

**THE SURROUNDING COMMUNITY'S PERCEPTIONS OF THE
DEVELOPMENT OF AN INFORMAL SETTLEMENT IN THEIR
AREA – A CASE STUDY OF HOUT BAY, CAPE.**

by
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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the perceptions held by the surrounding community towards the establishment and growth of an informal settlement in Hout Bay, a suburb of Cape Town, South Africa. The settlement developed as a result of the need to resettle five communities that were 'squatting' on state and private land in Hout Bay. The land invasion of informal settlers into an existing residential area and the subsequent resettlement of these communities resulted in conflict due to the contrasting socio-spatial patterns that arose. In analysing the surrounding community's perceptions of the informal settlement, the influence of spatial proximity vis-a-vis other explanatory factors was the central focus.

Realism was adopted as the theoretical framework for investigating and integrating the various causal powers and contingent conditions operating in space. Within this broad paradigm, the frameworks of locality, structuralism and humanism were used to explore specific aspects of the conflict.

The research has shown that a number of different factors, rooted in the structures of society (both class and political), human agency and interpretation, and the nature of locality underlie the conflict that has developed. The present transformation of South African society has led to shifting political relations which have undermined the previous status quo and this has also influenced the situation in Hout Bay.

The majority of formal residents were negative about the development of the informal settlement but for different reasons, based mainly on differing socio-economic status. The formal residents' negative responses were fuelled by a perceived lack of participation in the planning process; resentment toward the reversal of the usual class bias by the state; the change in the nature of locality; and the press reports on the conflict. Human agents mobilised themselves in Hout Bay and acted to alter or

maintain the structural constraints operating. The planning process was perceived as being nothing more than crisis-management which ignored the particularities of place.

The study of the perceived socio-economic and environmental impacts of the development suggests that the most serious impacts were the decrease in security and property value and an increase in congestion. However, it was found that many of the impacts decreased or stabilised once the 'squatters' had been resettled in the site and service development. Formal residents' greatest concern was the management and future growth of the settlement. The majority of formal residents had had little contact with the informal settlers and hence many of their perceptions were based on stereotypes and misconceptions. Most formal residents indicated that the integration of the communities was possible in the long term only if their concerns were addressed and if the growth of the settlement was curtailed, thereby facilitating the upgrading of the informal community.

By considering the nature of society and space in Hout Bay recommendations can be made for the future development of such informal communities.

PREFACE

Hulme's (1984) passage captures something of the nature of change that has occurred in Hout Bay over the past five years.

They were nothing more than people, by themselves. Even paired, any pairing, they would have been nothing more than people by themselves. But all together, they have become the heart and muscles and mind of something perilous and new, something strange and growing and great.

Together, all together, they are the instruments of change.

The complex nature of society and space in South Africa, in this period of transformation, has resulted in extremely interesting socio-spatial patterns. The processes evident at present are highly dynamic, as human agents act to change the conditions and positions in which they find themselves and as fundamental social structures undergo profound change. The reconstruction of South African urban places has begun to take form and it is the nature of these processes that I wished to investigate. The theoretical frameworks of geography offer valuable tools of analysis and thus I wanted to develop a framework that could help to unravel the processes and conflict evident in residential areas where land invasion has occurred. Only by understanding the nature of society and space can planners and developers hope to achieve planning that is appropriate and which leads to sustainable development.

Early in 1991 I visited the 'squatter' site of Princess Bush on the dunes of Hout Bay beach and realised that Hout Bay offered an excellent locality for the kind of research I wanted to undertake. After refining my ideas, I began my study in earnest in June 1992. The land invasion and resettlement that had occurred, and the resultant juxtapositions in space of three such disparate communities, provided me with the material necessary for my research. The notion of locality and its appropriateness to planning issues could also be explored in the context of Hout Bay.

Through my research I have become involved in the Hout Bay community and have learnt a great deal from working with the people of Mizamoyethu and with the surrounding community. My experiences on the Liaison Committee have been enriching and challenging.

This thesis is fairly long as the processes evident in Hout Bay are complicated and underpinned by many factors which needed to be explored. I felt it was important to consider as many aspects as possible of the issues at hand, so as to create an integrated understanding of the conflict from the perspective of the formal residents. The approach adopted in this study and its findings can be applied to the planning of other such resettlement programmes, as well as to the future management of the Hout Bay project. This study contributes to a larger research project funded by the Council for Human Needs, Resources and the Environment entitled "Environmental guidelines for the planning and development of informal communities within existing residential areas" (Sowman, Gawith and Oelofse, 1994).

The timing of this research has impacted dramatically on the findings. The changing structures and contingent conditions in Hout Bay, as well as the action and interpretation of human agents, clearly reflect the changing nature of South African society. The conflict in Hout Bay is a microcosm of much of the change that is occurring on the macro-scale in South Africa, not only in housing but in many other arenas. It has thus been fascinating to consider the outcomes of the socio-spatial processes evident. Hout Bay will, no doubt, continue to offer a window onto the nature of the restructuring of urban space in South Africa.

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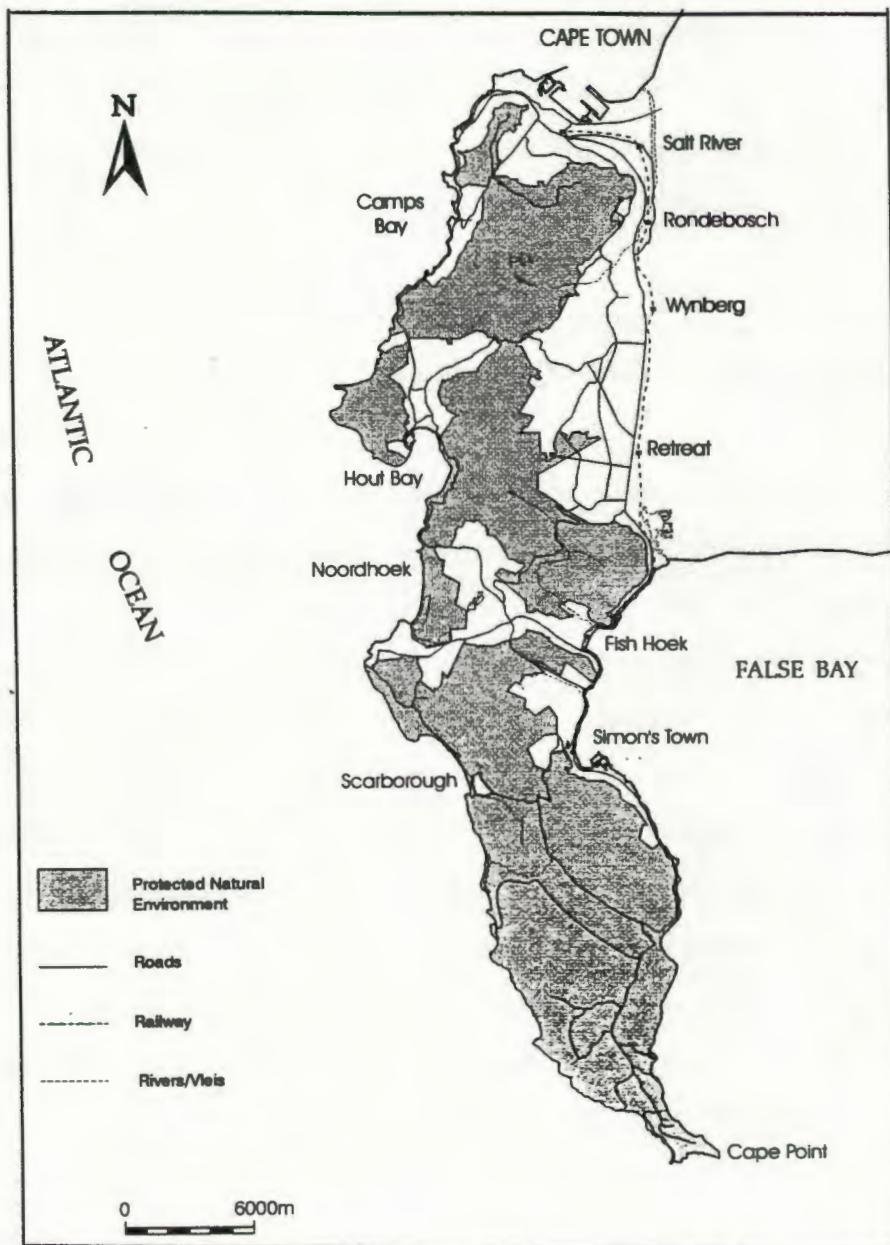
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Hout Bay is a spatially separate residential suburb of Cape Town offering a high quality environment (see Figure 1.1). Its mountain scenery, rural atmosphere and



(Source: EEU, UCT)

Figure 1.1 A map of Cape Town showing the location of Hout Bay.

beautiful bay make it an area of high aesthetic quality. Three very disparate communities presently reside within this locality. The largely white¹ middle- to upper-income residents (referred to as the ratepayers² in this thesis) live in the valley and along the mountain slopes in homes that represent a high socio-economic position. The harbour community consists of both lower-income coloured residents, who reside in hostels and flats, and middle-income white and coloured¹ residents, who are located higher up the slopes of Hangberg in an area known as Hout Bay Heights. The third community, which has developed most recently, is the informal settlement of Mizamoyethu. This is a low-income site-and-service settlement which was established in 1991 as a result of the influx of homeless people into Hout Bay, who squatted on private and state land in the late 1980s. Plates 1 – 5 display the contrasts in residential environments evident in Hout Bay.

1.1 THE HISTORY OF HOUT BAY

Within the context of apartheid planning of the past (most notably the Group Areas Act, 1950), Hout Bay was zoned as a white residential suburb with land above the harbour allocated to coloured people in order to fulfil the requirements of labour in the fishing industry. Most of the white residents were landowners who gained access to land via the property market. The lower-income harbour residents rented accommodation which was provided by the fishing companies and the state. However, in the early 1980s a middle-income residential area (Hout Bay Heights) was developed for coloured people, who were still restricted by the Group Areas Act. Therefore up until 1989, the above-mentioned communities essentially determined the nature of locality of Hout Bay. Socio-economically and politically these communities were vastly different and still are, and although they both contributed to the functioning of Hout Bay, they were spatially separate, resulting in little overt conflict between the two groups.



Plate 1 The scenic beauty of Hout Bay.



Plate 2 Hout Bay's high quality environment.



Plate 3 The residential area of the ratepayers.



Plate 4 The residential area of the low-income harbour community.



Plate 5 Hout Bay Heights.



Plate 6 The residential area of Mizamoyethu.

Although not legally allowed to be in Hout Bay under apartheid legislation, a number of black people 'squatted' inconspicuously in the area, along sheltered river banks and in backyard shacks in the harbour community. These people were mainly employed in the fishing industry and their small settlements consisted essentially of extended families. Coloured people who had been displaced when farms were subdivided in Hout Bay in the 1970s, also 'squatted' in the valley. Hout Bay therefore had a history of 'squatters' who were largely accepted and accommodated by the formal residents of the area.

However, due to changing political structures in South Africa, and the opportunities that these afforded homeless urban people, land invasions of groups of 'squatters' onto unoccupied state and private land began to occur, most particularly on the urban periphery. This was aided by the fact that government policy with regard to the management of illegal 'squatters' had been challenged and was thus unclear. The forced removal of homeless people had become a highly sensitive issue, with serious political implications for the state, and thus groups of people who managed to gain a foothold in an area were unlikely to be forcibly evicted. Resettlement or the provision of site-and-service schemes became the preferred official solution. In late 1980's land invasions began to occur in established residential areas, such as Noordhoek and Hout Bay in the Cape, and Midrand in the PWV region.

Hout Bay experienced land invasions during 1988/1989. Two 'squatter' settlements, of considerable size, developed relatively quickly on state and privately owned land along Princess Road during this period (see Figure 5.4). Princess Bush was the larger of the two settlements and was located in the sand dunes behind Hout Bay beach (see Plates 7a and 7b). Sea Products was located across the road on land alongside the Disa River. These two communities comprised workers from the harbour area, who had moved out of crowded hostels, flats and backyard shacks, in order to gain access to land so as to be able to house their families. People also moved to the settlements from the crowded conditions of the Cape Flats townships, as well as from the rural areas. Once the 'squatters' had gained a foothold in the area, so all the settlements began to grow.

Thus by 1990, there were approximately 2000 'squatters' living in five settlements scattered around Hout Bay (Gawith and Sowman, 1992). The development of these settlements had a dramatic effect on the locality of Hout Bay. Formal residents expressed strong concern with regard to the 'squatter' issue, indicating that the settlements were unhygienic and would therefore affect health conditions in Hout Bay; pollution had increased dramatically; security in Hout Bay had decreased; property prices were being affected; and that their quality of life in the valley had been diminished. As a community, the formal residents began to put pressure on the local authority, in this case the Cape Provincial Administration (CPA), to deal with the problem. At the same time the 'squatters' had mobilised themselves. They made use of the shifting power relations taking place in South Africa during a period of political and social transformation, pressurising the state to find land for them in Hout Bay. A conflict situation had developed and the state was called in to mediate.



Plate 7a Princess Bush – one of the original settlements

By November 1990 the 'squatters' had acquired legal rights to settle permanently on 18 hectares of land on the Western Cape Regional Service Council Forestry site in Hout Bay (see Figure 5.4), much to the dismay of many of the formal residents. In

March/April 1991 the five communities were moved to the new site, named Mizamoyethu (and commonly known as Mandela Park).



Plate 7b Princess Bush's location relative to the formal residents

1.2 THE LAND-USE CONFLICT IN HOUT BAY

The development of the original 'squatter' settlements and the subsequent resettlement of these communities to Mizamoyethu dramatically altered the nature of society and space in Hout Bay, resulting in conflict between the formal residents, the informal settlers and the state. It is this conflict, in terms of the perceptions of the formal residents to the establishment and growth of Mizamoyethu, that is the focus of this thesis.

By considering the perceptions of the surrounding community to the development of an informal settlement in the area, this dissertation aims to investigate and 'unravel' the factors or causal powers which have influenced and determined residents' responses to such a development. Is distance from the settlement (i.e. spatial proximity) the fundamental factor in influencing residents' perceptions or are there



Plate 8 The spatial proximity of Mizamoyethu to the surrounding community.



Plate 9 The view from Mizamoyethu across the valley.

other underlying factors, such as class conflict, changing sense of place, and individual worldviews, which influence and determine the way the formal residents have reacted?

The interaction of the structures of society – both class and political – and the interpretation and action of human agents as set within locality, is explored. The perceptions and reactions of the different socio-economic communities, namely the ratepayers and the harbour community, are investigated and compared in order to determine the extent to which the conflict is class-based. By considering the factors which underpin the conflict, this thesis examines the many issues that need to be considered by planners in the resettlement of informal communities within existing residential areas.

Attention is paid to the main issues of concern to the formal residents with regard to the development of the informal settlement, in order to gain an understanding of their expectations and concerns. The formal residents' perceptions of the development of the settlement; the planning process; the socio-economic and environmental impacts of the settlement; the prospects for integration; and the future development of Mizamoyethu are considered. The action and impact of various agencies, such as residents' associations and the media, are explored. The alteration of the sense of place of Hout Bay due to the juxtaposition of such disparate communities is investigated and the reasons for the responses of formal residents to such change are examined.

The planning and management of the resettlement process is considered and recommendations made as to alternative approaches that could have been adopted in the planning process.

