothing' and 'always being ready to move' (Personal Interview, 23rd July 2015). This corroborates findings on identity made by Benson and Vanqa-Mgijima (2010) in their study on waste pickers in Cape Town (see Chapter 2). Entrepreneurship and alertness is essential for research participants to eke out a living, which includes cleaning or fixing re-claimed electronics and the like – re-claimed batteries and tools are 'hung onto' so that electronic gadgets can be tested or fixed if need be. Similar entrepreneurial strategies are necessary for waste pickers who often find creative ways to re-use waste and add value to collected material, at times spurring on budding businesses in recycled products (Marello and Helwege, 2014; see Chapter 2).

5.2.3 Gender Dynamics

Gender dynamics among research participants are noteworthy. The majority of research participants are male (11 out of 14), perhaps supporting Baptista's (2010) assertion of the greater visibility of homeless men on the street, as well as there being an overrepresentation of men. While some women attempt to hide their homelessness as a survival strategy, distancing themselves from recognised spaces of homelessness, they also tend to experience shorter spells of homelessness due to their specific difficulties and dangers on the street (Baptista, 2010; see Chapter 2). Female skarrelers are further marginalized by a relative lack of presence in this social field, with men far outnumbering women – a dynamic encountered by both Benson and Vanqa-Mgijima (2010), and Viljoen et al (2015) among South African re-claimers. Research participants perspectives on this unevenness is illuminating. From the men's perspectives, "they must do other things like look after the kids or the home" (Personal Interview, 8th August 2015). This position is subtly echoed during work as well, where Thandi is charged by Phillip with safeguarding their blanket while he works – this is her job during the daytime. From the women's perspectives, "it's not safe for women to be on the street, because we're smaller than men and we must also worry about being raped by them" (Personal Interview, 12th August 2015). The nonchalance of this comment may be suggestive of the ubiquitousness of female insecurities on the street, concerning both living and working conditions. Regarding safety during work hours, female research participants emphasise that they are commonly targets of aggression and hostility from other skarrelers and that they are less physically capable of defending themselves from this aggression than are men, making it more difficult for them to secure bins ahead of others (ibid.). As for safety outside of work hours, the women report being frequently subjected to random hostility and abuse from gangsters in the middle of the night. Nomsa recounts just one of many similar horrifying experiences where she is unexpectedly awoken in the dead of night and repeatedly smacked in the

face with a stick. Her numerous facial and other scars bear testimony to these awful incidents.

5.2.3.1 Gender Performances

Although one woman (Nomsa) trawls the streets alone, she used to 'skarrel' with her husband who was tragically murdered two-years ago, and she now refuses to trust anyone enough to work or sleep alongside them. Nomsa's appearance and behaviour do not mark her as being obviously female – in fact it takes some time before it becomes apparent that I am speaking to a woman. This supports Baptista's (2010) assertion that homeless women often employ gender performances on the street as a matter of survival, using their bodies and spaces creatively to protect themselves, in this case concealing ones femininity and masculinising appearance to 'blend in' with homeless men. This strategy is described as either 'genderlessness', presenting oneself as butch or tough, or 'passing', as being lesbian (see Chapter 2). One woman (Thandie) is married to a male research participant, and is visibly homeless, hanging out in recognised spaces of homelessness with male research participants each day. She employs her femininity as a survival strategy, often trading sex for physical protection, even outside of her relationship with Phillip. The third woman (Wilma), is restricted to crutches at the moment and unable to walk, rendering personal security complicated, let alone mobility needed for work. She sleeps and works alongside two men, who protect her, choosing to hang out instead in the less recognisable and quieter spaces of homelessness.

5.2.4 Rejected Identities

Regarding the 'mabuyaze' term that communities in Philippi/Gugulethu have assigned to informal recyclers in their area (Benson and Vanqa-Mgijima, 2010), one of the Xhosa-speaking research participants, Caster, is familiar with the term, although he has never heard of other informal re-claimers, or his own in-group, being identified in this way. Commenting that "it's not a nice name to call someone...it's like making fun of them", he adds that others sometimes assign similar mocking identities to skarrelers, such as: "too lazy to work", or "someone who doesn't want to try", or even "someone who just wants to drink" (Personal Interview, 6th August 2015). Although these identities may be rejected by Caster and others, i am also reminded of the heterogeneity of even this small group of research participants as Troubles willingly accepts all three of these imposed descriptors.

5.2.5 Accepted Identities

Drinking alcohol (preferably wine) is an important element of research participants' identities – conforming to what Baptista (2011) refers to as a 'homeless drinking school' where group members hang-out and drink together in parks and other marginal spaces, and also provide critical support systems for one another. Drinking is a daily activity and expense; the majority of income is spent on wine (Personal Interview, 6th August 2015). It is what gets research participants up in the morning, and what gets them through the day. Illustrating this dependence on alcohol and the important place it holds in research participants' lives, Troubles tells me that he could have been married nine times already, to the nine women who mother his children, but that every time parents have convened to discuss suitability, Troubles' parents respond that "he will be a terrible husband – he won't benefit your daughter, he just wants to drink," to which Troubles agrees, "it's true – I do just want to drink" (Personal Interview, 4th August 2015). Substance abuse disorders represent what Piat et al (2015) refer to as an individual risk factor for homelessness, making individuals more at risk for becoming homeless, as well as for remaining there. This and other individual risk factors interact with more structural elements of exclusion in complex and diverse ways, with homelessness being the most visible manifestation of this exclusion, epitomizing Wacquant's (1999 and 2007; see Chapter 2) advanced marginality. The following section explores these intersections in greater detail, and the extent to which they serve to exclude research participants from urban systems, processes and decisions.

5.3 Advanced Marginality: Intersecting Structural and Individual Elements of Exclusion

5.3.1 Structural Factors: Local-global Intersections

Dolgon and Baker (2011) contend that inequality exists in all societies, and poverty in most, with sociological perspectives premised on the understanding that both result primarily from structural conditions. Thus, although individual actions play a role, an individual's success in obtaining wealth or status is more often determined by larger economic, social, or political conditions. Put simply, the major causes of homelessness are poverty and unemployment, and a lack of affordable housing for poor people, which is exacerbated by the high cost of living in cities. This has been impacted on by macro-economic restructuring and the casualization of workforces, which has seen unemployment and underemployment rise alongside the blurring of political interests with economic objectives. On top of this, individual homeless people have little power to transform the state's allocative structures altering inter alia: falling wage rates, tax policies that benefit rich people and reduce subsidies for the poor, or real estate markets that make it more profitable to tear down cheap apartments and build luxury townhouses (Dolgon and Baker, 2011; see Chapter 2).

Notions of inequality and discrimination are very familiar to research participants, with stories of being 'hard done by', or receiving very little in the way of resources on which to build a better life, all too common. Stories of hardship are shared with me, often during introductions – taking brief windows of opportunity to describe heart wrenching experiences and demonstrate very real needs to any potential caregivers. Aaron the optimist tells me that:

“When you come from nothing, it's very hard to make something for yourself. But you gotta just make the most from what you got, you know. What else can someone do if you have nothing?”

(Personal Interview, 23rd July 2015).

Although this inequality is familiar to, and understood by all, there is little time for feeling hard done by on the streets, and no consolation. It is a lesson to be learnt quickly, hardening one's emotional armour in order to survive. Connected to this, Moyo, Patel and Ross (2015) argue that homeless individuals are more likely to have experienced numerous adverse life events, such as major financial crises, death of loved ones, abuse, violence, foster care placement, parental abandonment, incarceration and hospitalisation. While this is sure to impact negatively on individual emotional wellbeing, as well as spur on alcohol addictions for example, these experiences are also likely to have a moderating impact on other relatively less stressful life events, and blunting responses to daily emotional stressors (ibid.).

5.3.2 Individual Factors

Regarding improvements to their work, research participants' focus for the most part is on the need for employment alternatives and safety nets, rather than measures to improve current 'work' activities. However, they also derive satisfaction from the autonomy afforded by their work, with Troubles insisting that, “[he] wouldn't want to work for someone else, where [he] would have to work from early 'til late everyday”. Aaron tells me that, “I like to be my own boss. I can start work whenever I like – sometimes if I can't sleep I'll start skarelling in the night – and I can wear whatever I like” (Personal Interview, 8th August 2015). This suggests, as Roy (2005) argues, that there are other reasons for wanting to work informally, such as: flexibility, being your own boss, no restrictions on work attire, and the satisfaction of doing it on your own, even though the state makes it difficult. And Troubles adds laziness to this list – explaining very frankly that he wouldn't want to do another job, simply because he's lazy. Although waking up so early to rummage through bins is not easy, nor is it pleasant, he would far rather spend the majority of his day with his 'drinking school' than doing work, with this sentiment shared by the majority of the group. While most say they perform this activity because there are few alternatives, some even comment that, “it's not a job – it's just a way to survive” (Personal Interview, 12th August 2015). Perhaps this is reflective of their very low incomes and the

logically assumed connection between employment and improved socio-economic prospects, with incomes from skarreling being too low to facilitate this improvement. Similarly, Theodore et al (2015) include day labour in this survivalist category, suggesting that it is the employment of last resort, allowing workers to subsist on the fringes of the mainstream economy, while offering few pathways into the formal sector. They argue that the growth of day labour in South Africa over the past decade is the manifestation of a formal labour market incapable of absorbing the structurally unemployed (ibid.). Even more so, the growth of skarreling at the extreme end of this spectrum.

5.3.3 Manifestations of Exclusion: Homelessness

One of the more visible manifestations of this structural exclusion includes research participants' living conditions, with homelessness having wide-ranging implications both for survival and the ability to actualise plans for improvement. Living conditions represent the greatest impediment to improving research participants' situations. The draft City Wide Social Development Strategy (CSDS) (2013) identifies 'street people' as a particularly "vulnerable group that require assistance to achieve reintegration into communities and access to employment opportunities" with the aim being to "support the most vulnerable through enhancing access to infrastructure and social services". Compounding the sense of exclusion felt by homeless individuals – which is itself the product of historical discrimination – Cloke, May and Johnsen (2008), report on the ease with which homeless bodies can be observed and scrutinised by security teams (see Chapter 2), as constant reminders of this discrimination. Personal observations support this finding, with patrol vehicles passing the group multiple times each morning, on quiet residential streets. Turning attention to a subsidiary question that concerns research participants' living conditions and power relations with the municipality and police, these impacts are analysed, both for their sway on research participants' livelihoods and on their desires for inclusion in the City's waste management strategy.

Although the group all report being homeless and sleeping in public spaces, apart from the couple who sleep together, each sleeps on his/her own in separate places. The reason given is that research participants argue and fight with one another after drinking, and that this wakes residents who call the police. Indeed, arguments and bickering between research participants is common, with interactions being candid and direct. Troubles and Rommel sleep on porches of peoples' houses, off the street but without complete shelter. Caster sleeps in the veld near Black River Parkway. Another sleeps outside a bottle store. Aaron sleeps next to a field in Salt River, outside a derelict building that affords very little protection from the elements. Holding onto any possession is a tricky task, and saving requires creative measures. For example, two research participants have 'friends' (residents in the areas serviced) who look after their ID books for them, or hold onto other personal and collected valuables until they can be used or sold. These social networks are critical lifelines that sustain research participants and keep some from losing everything. Insecure living situations transform menial daily tasks into issues of survival, making it impossible to be proactive or to actively seek out improvement measures. Blankets must be looked after daily, and are stolen frequently. Troubles mentions the importance of marking ones possessions:

With a tear on the corner or something you know – so that you can tell if someone has stolen your things...if you find someone sleeping with your blanket, you can't use that blanket now because of lice and all that, so you must burn it in front of them and teach them a lesson!