1.3 THE PATH TO BE FOLLOWED

The theoretical framework within which the research was conducted is discussed and outlined in the first section. The first of these chapters considers the broad theory to

be used in understanding the conflict that has developed in Hout Bay. Realism is proposed as the umbrella framework for the research. Within this broader frame, locality, structuralism, and humanism are considered. The second theory chapter focuses on the application of the specific frameworks to the issues under investigation in Hout Bay and hence the conflict is analysed and viewed through different theoretical lenses.

The next section examines the methodology used in this thesis. A number of different as well as contrasting methodological approaches have been adopted and these are outlined.

The findings of the research and the discussion of the perceptions of the formal residents to the development of the informal settlement are considered in the next section. The nature of society and space in Hout Bay is described in chapter five. The establishment and growth of the informal settlement is documented and the nature of the surrounding communities and the differences between them are described. Attention is also given to the sense of place in Hout Bay.

The response of the formal residents to the development of the informal settlement in Hout Bay is considered in the following chapter. Reasons given for their responses are explored and the underlying factors which underpin the conflict are examined. The impact the press had on the conflict is also illustrated.

Residents' perceptions of the planning process are considered in chapter seven. Attention is paid to the nature of the planning process, particularly in terms of whether a participatory or technocratic approach was adopted and to the involvement of human agents in the process.

Chapter eight focuses on the perceived socio-economic and environmental impacts of the informal settlement on the locality of Hout Bay. Crime figures from the Hout Bay police are investigated in order to determine the actual impacts on crime and views of estate agents are considered in order to develop an understanding of the actual impacts of the informal settlement on property prices in Hout Bay.

The following chapter focuses on the aspects related to the integration of the various communities in Hout Bay. Residents' perceptions of issues related to the future development of the settlement are examined. Their concerns with regard to the future growth of the settlement are noted.

In chapter ten, two very different research approaches are used to consider the formal community as a whole. Both provide insight into the broad issues of concern to residents of Hout Bay. Principal components analysis discerns underlying dimensions and variations in the responses of the Hout Bay residents. An account of my own participation on the Liaison Committee (a forum consisting of all the major players involved in the Hout Bay conflict) provides insight into the main issues of concern with regard to the future development of the settlement. The conflict is considered from the various perspectives of the different communities, thereby providing deeper insight into the situation.

In the concluding chapter the relationship of the different causal powers is investigated by developing a tri-partite conceptual structure set within the framework of locality. The interaction of the various underlying factors is considered. Finally, recommendations based on an understanding of the conflict that has arisen in Hout Bay are made.

The social and political transformation of South African society has altered socio-spatial patterns, localities and ways of being. The interaction within the same place of groups of people who are socio-economically and politically very different, and were hitherto kept apart, provides a rich and interesting study area. An investigation of the complex dynamics and patterns that have emerged in Hout Bay provides valuable insight into the nature of society and space. This thesis aims to uncover and explore the changing nature of Hout Bay as locality by investigating how structure, agency and locality combine to form the causal powers and contingent circumstances operating. From this understanding recommendations with regard to the appropriateness and future management of such planning decisions can be made.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS AND FOCI

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Any research only becomes truly relevant if an appropriate theoretical framework is used both to formulate and analyse the objectives and the questions of the study being undertaken (Kobayashi and Mackenzie, 1989). It is thus important here to provide an overview of theoretical trends in human geography. In the analysis and interpretation of the conflict which has developed in Hout Bay, a combination of different theoretical frameworks has been employed. In the following sections, the broad parameters of these frameworks and their relation to each other are considered, as well as the specifics of each framework which relate to and explain the issues under question in this thesis.

Before considering the theoretical approach adopted for this study, a brief overview of the development of human geography is provided. This serves to contextualise the selected research frameworks within the broader discipline of human geography.

2.2 TRENDS IN HUMAN GEOGRAPHY OVER THE PAST TWENTY YEARS

The emergence of structuralist and humanist paradigms, in reaction to the perceived failure of the prevailing positivist paradigm in dealing adequately with emergent social and environmental problems, has been well documented (see e.g. Johnston, 1991a; Peet and Thrift, 1989; Cloke, Philo and Sadler, 1991). Structuralism or historical materialism focuses on underlying structures, arguing that society can only be understood by unravelling the structures underpinning the relations of social production and reproduction (Kobayashi and Mackenzie, 1989). It exposes the

different levels of largely economic relations which create the worlds within which the individual's actions are shaped and constrained. Humanism, on the other hand, focuses on human agency in human-environment relations; it is centred on the individual who creates a world of meaning from his or her own subjective experience (Tuan, 1974).

As the problems of society deepened and the crises in capitalism were explored, so radical geographers increasingly turned to the analysis of Marx (Peet and Thrift, 1989; Johnston, 1991a). Yet from the outset, the application of Marxism in geography was subjected to powerful critiques, and hence one saw the emergence of a number of other approaches. Humanism, structuration, realism, locality and post-modernism offered alternative ways of interpreting the world (Peet and Thrift, 1989; Kobayashi and Mackenzie, 1989; Gregory, 1980; Johnston, 1991a; Cloke, Philo and Sadler, 1991).

Across these diverse approaches the focus began to fall on the link between society and space. This served to highlight the debate that had emerged between historical materialism and humanism (the structure-agency debate). Geographers began to consider the role of both structure and agency in influencing social and spatial processes. Increasingly, it has been recognised that the tension between humanism and historical materialism can be creatively used in understanding society and space (Kobayashi, 1989; Cosgrove, 1989). There has been a movement "from a position of mutual, often fine-tuned misunderstanding toward a rapprochement, even, in some respects, a convergence, if not of theory then at least of mutual respect" (Kobayashi and Mackenzie, 1989, p 8).

One way in which the duality of structure and agency has been brought together is in the structuration theory of Giddens. Structuration theory was linked to human geography by Gregory and it is largely through his work that the relevance of this theory to geography is made clear (Gregory, 1978; 1980; Gregory and Urry, 1985). During the 1980's, realism, as developed by Bhaskar and Harre, was applied to geography as a philosophy which led to a greater understanding of society and space (Sayer 1984; Keat and Urry, 1981). Realism focused on causal powers and contingent

conditions and the interaction between them within time and space. It therefore linked structure and agency within locality.

Locality has recently become an important focus in human geography (Relph, 1989; Kobayashi, 1989; Massey, 1984; 1985; Johnston, 1991a). Previously, regionalism was criticized for not being embedded in theory and also for its empirical focus. However Johnston's (1991b) work on the question of place strongly supports the need for the study of regions in geography. A focus on place or locality provides a framework within which both structuralist and humanist interpretation can take place together. According to Kobayashi (1989, p 10) the study of landscape or place, which she considers to be pivotal in the geographic project, "necessitates incorporating the strengths of both perspectives."

By the late 1980s the discipline of geography, held by some to be in a state of intellectual crisis, began to be influenced by a new approach: that of post-modernism (Dear, 1988). Post-modernism is "shorthand for a heterogeneous movement which had its origins in architecture and literary theory" (Gregory, 1989, p 67). It rejects the claimed rationality of modernism and does not accept the notion of one grand theory or metatheory. As Dear (1988, p 268) suggests, "it deliberately maintains the creative tensions between theories in the belief that accelerated insight is likely to derive from different interpretations, revealed inconsistencies and relaxed assumptions".

As this brief historical overview of trends in human geography shows, there are a number of different frameworks from which a researcher can choose. The following section introduces the frameworks which are applicable and appropriate for this research project, which seeks to understand the land-use conflict which has developed in Hout Bay as a result of the establishment and growth of an informal settlement in the area.

The difficulty in using a number of theoretical frameworks in investigating society and space, is the integration of the different scales and levels of theoretical analysis. The diagram below, Figure 2.1, indicates how the different frameworks have been related

to each other for the purposes of this research. It is thus evident that realism forms the broad philosophical paradigm, and that the theoretical frameworks of locality, structuralism, and humanism are considered as necessary and complementary components of the realist project.

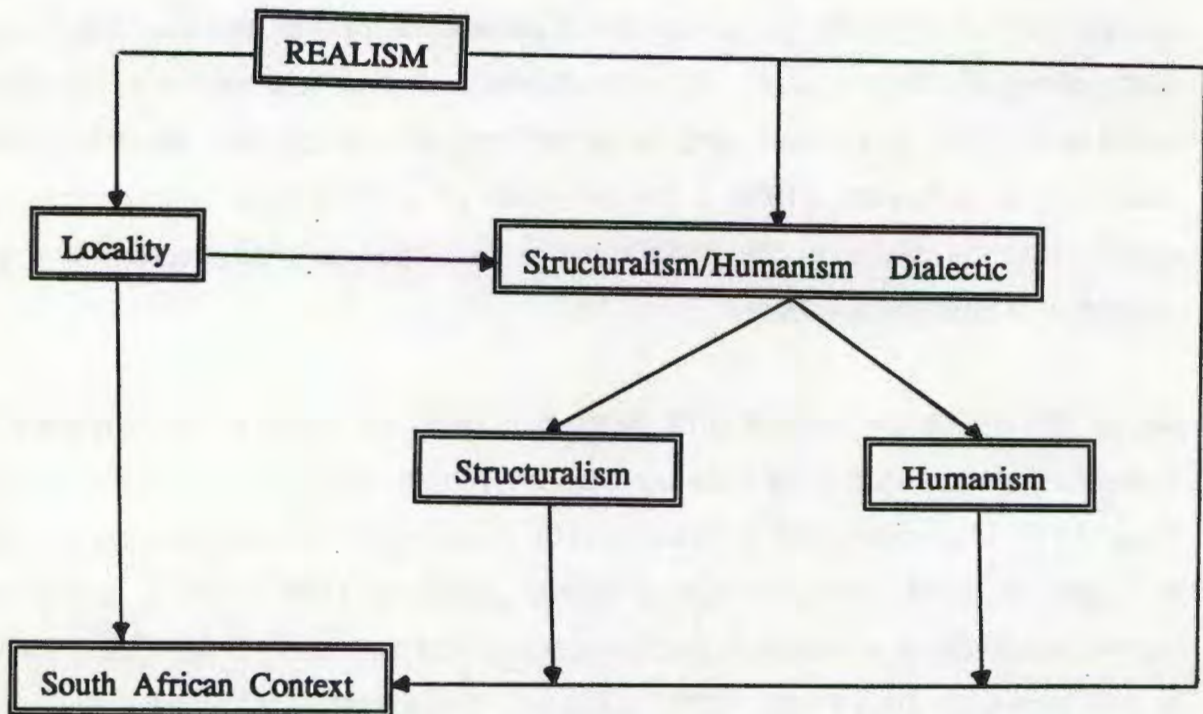


Figure 2.1 The theoretical framework of this thesis.

In this chapter, the philosophy of realism and its application to geography is considered first, and then the three theoretical frameworks to be used in the analysis of the conflict in Hout Bay are outlined. Finally attention is paid to the appropriate application of international theory to the particularities of the South African case.

2.3 FRAMEWORKS OF ANALYSIS

2.3.1 Realism

Realism provides the broad philosophical framework and approach for this research. It is a framework that integrates structure and agency within the specifics of time and place. It is a highly appropriate framework for unravelling the Hout Bay conflict, where the structures of society, the action and interpretation of human agents and the particularities of place have all combined to produce the particular nature of society and space. Realism focuses on causal powers and contingent conditions, suggesting that the events and outcomes of such mechanisms will vary in relation to time and place. Within this framework the analytical tools and understanding offered by locality theory, structuralism and humanism will be used.

Introduction

During the 1980s and early 1990s many human geographers have considered and adopted the philosophy, theory and methodology of realism in their work (Cloke, Philo and Sadler, 1991; Peet and Thrift, 1989; Kobayashi and Mackenzie, 1989; Johnston, 1991a). Bhaskar (1975), a British philosopher who has been instrumental in defining realism, suggests that there is a 'real' world but that the most significant components of this world are not immediately observable. According to Cloke, Philo and Sadler (1991, p 133), "there are experiences, systems and structures ... that cannot be discerned in a straightforward measurable manner, but that not only exist but in some sense also constitute much that occurs in the human world." Peet and Thrift (1989, p 16) extend the above definitions when they state that "realism is a philosophy of science based on the use of abstraction as a means of identifying the causal powers of particular social structures, powers which are released only under specific conditions."

It is now important to focus briefly on the philosophy of realism as developed by Bhaskar and Harre and to consider the methodology suggested by this approach.

Once the foundations of the philosophy of realism have been discussed, realist approaches in human geography can be considered. The application of this approach to the study of the perceptions of residents to the development of informal housing in Hout Bay is discussed in the next chapter.

The Realist Approach

Cloke, Philo and Sadler (1991, p 134) suggest that

it is important to distinguish between the philosophical position of realism – its concern for the fundamental 'building blocks' of reality and of how we can acquire knowledge about these blocks – and a more social-theoretical position such as that of Marxism, which is concerned to specify much more precisely and concretely what the human world contains...and how its contents operate.

The above comment reflects the approach adopted in this thesis. Realism has been used as a broad philosophical approach to this research, and within that locality, structuralism and humanism have been adopted as theoretical frameworks. Realism provides the methodology for the research and also places it within an appropriate philosophical framework. As Cloke, Philo and Sadler (1991, p 135) suggest, "at their most expansive, proponents of realism claim that all post-positivist tendencies in human geography can be interpreted as roads toward realism, be they labelled Marxist, humanist or mainstream geographies." Johnston (1991a) suggests that Marxism is a form of realism which relates the contents of the empirical world to a set of infrastructural determinants – namely economic processes. Sayer (1989, p 207) comments that "despite modern realism's sympathetic relationship to interpretive or humanistic philosophies of social science, humanistic geographers seem to ignore realism." From the above it is clear that the frameworks of Marxism and humanism are compatible with the realist project.

Gregory offers a succinct definition of realism. He states that "realism is a philosophy of science based on the use of abstraction to identify the (necessary) *causal powers and liabilities* of specific *structures* which are realised under specific (contingent) conditions" (Gregory, 1986, p 387). Foot, Rigby and Webber (1989, p 123) suggest

that "causal mechanisms provide the structures within which individuals make decisions and their history. These decisions are predetermined by the mechanisms but also depend on a host of contingent factors." Hence within any locality, the nature of society and space is dependent on the structures of society, the interpretation of human agents of the causal powers and the contingent conditions present. The interaction of the mechanisms and contingent conditions within locality produce particular outcomes and events. Careful attention therefore needs to be paid to how abstract theory can be applied to particular contingent situations (Peet and Thrift, 1989).

According to Cloke, Philo and Sadler (1991, p 136), "the realist argument contends that if we wish to explain why certain things behave in a certain manner, then we must understand both their internal structure and the mechanisms and properties that enable them to produce or undergo particular changes when placed in contexts where they interact with other things." It is therefore important to consider the real (mechanisms which we cannot observe), the actual (observable events) and the empirical (experiences of events). These are the three overlapping dimensions of reality. Johnston (1991a, p 223) summarises the three domains:

the domain of the empirical is concerned solely with experiences, with the world as it is perceived; the domain of the actual is concerned with events as well as experiences, accepting that an event...may be interpreted in different ways by individuals; and the domain of the real is concerned with structures that are not directly apprehendable, but which contain the mechanisms that lead to the events and their empirical perception.

By considering the domains of the real, the actual and the empirical, the structural underpinnings of society, as well as the role of human agents in changing those structures can be understood. This is fundamental to this research, since an understanding of the underlying structures and the action of human agents is essential in explaining the conflict which has developed in Hout Bay.