(Personal Interview, 30th July 2015)

Issues such as rape for women that would otherwise be cause for intense fear or concern are made mundane by the survivalist nature of daily life, and by the frequency with which research participants are confronted with these issues. Similarly, daily concerns are both major and enduring due to their seemingly insurmountable nature. Other basic concerns that prevent higher order concerns from taking shape include getting sufficient food and water to make it through to the next day, personal health and hygiene, and acquiring social support. Physical disability as well as not

having an ID book present major obstacles to socio-economic improvement for some, and are frequently products of homelessness – a vicious cycle, entrenching research participants as homeless skarrelers on the margins. A lack of physical security has major implications regarding research participants' abilities to save, and hence their desire to do so, just as it has implications for tackling more complex concerns that go beyond simply sustaining oneself.

5.3.4 Power Relations

Research participants engage with security and surveillance, in some form or other, on a daily basis – the product of living and working in the public's gaze. Discrimination is manifest in the frequency of interactions with security teams, with police patrol cars and other private security companies paying close attention. Regarding interactions with police, research participants report general friendliness – greeting and so on – while private security companies on the other hand can be rather harsh (Personal Interview, 28th July 2015). "That G4 Security is the worst", often chasing research participants away from street corners that are occupied transiently, and even becoming physical at times (Personal Interview, 28th July 2015). All of the men in the group have served multiple terms in prison, some for serious crimes but mostly for petty ones. This moving in and out of prison has implications for research participants' homelessness as well, making it difficult to maintain stability of home. Further, periods of incarceration cost the City – tax payers – money, and don't do research participants any favours in terms of their lived experiences of discrimination – employers are less likely to hire convicted criminals, just as ex-convicts are likely to be subjected to greater surveillance. Aaron has a criminal record that dates back to when he was ten, and he explains that any minor misdemeanour is now exponentially punished as a result (Personal Interview, 12th August 2015). Urban governance and the design of public spaces are often aesthetically motivated practices aimed at creating spaces in which encounters with homelessness do not take place, and at maintaining the commercialized aesthetics of public space (Gerrard and Farrugia, 2015). At times, this has been as forceful as relocating skarrelers in attempts to 'clean up' the city and its suburbs. For example, five or six years ago (around the '2010 World Cup Clean Up') Troubles and five colleagues were rounded up by the police, thrown in the back of a van, and dropped off on the side of the road in Ceres – 150km North East of Cape Town (Personal Interview, 4th August 2015). Other, softer enforcement of these commercialized aesthetics includes instructing skarrelers to move to a different street corner – due to residents' complaints about noise or nuisance. Research participants are acutely aware of their unwelcomeness, with constant negotiation of the changing contours of prime and marginal space in order to move between states of more and less visibility when needed (Gerrard and Farrugia, 2015). For example, research participants could find themselves on the wrong end of a stick if they're caught begging outside the wrong shop (see Chapter 4).

5.3.5 Human Capital

Standard labour market theory suggests the importance of human capital in realising socio-economic improvements, placing importance on the value of education and training for improving a person's earnings (see Chapter 2). This is amplified by 'educational inflation', where postgraduate university degrees are frequently required in place of undergraduate degrees in order to access formal job opportunities. This leaves research participants – only one of whom has a matric – in a precarious position in terms of accessing formal job markets. Mareello and Helwege (2014) argue that a lack of education and training provide major obstacles to improving re-claimer livelihoods: compounding matters, the low incomes generated translate into an inability to invest in one's human capital stock, thereby trapping research participants in their marginality (Viljoen et al, 2015; see Chapter 2). The following section provides answers to two subsidiary questions raised in Chapter 2, asking: does a lack of disposable resources, such as capital-, space-, and informational-deficiencies, prevent research participants from improving their socio-economic conditions? And more specifically, what is the relationship between human capital deficiencies and perspectives of limited opportunities for research participants?

One research participant has completed high school, two reached Grade 10, and most only went as far as finishing

primary school. There are a number of reasons given for this, from being mischievous and not wanting to go to school, to family instability, needing to earn an income, or getting involved with gangs and in trouble with the law (Personal Interview, 12th August 2015). An awareness of the importance of education and its role in opening up employment opportunities is reflected in comments directed to me such as, “Once you get this degree you’re gonna have a very nice job, earning lots of money hey?” (Personal Interview, 12th August 2015). Thus, connections between education and employment are subtly drawn by research participants as they try to interpret their lack of both. Living a truly subsistence way of life in every respect, with an easy-come-easy-go attitude towards both money and possessions, research participants have zero economic capital – and very little human capital – with which to leverage any improvements to their lives. Instead, any advances depend upon the goodwill of others – generally residents in the areas serviced.

5.3.6 Spatial Capital

The biggest assets that research participants possess for sustaining their livelihoods are the connections forged with residents in the areas they service, as well as an intricate understanding of these areas in terms of which bins are more likely to hold valuable re-usable items. One interpretation of spatial capital refers to geographical experiences that are transformed into situated skills, with this learned inheritance applied towards ‘mastering places’ (Rérat and Lees, 2010).

5.3.7 Social Capital

Social capital refers to the collective value of all social networks (people known to research participants) and the inclinations that arise from these networks to do things for each other (norms of reciprocity), or receiving assistance in ‘getting ahead’ on account of having forged these networks. However, for this research population, social capital is broadened to include networks of support vital to their survival, making the distinction between ‘enabling’ and ‘productive’ social capital. Regarding sanitation and other necessary social services, public spaces provide critical livelihood support, as do various non-government organisations (NGO), community-based (CBO) and faith-based organisations (FBO). Public spaces are frequently sites of urination, defecation, washing, sex, alcohol consumption, and sleeping, as well as other activities ordinarily practiced in the privacy of one’s home, or in some other private space. The City Streets, Public Places and Public Nuisance by-law (2006) effectively prevents people from living and sleeping on the streets. The City’s policy on basic sanitation services such as toilets and taps is that all people have access to adequate, safe, appropriate and affordable water and sanitation services, and that water is used effectively, efficiently and sustainably in order to reduce poverty, improve human health and promote economic development (CoCT Water Sanitation and Service Standard, 2008). While minimal thresholds may be met, there are few public and freely accessible toilets in the Southern Suburbs of Cape Town, and even fewer showers and bathhouses (see Map 4.3). Occasionally homeless shelters are relied on for this, although many of the men also report using Black River for these basic sanitation services. One homeless shelter provides a meal and a hot shower one night a week, while a Faith Based Organisation provides meals two nights a week and the occasional clothing hamper (Personal Interview, 14th August 2015). Besides temporary bedspace and access to sanitation or food, a range of other services are also offered by these organisations, such as counselling, skills development, physical care and family reunification. However, these services are not utilised by research participants. This may have something to do with services at homeless shelters coming at a price, both financially and behaviourally.

5.3.8 Socio-spatial Capital

Familiarising oneself with neighbourhoods and the residents who inhabit them contributes towards developing a kind of socio-spatial capital. This social capital is spatially fixed and tailored to context. Aaron explains to me that, while he, Rommel, Troubles and Phillip are able to find the most valuable items in the neighbourhoods they service (both

from bins and directly from residents), Wilma, The Terminator, and Andre do likewise in the areas that they service. “They just know where to look in this area better than we do” he tells me (Personal Interview, 12th August 2015). This tacit and embedded knowledge is gained through experience, and is highly situated and localised, including informal hierarchies that give some skarrelers a spatial advantage over others. Hey (2004: 5, 10) adds to this, suggesting that tacit knowledge “is ephemeral, transitory...[and] notoriously difficult to ‘get hold of’ and ‘retain’”. Further, Gibbons et al., (1994: 167) suggest that this type of knowledge “cannot move easily across organisational boundaries, its movement ... [is] constrained in a given network or set of social relations”, trapping research participants as skarrelers. This ability to ‘find better items’ is directly related to the longstanding connections and relationships each group has established with residents, caretakers and domestic help in their respective areas, comprising mental maps developed over years. Perhaps this represents a highly spatialized and organic, but very constrained, social welfare system, where residents commit to providing support to various homeless individuals they recognise (‘their regulars’), while refusing to support other less familiar faces. Agents of this socio-spatial capital include police and private security companies as well, who are more tolerant of familiar faces on the street – for example, Wilma, Andre and The Terminator are ‘allowed’ by some security guards to sleep in a particular spot, while Troubles and others would only be able to sleep there if Wilma were to vouch for them (Personal Interview, 12th August 2015).

5.3.9 The Limits of Social Capital

Various institutional and non-institutional support systems make an effort at sustaining research participants, however, this social capital is, for the most part, incapable of generating measurable long-term improvements to research participants’ socio-economic conditions. Miller (2011) argues that although schools and homeless shelters provide homeless individuals with some critical relationships and resources, ‘productive’ social capital is limited in these spaces. Further, Priester (2015) argues that differential access to human capital – due to discrimination – may impact the quality of social capital that minorities are able to access and benefit from. Her findings support the idea that quantity of social relationships may not be as valuable as the increased social leverage particular types of relationships provide (ibid.). Regarding support networks provided by ‘friends’ and family, May and Cloke (2013) suggest that these support systems suffer from fatigue over time, causing long-term support to wane. Research participants are acutely aware that they lack the necessary resources (capitals) required for upward social mobility. Their lack of political power is evidenced by virtual exclusion from waste management policy at both National and Municipal levels (see Chapter 2). Bourdieu argues that social fields comprise actors who strive to enhance their relative positions, and who use different types of capital to compete with each other (Didero, 2011). Among research participants, as well as other homeless people, there exists a severe lack of resources on which to draw in order to partake in this ‘competition’. Although small efforts are made towards minor improvement, such efforts are generally short-sighted and aimed at improving daily/weekly alcoholic spoils enjoyed, rather than longer term strategies to improve overall living conditions. This may have implications for their desires (or lack thereof) for inclusion.

5.3.10 Space, Tools, Information

Due to research participants’ current focus on re-usables rather than recyclables, space for cleaning and storing collected items is less of a premium for than would be the case for collected recyclables. However, without any space to store items safely overnight – collected items are sold daily, without any value being added to them over time. Research participants lack the necessary tools, and patience, to add significant value to items collected, relying on screwdrivers, batteries, cloths and other tools that have been re-claimed and haven’t been stolen yet. For example, the pair of boots reclaimed from a bin could not be cleaned with soap or a scrubbing brush, or even with clean running water. Instead they’re only partially cleaned with a rag in a puddle before selling them on for whatever price they can command in that condition. An inability to keep possessions safe plays a major role in stunting both the socio-economic and the imaginative prospects of research participants. For example, in a simple analogy from fieldwork, Phillip was able to hang onto a pair of shoes he was given, for less than 24-hours, before being relieved of them in

his sleep – as such, he must now reconvene his planning for a pair of shoes and is unable to move past these simple planning matters and onto more complex concerns targeted at betterment. Regarding informal recycling endeavours, Viljoen et al (2015) suggest that a lack of access to information may jeopardize informal recyclers' incomes, with prices offered for recyclables showing spatial variances (see Chapter 2). On the contrary, skarrelers operate in one of the few industries where all prices for goods are subjective, and costings actually require face-to-face interaction for quality control purposes. Bargaining and bartering as salesmen of their newly collected re-usables, at second-hand shops and in public spaces, they present little need, or desire, for any access to information regarding this work. The following section discusses distinctions between upper- and lower-tier informal activities, with a lack of resources essentially defining those who turn to skarreling.

5.3.11 Upper- and Lower-tier Informal Activities

Dual labour market theory acknowledges the existence of an informal sector alongside a formal sector, with both contributing to employment generation, and contends that anyone not employed in the formal sector will find work in the informal sector (Viljoen et al, 2015; see Chapter 2). Lower-tier informal activities are generally characterised by limited earning potentials and a survivalist nature, while upper-tier activities have higher earning potentials and more barriers to entry. In exploring this division further, I now turn to a subsidiary question raised in Chapter 2 regarding the extent to which upper- and lower- tier informal activities exist in this situated context. This involves surveying the barriers that serve to distinguish one tier from the other, and the impact that these barriers have on research participants.

5.3.11.1 Upper-tier Informal Activities

Taking research participants' desires for autonomy seriously, there are few alternatives available to someone who has no start-up capital or collateral to secure a loan (1), minimal formal education (2), unstable and insecure living conditions (3), poor health (4), an alcohol addiction (5), and lacks a formal Identity Document (6). Research participants' perspectives regarding barriers that prevent their access to better paid informal jobs include a lack of: money - to rent a space/vehicle, for advertising, security and insurance; a home or secure place to store possessions; and desire to invest more man hours into work, staying sober all the while (Personal Interview, 6th August 2015). It follows that involvement in informal transportation or retail industries, where improved earnings and livelihoods are possible, is effectively curtailed for reasons 1, 2, 3 and 5. Aaron asserts that, "It costs a lot of money to start something, even if it's informal" (Personal Interview, 6th August 2015). Not having an ID book is perceived by all without as a cause for real concern, precluding access to alternative employment opportunities, and from fully capitalizing on current occupations – securing a new ID represents another rare aspiration for research participants. While Caster reports often standing on the side of the road at a well-known busy intersection in Salt River – alongside twenty other able-bodied individuals who also know of this 'pick-up-spot' – he contends that "If you don't have a ID book, they're just 'gonna' take someone else instead" (Personal Interview, 4th August 2015).

5.3.11.2 Lower-tier Informal Activities

Although skarreling involves contending with informal hierarchies that may present some challenges to newcomers – with all research participants having been involved with this work for at least the last decade – Troubles tells me that, "anyone can start doing it if they want" (Personal Interview, 6th August 2015). Essential clothing items for research participants include: a wind-cheater, jersey, jeans, beanie, scarf, and warm socks with sturdy shoes. These items are either rescued from bins, or donated by residents, NGOs or FBOs, and are all that's required for participation in this lower-tier informal activity – besides a change of clothes and bedding, it is all that research participants own and try to conserve. In this respect, it could be compared to an activity such as car-guarding, with minimal barriers to entering this work besides informal hierarchies (discussed in the next section). Regarding other barriers to participation as a

skarreler, a subsidiary question raised in Chapter 2 asks whether exposure to elements inhibits research participants' ability to work consistently, as Benson and Vanqa-Mgijima (2010) found in their study on waste pickers' recycling activities in Cape Town. In response to this, Troubles claims that he's "never missed a single day in the last ten years... nothing stops us...rain, thunder, wind, we don't mind...if we don't go out then we don't make any money" (Personal Interview, 2nd August 2015). Whether this account is completely true one can't be sure, but fieldwork experience supports this claim to consistency. Regular and predictable interactions reinforce networks of familiarity between research participants and residents. Alongside performances of friendliness and service (taking residents' bins out for them, or reminding them in time) these interactions are key to generating reciprocated support. The following section furthers this discussion on survival strategies undertaken by research participants as they negotiate multiple intersecting exclusions.

5.4 Survival Strategies

5.4.1 Informal Hierarchies

In the absence of formal labour market stratification measures, largely based on proving ones merit backed by degrees, participation in finely structured informal hierarchies is mandatory on the street. Theodore et al (2015) comment on the difficulties surrounding a lack of distinctions among informal activities, making it difficult to separate oneself from 'the pack'. As such, workers in these activities must create their own structures of differentiation, backed by authority and physical force if need be, rather than by degrees. The core group of research participants hold a high position in their local hierarchy, making this authority obvious when a younger skarreler approaches Troubles to ask for his permission before scratching through a bin. This 'asking for permission' further demonstrates the role of tacit knowledge on the street, with experience translating into learned behaviours and know-how regarding 'appropriate' actions on the street. This authority is amplified when Troubles 'educates' the younger skarreler on how to scratch through the bins 'properly', instructing him to ensure that he leaves the bins tidy when he's finished scratching. Troubles justifies this 'authority' through his superior knowledge of 'the industry' due to having spent more years in it than any other skarreler he knows (Personal Interview, 30th July 2015). He claims to have taught many others how to do things correctly, perhaps under similar scenarios where he's able to flex his authority (ibid.). Although I never observe any aggressive or violent interactions between skarrelers, Troubles does mention having to occasionally threaten or physically assault others in order to assert his authority over them (ibid.). In the struggle for limited resources, implementing and enforcing this finely structured informal hierarchy is one method employed by research participants to ensure their preferential access to certain bins. The presence of a hierarchy within the core group is also noteworthy, as items given over to the group by the local bottle store owner (Demetri) are claimed by Troubles for his own profit. After Demetri hears of these events, he decides to withdraw future support, while another core member begs him not to raise it with Troubles. Thus, support measures must understand and contend with these highly embedded and oppositional informal hierarchies if they are to be successful. Further, formalisation prescriptions are incongruent with these organic systems and structures so necessary to research participants' livelihoods.

5.4.2 Alternatives

Although daily incomes can be variable – ranging from zero to R300 (with bad days outnumbering good) – the core group estimate their average daily income to be roughly R50 each (Personal Interview, 6th August 2015). Regarding formal employment opportunities, research participants are unwilling to accept the state's offer of 'straatwerk' – sweeping streets – R50 a day, to work from 7am-1pm. In this job, the possibilities for 'good days' are completely forsaken, moreover it requires working longer hours each day. This is also what 'inclusion' in the City's waste management strategy means for research participants. None of the research participants are able to provide financial support to anyone but themselves. Instead, extensions of the bloodline are relied on for their occasional support.

For example, regarding his nine children, Troubles tells me that, “they sometimes come to me to ask for money or something like that, but I end up walking away with something from them instead” (Personal Interview, 12th August 2015). Apart from these interactions he has no real relationship with any of his children. Many research participants speak of the need for alternative employment opportunities if they are to have any chance of transcending their current socio-economic conditions or provide support to family members; and while some seek out other forms of work in order to supplement the low incomes earned from skarreling, others are either discouraged or content with current daily rhythms. Day labourer work is one possible avenue for the more able bodied members of the group, as is gardening and sweeping. Every Thursday Phillip does a gardening stint at a property in Rondebosch (Personal Interview, 4th August 2015). On Friday’s he’s given a bag of meat offcuts by a butcher in Observatory, which he then sells in the township. Although such ‘odd jobs’ contribute to sustaining some research participants, money earned from these activities is insufficient to transform circumstances of poverty. The following section looks at experienced and perceived notions of inclusion, from both the City’s and research participants’ perspectives.

5.5 Participation and Inclusion

5.5.1 Formalisation: Crises of Regulation and Regularity

Due to Cape Town’s high unemployment rate, it has been suggested that the City should focus on supporting people to create their own jobs (Viljoen et al, 2015). Instead, marginalized groups, who lack both formal employment as well as the potential to become formally employed, are forced to contend with various state measures that aim to completely thwart their participation in the economy. It is proposed by the state that informal activities need to be formalised so that they can be better controlled, thus making them legal enterprises. Yet, as argued in Chapters 1 and 2, informal actors operate under distinctly different ‘rules’, resisting being tied down by fixed capital, or by rigid structures. Improvisation and flexibility are key aspects of informality (Hernandez et al, 2009). Roy (2005) suggests that formal interventions in informal activities can lead to crises of regulation and of regularity, with research participants resisting being tied down by anything, living and working by their own rules, relishing their autonomy and their ‘down-time’. The state’s formalisation prescriptions threaten to disrupt this freedom from obligation enjoyed by research participants. I now turn attention to one of the two main research questions raised at the outset of this dissertation, concerning research participants’ desires to be formally included in the City’s waste management strategies.

5.5.2 So, what are Skarrelers’ Desires for Inclusion?

Research participants insist that they do not wish to be formally included as a division of the City’s waste management team. In support of this position, the group is adamant that current work structures and methods are ‘working just fine’ for them, having established these systems for themselves over a long period of time, and with effort. Thus, it is understood that state interventions will change the shape of this work, fuelling resistance towards involvement and collaboration (Personal Interview, 8th August 2015). Apart from not wanting to wear uniforms, or relinquish informal hierarchies for formal ones – transforming from big fish to small fish in the process – research participants take pride in their autonomy. When asked if they would prefer to be employed by the City and paid a salary, Rommel responded that “it already works like that – the residents pay us for working here” (ibid.). This ‘payment’ is in the form of occasional monetary donations, food, wine, and even the items found in the bins. For example, research participants claim that residents will sometimes alert them to valuable wastes in their bin, such as a cellphone or other precious items (ibid.). Adding to this, Caster says that getting paid a monthly or even fortnightly salary is less practical for research participants’ lifestyle needs, making them soft targets for thieves (ibid.). Further, alcohol addictions may impact this inclination. Layered in with this resistance from research participants to be formally included and to participate with the City, is the City’s constitutional obligation to deliver basic services to all. This is delivered through a patchwork of homeless shelters partially funded by the City’s Department of Social Development. It is to this state support of research participants’ livelihood strategies that the following section turns in answering a subsidiary

question put forward in Chapter 2 which asks: how does the City support research participants in generating their own livelihoods?

5.5.3 Experiences and Perceptions of Support

“Nothing – they don’t give us any help!” is the answer one gets when enquiring about any support measures provided to research participants by the City (Personal Interview, 6th August 2015). While state support for skarrelers’ economic activities is generally ignored, a Sustainable Livelihoods Perspective includes support of survival strategies under this umbrella (Morse and McNamara, 2009). Closer inspection reveals a thinly woven support system of homeless night shelters in this Southern Suburbs area. These institutions provide critical support to research participants in terms of basic needs and services, where skarrelers and other homeless individuals can receive food, showers, and beds when needed. For example, the Loaves and Fishes Homeless Shelter in Mowbray provides three free meals each week, and The Haven in Woodstock provides one meal and a free shower (Personal Interviews, 28th August 2015). The City’s overarching objective is to significantly reduce and manage the number of people living and/or working on the street through a holistic, developmental, integrated and realistic approach. This includes the Street People Programme which aims to establish and support Local Networks of Care (LNOC) comprising relevant stakeholders such as NGOs, FBOs and CBOs in each area. My research thus asks the subsidiary research question: What services do non-profit organisations in the Southern Suburbs provide research participants’ with, and are these services optimally utilized?

5.5.4 Local Networks of Care (LNOC)

These institutional support measures are notoriously under-funded by the City, making them unable to provide more nuanced or advanced services, and contributing towards perceptions of ‘institutionalising homelessness’ without targeting its root causes or providing meaningful solutions (Miller, 2011). While shelters offer important last-ditch attempts at sustaining research participants, they are unable to carry this impact further. A similar situation can be seen amongst Faith Based Organisations, where funding is limited and services must be kept thin. Insufficient funding also has implications for the quality of staff in homeless shelters, leading to a problem identified by Miller (2011) where staff lack the knowledge, expertise and social networks to adequately facilitate the upward social mobility of homeless individuals. These identified homeless shelters have a zero tolerance policy on alcohol and drug use, requiring intoxicated individuals to either sober up in ‘lounges’ before receiving support services, or simply refusing access at the front door. Such a paternalistic approach requires homeless individuals to cure themselves of their alcohol dependencies before they may access homeless services. This has much to do with the lack of capacity in shelters for properly managing inhabitants who can be violent or have mental illnesses and be difficult to contain, particularly under the influence of drugs (Personal Interview, 28th September 2015). For this and other reasons, such as meals being “like prison food”, these homeless services are generally avoided by research participants (ibid.). Furthermore, most service users are male, with women often avoiding these more obvious spaces of homelessness for safety reasons. This is confirmed during an interview with The Haven night shelter in Woodstock, where roughly 60 percent of inhabitants are male (Personal Interview, 28th September 2015). It has been suggested that ‘wet’ shelters – where drinking alcohol is not restricted – may improve homeless women’s abilities to access homeless services safely, without being separated from their ‘drinking school’ where men often provide physical protection. This is elaborated on in Chapter 6 regarding recommendations for future research.