Realism and Human Geography

Keat, Urry and Sayer have been instrumental in translating realist philosophy into human geography. Sayer provides an accessible version of the realist philosophies of Bhaskar, Harre and others in his 1984 book, *Method in Social Science: A Realist Approach*. He criticises the closed systems approach of positivism, stating that human geography tends to deal with open systems, making positivism inappropriate. He suggests that we need to 'unpack' reality so that many relevant and inherent mechanisms and conditions can be uncovered. According to Cloke, Philo and Sadler (1991, p 146)

realism presents an alternative by assuming a stratified and differentiated world made up of events, mechanisms and structures in an open system where there are complex, reproducing and sometimes transforming interactions between structure and agency whose recovery will provide 'answers' to questions posed about processes.

in society. Gregory (1989, p 256) supports this by suggesting that, "realism may well require the disclosure of various structures involved in the production and reproduction of social life, but by its very nature it brings into focus the differentiated and stratified character of the world." Realism is thus compatible with certain aspects of post-modernism.

In adopting a realist approach it is important to consider *necessary causal powers* and *contingent conditions* and *internal* and *external* relations and to differentiate between them (Sayer 1984). It is necessary to identify events and objects that exist independently of each other and those that are dependent on each other for something to happen. In society, certain powers exist independently, but it is contingent whether these causal powers are released or activated. Pratt (1989b, p 104) comments that "whether causal powers are evident in a pattern of events depends on contingently related factors." According to Foot, Rigby and Webber (1989, p 117) "even though a causal mechanism is operating, the type of event to which it gives rise is influenced by other causal mechanisms, and also depends on the specific conditions that pertain at different times and in different places."

This is relevant in the Hout Bay conflict. The juxtaposition of two very different communities results in the establishment of a new set of relations between the two communities, making them mutually dependent. Peet and Thrift (1989, p 18) suggest that in the realist project, "space clearly makes a difference to whether the causal powers of particular social relations are activated, and the forms that these social relations can take." Because of their spatial proximity, each community in Hout Bay impacts on the other and the outcome of this interaction, as well as the action of the human agents within these communities, serves to alter society and space. The conflict in Hout Bay is also dependent upon particular circumstances and conditions as set within the context of time and place. Hence the informal settlers and the formal community have an internal relationship which has causal powers as well as external contingent powers associated with it.

Cloke, Philo and Sadler (1991, p 148) suggest that it is the "realist's task to tease out the causal chains that situate particular events within these deep-seated mechanisms and powers." By considering the perceptions of the surrounding community to the development of the informal settlement in the area, this thesis aims to uncover and explore the underlying structures and the actions of human agents and their relationship to the social processes evident in place. It is therefore necessary to combine abstract theory (in order to abstract certain aspects for consideration) and concrete research (in order to discover actual contingent conditions).

Cloke, Philo and Sadler (1991, p 148) consider Sayer's approach to the abstract and the concrete, commenting that

here is a complex social system in which the activation of particular mechanisms produces effects that may be unique to a particular time and space. With different contingent conditions, the same mechanisms may invoke different events, and by the same token the same kind of event may have different causes. The use of abstract theory permits the analysis of objects in terms of their 'constitutive structures', as a part of wider structures, and in relation to their causal powers. The use of concrete research permits and examination of what happens when they combine.

Hence both are essential in developing an understanding of the world. Abstract theory lays the foundation and concrete research informs the researcher of what actually happens. Johnston (1991a, p 224) states that "whereas the mechanisms can be theorized, their particular realisations cannot, since they depend on human agency, on individuals interpreting the mechanisms in the context of their interpretations of the empirical world". In developing the theory for this thesis, abstract theory provided insight into class relations and humanist interpretations. However, the data from the survey, as well as information and insight gained from participating in various committees in Hout Bay, informed the choice of theoretical context within which to embed this research. The issue of class relations became much more significant once the strong differences between the ratepayers and the harbour community had been discovered.

Sayer (1984) emphasises the relationship between structure and agency. Structure and agency are seen as being inter-related and therefore "Marxist and humanist theory may both be significant inputs to realist research, but ... they should not be the end product of that research" (Cloke, Philo and Sadler, 1991, p 151). Time is also considered as being important in understanding the contingencies of concrete events and the different outcomes they produce. Foot, Rigby and Webber (1989, p 120) comment that "the conditions in which causal mechanisms operate at any one time are not themselves a matter of chance but are both the outcomes of previous stages, or specific periods of development, as well as the causes of subsequent events, in so far as they influence the degree to which each mechanism operates". It is important to recognise that "these events themselves alter the specific conditions within which the causal mechanisms operate" (Foot, Rigby and Webber, 1989, p 127). The Hout Bay situation is an example of how the current transitional phase in South African history has had a significant impact on the present processes evident in society and space.

The above discussion suggests that structure, agency and locality are all instrumental in determining the nature of the events and outcomes resulting from the interaction between causal powers and contingent conditions. It is thus appropriate to use the theoretical frameworks of structuralism, humanism and locality within the realist frame.

Peet and Thrift (1989, p 15) support this view by suggesting that "the relative importance of structure and agency, and how they might be reconciled in a single approach; the efficacy of a realist methodology; and the importance of localities" must be recognised when investigating society and space.

Realism and Locality

Cloke, Philo and Sadler (1991, p 160) suggest that "perhaps the most directly relevant contribution of the realist project to human geography, however, relates to the insights it offers on the importance of space in understanding social systems." Gregory (1985) argues that place is of central importance in understanding social structures. The nature of society and space must be understood in the context of particular locations. Massey (1984) states that space is not just a reflection of the social, but rather that it is a fundamental element of what the social is. As will be seen in the following chapters, this research project also emphasises the interconnections between structure, agency and locality.

Locality is therefore seen as being an important part of the realist approach to geography. As Cloke, Philo and Sadler (1991, p 164) comment, "the importance of locality in the context of realism lies in its parentage, its position with regard to abstract and concrete research and the way in which it has been the catalyst for a number of different 'realisms' of space." Locality also raises important questions about the relationship between the concrete and the abstract. Cox and Mair (1989) and Duncan (1989) argue that future locality research must consider the proper interconnectedness between the abstract and the concrete. As Cloke, Philo and Sadler (1991, p 165) suggest "localities should be conceptualised in terms of hierarchical levels of abstraction, including the transhistoric category of time-space differences (as in structuration) and the socio-historical category of capital relations." Sayer supports the use of the locality concept in realism. Duncan (1989, p 232) comments on Sayer's views by stating that

people, as self-interpreting beings able to monitor their situations and learn from them, have an exceptionally wide and volatile range of causal possibilities. They learn from their contexts. Local variations – the result

of actions – will not just reflect spatial contingency effects on general social processes, but will also reflect locally derived social processes.

Therefore in understanding the complexity of the conflict situation that has arisen in Hout Bay, it is necessary to adopt an approach which attempts to expose the causal powers and contingent conditions as played out in place. According to Johnston (1991a, p 239),

researchers interested in actions in a particular locale must both appreciate its social system and gain an understanding of how its residents interpret that system: they must both set the scale of experience in its wider context and study how the actors do the same. This, they argue, involves adopting a realist approach as developed by Sayer.

It is evident from the above discussion that there are strong links between realism and locality. Structure and agency also form a fundamental part of the 'unpacking' that is required within a realist approach. Realism emphasises that behaviour is constrained by economic processes, but it does not deny human agency. The infrastructure provides determinants of activity of which actors are unaware, but within these structures the individual makes decisions, which themselves may add to the constraints for future decisions. Structures are therefore both enabling and constraining and human agents can act to change these. The time-place specifics of the social processes under question are also instrumental in determining the outcomes and events. It is therefore necessary within the broad philosophical framework of realism, to use the theoretical frameworks of locality, structuralism and humanism. It is to the development of these frameworks that the discussion now turns.

2.3.2 Locality, Structuralism and Humanism

Introduction

In considering the perceptions of the surrounding community to the establishment and growth of an informal settlement within the existing residential area in Hout Bay, it is evident that there are a myriad of factors which interrelate to form the attitudes and

views of the surrounding community. It is proposed that the frameworks of both structuralism and humanism should be used as tools for the analysis and understanding of these perceptions.

Structure constrains and enables human agency, and likewise the action of individuals or groups influences and alters structure. The relationship between agency and structure is therefore central to the analysis and needs to be investigated and discussed. According to Kobayashi and Mackenzie (1989, p 10), "convergence... does not imply a choice of one or the other – human agency or structure – as the primary agent or motor of social change, but emphasizes the need for an incorporative understanding of their relationship and inter-dependency in the emergence of social history." In using structuralism and humanism to explain the conflict which has developed in Hout Bay, it is important to consider the way in which each of these theories can contribute to the analysis of the conflict.

However, the different threads needed to be drawn together and an attempt made to integrate the different aspects of the issues that are present in Hout Bay within time and space. As discussed in the realism section above, locality plays a fundamental role in determining the nature of social processes. The framework of locality, as discussed by *inter alia* Johnston (1991b), Massey (1993), Kobayashi and Mackenzie (1989), Entrikin (1991), Cox and Mair (1989), and Agnew (1989) therefore serves as the umbrella framework for the analysis.

Dear (1988, p 269) emphasises the links between locality, structure and agency in the following statement:

It is impossible to predict the exact outcome of the interaction between structure and agency because, while individual activities are framed within a particular structural context, they can also transform the context itself. Any narrative about landscape is necessarily an account of the reciprocal relationship between relatively long-term structural forces and the shorter-term routine practices of individual human agents. Economic, political and social history is therefore time-specific in the sense that these relationships evolve at different temporal rates; it is also place-specific in that these relationships unfold in recognisable 'locales' according to sometimes opaque logic of spatial diffusion.

Locality (or place) is a recent attempt to overcome the problems of the dialectic between historical materialism and humanism by considering place as the binding framework (Kobayashi and Mackenzie, 1989; Johnston, 1991b; Massey 1993; Beynon and Hudson, 1993). Locality is highly relevant for explaining the conflict in Hout Bay, since the study area can be defined as a place with specific attributes and characteristics. It is necessary to consider the extent to which the particularities of place have played a significant role in influencing the way in which the social processes in Hout Bay have been played out and produced. Locality not only provides the context for the relationship between structure and agency, but it also in itself influences and shapes the processes and spatial patterns of society.

In developing the theoretical framework, the following section first examines locality and then considers the way in which the dialectic of structure and agency can contribute to an understanding of the processes at work in Hout Bay. The theoretical discussion then turns to examine the Marxist structuralist paradigm, a broad philosophy which can be used to explain the structural processes underpinning the conflict in Hout bay. The different responses of the higher-income ratepayers and the lower-income harbour community clearly indicate the role of class and socio-economic status in determining residents' reactions to the situation. However, underlying structures, which are largely beyond the control of the individual, are not solely responsible for the conflict and perceptions of residents to the development of the informal settlement. Human agency also plays a significant role. The perceptions and behaviour of individuals in response to the development of the settlement can therefore also be analysed within the framework of the humanist paradigm. It is within this paradigm that consideration is given to human agency, sense of place and lifeworlds (Buttimer and Seamon, 1980), environmental perceptions (Ittleson, Prochansky, Rivlin, and Winkel, 1974; Tuan 1974; Pocock and Hudson 1978) and the subjective meaning of landscapes (Relph, 1989).

The theory of locality

The relationship between realism and locality is made clear in Cooke's (1990, p 242) statement about locale. He suggests that

localities are actively involved in their own transformation, though not necessarily as masters of their own destiny. Localities are not simply places or even communities: they are the sum of social energy and agency resulting from the clustering of diverse individuals, groups and social interests in space. They are not passive or residual but, in varying ways and degrees, centres of collective consciousness. They are bases for intervention in the internal workings of not only individual and collective daily lives but also events on a broader canvas affecting local interests.

Locality has become an important focus in geography, as can be seen in the emphasis placed on the specifics of place in the above section on realism. Johnston indicates in his book *A Question of Place* (1991b) that human geography is at present in a philosophical crisis. He suggests that a means of overcoming this and enhancing the role of geographical research, is to embed it in the central concept of place. There has been a great deal of debate about the appropriateness of this focus and the intellectual frameworks required for the geographical analysis of such phenomena (Massey, 1993; Duncan and Savage, 1989; Foote, 1993; Duncan, 1989; Dear, 1988; Gregory, 1989). Because of this debate, the definition and meaning of locality needs to be clarified.

The terms locale, place and locality have been used interchangeably within the development of locality as a theoretical construct. In this research project, the terms 'locality' and 'place' are used to imply the theoretical framework of locality.

In defining the concept of place, Paasi (1986, cited in Johnston, 1991b) contends that place is where the individual reproduces his or her emotional and material existence and that it is structured by the interactions of people and institutions, who participate in social actions, and is therefore determined by the meaning attached to these. Locality is thus the context within which the structures of society and the action of individuals and groups are played out. This context in itself influences structure and

serves to shape the interpretation of place and space by individuals and groups. It is important to consider the extent to which the specific locality of Hout Bay has influenced the perceptions of the residents to the development of the informal settlement in the area. It is also interesting to note whether the particularities of place have influenced the process and approach adopted in resolving the conflict in Hout Bay. Have the decisions, made by the state and the other players, been influenced by the nature and locality of Hout Bay?

Beynon and Hudson (1993) define localities in terms of attachment to place and the cultural and emotional meaning that place has to individuals, thus drawing it closer to the 'sense of place' concept as developed by humanistic geographers. Locality does incorporate the meaning of place as described by Relph (1989), Tuan (1974) and Buttner and Seamon (1980); however, it is more than this. It also implies a consideration of the structures operating within place and the relationship and articulation between locality and the broader structures of society.

It is difficult to encapsulate the definition of locality; however, this should not be seen as a negative constraint. It is heavily criticized by Duncan and Savage (1989) for being vague and loose. They contend that the variety of meanings and uses ascribed to locality make it a questionable approach to empirical research. Care must be taken so as not to replace the notion of a case study area with the concept of place. In order to show the importance of place, it is necessary to show that there are a set of conditions internal to such localities, which in themselves produce distinctive sets of outcomes (Urry, 1986; Duncan and Savage, 1989). This approach is emphasised in the realist project.

Johnston (1991b) suggests that there are three elements to the study of place: the physical environment, the built environment and the people. All three of these aspects are considered in this thesis. Urry (1981) uses a similar schema and focuses on the struggle within civil society, that is within the sphere of the reproduction of material conditions of life. It is within this sphere that this research is focused, since residential land use conflict is being considered. Urry (1981) argues that it is the varying

interrelationships between the different spheres within capitalist society which determine its local form and hence create the nature of place. As Johnston suggests (1991b, p 133) "understanding a place involves uncovering the multivariate and inter-related nature of its culture" for which the three components of life at work, social life and family, and politics and state provide a valuable framework. Without understanding the nature of place in all its complexity it is difficult to appreciate particular events. These three components are reflected in the causal powers identified in the application of the realist approach to the Hout Bay conflict, discussed in the next chapter.

The understanding of place must be set within the context of an appreciation of the wider structures of society, which act as both constraints and opportunities for human agents manipulating and using the resources of separate places. To quote Johnston (1991b, p 49)

The foundation of this new approach is the recognition that spatial variations are fundamental to the organisation of society, with the world comprising a complex mosaic of specific places within which general processes are enacted but whole features cannot be accounted for by those processes alone.

It is imperative that one sets place in the broader context, so that the focus on locality does not become the old regional geography, which was positivist and parochial in nature. As Massey (1993) suggests, the linkages to the wider world are important, since the cultural, social, economic and political contexts are part of the constitution of place. The extent to which the broader context of South African society, particularly in this transitional phase, has influenced and impacted upon the nature of the social processes being played out in Hout Bay needs to be questioned.

The significance of space and time is echoed by Giddens in his structuration theory, in which he recognises the role of context, both spatial and temporal, in influencing society. Individual places are not just phenomena of general processes but are rather socially and spatially different. Johnston (1991b) suggests that the local milieu and its cultural content has a fundamental role to play in determining how people learn to interpret and react to issues and situations that develop. In what way has the local

milieu influenced the set of outcomes of the informal settlement in Hout Bay? How has this enabled and constrained the development and resolution of conflict in the area?

Place will be used as an overall binding framework, rather than as the only tool for analysis in this research. As Massey (1993) states, it is important not to focus on place at the expense of all other critical theory. Fundamental to any analysis or focus on place is the use of other aspects of geography. Analysing the foundations of place "behoves that we draw upon all the theories of spatial change that geography has at its disposal" (Massey, 1993, p 147).

There has been much debate and criticism with regard to the development of locality as a framework. Foote (1993) questions the new emergence of place, commenting that it has been around for the past two decades in a number of forms and contexts. So, is this a new approach or just a reworking and recognition of old ideas? The theory of locality is based on earlier conceptions of place and space, but it also offers something new and useful. It facilitates the integration of structure, agency and place in such a way that social processes can be understood in greater depth. The analysis of conflict is thus far more powerful, since the relationship and interdependency of structures and agents as played out in space can be considered.

Having considered the nature of locality, the structure-agency dialectic, which is central to the analysis of the conflict in Hout Bay, is explored. The importance of considering structure and agency in investigating social processes is stressed in the realist paradigm.

Structure and agency – two sides of the same coin?

Duncan states that

through the Marxist lens, the camera can be construed as only seeing social, political and economic constraints, ignoring the purposefulness and spirit of individuals, through the humanistic lens the camera can be seen to catch the ideals and cultures of individuals and groups but not the political and economic boundaries within which individual and group

behaviour is put into practice (Duncan, 1991, cited in Cloke, Philo, and Sadler, 1991, p 96).

The dualism that has existed between structuralism and humanism in human geography over the past 20 years has provoked much discussion, criticism and reworking of ideas. Cosgrove, Pratt, Relph, Gregory, Peet, Thrift, Kobayashi and Mackenzie amongst others accept that the tension and differences between the two can be worthwhile and creative. Central to this research project is the acceptance of both structure and agency as important frameworks of analysis. To quote Gregory, "the relations between human agency and social structure ... are at once brought within a coherent problematic; they are, as it were, simultaneous equations which cannot be solved separately" (Gregory, 1980, p 16).

Yet in considering each paradigm, it is clear that there are fundamental differences between the two and it is important to respect these and not to obliterate the boundaries. As Gregory (1980, p 5) indicates, one needs to clarify "the relationships between human agency and structural transformation which ought to lie at the very heart of any properly human geography". Conflict between the two in debate has previously resulted in divergence, rather than the development of complementary understanding from both frameworks. As Kobayashi says (1989, p 168), "rather than acting as a complement to the voluntarism of humanistic perspectives by releasing the potential to go beyond the individual in an incorporative way, therefore, Marxism has met humanism head on in a negation of the most appealing qualities of both philosophical systems."

However, an acceptance of a dialectical relationship between structure and agency, and the use of frameworks which incorporate the two, is now an accepted philosophical approach to human geography (Kobayashi and Mackenzie, 1989). In this dissertation both structure and agency are used as a means of explaining social processes as played out in space, within the context of the broader frameworks of locality and realism.

Structuralism tends to reduce processes in society to the relations of production, whereas it is clear that interactions and communications are mediated through individual experience and interpretation. At the same time, however, human action is constrained by the broader structures within which it is embedded. The contextual and social structures facilitate or impede the ability of humans to choose or negotiate their situation. Pred (1990, p 9) supports this when he comments that

Women and men make histories and produce places, not under circumstances of their own choosing but in the context of already existing, directly encountered social and spatial structures, in the context of already existing social and spatial relations that both enable and constrain the purposeful conduct of life. In other words, the scope for human agency is enabled and constrained both by already existing power relations and their associated social logics, rules of behaviour, and modes of regulation (social structures) and by the full array and relative location of features humanly built into given geographical areas, by spatial patterns of transformed nature (spatial structures).

Thus a study of land use conflicts must "examine the active role played by people in taking and shaping opportunities provided by their social, geographical and historical milieu" (Harris 1989, p 89), while at the same time recognising the powerful role class struggle and the maintenance of class structure play in determining human action and behaviour.

Even as there are contradictions within the theoretical world, so there are contradictions in the real world. We continually struggle against the systems that we inherit, the very systems that are initially created for ourselves and our supposed betterment. Hence agency and structure exist at an individual level between individual choice and the need for the institutions that serve us.

Realism, structuration theory and locality can be considered as integrating frameworks for structuralism and humanism. This approach is supported by Kobayashi's (1989, p 168) comment that the duality of structure and agency is being overcome by

one of the most exciting conceptual breakthroughs in the discipline for some time. This breakthrough has come about in two major areas. The first is a focusing on the spatial/temporal aspects of social process, most evident, despite its problems, in the rapidly expanding literature based on the theory of structuration. The second is... the 'rediscovery of place'

which includes local impacts of structural changes; experiences of places; the 'reciprocal link between society and space' (Jackson, 1986, p 121) as well as the political significance of human activity in place.

Realism and the way it focuses on the integration of structure and agency has been discussed in the previous section. Giddens's theory of structuration is also relevant to this research in that it considers the dualism of structure and agency.

Structuration and Geographers

Structuration accommodates the role of human agency in the shaping of events, while at the same time advocating that the structures inherent in any social system impact on the extent to which human action can manipulate events. Giddens criticises Marxist social theory, indicating that structure does not have primacy over human agency. He feels that the deterministic nature of the Marxist approach is unacceptable as human agents can act to change structures through social action. He also criticises the voluntarism of human agency, indicating that though structures are enabling they also serve to constrain human action. Structure and agency should be "reconceived as dualities, in other words, instead of separate and opposing things in the world or as mutually exclusive ways of thinking about the world, they are simply two sides of the same coin" (Craib, 1992, p 3).

A number of geographers have been involved in translating the theory of structuration into the geographical arena. Thrift has been instrumental in this, as have Pred and Gregory. Gregory has also played a significant role in the development of structuration theory in geography both in terms of his criticism and extension of Giddens's theory (Gregory, 1981, 1985, 1986, 1989).

According to Cloke, Philo and Sadler (1991, p 120)

Gregory was the first to suggest that Giddens' attempt to bridge the structure-agency gap – namely his development of structuration theory – could signpost a way forward for human geographers by looking

1. to transcend the opposition between Marxist and humanistic geographies; and

2. to take seriously the role of time and space in the 'constitution' of social life.

Giddens himself has used Hagerstrand's time-space geography as a means of introducing a spatial dimension to his theory. Gregory (1989, p 79) comments that "in Giddens's view, societal integration – however precarious and partial it might be – depends on the 'binding' of time and space into the conduct of social life." Social interactions come together in particular localities, and hence form nodes of regionalisation. Those who have control of the resources are inside (central) and those who do not, are outside (periphery). Those that are established develop a range of social tactics to distance themselves from others who are treated as inferior or outsiders. The setting of social processes in place relates to the theory of locality. As Giddens states, "Locales refer to the use of space to provide the settings of interaction, the settings of interaction in turn being essential to specifying its contextuality" (Giddens, 1984, p 118 cited in Johnston, 1991b).

Gregory and Urry (1985) suggest that spatial structure acts as a medium through which social processes interact and are reproduced rather than acting merely as a stage upon which social life is played. "Locale is both enabling and constraining therefore: it is enabling in that it provides them with resources – knowledge – on which they can base action, and it is constraining in that it limits how they can act" (Johnston, 1991b, p 239).

According to Pred (1990, p 20), "a 'locale' is a physically bounded area that provides a setting for institutionally embedded social encounters and practices." As humans interact within locale, they both produce and change the rules and hence create a new set of constraining and enabling conditions for future action. However it is important to note, as Craib (1992, p 70) remarks, "it is not simply a physical location, the physical features are used to constitute meaning in interaction, and the ways in which this occurs links the intimate and personal to the broader aspects of institutionalisation".

Dear (1988, p 270) comments that "in a most fundamental sense, therefore, the central object in human geography is to understand the simultaneity of time and space in structuring social processes. Human geography is the study of the contemporaneity of social process in time and space." Structuration considers the dialectic of structure and agency as well as the importance of time and space and hence supports the framework adopted for the analysis of the responses of residents to the land-use conflict in Hout Bay.

Consideration is now given to the two frameworks which are fundamental in explaining the response of residents to the development of the informal settlement in Hout Bay, namely structuralism and humanism. Even though the duality of the above two frameworks has been considered, and it has been suggested how they can be linked to the theories of realism, locality and structuration, it is important to consider each in isolation, as they bring different understandings and tools of analysis into this project. As Gregory (1989, p 69) suggests, in considering structure and agency we "must display a sensitivity towards the differences and disjunctures between them. And 'sensitivity' implies that those different integrities must be respected and retained: not fudged".

The theory of structuralism or historical materialism

Dear (1988, p 268) summarises the Marxist approach as follows:

Marxian theory has tended to emphasise the broader structural conditions of social life. In his analysis of capitalist society, Marx chose to focus on the central significance of commodity production for profit as a principle of social organisation. The capitalist mode of production gives rise to a fundamental division of society into two classes: capital and labour. These inevitably become involved in class conflict, which is mediated by the capital-controlled state apparatus.

An investigation of the structural underpinnings of society is hence a central focus of this framework. It exposes the layers of relations in society and the complex constraints and conditions within which the individual is embedded and through which the individual is created as a social being. This framework largely considers the

economic relations between different groups in society and uses this as a basis for analysis of society and space. As Kobayashi (1989, p 167) indicates, "Marxist approaches have responded to Harvey's appeal (1973) to pursue theoretical interpretation of the world based on the exploitation of capitalism".

The Marxist approach to the analysis of conflict is based on the understanding of class conflict which is inherent in the capitalist system (Harvey, 1981). Within the tradition of a Marxist political economy, the urban form is evaluated theoretically in relation to the mode of production (Pratt, 1989a). The spatial structure and the patterns that emerge are seen as representative and reflective of the division of labour into classes, which are divided along the basis of access to and ownership of the means of production. Hence the framework focuses on work and production. Social reproduction is evaluated, since if workers are to be productive then they need adequate housing, services and facilities. In order to maintain the system, "capitalist social relations must also be constantly reproduced to maintain social harmony, and economic and political stability" (Pratt, 1989a, p 85).

These class relations are played out in space; they are dynamic and are enacted on a daily basis. The built environment and the reproduction of classes are directly linked spatially, economically and politically, in order to maintain the capitalist system. The underlying and divisive influence of class can be easily observed within the spatial patterns of capitalist societies and is most extreme where polarisation between different groups occurs (Harris, 1989). This is evident in Hout Bay where the socio-economic relations of the different communities in space reflect the different class positions of those groups (superimposed on and reinforced by the legacy of apartheid urban planning).

A fundamental criticism of the above approach is that it does not consider the role of human agents in terms of the structuring and restructuring of society. Marxism treats the lived experience as a determinate outcome of structural processes, and thus structure is seen as determining behaviour. It is also difficult to use this framework in relating the observable structures of society at a macro-scale level to the events and

outcome of daily existence at a much smaller scale (Cloke, Philo and Sadler, 1991). As Kobayashi (1989, p 168) indicates, "Marxist geographers who would claim to redress the shortcomings of humanism have done so at the expense of rejecting individual action and experience as the constituent elements of social history, and of rejecting the landscape as an essential element of the production of social reality". What is required is a transcendence of Marxism by more humanistic approaches, which are grounded in material reality but which encompass the socially constructed world.

Class conflict and an understanding of the structural underpinnings of society are fundamental to an understanding of the conflict in Hout Bay. Structuralism is therefore used as a framework, but it is used in the context discussed above, that is not in isolation, but acknowledging the role of human agency and being set within a realist, locality-based approach.

Humanism and geography

Humanist geography is difficult to define. It is a diversity of philosophies and methods which have developed in a fragmented fashion over the past twenty years as a response to the perceived inadequacies of the positivist paradigm, as well as to the economic determinism of the Marxist approach (Dear, 1988). Approaches within the development of humanistic geography include phenomenology, existentialism, hermeneutics and environmental psychology and have been developed by such writers as Seamon, Relph, Cosgrove, Entrikin, Buttimer and Guelke, amongst others.

Gregory in the *Dictionary of Human Geography* (1986, p 207) offers the following definition:

An approach in human geography distinguished by the central and active role it gives to human awareness and human agency, human consciousness and creativity; at once an attempt at 'understanding meaning, value, and human significance of life events' (Buttimer, 1979) and 'an expansive view of what the human person is and can do' (Tuan, 1976).

A prominent early version of humanism in geography was behavioural geography which developed as a response to the need to consider how human decision-makers behave in space. In the early 1960s, Lowenthal (1961) began to consider the perceptions people had of space and introduced the field of environmental perceptions to geography. During the 1970s there was a movement away from behavioural geography, which focused on the action response of individuals, towards a more self-conscious humanistic geography. As Johnston (1991a, p 166) indicates, "humanistic approaches have been proposed, focusing on decision-makers and their perceived worlds and denying the existence of an objective world which can be studied by positivist methods". It was essentially a reaction to the fixed, objective and deterministic view of the human being. It aligned itself with the philosophy of idealism, which considers the mind and spiritual values as being essential in understanding the world.

A focus of humanistic geography is place and the many ways that people relate to place emotionally, economically, politically and practically. It examines human encounters with the external world, human agents being the medium through which the understanding of reality is transferred (Relph, 1985). In order to comprehend the meaning of place, humanistic geographers propose that one needs to consider the everyday elements of life. Seamon (1979) uses the concepts of place ballets, lifeworlds and time-space routines to focus clearly on people's experiences and interpretations of their daily existence. In understanding humans' attachment to place, it is possible to interpret how people feel about place; what their attachments to place are and thus for what reason they will defend it (i.e. territorial behaviour). This is very important in Hout Bay where the sense of place differs between individuals and communities, resulting in conflict.

Gregory (1980, p 4) suggests that "the humanist tradition in geography need not be the simple, neo-romantic promotion of freedom over determination which it is sometimes assumed to be, tacitly or otherwise; instead, each of its variants recognizes (at least in part) the forcefulness of its rivals claims." Hence in his model of human geography, which considers 'La géographie humaine' of Vidal de la Blache, (see

Figure 2.2) Gregory indicates the relationship between structure and agency within humanistic geography.

In considering human agency he suggests that the contingency of practical life is bound up in structure. He thus draws the action of human agents into the dialectic of structure and agency and links humanistic geography to the nature of space. He argues that "geography must restore human beings to their worlds in such a way that they can take part in the collective transformation of their own human geographies" (Gregory, 1980, p 5).