5.5.5 Health

Insofar as access to formal healthcare goes, the core group of research participants report receiving free T.B and HIV testing last year via mobile clinics (Personal Interview, 8th August 2015), and while most tested negative for these diseases, Rommel was diagnosed with T.B (ibid.). ‘Testing is free at Groote Schuur hospital as well as easy to arrange, but he doesn’t go. Moyo, Patel and Ross (2015) suggest that homeless individuals often choose not to access available

healthcare and other support services due to their unequal treatment by staff members who perceive them as dirty. They argue that this extends from homeless bodies being stereotyped as unworthy and undeserving (ibid.). Although Rommel insists that the staff at Groote Schuur treat him very well, discrimination and his lack of congruence in these spaces is something keenly felt. Clean, sanitised spaces and 'others' dressed smartly, make research participants all too aware of their lack of fit, and the way that they are looked down upon. Troubles hasn't been to a hospital since he started skarreling 35-years ago, and although he's no walking advertisement for good health, he says, "I'm never sick – nothing's ever wrong with me!" and in testament to this, he survives (ibid.). This may provide some opposition to waste policies that aim to eradicate manual 'picking' through waste on the grounds that this activity is unhealthy for re-claimers (see Chapter 2; IWMP, 2011); as well as to arguments that pin hospitalization as a major state expense for homeless individuals.

5.5.6 Pointers for Intervening

Common among research participants is the importance given over to maintaining some kind of belief system (religious or otherwise) or hope for a better future – just to keep going. Cloke and May (2013) argue that this high rate of religiosity among homeless individuals may make FBOs ideally situated to expand on their current homeless service provision, or to team up with institutional role players who can benefit from established networks of rapport and trust between homeless individuals and these organisations. Further, they argue that enforced religious codes can deter homeless individuals from seeking out these support services, suggesting that combinations of faith-based and other institutional or non-institutional players may facilitate a more secular support system, where support is devoid of religious elements and driven only by the ethic of care and justice that has become synonymous with FBOs. Troubles agrees with this position, insisting that as a Muslim, he doesn't enjoy having to say the 'Our Father' and other prayers as a precondition to the support received causing him often to ignore these services. After decades of living on the street, it is difficult enough envisioning an alternative (inclusion) system of work and organisation, let alone believing in it. Illustrating this coming to terms with, and acceptance of their marginality, both Troubles and Wilma are resigned to the conclusion that this is their lot, and they must "make the most of it" (Personal Interview, 12th August 2015). This answers a subsidiary question raised in Chapter 2 which asked: do skarrelers in the Southern Suburbs of Cape Town strive to enhance their positions? Observations suggest that 'making the most of it' refers more to 'getting by, while having fun doing it' and embracing their exclusion and homelessness, rather than trying to change it. Everything is done 'in the moment', without consideration for the future. This is reflected in the pregnant woman who drinks excessively, or the group at large who spend most of their earnings on alcohol, so that they can sit in the park and 'feel alive'. Their 'reckless' behaviour is a product of having very little that feels worth preserving, or being cautious enough to want to protect. This is epitomized by the cavalier tone in which drug use is often discussed by research participants, both amongst themselves and with me.

Another subsidiary question raised in Chapter 2 asks: to what extent are research participants' voices accommodated in local planning and waste management strategies? While research participants report having been invited to numerous 'community meetings' over the years – where the major concerns are always with strategies of safety rather than support – an invitation by the City to attend a public participation meeting has never been sent out. Consistent with the notion of self exclusion from formal strategies for inclusion, participants agree that they would probably not attend a meeting if an invitation did come their way. While this may be a reflection of the precedent set by community meetings, or even the lack of inclusion in the City's waste management policies thus far, there may be other reasons too for this unwillingness to collaborate with the City. Typical public participation settings and processes do not make room for marginal voices and become spaces of opposition rather than engagement. With conventional public participation processes often criticized for attracting the 'usual suspects', Christiansen (2015) suggests a focus on generating diverse inclusion by paying more attention to the aesthetics of public engagement – for example, creative use of 'block parties' as a public engagement technique. The main findings suggest that engagement should be attuned to human senses, aim to create experiences that have a positive and stimulating atmosphere, be less formal,

and be employed at a point in the planning process when discourse is broad rather than polarized (ibid.). Informal activities enable interaction in a less contentious and confrontational setting, bringing personal conversations, laughter and other expressions into the repertoire of interactions in place of formal negotiation (ibid.). Furthermore, having informal engagement precede formal participation processes may build capacity for a community to puzzle through a planning problem and to develop trust among those involved, as well as granting communities the potential to shape not just planning outcomes, but also to direct planning agendas through redefining problems themselves (ibid.).

5.5.7 Organising

The South African Waste Pickers Association (SAWPA) approached skarrelers two years ago to try to organise the industry. Essentially, processes lacked genuine engagement with skarrelers, in the coproduction of strategies for intervention (policy or material), leading to the imposition of external and ‘foreign’ structures onto highly situated and localised practices. This highlights a critique that Watson (2009) levels at participation processes in the global South, with their impositionary nature (see Chapter 2). The result is that individuals with little or no income are not involved in the shaping of their cities (Gorgens and van Donk, 2011), which means that working class households in the area are often not able to exercise their rights to, and transform, their city (Lefebvre, 2003; Harvey, 2008). SAWPA’s attempts at inclusion will be returned to in Chapter 6 when discussing strategies of support and organisation. Before turning attention to the final Chapter of this dissertation – which concerns recommendations and conclusions of my study – the following section suggests a conceptual cost-benefit analysis for research participants in this situated context.

5.5.8 Impact and Return – Teaching Urban Flexibility

Regarding waste pickers, two arguments made for worthiness of state support are environmental and economic impacts (see Chapter 2). This gives rise to a subsidiary question in Chapter 2 which asks: do research participants contribute towards a reduction of the municipality’s costs? And if so, how? In answering this question, I look at research participants’ socio-economic and environmental impacts, weighing up contributions to the system with extractions from it. Because research participants collect re-usables rather than recyclables, it is difficult to make an economic argument based on the reduction of waste to landfill, as can be made for informal recyclers (see Chapter 2). While trifling amounts of waste are diverted – with minor quantities of more valuable material being removed from bins, compared with the larger amounts of recyclables that waste pickers remove – skarreling activities (re-using) are situated higher up the waste management hierarchy than waste picker activities (recycling) (see Chapter 2). The first three steps in the waste management hierarchy, in order of priority, are: reduce, re-use, and recycle (see Chapter 3, NWMS, 2009). Thus, by encouraging the re-use of products, more positive contributions are made in terms of correct waste management practices (see Chapter 2, figure 2.2; NWMS, 2009; CT IWMP, 2006). This requires no energy to be added to products, as compared with recyclables which enter new production chains as inputs that require processing. The environmental contribution of this improved waste management is therefore manifest in a reduced need to produce and consume new products which are resource hungry in terms of energy and materials. Looking at the socio-economic contributions of these activities, research participants make a dual impact. Firstly, they manage to sustain themselves on other peoples’ waste, and secondly, cheaper second-hand goods are reintegrated into the economy, providing affordable products to low-income consumers. Research participants thus provide vital contributions to the more marginalized population groups who reside and work in Cape Town’s Southern Suburbs, but who are often excluded from official structures and census data. Indeed, this contribution can be measured in numerical economic terms as well. For example, while most items are sold to second-hand shops for roughly R20, from here all items are sold for at least R50 – 150% mark-up. This correlates well with Hayami, Dikshit and Mishra (2006) who found that informal recyclers are adding more value than their own incomes to the recycling industry and towards economic growth (see Chapter 2). Similarly, skarrelers’ activities contribute more to the incomes of shop owners, and simultaneously, to low-income consumers’ reduced expenditures, than they do to their own pockets.

There are other contributions too, difficult to measure in economic terms, but which could be framed in terms of their social impact. For instance, residents who are late in putting out their bins are reminded by research participants to do so before the municipal collection truck comes around, benefitting residents and skarrelers alike. Bins are stacked neatly on the curb, aiding efficiency of the Municipal collection team. A broader social contribution includes the increased mixing of social classes that homelessness excites in these areas. Boundaries of historical 'race' and class segregation – which are generally reinforced by contemporary property ownership and rights – are blurred by research participants' movements and consumption of urban space. 'Colour', character, and a greater sense of representativeness is added to the composition of a middle-class area, offering opportunities for integration and socialisation with marginalised 'others'. These potentials for integration and mixing should be celebrated and reinforced in contemporary South African cities.

In terms of research participants' extractions from 'the system', skarrelers survive on very little. After considering expenditure and resources required to sustain homeless populations – hospitalization, homeless shelters and multiple periods of incarceration (common to all research participants) – other strains are minor. For example, all movement is done on foot; spaces consumed are by definition, of a lower quality and less expansive; and the resources required to sustain research participants are largely devoid of desires for excess. Essentially, research participants only 'take' what they need from the system – without need for anything more, nor can they manage to preserve anything but the bare necessities. With this crude cost-benefit analysis in mind, it seems clear that the carbon footprints of research participants are dwarfed in comparison to yours and mine. If time spent in jails could be prevented, and basic healthcare better delivered, research participants would probably have a net positive carbon footprint – contributing more than they extract. Perhaps herein lies the greatest lesson we can learn from research participants' lifestyles – how to get by on less, slackening the reigns of consumption over our lives, and how to be more flexible and adaptable to shifting economic, social, political and environmental terrain. In the urban planning profession this might be called 'flexibility'.

5.6 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter has been to analyse my research findings in accordance with the main and subsidiary research questions established in Chapter 2, using methods of analysis proposed in Chapter 3. Table 5.1 provides a summary of research findings presented in this chapter. The first section deals with politics of identity for research participants, analysing various fluidities and dynamisms of both self-assigned and imposed identities, with the latter frequently being rejected. For research participants, maintaining a positive self-concept is a daily task that requires reaffirming distinctions between themselves (the 'in-group') and other homeless individuals (the 'out-group'), denigrating 'others' for negative behaviours such as heavy drug use (Tajfel, 1982; Moyo, Patel and Ross, 2015) or messiness. Additional physical markers of distinction, such as femininity or disability, also serve to identify membership or non-membership on the streets, with these personal identity traits being easily and frequently exploited. This illustrates the way in which individual and structural factors interact with one another on the street to further marginalize research participants. Individual factors might include alcohol/drug dependencies, disability/mental illness, sex, autonomy, and even laziness. These markers interact with structural factors that include poverty, unemployment, and a lack of affordable housing, to generate various clusters of exclusion for research participants. In Wilma, her femininity and disability compound her lack of safety on the street, as well as her ability to find alternative work, trapping her in poverty, unemployment and homelessness.

For homeless individuals, safeguarding a blanket or maintaining personal safety becomes a matter of survival. As a result, research participants are consumed by ongoing struggles to meet basic needs, making more complex concerns unthinkable. Research participants' work and 'private' lives are conducted almost entirely in the 'public eye', making daily surveillance easy for security companies and 'the wider public'. While discrimination has many

material manifestations for research participants, it is also experienced regularly in a range of interactions with security teams, caregivers, and the public at large, with strategies of avoidance including hanging out in marginal spaces where visibility is reduced. Research participants employ a range of capitals that contribute towards survival on the street but present various capital deficiencies that prevent them from achieving long-term improvements. Only one research participant has completed matric, making tacit knowledge an important resource. However, this knowledge is constrained in a given network or set of social relations and not easily transferrable (see Chapter 2). Social capital resources are lacking in terms of their 'productive' potential and socio-spatial capital is limited to familiarity and acts of service for residents, which has its own limits in terms of 'donor fatigue'. Without a safe place to store possessions, items cannot be held onto and valorised, with various capital deficiencies preventing skarrelers from entering upper-tier informal activities or formal labour markets.

Regarding research participants' desire (or lack thereof) to be 'included' in the City's formal waste management strategies, a range of objections are put forward. Firstly, over time, research participants have managed to establish informal systems and structures on the street, and are unwilling to relinquish these in favour of formal organisation. Besides not wanting to wear uniforms, or work for someone else starting at a specific hour (determined by someone other than themselves), research participants believe that their systems are working fine, with 'payments' for services coming out of residents' own pockets. Why replace 'their' working system with 'the City's' system which 'might' work better? This sentiment may be fuelled by decades of exclusion and non-participation with the city's skarrelers and homeless populations. The precedent set by previous community meetings, is that strategies of neighbourhood safety are higher on the agenda than strategies of social support. From the state's perspective, 'including' skarrelers confers a responsibility for their wellbeing – something the state has been unwilling to accept. Following its constitutional obligation to deliver basic services to all citizens, including the right to safe accommodation, delivery is piecemeal via homeless shelters. Underfunded, these NGOs provide critical services to homeless individuals, as do a range of FBOs called on occasionally by research participants. Homeless services offered at night shelters are generally not accessed by research participants because drunkenness is not tolerated and the food commonly lacks delight. With religious belief systems being prevalent among homeless individuals, scholars have suggested that FBOs may be ideally situated to further homeless services (Clove and May, 2008), although one needs to bear in mind that the homeless are not homogenous in their belief systems.

While research participants seemingly resist 'inclusion' in the City's formal waste management strategies, this could be because of differing interpretations of 'inclusion' between research participants and the City. The City has offered street sweeping jobs which have been rejected due to the reduced pay (R50 for 6 hours of work) and the longer hours of work required. Measures of improved support, such as vehicles to move items around, safe places where possessions can be stored, or better provision of public sanitation services, if taken up by the City, could have positive impacts in terms of fostering feelings of inclusion in urban systems. Further, these support measures and others could improve livelihoods for research participants through a focus on the delivery of outcomes rather than on procedural elements alone (Fainstein, 2005). The impact and relative successes of LNOG on research participants' lives may give us direction for future interventions, particularly regarding the approaches to care that these organisations often take, based on relationships and responsibilities. Solutions towards lessening the political exclusion of research participants will need to accommodate their peculiar and dynamic needs in a flexible manner, such that users can call on services if and when they need them. I turn now to the final chapter of this dissertation in which policy and material recommendations – aimed at addressing some of the findings derived from this research – are proposed.

Table 5.1 Summary of research findings

Subsidiary research questions	• Research findings
1. How do research participants choose to identify themselves, and how are they identified by others? Connected to this, are there any physical markers, such as gender, that serve to further marginalise some members within the group?	• Rejected ‘waste picker’ identity Versus accepted ‘skarreler’ identity. This self-assigned identity has implications for research participants’ maintenance of a positive self-concept, as does their autonomy. • Homeless women adopt a range of gendered performances to ensure their safety and survival on the street.
2. What are research participants’ living conditions and power relations with the municipality and police; and, what is the impact of these conditions and power relations on skarrelers’ livelihoods and on their desires for inclusion in the City’s waste management strategy?	• Homelessness transforms menial daily tasks into issues of survival, such as safeguarding a blanket or maintaining personal safety. As a result, research participants are consumed by daily struggles to meet basic needs, making more complex concerns unthinkable. • With ‘private’ and work lives being conducted in the ‘public eye’, research participants are soft targets to surveillance and discrimination by security companies (although not all security employees treated them harshly).
3. Does exposure to the elements inhibit research participants’ abilities to work consistently?	• “Nothing stops us...rain, thunder, wind, we don’t mind...if we don’t go out then we don’t make any money” (Personal Interview, 2nd August 2015).
4. Do capital deficiencies prevent research participants from improving their socio-economic conditions; and do these, and other, deficiencies have any bearing on perceptions of exploitation?	• Research participants have zero economic capital with which to leverage any improvements to their work or their lives. • Social capital is survivalist in nature, and not ‘productive’ enough to facilitate upward social mobility. • Without a safe place where research participants can store collected items, everything must be sold daily, making it difficult to add value to products. • Without these capitals, research participants are aware that their bargaining power is limited, making for easy exploitation.

5. A subsidiary research question thus explores whether age and in-migration dynamics impact on perceptions of limited opportunities for research participants in this situated context?	The majority of research participants (13/14) are over the age of 40 and (9/14) come from Provinces other than the Western Cape. Although these dynamics did have an impact on research participants' perceptions of limited opportunities, other more structural concerns – along with not having ID books, economic capital, or tertiary educations – are perceived as being much larger restrictors of alternative job opportunities.
6. A subsidiary research question in my study thus asks what the relationship is between human capital resource constraints and incomes attained?	- Only 1 research participant has a matric, and although a range of vocational skills have been learnt through on-the-job experience, both in prison and 'on the outside', these skills are not transferrable and they lack formal certifications. - A lack of opportunities available to research participants is interpreted as being equivalent to limited jobs, rather than a combination of this and of poor educational attainments.
7. How does the City of Cape Town support skarrelers in generating their own livelihood strategies?	Although research participants are adamant that the City does "nothing" for them, closer inspection reveals a thinly woven support system of homeless night shelters in this Southern Suburbs area, which are partly funded by the City's Department of Social Development. These shelters provide critical basic services to skarrelers.
8. What services do non-profit organisations in the Southern Suburbs provide research participants' with, and are these services optimally utilized?	Homeless services are provided by Local Networks of Care: NGOs, FBOs, and CBOs. These networks are called on occasionally by research participants, when a meal or shower becomes urgent. However, alcohol intoxication is prohibited at homeless shelters, and the food isn't great, causing research participants to avoid these services. Similarly FBOs are sometimes avoided for their religious provisos, such as praying, assuming homogeneity of religious belief systems.
9. How are skarrelers' voices accommodated in local planning and waste management strategies? What is needed and what is missing?	Research participants report having never once been invited by the City to attend a public participation meeting, while experience of community participation meetings is that strategies of safety are the priority rather than support.

10. What organisational structures exist amongst research participants in a situated context, and are they members of the SAWPA?	• None of the skarrelers interviewed are registered with the SAWPA. • The SAWPA intervention 2 years ago lasted no more than two days before collapsing – many of the skarrelers were not happy with earnings being shared equally, without any acknowledgement of who worked longer, or harder, or who collected the most valuable re-usable or recyclable items. • Interventions to assist informal activities thus often lack a clear understanding of the sheer complexity and ephemerality of informal systems.
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6.1 Introduction

This research began in earnest four months ago with the idea that ‘participatory planning’ is always desirable, and that it is the most appropriate response to redress exclusionary planning systems and unequal power relations. This idea stemmed from my own ontological value systems, which are, in-themselves, products of a post-94 formal education where values of integration, inclusion and citizen involvement in planning processes and outcomes have become synonymous with democracy and post-apartheid restructuring. I thus anticipated that research with a highly impoverished and disenfranchised group would, no doubt, call attention to long lists of material deprivations that, in turn, would necessitate purposeful and material planning responses via the involvement of skarrelers in the City’s waste management processes. As such, the two main research questions asked:

What are research participants’ desires for inclusion in the City of Cape Town’s waste management strategies? And, by extension, how can skarrelers be included in future waste management processes and interventions by the City of Cape Town, and in public processes more generally?

Unexpected research findings suggest that in some instances (albeit in unconventional ones), planners might need to rethink the idea that ‘participatory planning’ is always a ‘good thing’, and that it is always needed to redress exclusionary planning systems and unequal power relations. Such findings have forced me to learn from ‘the field’, and to forgo taken-for-granted notions and pre-conceived ways of interpreting, as answers to the main research question indicate that research participants do not wish (at least for now) to be included in the City’s formal waste management strategies or processes.

This research, has therefore challenged me to see planning values, actions, and desires from new angles. It also confronted my own epistemological and ontological positions. Findings alerted me to the critical importance of ‘the engagement process’ itself (including how to facilitate an ethical research project with a marginalized group) in order to navigate a path that could lead to recommendations around material outcomes, and in order to remedy (however humbly) the myriad deficiencies uncovered. But before material interventions can begin to ‘plug’ some of the holes identified via this study, it is necessary to grapple with the extreme diversity of residents who inhabit and produce a situated context. It is also necessary for planners to understand the wide variety of values and needs that this diversity generates, in order to more fully grasp the nature of ‘the holes’ that need to be ‘plugged’ through more relevant and appropriate planning interventions. This suggests that, as Yiftachel (2009) and Fainstein (2005) argue, discursive planning processes matter as much as the material interventions resulting from these processes. And while materialities are long-lasting, it is the method through which problems are defined and resolutions devised that makes these enduring impacts more relevant and appropriate to planning.

Rather than conforming to a learned narrative of the universal applicability of public participation, my research findings demonstrate that the very idea of ‘public participation’ needs to be reassessed and problematized for specific contexts, actions, and actors (see Chapters 4 and 5). Following critiques of the rational comprehensive model of planning in the early 1960s, planning (in most English-speaking democracies) has uncritically adopted the idea of ‘public participation’ as a universally good and appropriate approach. While there are undisputed advantages to collaborative and inclusionary planning approaches (as discussed in Chapter 2), this study yields interesting and unanticipated research findings for planning *with* informality in the global South. Such research findings then necessitate more nuanced understandings of discursive planning actions in situated contexts (see Chapter 6). This was a mind-set change that proved to be a revolutionary departure from my initial concerns for more inclusionary planning processes.

This research engaged with only a tiny proportion of Cape Towns' (or even the Southern Suburbs') residents, and yet even they demonstrate a diversity of values and needs. Each individual narrative was fraught with its own set of intersecting complexities and desires, often contradicting those I once considered to be 'the norm', thereby forcing me to include alternative perspectives in considering what planning *with* informality might look like for my research participants. It is difficult to imagine that one's own normative values – which feel innate – do not align with the values of other individuals or groups. As such, it is both tricky and uncomfortable as a planner 'captive to an inclusionary view of society' (Sibley, 1998), where vocabularies of 'integration' and 'collaboration' are seen to articulate my own schema for social justice, to acknowledge and realise that there might be pockets of people in the city who survive because they are adept at ways of hiding from the public eye, and whose very survival depends on this invisibility. Grappling with the extreme heterogeneity of society in the global South while simultaneously hoping to plan with informality, requires recognition of diverse needs and values, including a need *not* to be involved in formal planning processes and outcomes. Coming to terms with this disjuncture of values and needs challenges one's base beliefs regarding notions of inclusivity and community.

I still believe that there is value in public participation in the quest for more 'just cities' (LeFebvre, 2003; Fainstein, 2005). However, 'participation' might need to 'look' different from what was previously imagined. If we are to develop our cities in ways that truly accommodate all inhabitants, public participation processes and outcomes ought to be far more inductive and flexible, matching the flexibility of informal activities and the variety of demands that informality places on public space. This includes knowing when to 'back off' as planners for the purpose of respecting individual autonomy and anonymity as well as acquiring a deeper understanding of the organic and ephemeral structures of informal activities. Thus, the major finding from my own epistemological and ontological turbulence, is that planning *with* informality is not something that fits neatly into our current models of public participation. Instead, it requires a response far more nuanced and sensitive to difference – and to different answers – as well as being genuinely willing to learn from and utilize, this utterly intriguing diversity of interests, needs, and contributions. To this end, I present a few recommendations in the following sections that are suggestive of how planners might begin to embrace a more inductive, flexible and nuanced approach to planning *with* informality in Southern contexts. Embracing an 'ethic of care and justice' might then become a useful starting point, particularly if different contexts necessitate unique responses.

6.2 An Ethic of Care and Justice

6.2.1 Embracing Diversity

Returning to Halse and Honey's (2005) mandate for engaging marginal groups in line with a morality based on the interdependence of a care ethic and justice, I am reminded of the importance of method and process, and of the subtleties required when undertaking ethnographic research. Expanding on this, Roulsten et al (2003) argue that 'how' one asks questions in an interview is more important than 'what' questions are actually asked. Thus, emphasis is placed on the method of engagement, and the diversity and flexibility that these processes must adopt if they are to truly engage with the range of people and flexibility of activities and needs that characterise informality. Instilling these qualities in public participation processes requires first recognising difference, and then being curious enough to explore these differences in possibly unconventional directions, and without judgemental overtones. A few excerpts from Richard Lamoureux's (2015) poem on homelessness, on the following page, encapsulates this will to move forward through being genuinely inquisitive and learning from difference, as well as through privileging tacit knowledges over codified (scientific) ones towards more inclusive processes and outcomes.