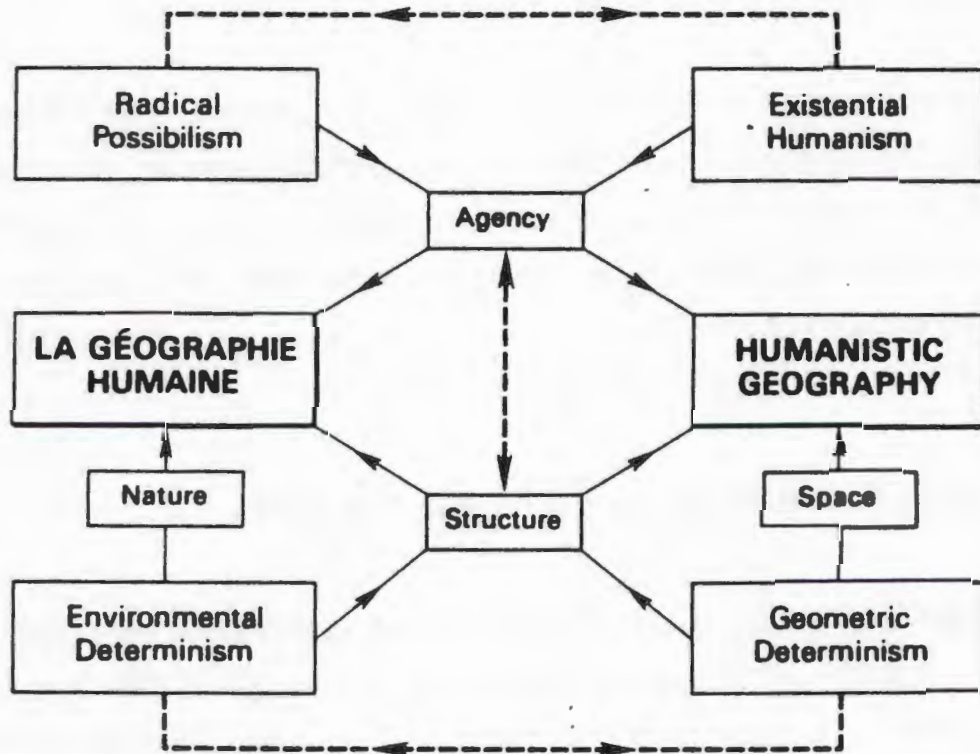


Figure 2.2 Gregory's explanation of humanist geography (Gregory, 1980, p 5).

Humanistic geography considers the 'humanness' both in terms of the geographers doing the research and in terms of the people the geographer studies. Researchers, since they are actively involved in research, bring their own interpretations, perceptions, values and background into the research and so influence and help to create the particular outcomes of that research. There is thus no such thing as objective research.

Many have debated the different aspects of humanist geography. The essential criticism of humanistic geography is that it gives too much power to the individual in terms of the human ability to construct social reality. Too much privilege is given to human agents and not enough cognisance is taken of the underlying structures which both constrain and enable human agency.

From the above discussion it is clear that there are a number of diverse ways of approaching humanism in geography. In the following chapter the nature of perception; the meaning of and attachment to place; and the role of human agents in shaping and altering structure through action is focused upon, drawing on the various interpretations offered above.

2.4 CONCLUSION OF THE BROAD TRENDS

The frameworks of locality, structuralism and humanism, as set within the realist project, are fundamental to the analysis of the perceptions of residents to the establishment and growth of the informal settlement in Hout Bay. The creative dialectic of structure and agency has been considered, as well as the two frameworks of locality and realism which serve to integrate and contextualise the structures of society and the action of human agents in time and place.

In further considering theoretical frameworks within which contemporary geographical research can be set, the relevance of post-modernism to the research at hand can be contemplated. In choosing to use a number of different theories, and by considering

these within the specifics and uniqueness of place, it was important to question whether this thesis was verging on the eclectic approach adopted by post-modernists. What post-modernism rejects about grand theories is that they imply a 'centre' around which all social life revolves. For structuralism, structure is the centre; for humanism, the human subject. Post-modernism rather focuses on differences. While the approach adopted in this dissertation is to a certain extent 'post-modern' in its eclecticism, it is supported by Gregory's (1989, p 69) comment that "if there is then no alternative but to pluck different elements from different systems for different purposes this is not a license for an uncritical eclecticism: patching them together must, rather, display a sensitivity towards the differences and disjunctures between them."

The complexities of the Hout Bay situation have been studied and it has been recognised that a number of different frameworks offer powerful tools of analysis in the understanding of the conflict at hand. Each of these has been considered and the relationships between them have been integrated within the broad philosophical framework of realism.

Gregory (1989, p 92) states,

to go beyond these limitations, I suspect, we need, in part, to go back to the question of areal differentiation: but armed with a new theoretical sensitivity towards the world in which we live and to the ways in which we represent it. Whether we focus on 'order' or 'disorder' or on the tension between the two – and no matter how we choose to define those terms – we still have to 'look'. We are still making geography.

Gregory's final point reveals a lot about the development of a theoretical framework for geographical research at this time. Dear (1988, p 262) comments that " this is a time of intellectual crisis, there is presently a tremendous furore over philosophy and method." Hence in this research a framework that incorporates all that is relevant to the questions being asked has been adopted. The research framework, was not only developed from a review of the literature, but was informed by the questions raised by the empirical investigations. By combining abstract theory and concrete research, the approach suggested by the realist project has been adopted.

In order to understand the processes evident in Hout Bay, it has been necessary to consider structure, agency and locality. The discussion of the results in chapters 5 – 10 highlight the importance of all the abovementioned frameworks in explaining the residents' perceptions and responses to the development of the informal settlement in Hout Bay. A framework that approaches post-modernism in its theoretical heterogeneity and its consideration of place has been chosen, yet this still remains within the world of the grand theories, since they offer useful tools of analysis, which provide geographers with the theory that enables us to explain the realities which we consider. Dear (1988, p 272) supports this when he states that "Even though I have rejected the search for a new grand theory, it must be clear that I also do not adhere to the 'Anything goes' school of philosophy." Grand theories remain important.

Having considered the broad theoretical frameworks to be used in this research in terms of the international literature, it is now important to focus on how these paradigms and frameworks can be applied to the South African context. In the following section, geographical theory within the South African milieu is considered.

2.5 THEORY IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

2.5.1 Introduction

The previous section outlined the various paradigms which are to be used in the analysis of residents' perceptions of the establishment and growth of the informal settlement in Hout Bay. It is important to set the research within the South African context, since the approaches and processes explained in the macro-theory are altered by the peculiarities of the South African situation. The impact of apartheid ideology on the structure of South African cities has been dramatic. The present transitional phase and the further development of informal components within existing formal patterns serves to further distort and alter the urban form as explained by the theories and frameworks of Anglo-American human geography. The applicability of the broad paradigms in relation to the South African situation therefore needed to be

questioned. As McCarthy comments (1992b, p 149), "South African urban geography has now hopefully matured sufficiently to exercise selectivity in its application of international literature."

The frameworks discussed in the above section are invaluable in exploring and interpreting the perceptions of the residents of Hout Bay. However these theories need to be placed within the context of the South African circumstance. This section seeks to provide a framework for the South African condition in such a way that the relevance and appropriateness of broader theory in explaining the conflict in Hout Bay becomes clear.

2.5.2 Human geography in South Africa at present

An Historical Overview

As with the development of human geography in the international sphere, South African geography has gone through revolutionary changes over the past two decades in content and in method (McCarthy and Rogerson, 1992). There has been a shift in emphasis from the positivist, ecological, spatial analysis of the early 1970 s, through to a reflection on processes of social and political change and the shaping of space in the apartheid city.

Davies' inaugural lecture at the University of Cape Town in 1976 represented the first major shift in approach where he suggested that South African cities have more in common with the colonial city than with the patterns of the advanced capitalist, western city. New emphasis was thus placed on the specificity of South African cities and their peculiar character (Beavon, 1982; Davies and McCarthy, 1984; Simon, 1984; Pirie, 1982). The 1980 s saw the development of applied geography, engaging in a host of planning and environmentally-related projects which focused on issues of poverty (Wellings, 1986; Crush, 1992; cited in McCarthy, 1992b) . Geography became politicized and community-based in a protest-oriented opposition to apartheid.

McCarthy and Smit's (1984) work played a major role in the understanding of apartheid and its material relations.

Geographers explored the urban politics of the 1980s, basing much of the work on Castells's (1977) theorizations presented in *The Urban Question*. The focus was thus on state policies and the spatial implications of such policy decisions. According to Mabin (1989), the most significant geographical work taken in this regard was Smit and Booysen's (1981) volume *Swart Verstedeliking* which considered the importance of political intervention and the role of the state in change. Another contribution which addressed the contemporary condition of South African society in the 1980s was the book published by Lemon (1987): *Apartheid in Transition*. Not many other books of geographical significance were published during this time, and Mabin (1989, p 123) questions whether any of them "make a penetrating contribution which really matters to the analysis of contemporary South Africa?"

However, recently there have been shifts in the approaches adopted by human geographers in understanding the nature of society and space. South African geography in the 1990s is moving toward a "phase of undertaking new geographies of post-apartheid reconstruction" (McCarthy and Rogerson 1992, p 2). There has been an indigenization of South African geography and a call for the focus on the Anglo-American branch of the discipline to be reassessed and placed within the proper context. Geographers have begun to concentrate on the realities of common people (Crush, 1992; Rogerson, 1992; Beavon, 1992). International frameworks of analysis are valid and important, but they must be used appropriately when dealing with the South African case. South African geographers have the depth of understanding necessary to investigate the complicated processes which underlie urban processes in this country and we should use these skills to draw on the insights of the international realm, while focusing on the particular issues which have developed in the local context.

Geographers are in a good position to address some of the serious problems facing South Africa in this period of reconstruction. Major analytical questions related to land

reform, urban planning, provision of resources, to mention a few, have arisen as the social and spatial transformation of South Africa develops (McCarthy and Rogerson, 1992). The transitional phase has resulted in a situation where processes cannot be simply linked to particular structures, since the structures in society are themselves in a process of flux. The relationships between causal processes and contingent conditions, as discussed in the realist paradigm, must be unravelled if the nature of society and space in South Africa is to be investigated. The legitimacy of structures and the acceptance of past norms have been questioned and challenged by people who reject the systems of the past. Hence the transitional phase has complicated the spatial patterns reflecting the changing structures of society. Geographers need to consider the patterns that are emerging. The land use patterns of Hout Bay have been altered considerably over the past five years and it is important to understand the responses of residents to such change if acceptable solutions to conflict are to be found.

Given the state of flux, it is necessary to consider the approaches adopted by human geographers in unravelling the complex interactions within society and between society and space. The realities of the problems in South Africa are highly complicated. Class divisions are present in our cities but these divisions are overlaid by the structures and forces of apartheid. Any understanding of human geography therefore requires an understanding of the broader processes as well as an application of these processes to the particular South African context. It is the role of geographers to explore the complexity of society and space and hence work towards proposing policy measures to eradicate the vast inequalities and injustices created by the systems of the past. Soni (1992 p 86) suggests that if

geography is to be meaningful in the context of the challenges and opportunities engendered by transformation in South Africa, then the subject and its practitioners should adopt a critical and confrontational posture while continuously exploring the possibilities for positive change.

McCarthy (1992b) calls for action research where geographers become actively involved in the process of change through research and by informing policy decision-making processes. This is the exciting challenge for geographers: to conduct appropriate research and to play a role in the transformation of society. If we are to

work towards the goal of sustainable development, humane and critical geography has the capacity for developing equitable and just solutions.

This Masters research project feeds into a broader HNRE research project entitled "Environmental Guidelines for the Planning and Development of Informal Communities within Existing Residential Areas" thus helping to contribute to the establishment of sustainable informal settlements within existing residential areas. With the present crises in South Africa, it is elitist and a luxury to conduct research which does not in some way contribute to the resolution of some of the country's problems.

2.5.3 Suggested approaches to human geography in South Africa

Contextualising international theoretical frameworks within South African reality is fundamental in any local research. Different geographers argue for the adoption of different macro-theories of geography. For example, Lupton (1992) and Mabin (1992) argue for the adoption of the Marxist approach in explaining the inequalities that exist, whereas Badenhorst (1992) and Lammas (1992) stress the important role of using qualitative and humanistic methods in understanding landscape. Another debate in South African geography is about the relative strength of political versus economic structures in determining social patterns and processes and their spatial manifestation. Certainly, political geography and the role of political structure in disempowering people by restricting access to land, must be considered. It is therefore necessary to reflect on the political process rather than just the political structures (Reintges and McCarthy, 1992). One needs to situate local conflicts within the context of more generalised political conflicts of the time.

However, Mabin (1992) challenges this viewpoint, indicating that the primary basis for black exclusion has been (and remains) poverty and class discrimination, rather than apartheid laws. This may hold true in South Africa in the future, if apartheid legislation is replaced by market oriented structures which in themselves perpetuate inequality (Lupton, 1992). Soni (1992) sets the understanding of housing in South Africa within the wider processes of capitalist accumulation and class relations, thereby linking it

theoretically to the broader conceptual framework of political economy. It is also important to consider the resistance of the built environment to change and the time lags involved in this transformation. Apartheid may be gone but the spatial legacy of inequality still remains (Smith, 1992).

Robinson (1992) approaches society and space from a different viewpoint. She considers the work of Foucault and Mann and develops a framework which recognises the important role of power relations and state apparatus as opposed to purely economic relations in determining the segregation of South African society. She suggests that "economic power and political power are mutually-constructing, interdependent, and interweaving" (Robinson, 1992, p 137). She argues that the form of cities is closely connected to the nature of political order and political power, basing her approach on that of Foucault which "sought to detail something of the power-knowledge connections which underpin modern society" (Robinson, 1992, p 292). She hence considers the importance of political relations and new forms of power (which, she argues, may not be that different from those of the past).

Conclusions drawn from the recent Human Sciences Research Council Conference in Pretoria in November 1993, "Global Change and Social Transformation", reiterate Robinson's views. The whole process of social transformation needs to be questioned. Who actually benefits from the changes that occur? Do those in power in the old order, not just shift their positions, translating various forms of 'capital' into other forms that are more appropriate in the new society, thereby maintaining their power and the status quo? Comments made in papers presented on the Eastern European transformation seem to suggest that in these countries, this has been the case. According to Robinson (1992, p 292) "as the new South Africa is being negotiated at the commanding heights of the power institutions of both the state and the opposition, it is appropriate therefore to consider the more routine power networks which have shaped and may in the future continue to shape South Africa cities."

The power relations that exist in Hout Bay with regard to the development of the informal settlement are interesting to consider. It must be recognised that "some of the

more subtle aspects of power embodied in the urban form and in discourses concerning urban government will present obstacles to the creation of a democratic and equitable post-apartheid city" (Robinson, 1992, p 293). To what extent have these power structures been altered and challenged in Hout Bay? Mann (cited in Robinson, 1989) places territory at the heart of social power. He considers the links between state power and territorial strategies, suggesting that political, ideological and economic relations are mutually involved in the forging of power-enhancing spatial arrangements. It is important to question the power agenda of the state in terms of the Hout Bay conflict. What new power relations resulted from the decision to permanently settle the informal settlers in Hout Bay? And how might these be reinforced or altered under the new political dispensation?

McCarthy (1992b, p 145) suggests that "the challenges for urban geography in the future will lie primarily in the direction of applied work and the engagement with processes of urban reconstruction". Geographers need to consider the challenge of resolving intra-urban racial or class locational changes in South Africa (McCarthy, 1992b) – as is the intention of this research on Hout Bay.