Excerpts from: 'Broken People'

I wish to be with the broken people
the get in your face challenge me people
the sometimes hidden
sitting in a dark corner kinda people.

Seeing and listening is where I'll begin
beyond appearance of fat or thin
I only know what I know
I've never been where they've been.

Through life's struggles we've all fought
lessons needed learning
experienced not taught
real is real it couldn't be bought.

I love characters
people who are unique
I look under exteriors to gain a peek
strength of lions disguised in meek
unconcerned with fab or being chic
worth listening to if allowed to speak
the stories they tell will make your eyes leak.

(Lamoureux, 2015)

These verses call attention to the multiple ways of knowing and seeing, and highlights that, for planners and researchers, 'going in' with *open* eyes and ears may reveal different answers. Particularly powerful for directing planners towards engaging with 'others' is the reminder that – "I only know what I know, I've never been where they've been" – and really brings us to the core of our epistemological and ontological disjunctures. Transforming these disjunctures into functioning networks, and planning *with* them, requires exploring alternative knowledge domains, such as the tacit and experiential, the ephemeral and informal. The following section elaborates on this confluence of diversity, and the discursive tools required to generate positive outcomes when we allow the subjects of our investigation to truly speak to us.

6.2.2 Reflecting on, and Learning from, Epistemological and Ontological Disjunctures

There is a continuum of complex and nuanced ontological dichotomies that shape the way in which planners approach public engagement towards generating more 'active citizens'. Some of these are: inclusion and exclusion; visibility and invisibility; integration and segregation; participation and non-participation; or formal and informal. Seeing 'differently' requires an openness to alternative epistemologies that may call into question our taken for granted and learned ontologies. While increased visibility or inclusion may work for some, I've learned that this is not universal. Furthermore, for those who eke out a living on the margins, flexibility in shifts between states of visibility and invisibility or inclusion and exclusion, may be just what enables survival. Regarding 'participation', although individual responses may seem to be contradictory, there is a continuum along which individuals and groups choose whether or not to become 'involved', and these responses may change according to both project strategy and focus. The real question for planners then becomes: how to plan *with* informality, when the basics are not clearly understood - such as, for instance, whether both parties wish to collaborate in the first place? How does one excavate nuanced

desires alongside debates whose ontologies inspire dichotomous ways of seeing and learning? It requires creating platforms for engagement that are genuine and supportive, and that make 'space' and time for departures from the plan. The purpose of these engagements should be to question the epistemological roots of formal processes and understandings, and to grapple with a diversity of epistemologies towards more politically inclusive and 'just cities'. This 'inclusion' is premised on situated engagement that takes into account multiple and variable constructions of identity. Unearthing highly personal accounts and dynamics which may be intentionally concealed, or ontologically obstructed from view, requires sensitive ethnographic research that is able to assimilate and produce an ethic of care and justice throughout.

6.2.3 Politics of Identity

Regarding research participants' identities, it is important that the language employed by public policies be sensitive to the potential for discourse construction surrounding these policies so as to promote positive self-concepts (see Chapters 2 and 5). Vocabularies with negative connotations, such as 'scavengers', 'garbage pickers', and perhaps even 'waste pickers', should be eliminated from current and future policy, and replaced with a more neutral or positive lexicon such as 'salvagers' or 're-claimers'. Further, this research provides us with evidence of a self-assigned identity – 'skarreling' – which may be the most respectful terminology on which to draw going forward (see Chapter 5). The following section reports on the major finding of this research, and suggests recommendations that flow from here.

6.3 Major Finding

6.3.1 Process Matters

Before proposing recommendations based on the major finding of the research, it is important to reiterate that answers to the first part of the main research question asked in Chapter 1 suggest that research participants expressed no desires for inclusion (see Chapter 5). Yet, while this response may be interpreted to nullify the second part of the main question, participants' lack of desire for inclusion needs to be interrogated further. What is to be learnt here? How can planners better assist and support skarrelers' activities, and informal activities more generally?

Moving beyond a mere 'pragmatic' approach to participation (Winkler 2011) requires accommodating research participants' diverse voices in planning strategies by getting to know them better, and by unpacking and understanding their real concerns and demands on their environments, rather than by constructing assumptions about needs. Planners need to think about things differently in the global South, because our cities experience so much more diversity - of people, and economic activities - translating into a more varied continuum of needs and demands on public space. Planning *with* this variability is a complex task. It might necessitate getting 'under the skin' of diverse needs and demands for the purpose of enabling genuine engagement, namely the kind of engagement exercised through in-depth and ethical ethnographic research. This type of engagement (and research) would need to be conducted with an ethic of care and justice, and it would need to precede public participation processes in order to open up more effective communication channels between state/municipality and citizens. Abu-Lughod (1994) reminds us that while ethnographic case studies might not be able to contribute towards the generalizability of form, they can allow for a generalizability of the research process (see Chapter 3). My research demonstrates how the methods and techniques used to engage research participants are key to understanding and discovering their concerns, wants and needs, and what their demands on urban spaces are. Further, extending Christiansen's (2015) 'block party' idea, where informal engagement takes place at an early stage in the planning process – before formal participation processes - and where the aesthetics of participation are more informal, communities have the potential to shape not just planning outcomes, but also to direct planning agendas and processes through redefining problems themselves (ibid.). In this way, informal groups can be encouraged to become 'active' role players in the waste management system in which they already operate.

While it has long been accepted that solutions cannot simply be transplanted from one setting to the next, regardless of context, the importance of contextually-specific process has been highlighted for me; for the search is not towards something universal, but rather for something unique and situated. Thus, I ask: How might we begin to think of planning *with* informality differently? While informality brings with it many complexities for planning, and which challenge normative assumptions about what is acceptable, so too do different value systems. It seems common sense to believe that our own values are the 'right' values – if we didn't believe them to be 'right', then we would surely change them – and to naturally expect others to adopt these selfsame values. But this approach belies an arrogance, prioritising the views and values of a dominant culture over other sub-cultures, and reflects power imbalances. Planning *with* informality is complex, requiring more than the acknowledgement/acceptance of different values, it requires working with this diversity and embracing it, taking measures to facilitate and reinforce it.

This involves building trust and rapport with the multiplicity of diverse groups that make and re-make our cities each day, and creating spaces and relationships where peoples' opinions and activities are worthy, no matter the act. Such sentiment is established through interactions where genuine curiosity and interest in people/communities is demonstrated, coupled with a total lack of judgement regarding personal information divulged. Early fieldwork sessions, where foundations of trust and rapport were established, created an alliance that proved invaluable to future learning processes. Perhaps it is important for researchers who embark on these 'preceding engagement and learning' (hereafter: PEAL) sessions, to allow research participants to determine for themselves, the structural parameters of an interaction. This would entail researchers stepping outside of their comfort zones rather than the other way around, engaging people in their own choice of setting, and at a time of their choosing. This has the effect of immediately re-negotiating some of the power imbalances inherent in planning *with* marginal groups.

Planning *with* informality challenges the way we think about the many forms in which public space is used, and can potentially be used, in the global South. Bold rethinking is required of planning regulations, such as Cape Town's public nuisance by-laws which seek to regulate and restrict activities of residents in line with foreign conceptions of what is considered to be the appropriate consumption and use of public spaces. This opens a conversation about a reconsideration of regulations concerning public behaviours such as drinking alcohol or having sex in a public space, or even bathing in the Black River. Instead, public policies and planning by-laws need to be tailored to social and geographical context, sensitive to the multiple – and legitimate – demands on public space, aimed at enabling and encouraging the sustainability of our many intriguing heterogeneities. Policies and planning by-laws should recognise that there are multiple 'different voices' within civil society which represent different but valid perspectives (Watson, 2009) and adapt to this diversity, taking opportunity to devise creative measures that support and reinforce the potential for multiple identities and activities to co-exist alongside, and *with*, one another. The fact that a small portion of our city's inhabitants choose to make a living through repurposing 'trashed' re-usables should be something both rewarded and supported. With multiple social, economic and environmental contributions far outweighing the personal benefit each skarreler earns for him- or herself, I believe that Viktor Muniz's 'Soldiers of climate change' is an apt one.

Including the 'voices' of the informally constituted skarrelers, as opposed to excluding them from policy at local, provincial and national levels, is to genuinely engage in a planning approach that is relational and that constitutes an ethic of care and justice. In short, process matters as much as outcomes if we hope to plan *with* informality in Southern contexts, with relationships and responsibilities clearly holding more weight than rights and rules in this domain. This kind of relational planning necessitates, above all else, an ethic of care and justice.

6.3.2 Conflicting Desires

Regarding formal inclusion, the National Legal Framework Document for Recycling (DEAT, 2000) asserts that the sustainability and effectiveness of Cape Town's recycling strategies requires that all stakeholders in the complete

recycling chain – of which skarrelers are a part – need to be ‘appropriately involved’. Added to this, the NWMS (DEAT, p.27, 2011) interprets this involvement to mean “extending and formalising jobs at the various stages of the recycling value chain, including collection, sorting, re-use and repair, [and] product recovery”. These same desires for inclusion and formalisation are not held by research participants, suggesting firstly that values do not always align and cannot be assumed to be universal, and secondly, that there may be some groups in the city with different interpretations of what is meant by inclusion or involvement. That some groups might exist, not in spite of but because of, their exclusion from the larger system, is a challenging notion. But just as our cities are changing, so too must we change the policies that regulate activities within them, making ‘space’ for groups to exist in opposition to formal systems and processes and not only in agreement with them. For at least one group of skarrelers – without romanticising their exclusion or marginal livelihoods – autonomy and anonymity is intrinsically linked to their maintenance of positive self-concepts and identities, and should thus be respected by planning processes and outcomes. PEAL processes, which are undertaken with an ethic of care and justice, have the potential to unearth these conflicting desires and flexibilities, and to facilitate them through relational planning actions. This brings us to a few other research findings and associated recommendations.

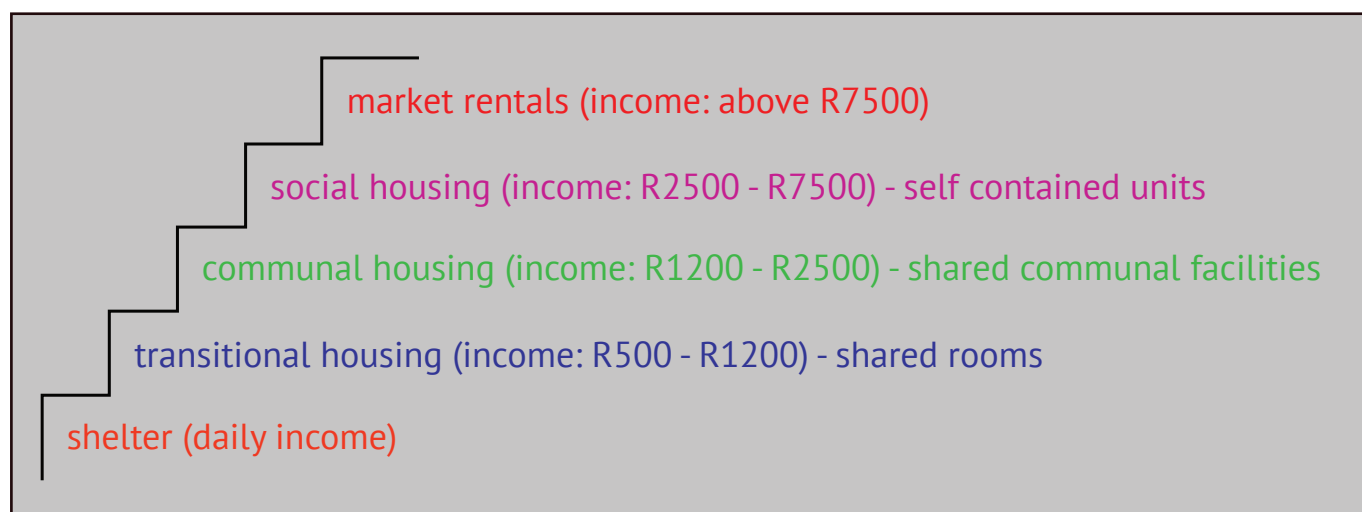
6.4 Other Findings and Recommendations: Thinking Differently, for Future Research

Over and above the importance of discursive processes, there are a range of other research findings (presented in Chapters 4 and 5) that pertain specifically to the subsidiary research questions proposed in Chapter 2. These include policy and material recommendations aimed at improving the livelihoods of research participants, and establishing a greater sense of dignity in their living and working conditions. Table 6.1 summarises these recommendations, which are discussed below. Due to time constraints, it is clear that this research has only been able to scratch the surface of what it means to plan *with* informality, and, essentially, it only involved PEAL processes (which is inclusive of concerns for an ethic of care and justice, and for relational planning actions). Participatory planning processes and outcomes would follow and build on from the PEAL phase. It stands to reason then that further recommendations are ultimately tentative proposals requiring additional research with skarrelers during the more ‘action-focused’ phases of public participation. Nevertheless, below I sketch-out a few possibilities.

6.4.1 Recommending a Variety of Housing and Tenure Options

Madulammoho Housing Association is a registered non-profit social housing institution established in 2004 to provide transitional and communal housing to Johannesburg’s inner city community. It does so, firstly, by placing value on the need for a variety of tenure options (rental accommodation), and, secondly, by placing value on well-located land to allow residents access to job opportunities. Theirs is thus an innovative housing model that accommodates different income levels and needs. Figure 6.1, on the following page, illustrates this variety and flexibility, ranging from the provision of night shelters right through to market rental accommodation. Although seemingly contradictory, the availability of these kinds of tenure flexibilities may make it possible for research participants to establish a greater sense of stability and security through more dignified living conditions, and catering to dynamic needs.

Figure 6.1 Madulammoho housing model



(Source: www.housingfinanceafrica.org, accessed 2015)

6.4.2 Exploring 'Wet' Shelters

May, Cloke and Johnsen (2007) argue that allowing alcohol consumption inside homeless shelters may improve the safety of homeless women, as well as their abilities to access homeless services provided by these institutions (see Chapter 2). The logic is that male 'drinking schools' often aid women's safety on the street, and that being able to drink inside homeless shelters would enable informal security networks to remain intact throughout the night. There are also other benefits to allowing alcohol consumption. For example, the Housing First policy introduced in the US argues that homelessness leads to myriad other issues, making one more likely to drink alcohol, or become mentally ill, and less likely to be able to hold down a job, as well as a range of other complexities. Thus, through the provision of 'wet' shelters, fewer homeless men and women avoid accessing services designed specifically for them.

6.4.3 Improving Sanitation Services

It is apparent from the lack of public taps, toilets and bathhouses in the Southern Suburbs of Cape Town (see Map 4.3) that better provision of these services is necessary to establish greater dignity for those who live and work in the public domain. Perhaps this requires making room for alternative solutions that are more appropriate to global South contexts. For example, promoting policies and interventions that facilitate bathing in the Black River (outdoor showers that pump water up from the river and then filter it before re-entry) may be sustainable on multiple fronts as well as adding dignity to current uses of public resources. Regarding toilets, ventilated pit-latrines are relatively cheap and easy to install without the need for plumbed connections, and they generate compost and fertilizer. Thus, in this way perceptions of the city's homeless are flipped on their heads, as they quite literally become producers and (greater) assets to the city.

6.4.4 Exploring Opportunities for Implementing Safety Boxes

While it feels noble and 'right' to foresee a time in the future when homelessness ceases to exist, this optimistic scenario is highly unlikely in the global South, where inequality has deep roots. It is also important to plan for the 'now'. This prompts a recommendation for inquiry into informal places of safekeeping – safety boxes, where homeless individuals can lock their items up for the day – for a small fee which could be as little as R2 for the day (if 50 people make use of this facility daily, then it becomes enough to pay a guard's wages to keep the area secure). This might improve skarrelers' abilities to valorise collected items, as well as to hang onto other vital possessions such as blankets, changes of clothes, work tools, or ID books.

6.4.5 Re-thinking the Design of the Public Realm

The design of public spaces (parks, squares and streetscapes) often intends to create 'places' of attraction for prime consumers. However, there also needs to be acknowledgement of the existence and activities of the marginal 'others', who live in geographically central areas but still on the economic and material periphery, and who also have a right to use and move through the public realm. Spaces occupied by the homeless often include patches of shelter found outside bottle stores or shops, or parks that lack the services to attract other users. Perhaps this could be anticipated in the design of public spaces and incorporated into planning principles from the outset. It would require thinking differently about the 'problem' as one of negative aesthetic impact - tarnishing the commercialized aesthetics of public space - and designing spaces to better accommodate homeless individuals' needs for shelter, water, or just a decent spot to hang out. Parks could include sites of protection from the elements and fruit trees planted to offer a healthy snack option, while pavements might offer areas of rest and respite. Rather than regarding the local homeless population as a burden – something needing constant management and regulation – local business might view them in the same light as does Natasha from one of the second-hand shops – as mutually beneficial agents of exchange. This suggests transforming perceived 'shadows' into 'street-lights'. Under such scenarios, where local business befriends and supports local homeless groups, perhaps in return for informal services (such as security and loyalty in the form of Jane Jacobs', 1964, 'eyes on the street'), homeless individuals (and informal operators) can come to be regarded as an asset base in the area – willing to trade their work and time for very little support, perhaps aiding the sustainability of small businesses in the area.

6.4.6 Recommending the Implementation of a Mobile Home Affairs 'office'

With the exception of 2 research participants, all had either lost their ID books or had them stolen, and this lack of formal identity was perceived as a major hindrance to improving the socio-economic circumstances of skarrelers. In Chapter 5 we come across Rommel not attending Groote Schuur Hospital, albeit a free service that is offered, while mobile clinics are readily accessed. Moyo, Patel and Ross (2015) argue that this relative unwillingness to access formal institutions of care may relate to perceptions of heightened discrimination in these spaces (see Chapter 5). Moreover, it may be as simple as not wanting to take the time out of their day to access these services. This finding leads to the recommendation for mobile Home Affairs operators moving through different areas and tending to skarrelers' (and other homeless residents') needs for political inclusion. Without this, research participants are unlikely to apply for new ID's which would involve traveling to Home Affairs in Barrack Street in the CBD. If nothing else, this would have the effect of improving research participants' access to much needed social grants.

6.4.7 Recommending the Establishment of Productive Social Capital and Public-Private Partnerships

One of the findings regarding the provision of services to homeless residents by LNOC concerns a lack of state funding for these non-profit organisations. This has implications for the quantity and quality of staff employed by such organisations, as well as for the type of services offered by non-profit organisations. Remediation requires allocating state funding to Local Networks of Care in order to allow them to expend energy and support on the more complex needs of a diverse population group. A mutually beneficial collaboration between state programmes aiming to learn from and support informal activities and non-profit organisations could improve the capacity to provide a wider range of higher quality services to the homeless, while enabling the state to benefit from the trust and rapport that these organisations have established over time. Winkler (2006) suggests that FBOs are particularly well-suited to this collaboration as a result of their relative social and spatial endurance compared with other non-profit organisations. This may make FBOs ideally located for launching PEAL sessions with marginalised groups whom they already assist and have built relationships with. However, research participants' concerns for sectarian requirements or indoctrinations need to be addressed, as a more secular and non-judgmental approach to an ethic of care and justice is desired.

Still, public-private partnerships (PPPs) of the kind suggested above have become relatively commonplace in contemporary neoliberal politics. Other common partnerships include City Improvement Districts, such as GSCID (Groote Schuur) or MCID (Mowbray) where residents choose to pay private companies instead of the state, for providing services such as security or urban regeneration. The following recommendation extends this precedent, with flexible support measures in mind to counter neoliberal politics. What might happen if the City mailed all residents in the area, congratulating them for their consistent support of the area's local homeless population and offered a rebate on the monthly rates bill as reward for this support as well as to encourage ongoing assistance? Creative welfare policies would cater for the flexibility of informality and carry potential for far-reaching impacts, altering perceptions and treatment of homeless people, as well as bolstering connections and relationships between them and other residents. Facilitating and reinforcing these flexible social networks has the capacity to develop community exchanges that go far beyond the rebate offered. In this recommendation, local CBOs could partner with the state to relieve the state of some of its responsibility to provide local homeless populations with welfare support. Instead, support is re-routed via individual home-owners, reinforcing current systems that seem to work, as well as generating the initial impetus for engagements of learning that are motivated by an ethic of care and justice.

6.4.8 Exploring Opportunities for Co-operatives

Local as well as international labour co-operatives have been shown to increase the visibility and legitimacy of those who work informally in the waste management system. As well as welfare support for workers, this includes the provision of protective clothing, tools and information relating to the valorisation of re-usables and recyclables. This has the effect of promoting a safe and secure working environment for those experiencing advanced marginality, and who are most vulnerable to the vagaries of fluctuating global prices, middlemen, and ignorance. However, strategies require thorough investigation, as research participants expressed strong desires for autonomy and resisted the notion, for instance, of wearing protective clothing. A previous attempt at co-operatisation by SAWPA failed with research participants already having well established informal organisational structures. This may be one of those moments when 'not-planning' is called for.

6.5 Interpreting Recommendations: Actors and Actions

Table 6.2 below maps out the various actions that each actor should be accountable for.

Table 6.2 Who does what?

Actors	Actions
CoCT	• Hire researchers to engage with marginal groups in unorthodox styles tailored specifically to context • Partner with LNOC in PEAL sessions • The political will to genuinely engage with and learn from all citizens • Increase capacity and funding distributed to non-profit organisations that engage with homeless people • Change/Remove Public Nuisance by-laws that regulate what activities are deemed acceptable in public spaces Rates rebate for homeowners – reinforce current flexible welfare and informal services wage systems.
LNOC: NGOs, FBOs and CBOs	• Partner with CoCT in PEAL sessions • Convert some homeless shelters into ‘wet’ shelters • Improve the quality of services provided by shelters • Improving staff compliment and quality (‘productive’ social capital) • Partner up of FBOs and NGOs towards achieving secular support networks linked together by an ethic of care and justice.
Local business owners	• Transform local homeless population into assets (‘street lights’) for the area rather than burdens (‘shadows’) • Engage with informal business exchanges of mutual benefit.
Residents and locals	• Continue and reinforce current flexible welfare and ‘payment’ systems • Strive to better understand how multiple factors of exclusion (structural and individual) contribute to homelessness and marginality.

6.6 The Limitations of the Research

Truly embracing the 2020 vision of the City’s IWM Plan to develop a ‘City for all its citizens’ (see Chapter 2; DEAT, 2006), would call for a roll out of public participation processes for all planning concerns, irrespective of the complexities of diversity and the cost and time taken to include all role players. However, while this is an ideal to strive towards if we are to plan *with* informality in a Southern context, there are several limitations impacting on the recommendations of this research towards achieving such an ideal.

Firstly, concerning limitations of the recommendations, effective interventions require a mind-shift away from a top-down imposition of middle class value systems, and towards a bottom-up process that requires taking time to learn about the peculiar diversity of values and needs of different and more marginal groups. This entails a more progressive state, able to recognise the value of learning and understanding the activities and needs of all its inhabitants and not only of its prime consumers. A limitation of this recommendation then, would appear to be that it requires at the outset, a major shift in political focus and will, before such individual intricacies can be learnt and incorporated into planning. Taking such a position would require relinquishing a degree of power and control over development trajectories, accepting that other more marginal values also matter, and allowing them to steer development processes in alternative and unexpected directions.