For McCarthy, the most appealing theory to use in understanding the specifics and complexities of place in South Africa, is that of locale (McCarthy, 1991b). Others need to be made aware of the variety of urban forms and the different situations which exist in different places. Development programmes must take into account the local context. Rogerson's (1993) work on the informal sector, has also recently adopted locality as a framework of analysis, as does Smit (1992) in his focus on regional planning.

Smit (1992) recognises the important role that geographers play in contributing to regional planning. The links between geography and planning are clearly evident in the work being conducted in Hout Bay. Geographical skills and frameworks of analysis are invaluable in understanding the planning process of the establishment and growth of the informal settlement. The importance of the role of urban planning is stressed by Smit (1992, p 224):

while there is growing international acceptance of the importance of sustainable development, it is likely that planners and geographers will find themselves working together on familiar terrain as agitators for environmentally sensitive approaches to development... they will have to be active and entrepreneurial participants in the development process and in the promotion of appropriate types of economic growth.

Despite the apparent vigour of theoretical debate, all is not well with urban geography in South Africa at present. There are gaps that need to be filled and there are challenges that need to be taken up. Many geographers are presently leaving geography departments (or even the country) and re-positioning themselves within different academic, political and non-governmental organisations, while little emphasis is being placed on the development of a coherent and integrative approach to human geography in South Africa. Geographers seem to be waiting for change to take place, before they commit themselves to paper with regard to concrete research.

Mabin (1989) questions whether geographers have contributed anything different to the analysis of society and space in South Africa. He feels that people have made individual contributions but that we have not "demonstrated that geography matters in the understanding of contemporary South Africa, let alone in its alteration" (Mabin, 1989, p 123). This dissertation has aimed at providing an understanding of the nature of society in space in South Africa at present, in situations where the juxtaposition of very different groups of people has resulted in tension and conflict.

2.6 CONCLUSION

Having considered the broad theoretical frameworks to be used in this thesis, as well as their link to the nature and type of research that is appropriate in the South African context, the focus now shifts to the application of the theory to the particularities of the Hout Bay case. In this next chapter the tools necessary for the analysis and understanding of the Hout Bay conflict are developed.

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CHAPTER 3

THE HOUT BAY CONFLICT THROUGH DIFFERENT THEORETICAL LENSES

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Having considered the broad theoretical frameworks to be used in this thesis, it is now important to explore how these can be applied to the conflict which has developed in Hout Bay. This chapter seeks to consider the issues being investigated through various theoretical lenses. The relevance of structuralism and humanism as each applies to the various issues at hand is first considered. Attention is then paid to how the theory of territoriality contributes to the understanding of the Hout Bay conflict. Subsequent sections focus on the use of locality and realism in explaining the broader findings of this dissertation. Finally the particularities of the South African case are considered by exploring the nature of the urban form under the phases of colonialism, apartheid and the post-apartheid transition.

3.2 USING THE THEORY OF STRUCTURALISM TO EXPLAIN THE CONFLICT IN HOUT BAY

In applying the broad theory of structuralism to the land use conflict in Hout Bay, attention is paid to the way in which this theory illustrates the role of the state in managing the Hout Bay situation; the class divisions which exist; the investment in the built environment; and the nature of residential segregation.

3.2.1 The role of the state

From a structuralist viewpoint the state is seen as generally supporting the aims of capitalism and hence is a tool of the ruling class (Edel, 1981). Urban struggles are linked to the dynamics of the capitalist system and conflicts and contradictions inherent in the system. It is seen as the state's role to mediate and to control the conflict, while still maintaining the status quo (Castells, 1977). The state therefore needs powers of social control and the necessary apparatus to re-establish social institutions and guarantee the production and reproduction of class relations in society. It legitimises the existing order and maintains the equilibrium (Dear and Scott, 1981). The state attempts to resolve the contradictions through intervention, but this is generally an expression of class and society in that it usually favours the dominant class. As a consequence, solutions to conflicts become technical rather than political and political debate and reform is avoided. The extent to which the involvement of the state in the Hout Bay conflict challenged the existing status quo is considered in this thesis.

Planning is directly linked to the role of the state and in many instances the planning authorities involved in the built environment act as vehicles for state intervention as opposed to being independent actors in the process. Planning is therefore not neutral as it is located within broader structures of society (Forrest, Henderson and Williams, 1982). In analysing planning it is necessary to consider the motive force behind state intervention. Planning is a mode of intervention which more than often serves the specific interests of capitalism. The process is complicated, as Dear and Scott suggest (1981, p 9):

urbanisation and planning constitute an integrated social event which is outwardly manifested in the form of a hierarchy of complex, dense and highly polarised land-use systems. Within these systems, civil society (firms and households) and the state (urban planners) interact with each other in highly specific and often analytically puzzling ways.

The planning process itself engenders further predicaments and conflicts which lead to a new structural complexity. Planning is another whole area of debate and research

in itself. It is alluded to in this chapter and in the analysis, but will not be dealt with fully, as the role of planning and the planning process per se is not the focus of this research. It is important to recognise it as a mechanism that is both enabled and constrained by broader structures, and which plays a fundamental role in the reproduction of social space. For a detailed analysis of planning in the Hout Bay context see Gawith (1994).

Szelneyi (cited in Badcock, 1984) suggests that under certain circumstances, the interests of the state can structurally coincide with the interests of labour. Structural conflicts emerge between the state and capitalism and the state no longer acts as the instrument of the dominant class. This represents the role of the state in the Hout Bay conflict. In this case the motive and response of the state in intervening is of great interest, as it has not favoured the dominant elite group, but has rather been forced to recognise the powerful and influential pressure of the politically mobilised low-income group, which has emerged during the process of transition in South Africa. It is shifting power relations rather than economic relations which have to a large extent determined the outcome of the housing problem in Hout Bay. Robinson (1989, 1992) considers how power relations and the role of the state act to shape society and space, therefore not accepting economic relations as being the only structural agents. Mann observes that economy, politics, and ideology have a close dialectical relationship rather than being external to one another (cited in Robinson, 1989). Hence the autonomy of the state, and the way in which it manipulates territory in order to gain control, must not be under-estimated.

The state plays a major role in controlling and alleviating conflict and crises between the two classes in order to maintain everybody's interest in the status quo. This is certainly the perception of landowners who demand protection via government regulations and planning decisions. In Hout Bay the dominant upper-income group feel betrayed by the state, as they have come to expect that their needs would be supported and enforced in decisions made by the state.

The state has played a major role in the resolution of the land use crisis in Hout Bay. The exact nature of this involvement is beyond the focus of this research project. What is important to analyse, however, is the surrounding communities' expectations of the state. The perceptions of the residents of Hout Bay of the state's involvement in the process and their reaction to the state's intervention is considered in this research. The structuralist approach provides the tools for understanding how different socio-economic groups relate to and understand the role of the state in society.

Having briefly discussed the role of the state in capitalist society, attention is now paid to the segregation of society and space within the capitalist system.

3.2.2 Class divisions within modern capitalist society

Markusen (1976) indicates that in investigating the stratification of residential areas, it is necessary first to consider the various class subgroups. She refers to the pure capitalists (owners of capital), petty bourgeois capitalists (own capital but their person labour is necessary to make a living), professional class (who are highly trained and sell their labour), oligopolistic wage labour (work in oligopoly sector and enjoy high wages and security), competitive wage labour (work for low wages, no job security), and the reserve army of labour (work occasionally, low wages). Different classes and subgroups are often not easily distinguishable from each other. However broad class distinctions and differing socio-economic classes can be recognised. The Hout Bay community represents stratification within classes and there are certainly different submarkets of housing which represent a fragmentation of the class structure. Consideration is given to the different reactions of members of different strata in the class system to the conflict which has developed in Hout Bay.

However, even with the decrease in divisions between classes, the dominant elite group maintains control and so increases the levels of inequality. As Johnston (1984, p 48) states, "capitalist economic systems are based on inequalities both economic and social since one relatively small class has a virtual monopoly over crucial

economic decision making and so can manipulate the political and social structures to its own ends".

It is significant to consider the extent to which the economically dominant group has maintained control in Hout Bay. What processes have enabled the lower-income group to gain power, altering the status quo and overcoming the system as described above? Shifts in power in this transitional phase have played a fundamental role in altering society and space in Hout Bay.

3.2.3 The built environment and the capitalist system

According to Harvey (1981), in order for the capitalist system to maintain itself, there must be a continual flow of capital through the primary, secondary and tertiary circuits of investment. When overaccumulation at any level occurs, then crisis develops and reinvestment into another sector is necessary. The investment of fixed capital into the built environment is important since it creates the physical landscape for the process of capitalism. The relevance of this, in terms of this research project, is that surplus capital is often invested into the built environment and thus the construction of housing becomes a vested stake in the accumulation of capital. Housing is bought in the market as a commodity and hence is scarce for those who lack economic power. Inequality in the housing process therefore reflects the inequality of the social and economic structures of society (Burke, 1981; Robson, 1979; Harloe, 1981; Agnew, 1981). The need for shelter is a basic need but within society large discrepancies exist in terms of land tenure and the methods used in the provision of housing, as well as the level and standard of housing acquired.

Harloe (1981) suggests that it is important to consider the changing boundary in housing provision, one being via market criteria of access and the other via public provision according to need. The different means of obtaining housing and the perceptions and expectations that this creates, are essential to an understanding of housing submarkets and residential segregation and thus are a major determining factor in the Hout Bay conflict. In the case of Hout Bay, the expected norms of

residential patterning were altered by the social action of a group who transcended and dramatically transgressed the usual barriers of spatial patterning according to class, thereby forcing change in the social relations that exist.

For the individual home-owner and large developers, property appreciation is essential, hence any event which upsets this process will create conflict. Private ownership of housing implies that the individual gains from material benefits, capital growth, relative choice of location, and the freedom to manage property in a manner in which he or she chooses (Harloe, 1981; Agnew, 1981). Agnew (1981) argues that homeownership is also important in terms of the status and social esteem it provides. People evaluate themselves in terms of what they own and use in capitalist society and when these objects are scarce, status is endowed and self evaluation is satisfied (Marx, 1953 cited in Agnew, 1981). This in turn enhances the exchange value of certain commodities such as housing, and so it becomes an integral part of the system. Individual homeownership also leads to social stability which, in terms of the functioning of broader society, reinforces the commodification of housing (Harvey, 1981). Landownership is an important element of the capitalist system since social reproduction is necessary for the system to perpetuate and maintain itself (Edel, 1981). Homeownership "creates a circumstance in which the capitalist ethic of 'possessive individualism' can develop and flourish" (Agnew, 1981, p 466)

The built environment can be seen as an important means whereby capital can be accumulated and is directly related to the reproduction of the capitalist class and the social divisions which result from this (Pratt, 1989a). The mediation of the capitalist process and property relations result in a highly diverse land-use system which spatially reflects those processes (Dear and Scott, 1981).

However, it is important to recognise that there are considerable differences in the way in which people relate to the concept of homeownership. As Agnew discusses in her paper on homeownership in the USA and UK (Agnew, 1981), Americans find far more value in homeownership than their British counterparts. In South Africa, different socio-economic, cultural, political and structural factors have resulted in highly varied

perceptions of homeownership amongst the different classes and racial groups who have experienced disparate access to and provision of housing. The white population of Hout Bay (and South Africa) largely follows the patterns described above, where homeownership is valued and favoured. However, their perceptions and attitudes conflict with those of both the harbour community and the informal settlers and this juxtaposition serves to fuel the conflict. It is therefore necessary to consider the different attitudes of the three communities in Hout Bay to the ownership and acquisition of land in terms of their socio-economic status and the resultant value and meaning that they attach to land.

The urban form clearly reflects the operation of the processes discussed above. In order to consider the context of class conflict in Hout Bay, which is largely a land use conflict between the middle to high socio-economic status white residents of Hout Bay and the relatively low-income informal settlement community, it is important to consider the way in which class relations are played out or maintained in the reproduction of social life. Johnston (1984, p 153) comments that "the major variable determining residential patterning of cities is the class system". It is important to note, however, that as Pratt (1989a, p 84) suggests, "not only do social processes shape the city, but urban spatial structures also shape capitalist social relations."

Hence the spatial relations that are formed perpetuate the very mechanisms and structures that lead to their development in the first place, thereby reinforcing and reproducing the status quo.

In analysing urban processes and the patterns that result, it is imperative that the underlying structures and social processes are investigated and acknowledged (Castells, 1977; Edel, 1981; Dear and Scott, 1981; Harvey, 1981; Burke, 1981; Herbert and Smith, 1989). The organisation of urban form and structure is a tangible expression of private locational decision-making, but it is constrained and enabled by the logic of wider capitalist society. In the South African case these patterns have been distorted and altered by the implementation of apartheid planning.

3.2.4 Residential segregation and the reproduction of class

Residential areas are the focus of social life and constitute the realm in which people play out their daily lives. These areas are differentiated and segregated by class. As the production process generates differential wage and status positions between the classes, so the level and standard of housing consumption differs between the classes. Class interests lie at the base of much of the system through which housing is distributed (Robson, 1979).

The consideration of residential segregation is complicated as Pratt (1989a, p 99) indicates: "the effects of spatial separation and concentration are mediated by a whole range of social processes only understandable in particular historical and situational contexts". This reflects that locality and the specifics of place are important in the understanding and analysis of social processes.

The basic common interest within each class is for the individuals of that class to maintain their position in the class system. Since the division of labour has transgressed the originally clearly defined boundaries, other mechanisms enable the preservation of boundaries and membership between the different classes.

Ownership of housing and access to different areas is determined by level of income, stability of employment and the willingness of mortgage lenders to make money available to workers. Mortgage lenders act as social gatekeepers and thus financial institutions along with estate agents are often instrumental in determining access to location and homeownership. This segregation in turn reinforces the reproduction of the classes since varying access to public facilities, most notably education, exacerbates the differences between classes (Pratt, 1989a). Access to resources is thus largely determined by access to particular localities.

Factors that lead to the development of spatial segregation of cities were initially prompted by the increasing separation between home and work within the capitalist industrial city. As increased class conflict created fear among the upper classes, so

the process of distancing was instituted. Upper classes wanted spatial distance between themselves and workers and so moved into suburbs where homes became private spheres. Hence the residential community represents the social basis of differentiation and promotes consciousness of class (Agnew, 1981).

Residential segregation may also serve to reduce class conflict because the classes are separated, thereby fostering mutual ignorance. Other factors such as stage in the life cycle, ethnicity, place in division of labour and lifestyles also play a role in residential differentiation and this may serve to fragment class consciousness (Pratt, 1989a). In his work on separation and integration in Ireland, Pringle (1990) indicates how the reinforcement of social separation creates myths, which are mostly incorrect, thereby perpetuating stereotypes which are not based on actual social contact. People of the upper class are not confronted with the harsh realities that poorer groups have to live with, whereas those of the lower class are not continually exposed to the vast differences and inequalities that occur between themselves and those above them. This reduces their feelings of relative deprivation. It is necessary to consider the conflict that results when social distancing is overridden and two groups that are polarised in terms of socio-economic and political status are spatially juxtaposed, as in Hout Bay.

Spatial segregation and separation of people can be an effective means of exclusion and control. It ensures that the dominant culture can articulate freely in space and develop a solid base upon which a particular culture can reproduce itself (Williams and Kofman, 1989, cited in Smith, 1990). Segregation is obviously more striking in a society where the underlying policies and ideology of that society entrench segregation as in South Africa under apartheid.