Another limitation of this research is that current and future budgets for public participation have not been explored, in order to propose the increases necessary to employ researchers to carry out PEAL sessions, over and above money already earmarked for 'public participation'. Furthermore, a limitation of recommendations includes the budget implications of acknowledging the need for highly situated and nuanced processes of engagement with diverse activities and groups. This would require allocation of much greater capital budgets and the municipality will need to find additional funds by presumably cutting spending elsewhere.

A further limitation of this research includes a time constraint which means that Local Networks of Care could not be interviewed and explored in-depth. This is an area that requires thorough investigation, particularly if recommendations for improved public private partnerships and service capacities in these networks are to be considered.

Finally, this research, unaware at the outset of the existence of powerful informal hierarchies, has seen a relative privileging of more powerful voices within the group of research participants. Those with more authority often speak on behalf of the group. Future research should be mindful of this potential for dominant voices to overshadow other more marginal identities and concerns. It seems that both formal and informal groups have a propensity to organise themselves in ways that favour certain voices over others, skewing understanding of nuanced dynamics at play.

6.7 Conclusion

If we are to plan with informality, methods and processes of engagement may be more important, and more complex, than initially imagined. This research engaged with 14 individuals who demonstrated a range of needs and desires that was highly situated, as well as unexpected. Since this was a small sample group of skarrelers, it is to be anticipated that other skarrelers might demonstrate rather different needs and demands on public space. City officials should be encouraged to employ researchers to undertake nuanced research prior to public participation processes, and to learn from communities in a more inductive manner than has traditionally been the case. Informality brings with it complexity, diversity and unpredictability that becomes difficult to plan for (see Chapter 5). The sustainability of informal activities relies on being flexible, adapting quickly to changing environments or regulations. Planning with this ephemerality is complicated, and requires really getting 'under the skin', peeling away at the layers that intentionally serve to blur our ability to see others more clearly. Indeed, it is precisely these layers that enable informal activities and workers to continue as they do – anonymous, un-regulated, and flexible to obstacles that surface.

Previous Engagement And Learning (PEAL) sessions will need to be incredibly fine-tuned and sensitive to difference, with methods of engagement tailored towards specific groups and activities. Such engagements necessitate an ethic of care and justice, in addition to relational approaches. Furthermore, challenging taken-for-granted assumptions requires that situated research be carried out with specific groups to see if assumptions hold in these contexts. Establishing appropriate recommendations for intervention requires deep thought and further investigation – more than allowed for by the four and a half months allocated to this research. What has been learned in this short time period, however, is that planning *with* informality is far more complex than simply planning for informality, introducing into the mix a whole new suite of concerns and desires which are ever-changing and difficult to predict. Planners must first seek to understand these differences and dynamics before proposing material interventions that are likely to be enduring. This takes me back to debates on the relative importance given to discursive and material processes (see Chapters 2, 3 and 5). While it seems that both may be equally important, perhaps the order in which they are pursued means that the success of the latter is logically dependent on the rigour of the former because the making of meaning is fundamentally premised on engagement with an other and not separate from it, if we are to genuinely, plan *with* informality.

A Brief Synopsis of the Dissertation

Chapter 1 identified the problem under study, as one of planning *with* informality. This involved establishing the main research questions, while situating a highly localised debate within a larger network of ontologies that inform our ways of seeing and engaging with informality.

Chapter 2, the theoretical framework, took an in-depth look at some of the theoretical debates surrounding planning with informality, as well as looking more closely at the dynamics of including informal re-claimers into formal waste management processes. The City's desire with regards to this inclusion was distilled from policy analysis.

Chapter 3 elaborated on the research methods and techniques used to gather data. Embedded in this is the importance of an ethic of care and justice for ethnographic research with advanced marginality.

Chapter 4 presented research findings in the form of a personal narrative, fleshing out some of my own experiences with skarrelers as 'a day in the life of a skarreler'.

Chapter 5 analysed research findings more thoroughly while drawing connections between situated findings and theoretical arguments put forward in Chapter 2, and made the argument for the complexity and diversity of interests that planning *with* informality must engage with.

Chapter 6 proposed discursive recommendations based on these findings, which sees an ethic of care and justice as principle informants to engaging with marginality and informality. Moreover, material recommendations for future research are put forward based on answers to subsidiary questions, a summary of which is presented in Table 6.1 below.

Table 6.1 Summary of recommendations

Subsidiary research questions	Research findings	Recommendations
1. How do research participants choose to identify themselves, and how are they identified by others? Connected to this, are there any physical markers, such as gender, that serve to further marginalise some members within the group?	• Rejected 'waste picker' identity Versus accepted 'skarreler' identity. This self-assigned identity has implications for research participants' maintenance of a positive self-concept, as does their autonomy. • Homeless women adopt a range of gendered performances to ensure their safety and survival on the street.	• Policy language should be sensitive to these multiple accepted and rejected identities to avoid negative discourse construction and unnecessary opposition.

2. What are research participants' living conditions and power relations with the municipality and police; and, what is the impact of these conditions and power relations on skarreler's livelihoods and on their desires for inclusion in the City's waste management strategy?	• Homelessness transforms menial daily tasks into issues of survival, such as safeguarding a blanket or maintaining personal safety. As a result, research participants are consumed by daily struggles to meet basic needs, making more complex concerns unthinkable. • With 'private' and work lives being conducted in the 'public eye', research participants are soft targets to surveillance and discrimination by security companies (although not all security employees treated them harshly).	• Madulammoho Housing Associationd – variety of tenure options and tiered rental model • 'wet' shelters • More toilets, taps and showers? • Re-think Public Nuisance By-laws: sex in public, urinating in public, using natural watercourses as sanitation resources.
3. Does exposure to the elements inhibit research participants' abilities to work consistently?	• "Nothing stops us...rain, thunder, wind, we don't mind...if we don't go out then we don't make any money" (Personal Interview, 2nd August 2015).	• Design public spaces to accommodate both prime and marginal users. Perhaps design could anticipate this better and be incorporated into planning principles from the outset. • For example: parks with sheltered spaces and pavements with places to rest.
4. Do capital deficiencies prevent research participants from improving their socio-economic conditions; and do these, and other, deficiencies have any bearing on perceptions of exploitation?	• Research participants have zero economic capital with which to leverage any improvements to their work or their lives. • Social capital is survivalist in nature, and not 'productive' enough to facilitate upward social mobility. • Without a safe place where research participants can store collected items, everything must be sold daily, making it difficult to add value to products. • Without these capitals, research participants are aware that their bargaining power is limited, making for easy exploitation.	• More productive social capital is needed at dispensers of homeless services – this will require increased funding for these services so that more skilled and networked personnel can be employed. • Safety boxes.

5. Do age and in-migration dynamics impact on perceptions of limited opportunities for research participants in this situated context?	• The majority of research participants (13/14) are over the age of 40 and (9/14) come from Provinces other than the Western Cape. Although these dynamics did have an impact on research participants' perceptions of limited opportunities, other more structural concerns – along with not having ID books, economic capital, or tertiary educations – are perceived as being much larger restrictors of alternative job opportunities.	• Mobile Home Affairs to engage with skarrelers and other homeless individuals towards improved ID book ownership.
6. A subsidiary research question in my study thus asks what the relationship is between human capital resource constraints and incomes attained?	• Only 1 research participant has a matric, and although a range of vocational skills have been learnt through on-the-job experience, both in prison and 'on the outside', these skills are not transferrable and they lack formal certifications. • A lack of opportunities available to research participants is interpreted as being equivalent to limited jobs, rather than a combination of this and of poor educational attainments.	• LNOC (NGOs, FBOs, and CBOs) to deliver a variety of higher quality skills development training sessions, linking up with other NGOs who specialize in this.
7. How does the City of Cape Town support skarrelers in generating their own livelihood strategies?	• Although research participants are adamant that the City does "nothing" for them, closer inspection reveals a thinly woven support system of homeless night shelters in this Southern Suburbs area, which are partly funded by the City's Department of Social Development. These shelters provide critical basic services to skarrelers.	• Increase funding to various NGOs, FBOs, and CBOs so that support services can be expanded on, meeting more complex, as well as basic, needs.

8. What services do non-profit organisations in the Southern Suburbs provide research participants' with, and are these services optimally utilized?	• Homeless services are provided by LNOC: NGOs, FBOs, and CBOs. These networks are called on occasionally by research participants, when a meal or shower becomes urgent. However, alcohol intoxication is prohibited at homeless shelters, and the food isn't great, causing research participants to avoid these services. Similarly FBOs are sometimes avoided for their religious provisos, such as praying, assuming homogeneity of religious belief systems.	• 'Wet' shelters may improve womens' safety on the street and inside these establishments, as well as attract more men to these institutions. • Public Private Partnerships between CoCT and non-profit organisations to create secular support systems, while building onto the services and rapport established by various FBOs and NGOs.
9. How are skarrelers' voices accommodated in local planning and waste management strategies? What is needed and what is missing?	• Research participants report having never once been invited by the City to attend a public participation meeting, while experience of community participation meetings is that strategies of safety are the priority rather than support.	• We need better knowledge on the extreme diversity and complexity that planning with informality introduces into the equation.
10. What organisational structures exist amongst research participants in a situated context, and are they members of the SAWPA?	• None of the research participants are registered with the SAWPA. The SAWPA intervention 2 years ago lasted no more than two days before collapsing – many of the skarrelers were not happy with earnings being shared equally, without any acknowledgement of who worked longer, or harder, or who collected the most valuable re-usable or recyclable items. • Interventions to assist informal activities thus often lack a clear understanding of the sheer complexity and ephemerality of informal systems.	• Thorough investigation through PEAL sessions before any attempt can be made to impose 'formal' organisational measures on this group of skarrelers.

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APPLICATION FORM

Please Note:

Any person planning to undertake research in the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment (EBE) at the University of Cape Town is required to complete this form **before** collecting or analysing data. The objective of submitting this application *prior* to embarking on research is to ensure that the highest ethical standards in research, conducted under the auspices of the EBE Faculty, are met. Please ensure that you have read, and understood the **EBE Ethics in Research Handbook** (available from the UCT EBE, Research Ethics website) prior to completing this application form: <http://www.ebe.uct.ac.za/usr/ebe/research/ethics.pdf>

APPLICANT'S DETAILS	
Name of principal researcher, student or external applicant	Adam van Heerden
Department	Architecture, Planning and Geomatics
Preferred email address of applicant:	adamvanheerden@gmail.com
If a Student	Your Degree: e.g., MSc, PhD, etc.,
	MSc
	Name of Supervisor (if supervised):
	Associate Professor Tanja Winkler
If this is a research contract, indicate the source of funding/sponsorship	n/a
Project Title	Valuing Waste and Wasting Value: An Analysis of 'Waste Pickers' and their Inclusion in Cape Town's Waste Management Strategies

I hereby undertake to carry out my research in such a way that:

- there is no apparent legal objection to the nature or the method of research; and
- the research will not compromise staff or students or the other responsibilities of the University;
- the stated objective will be achieved, and the findings will have a high degree of validity;
- limitations and alternative interpretations will be considered;
- the findings could be subject to peer review and publicly available; and
- I will comply with the conventions of copyright and avoid any practice that would constitute plagiarism.

SIGNED BY	Full name	Signature	Date
Principal Researcher/ Student/External applicant	Adam van Heerden		06 Jun 2015

APPLICATION APPROVED BY	Full name	Signature	Date
Supervisor (where applicable)	Ass. Prof. Tanja Winkler		09 Jun 2015
HOD (or delegated nominee) Final authority for all applicants who have answered NO to all questions in Section1; and for all Undergraduate research (Including Honours).	Click here to enter text.		Click here to enter a date.
Chair : Faculty EIR Committee For applicants other than undergraduate students who have answered YES to any of the above	G. Sithole Click here to enter text.		17/07/2015 Click here to enter a date.