3.2.5 The process of distancing and social segregation

Inherent in class conflict is the desire for all to improve their relative position by obtaining a larger proportion of income, power and status available in society. According to Johnston (1984, p 157), "each class resists erosion of their relative

status, income levels and power by those seeking to move up from below them." Mechanisms which enable self protection are evident, with the middle class looking both ways at once. Occupants of a class repel the invasion of others through class and political activity, since as individuals they are relatively powerless to change society. Education and access to it is widely perceived as the vehicle providing access to social mobility since opportunities afforded by good education enable individuals to move up through the class strata. The process of distancing is the mechanism sought by classes to defend their interests from invasion by those of a lower socio-economic status (Johnston, 1984).

Distancing occurs on the basis of positive and negative externalities. Externalities, as defined by Johnston (1984, p 164), are the "aspects of the local environment which contribute to the quality of life of an individual or group, which are not purchased directly by them". Many believe that they pay for positive externalities in housing prices, an important issue in Hout Bay.

There is usually a broad consensus across the population as to what constitutes a positive or negative externality. Those in the upper classes are able to choose to live in areas with a high level of positive externalities. It is interesting to note the different perceptions of the three communities in Hout Bay of the positive externalities of their neighbourhood. Their attachment to place in terms of what they value in the environment and in terms of the opportunities and constraints it offers, varies considerably.

Locales with negative externalities are generally considered undesirable and thus are affordable to those of the lower classes. In capitalist society, where homes are purchased, desirability is clearly reflected in property values. It is externalities in the social environment and their implications for the improvement and maintenance of status and position that is important in understanding residential location patterns. As Johnston (1984, p 145) states, "externality involves the desire to ensure that the lifestyles, public behaviours and social and economic habits of our neighbours are at least consonant with one's own". Hence the upper class has a vested interest in

maintaining a neighbourhood congruent with their own values, and the development of a identifiable community becomes a means of recognising and reproducing social class.

This allows for the socialisation of children in an environment which reinforces the correct behaviour to enable them to move upwards socially and economically. The development of a neighbourhood which represents a person's social status in itself becomes a positive externality for the community. Outsiders associate levels of success with a particular locality. Hout Bay is known as a middle- to upper-income area with many desirable qualities. Valuable social contacts are developed in such neighbourhoods and people are able to develop roots and an identity with the community. Residents that have the same expectations, standards, and values with regard to way of life, will thus be prepared to protect and maintain the area and hence defend its character. This form of community interest often only becomes evident in the face of threat – as was clearly the case in Hout Bay. Residents perceive that the neighbourhood maintains and influences social and economic behaviour, and so they are prepared to go to great lengths to protect it. It is both the perception of what a good neighbourhood offers in terms of class status as well as their vested interest as landowners in the system which impacts on their attitudes and perceptions.

The higher class usually has far more political power and resources, access to legal systems and links with political systems than the lower-income groups, and hence they can usually defend and succeed in protecting their rights in terms of any conflict that may develop. It is important to question in this thesis to what extent the frustration and anger in Hout Bay is a result of the usually dominant group not getting what they have come to expect, i.e. support from the state.

Negative externalities are usually located in poorer areas, thus heightening the relative deprivation of the classes. This is clearly the perception of people of the upper class who indicate that valuable upper-income areas should not be devalued by bad planning decisions which result in the degradation or decrease of their quality of life and environment. Markusen (1976, p 62) summarises this when she says

there is a defensive attitude on the part of suburban and ex-urban residents who are beginning to oppose growth in their communities because of high infrastructural costs associated with it, potential overuse of facilities they enjoy and subtle fear of incursions by other groups who might ultimately undermine the 'fabric' of the community and erode property values.

The spatial structure of capitalist urban places both reproduces the capitalist class and reflects its characteristics (Pratt, 1989a). According to Markusen (1976, p 61) "exclusion of high cost populations and low-income residents is achieved by using policy tools such as exclusionary zoning and building codes to manipulate both the supply and demand features of the local market for social output."

Capitalism creates housing classes and members of various classes are allocated to different areas to fulfil distancing requirements. Thus the whole process of distancing serves to maintain and reproduce the social divisions of the classes. It enables people to ignore those with whom they wish to avoid contact and results in the development of images of society that are inconsistent with empirical reality. People are socialised through their local environments, and access to facilities and services, most notably education, restrict or enhance a person's mobility within the system. Residential segregation is an outcome of the avoidance of conflict between the classes. People thus operate in different lifeworlds and stereotype others so that they are perceived as threats, thereby enabling them to maintain the divisions. To counter the fear of invasion, boundaries are created. Urban existence is therefore spatially divided. This division then creates and reproduces the very systems which led to the divisions in the first place and so the process is perpetuated. This is clearly not the case in Hout Bay where the spatial divisions have been transgressed, and thus the Hout Bay community has had to create other mechanisms for dealing with the presence of two such different communities in such close proximity.

The patterns of the post-apartheid urban areas of South Africa clearly do not follow the trends experienced in the advanced capitalist cities as described above. This alteration in pattern is discussed in the South African section further on in this chapter.

The major cause of the protectionist and territorial behaviour of the residents in relation to the immigrants is thought to be fear of the unknown (Johnston, 1984). The fear grows and so stereotypes and stigmas are created about the newcomers in order to maintain the distance between the two groups. The immigrant group is labelled with strong negative externalities which creates more fear and the situation becomes self-reinforcing. In capitalist cities these immigrant groups are usually confined to ghetto areas and distancing is maximised. In the case of the development of Mizamoyethu, this has not happened and the usual mechanisms which alleviate class conflict, namely spatial boundaries, have been transgressed. Hence conflict is at a maximum.

The distancing between classes is usually greatest at the extremes. As Johnston (1984, p 188) says, it is "those with the greatest amounts of income, status and power and also those with the least who are most isolated spatially, from members of other classes". In Hout Bay, residents are located close to both the low-income harbour area and now more recently the informal settlement. The former is located in Hout Bay (historically) in terms of the initial labour requirements of the harbour and the segregationist policies of apartheid, and the latter due to the attempts of the urban poor to find land and work in areas away from the townships.

The above section focuses on how the structures of society, particularly class structure, influence the nature of residential areas. However, human agents are both constrained and enabled by structure. It is thus important to consider the Hout Bay conflict through the humanist lense in order to gain insight into the way in which individuals have interpreted the situation which has developed. The various communities and other agents in Hout Bay have shaped and altered the outcomes and events, acting either to maintain the previous status quo (the ratepayers) or to challenge it (the informal settlers) and this needs to be investigated and understood.

3.3 HUMANISM AND THE INTERPRETATION OF THE HOUT BAY CONFLICT

Humanism, as a broad framework, offers valuable insight into the perceptions of the residents of Hout Bay to the changes which have taken place in the suburb over the past five years. The whole notion of perception and the meaning given to it, falls within this broad paradigm. In the following section, the concepts of perception and attitudes are considered. Models of perception which are relevant to this research project are discussed. The concept of sense of place and the meaning that people attach to place are investigated. The interpretation of landscape and the lifeworlds that humans create form an important focus of this thesis. The action of human agents in forming their own world views, as well as the way in which their action and behaviour changes (or serves to maintain) the world in which they live, is also discussed.

3.3.1 Perceptions and attitudes - defining the parameters

Reality is socially constructed by people as they experience stimuli, and hence develop attitudes, beliefs and values. People's environmental perceptions and cognitions may differ considerably from the 'true' nature of the 'real' world (Potter, 1985). It is thus difficult to discern what is 'real' and what is perceived as being real. Yet perceptions influence the way we behave or act and so an understanding of perception is crucial in the resolution of environmental problems (Tuan, 1974). As Arbuthnot (cited in Caduto, 1985, p 8) states:

The success of public policy decisions, educational programs, and other efforts, dependent upon specific individual action in the realm of environmental issues, may well hinge upon our understanding of the relationships among personality characteristics, attitudes, environmental values, knowledge and behaviour.

The study of environmental perceptions, attitudes and values is highly complex (Tuan, 1974) and thus it is important to define what is meant by perception, since this concept is central to the research at hand. Perception is dealt with in a wide range of literature, with a considerable amount of research being focused within the behavioural

school of geography which developed in the late 1960 s and 1970 s. Perception is often taken for granted, used very loosely, and implied to mean 'what people think'. Perception cannot be considered in such vague terms and so this section focuses on definitions and models which form the broad framework for the study of perceptions and attitudes in this research project.

Yet, it is difficult to define environmental perception, as there is considerable overlap between perception and attitudes. According to Tuan (1974, p 4), a perception is "both the response of the senses to external stimuli and purposeful activity in which certain phenomena are clearly registered, while others recede in the shade or are blocked out". An attitude however, is "primarily a cultural stance, a position one takes vis a vis the world. It has greater stability than perceptions and is formed of a long succession of perceptions, that is, of experience." (Tuan 1974, p 4)

Theoretically the differentiation between perceptions, attitudes and values is relatively clear. However, in conducting empirical research it is problematic to identify perceptions and attitudes independently, particularly when using a formal questionnaire as the research methodology. To gain a full understanding of perceptions and attitudes, it would be necessary to become immersed in the lifeworlds of individuals for a considerable period of time, using a longitudinal survey technique, in order to differentiate between fixed attitudes and perceptions.

The current perceptions of residents in Hout Bay of the development of the informal settlement are being influenced by existing attitudes which have been entrenched over time. The apartheid system, for example, will have played a dramatic role in forming people's attitudes and these influence the way in which they perceive the present land use conflict.

An attitude is understood to be fixed and stable, predisposing people to particular behaviour. Attitudes generally become entrenched and often are difficult to change. Perceptions however are far more fluid and change with time, as experience forces or causes change. Hout Bay residents have had to shift their perceptual boundaries

as the informal settlement has developed. While their perceptions may have altered, it is unlikely that many of their underlying attitudes will have changed. However this is difficult to discern.

Models of perception

Many geographers have attempted to theorise about environmental perception in their work, realising the importance of environmental perceptions in the study of space. Lowenthal (1961) argues that perceptions of individuals are firmly rooted in their personal worlds, and occur because people elect to see certain aspects of the world and ignore others. Different cultures have their own shared stereotypes, which are reflected in language and affect the members of the group's perceptions. Hence landscapes are shaped for each individual by the transmission of information through both cultural and personal lenses.

According to Tuan (1974), the factors which affect perception are: the senses; common psychological structures and responses; ethnocentrism; symmetry and space; personal worlds; individual differences and preferences; culture, experience and environmental attitudes; world views and topophilia. Most of the factors mentioned above fall within the scope of the humanist tradition. Human agents interpret their world differently, creating different meanings of place. They act under free will and hence determine the nature of their own experience. Tuan (1974) makes no real mention of the role of structure in influencing perceptions.

Pocock and Hudson (1978) provide a very useful model for considering perception. The model reveals the complex interactive process between humans and the environment. Perceptions are created by: (1) accumulations of the past, stored experiences and knowledge, (2) the present situation and context, (3) the psychological and physiological make-up of the person, (4) their cultural background, and (5) their current state at the time of the environmental perceptions. All of the above are interlinked and function together both to influence and create perceptions, attitudes, beliefs and values. Pocock and Hudson's model, to a certain extent,

accommodates the duality of structure and agency and the nature of locality, as influencing factors in the formation of perceptions and is therefore a useful model for this thesis.

Downs and Stea (1973) define perception far more broadly in terms of its application to geography. They suggest that to geographers, perception is an all embracing term representing perception, memories, attitudes, preferences and other psychological factors which contribute to the formation of environmental cognition. The art of perceiving incorporates all of these elements. This kind of approach is unacceptable since, as difficult as it is, it is important to separate the concepts of perception and attitude and to consider how these influence behaviour.

For the purposes of this research project, perception is used in a way which is congruent with the definitions and models suggested by Tuan (1974) and Pocock and Hudson (1978). These frameworks will be extended and adapted as the analysis of the situation unfolds. Both approaches are essentially humanist in nature and this broad theoretical framework is used for the analysis and interpretation of residents' perceptions of the establishment of an informal settlement in the area. However, it is the contention of this thesis that perceptions are also influenced by the structures of society and the particularities of place. Perception is therefore considered within a framework which recognises the dual role of structure and agency as played out in place.

3.3.2 The nature of place from a humanist perspective

The meaning and value that humans attach to place is now considered, as the sense of place of Hout Bay is fundamental to an understanding of the conflict which has developed. Different approaches are used in explaining the interpretation of landscape. Humans develop a world view which is partly personal but largely social – it is created by an attitude or belief system. This concept is extended further in relation to place.

One approach to the study of place is phenomenology, which evolved as the descriptive philosophy of experience. It focuses on how the meaning of the environment is defined by each individual and involves the researcher seeking to identify, through empathetic understanding, how the individual structures the environment in a subjective way (Johnson, 1991a). It attempts to understand how people live in relation to everyday places, spaces and environments.

The theory accepts that culture, history and personality alter perceptions but suggests that there is a certain given-ness to human existence which transcends this (Relph, 1985). The concept of lifeworlds was developed by Seamon and Ley and goes beyond the mundaneness of day to day living, being rather the way in which the world presents itself to us. It investigates the experiential meaning places have for people. It considers the experience as it happens in its own way, through its own structure and dynamics.

People develop time-space routines and place ballets which consist of a habitual set of behaviours that enable them to perform daily tasks without much thought (Seamon, 1980). People become attached to these routines and any interference with these causes conflict. The extent to which the Hout Bay residents' lifeworlds, time-space routines and place ballets have been upset and altered by the presence of informal settlers within the community will be considered in this thesis.

The development of place ballets and lifeworlds creates essentially a conservative force, which is resistant to change and which leads to the development of a strong sense of place because it is consistent and continual. Place is experienced without conscious or deliberate thought and yet it is full of significance. This is the foundation of the experience of place. Place ballets develop interpersonal co-operation and familiarity and trust within a community, thereby defining a neighbourhood.

Individuals seek meaning in the landscape and it is this meaning that Tuan (1974) refers to as topophilia. Relph (1976), on the other hand, accounts for human place experiences by saying that they are constructed in the memories of people becoming

so through the repeated encounters and experiences of place, and through the complex associations and interactions that happen in space and place. As Relph (1989, p 158) comments, the geographical imagination "looks first at, and then through, individual experiences of places to broader environmental implications and then back to the experiences of others in order to appreciate the conditions of their lives".

Humans are central to the interpretation and experience of places that they occupy and hence constitute the meaning of place and space. To quote Cloke, Philo and Sadler (1991, p 81), phenomenologist and existentialist geographers began to consider "the way ordinary people leading ordinary lives encounter, perceive and perhaps reflect upon spaces, places and environments all around them". In exploring the nature of place it is important to recognise that it is not possible to discover the truth of other people's lives and lifeworlds; one can only hope to describe these in as much detail as possible.

The study of lifeworlds is important since it addresses people's attachments to place and it illuminates the emotions lying behind so many contemporary struggles. Relph's (1976) book *Place and Placelessness* explores place as a phenomenon of the lifeworld of our everyday experience. He considers the relationship between people and place in terms of how place manifests itself in the human experiences and consciousness. This is relevant in the case of Hout Bay, where different groups have attached different meanings to place and are interpreting the landscape in varying ways, resulting in different lifeworlds and place ballets in terms of their day-to-day experiences. It is important to explore how this influences the conflict that has developed.

The humanist framework is useful in explaining and understanding the attachment to and sense of place that has developed in Hout Bay. The perceptions of place vary greatly and this impacts on the residents' responses to the establishment and growth of the informal settlement. It is important to consider what it is that the (largely) white residents wish to protect and what it is that they fear losing. As Seamon and Buttner

(1980, p 167) suggest, "there are many dimensions to the meanings ascribed to place: symbolic, emotional, cultural, political, and biological... when the fundamental values associated with any of these levels of experience are threatened, then protest about the meaning of place may erupt." This conflict is then articulated in behavioural and/or legal terms. The action of human agents in Hout Bay clearly supports the point made by Seamon and Buttimer.

The nature of place impacts on residents' perceptions of the planning process implemented in their neighbourhood. The language used to describe residents' perceptions of place and the language used to plan economically and technologically are often very different and so conflict results. Hout Bay residents commented on the fact that "outsiders" who did not understand the situation in Hout Bay had been responsible for the planning. This reflects the importance of understanding the concepts of insiders and outsiders as defined by Seamon and Buttimer (1980). The person who observes a place from outside speaks of housing, whereas the resident of that place lives the process of dwelling (Buttimer, 1980a). It is therefore essential to attempt to understand the language of lived experience when considering such a conflict.

In studying place in geography we are, according to Samuels (1978), searching for "the meanings persons give their places – the desire to seek out the 'subjective', value-loaded reference points in the lives of individuals and specific groups." In considering residents' perceptions of place, it is necessary to interpret how people feel about place: what their attachments to place are and what they wish to defend and protect. These questions are fundamental to the Hout Bay conflict, where the sense of place differs between individuals and communities. Perceptions of the different groups are influenced by their notions of the sense of place and this has resulted in conflict.

Of particular relevance to the present study is research conducted by Ley (1974). He moved away from the phenomenological and existential approaches and investigated the social actions of social groups as construed through their everyday experience of

taken for granted events. He explored the black inner city areas in urban America, considering the misconceptions and prejudices associated with conventional depictions of people and place. He considered the inter-subjective connected nature of lifeworlds, focusing on the shared meanings and common sense knowledges associated with groups of people who share experiences in similar places.

The extent to which the residents of Hout Bay have attempted to resist change, thereby attempting to hold onto the previous comfortable and acceptable sense of place has been questioned. Is this what they so badly want to defend and protect – Hout Bay as a place that reflects the meaning they attach to it? Fundamental to this thesis are the questions: what is the sense of place of Hout Bay, and how does it differ for the different communities? The humanistic framework provides the tools for the exploration of the above.

3.3.3 Human agents as instruments of change

The humanist interpretation of society and space stresses the importance of human agents in shaping the nature of social processes. As human agents act, so they change outcomes and events thereby influencing the nature of the causal powers and contingent circumstances. It is thus important to consider the role of human agents in shaping the processes evident in Hout Bay. However, it is important to recognise that human agents are enabled and constrained by structure and so it is also necessary to investigate and take cognisance of structural underpinnings. Gibson (1978, p 153) comments that

we see the urban patterns of our time being changed or preserved, or we see them merely continuing according to the will of interrelated interest groups and the material conditions involved. We learn to see the relationships among interest groups, the values they pursue, and the consequence of this in the form and meaning of places. We locate our values in this process and thus recognize our own existence as actors making, maintaining, or countervailing changes.

Pred's (1990) work on mercantile capitalists in Boston is interesting and enlightening as it shows how the paths followed by merchants through time and space contributed

to what the merchants became. Although Pred's work is set within structuration theory, it has been considered in this section as it illustrates the importance of human agents in influencing and altering the nature of society and space. It also reflects the resultant outcomes of the interaction between the various communities in Hout Bay. The accumulation of knowledge by individuals results from the daily reproduction of institutions and social patterns. Through the action of agents, which are constrained and enabled by structure, structure itself is reinforced or may be changed. Hence Cloke, Philo and Sadler (1991, p 119) comment on Pred's argument:

his identification of shared elements of daily paths in the biographies of particular individuals leads to a recognition of social interactions, and more specifically of exchanges of knowledge, which would sponsor a form of political mobilisation whenever the interests of mercantile classes were threatened by micro-scale or macro-scale events. Pred argues that such political mobilisation in turn can produce a restructuring of the explicit rules that operate at local, state or national levels.

This has relevance in terms of the processes responsible for the diffusion of information in Hout Bay with regard to the events and developments of the informal settlement. The extent to which the contact between the formal residents and the informal settlers has worked to perpetuate and reinforce the negative perceptions which exist in Hout Bay is examined in this thesis. The way in which the interaction between the communities has affected the outcomes is also considered. It is necessary to focus on the changes that have occurred in the structural rules and boundaries of Hout Bay, and how people's reactions have served to alter these structures. An investigation of how the struggles between the two communities relate to the shifting power relations evident in South African society at this time is fundamental.

This thesis seeks to explore how the action of human agents has manifested itself. Recognition is given to the role of resident associations; public meetings; the Liaison Committee; and the media in shaping and influencing the form of society and space in Hout Bay. The extent to which these agents have been instrumental in determining the outcome of events has been questioned. An important question which is considered is who has the greatest amount of power and from where is this power base derived.

3.3.4 Conclusion

In the above discussion the meaning of the term perception has been outlined since it is fundamental to this research. It is difficult to investigate the 'real' impacts of the development of an informal settlement in the area as any reality is dependent on the perception of people experiencing that reality. Perception is difficult to define but the models discussed above serve as a framework for the research. The concept and meaning of the sense of place has also been considered. There are different approaches for explaining attachment to place, but they all essentially consider the subjective interpretation of place by individuals. The analysis of the responses of residents in Hout Bay clearly shows the different meanings people attach to place and this can be used to explain their reaction and responses to the conflict. Human agents are not absolutely confined by structure, but can interpret the world within their own personal frame. When groups of individuals collectively value something they will mobilise themselves to defend what they believe is important. Through this action they may influence and alter structure. An understanding of the action of human agents is thus fundamental to this dissertation, yet this must be located within an understanding of the broader structures operating.

In the following section attention is paid to the concept of territoriality and how it relates to both the structuralist and humanist frameworks as discussed above.

3.4 TERRITORIALITY AND HOUT BAY

3.4.1 The nature of territoriality

Territoriality is a concept which pervades the explanations offered by locality, structuralism and humanism in understanding society and space. The following section provides a brief background to the concept of territoriality, showing how it links to the segregation of society as discussed in the structuralist framework; the need to defend

and maintain the lifeworlds and sense of place of individuals as described by the humanist framework; and the importance of the notion of territory in influencing and constructing locality.

Territoriality is a socially constructed use of space, which is historically sensitive and reflects who is controlling whom and why. Sack's work on territoriality provides the following definition: "the attempt by an individual or group to affect, influence, or control people, phenomena, and relationships by delimiting and asserting control over a geographic area" (Sack, 1986, p 19). It requires constant effort to establish and maintain, and needs boundaries to influence and control activities. It can be there at one time and not at another. It is interesting to note in the Hout Bay situation how the definition of territory differs according to which community is being referred to.

Territoriality is a means of constraining and limiting access to particular resources. It can be asserted in a number of ways such as by modern property rights backed by legal protection; legal rights; cultural norms; socio-economic factors; subtle forms of communication; and brute force. It is a high order, complex behavioural system expressed in spatial terms (Viljoen, van Staden, Grieve, and Van Deventer, 1988). It provides a sense of security and promotes the development of social structures which are highly polarised.

The structures of society, particularly class structure, promote the use of territory to protect class interests and to maintain residential segregation. Within the South African situation, apartheid structures have played a major role in defining and maintaining territories. Sense of place and attachment to place also serve as an important determinant of territorial behaviour. Territoriality, an important constituent of locality, thus has both structuralist and humanist underpinnings.

"Territoriality and its various expressions must be recognised as a means to an end, such as material survival, political control and xenophobia" (Smith, 1990, p 3). The different forms of territorial occupation of land in Hout Bay are significant. The subordinate group mobilised itself, essentially because it was supported by political

shifts occurring on the macro-scale, and was able to pressurise the state into meeting its needs against the wishes of the previously dominant culture. This reflects the political power of the informal settlers during the social transformation in South Africa. The ratepayers' territorialism is largely based on socio-economic power, whereas the 'squatters' also display territorial power, but this is rather through political power bases and communal action. Thus territoriality can be supported by different structures.

Territoriality is not only shaped by the above but also serves to perpetuate or maintain structural inequalities by helping to enforce differential access to resources. It often directs attention away from the actual causes of socio-economic conflict to a conflict based on territoriality. The extent to which the people of Hout Bay see the conflict that has arisen in territorial terms rather than as the unequal distribution of the resources of society is questioned in this thesis.

Territory may also become a source of material existence. Occupancy of land is powerful and societal: private ownership of land and its resources arises in a particular social milieu, thereby creating different territories based on socio-economic position. Geographical space is therefore deeply implicated in social exclusion. This is noticeable under capitalism where unequal financial resources create a housing sub-market which results in socio-economic differentiation with strong spatial expression. What happens when this spatial expression is altered by the arrival of a very different socio-economic group? How are territories defined and who controls the nature of that territory? Territoriality serves to separate and segregate people and to define and create areas that are recognised for their particular socio-economic characteristics, thus entrenching spatially, the societal status quo. The need for control over place, as defined socio-economically, is clearly evident in the Hout Bay conflict.

Human occupation of territory is much more complex than is recognised in traditional human geography. As Smith (1990, p 2) suggests, "humankind establishes an identity with pieces of geographical space, and a sense of place, comparable with the deepest of emotional ties and feelings." The importance of the sense of place that develops and the need for residents to defend this is clearly evident in the Hout Bay conflict.

Thus territoriality includes a set of attitudes toward an area, as well as effective and potential behaviour in and toward this physical area (Sebba and Churchman, 1983).

Veness (1992, p 446) suggests that "home is the locus of deeply held cultural values and meanings – a place rich with meaning, order, intentions, obligations, and rights." It is this which people wish to defend and they attempt to do this by maintaining control of the territory of which they are a part. It is the objective aspects of land in terms of its physical nature, as well as the abstract and subjective aspects of space and environment, that are attributed to and constructed by particular groups of individuals in creating territory (Williams and Smith, 1983). However, it is important to note that meanings of home do not remain constant across cultures and social classes (Pratt, 1989a). This is evident in the comparison of the ratepayers and harbour communities' attitudes.

The physical aspects of housing are less important than the value attached to and satisfaction derived from security, sense of belonging and privacy. If these are not attained it leads to frustration and social and political discontent. The development of the informal settlement in Hout Bay served to interrupt the sense of place in the suburb, resulting in conflict. When the residents of an area perceive an event or development as threatening, this results in the closing and redefining of territories for the sharpening of collective identity in order to preserve it from threats from outsiders. Land and space are political territories, and hence spatial changes may result in shifting power relations (Williams and Smith, 1983).

3.4.2 Territoriality in Hout Bay

According to Smith (1990, p 1)

individual membership of the group will be based on a shared identity, or understanding of entitlement to some of what is produced or appropriated collectively. A place may be found for individuals or subgroups who are, in certain respects, different or do not 'fit in' to the predominant group. But exclusive command over territory also implies inability to share with some others, and their exclusion by various means.

This reflects the position of the various communities in Hout Bay where certain groups are perceived as 'insiders' whereas other are considered to be 'outsiders'. The harbour community, also of a lower socio-economic position, has a different relationship to the dominant white community in comparison to the informal settlers. Some groups are therefore considered acceptable while others are not. There are many reasons for the differential inclusion and exclusion of groups and this is discussed further on in this dissertation. The dividing of people into groups with differential access to resources, results in conflict in a "world with finite natural resources and other desirable attributes of territory" (Smith, 1990, p 1).

Territoriality should not be taken at face value, but rather be recognised for the way in which it is played out in the broader social, economic and political context. Exclusion of individuals or groups is a long established practice and may also be related to social reproduction or the perpetuation of a particular kind of society. And it can be self-reinforcing as Philo (1989, p 259) suggests:

once initiated, the many 'mainstream' fears and prejudices regarding certain 'outsider' groups often feed into concrete social practices through which distinctions between these 'mainstream' and 'outsider' peoples are reproduced and even rendered more acute. And these concrete practices commonly boast a spatial dimension, as when society seeks to exclude their 'outsiders' from normal places of living and working.

Most territoriality focuses on negative aspects of the concept such as aggressive, defensive behaviour and the need to repel the invasion from an undesirable group or development (Sebba and Churchman, 1983). The attachment of residents to the environment is a measure of the sense of belonging; level of commitment to the neighbourhood and identification with the welfare of the community. Length of residence; socio-economic status; stage in the life cycle and home-ownership all serve to influence neighbourhood attachment (Woolever, 1989). All of the abovementioned variables have been considered in the analysis of residents' perceptions to the development of an informal settlement in Hout Bay.

Woolever (1989, p 110) suggests that "in communities experiencing negative externalities, the neighbourhood itself may become an arena for voluntary associations

in which residents intentionally involve themselves to protect their common interests." This was clearly evident in Hout Bay where a number of groups emerged, such as the Property Rights Association, to 'defend the community from the 'squatters'. The role that these action groups played in the process that unfolded in Hout Bay is documented in the results section (chapter 6). Studies undertaken in the field of environmental hazards suggests that residents will respond in a number of different ways to the presence of an environmental hazard in the area (Campbell, 1983; Skaburkis, 1987; Kemp, 1990; *inter alia*). These case studies have provided valuable insight into the nature of territorial behaviour in the face of a threat. For example, the siting of a toxic dump close to a residential area and the reaction of residents to such an event, which clearly represents a negative externality, provides an understanding of the reaction and behaviour of the residents of Hout Bay to the development of Mizamoyethu, as many of them believe that the informal settlement represents a negative externality in their community.

There are strong territorial symbols and physical elements that act as cues for territorial behaviour. These symbols send out messages that others understand (Brower, Dockett and Taylor, 1983). Fences, walls and security systems are all important territorial features. As the local perceived threat increases, so more territorial displays are needed to maintain effective territorial functioning. The high level of security systems in Hout Bay sends out strong messages of 'insiders' and 'outsiders'. The level of security reflects residents' needs to defend their territory or private sphere and the degree to which they feel threatened.

In conclusion, it is important to recognise that territoriality operates at different levels and scales. According to Smith (1990, p 20), "no matter how logical the formal division or integration of geographical space may be to those in power, who seek to resolve conflict as they understand it or to take advantage of the sharing of territory, their relevance to the lives of local populations may be more problematic." This comment reflects the importance of understanding territorial behaviour in terms of a particular locality. It is essentially the local dynamics of territory that this thesis focuses on.

However, it is also important to recognise the broader context of South African society, which has strongly influenced residents' perceptions of the development of the informal settlement in Hout Bay. As Smith (1990, p 16) indicates

insularity, the assertion of local distinction and the privatisation of life about home and family are not unnatural reactions to a wider world over which people may feel little, if any control. More than ever before, perhaps, people feel a need for a place of their own, and to build good fences.

With the changes that are taking place in the transformation of South African society, and the uncertainty that this brings for many of the white residents who perceive that they have the most to lose, it is understandable that many of them would like to withdraw themselves from the mainstream of change and build physical and psychological walls behind which they can attempt to maintain their previous existence. The development of the informal settlement in Hout Bay has brought the transformation of society right into the lifeworlds of the residents who live there. It is thus important to assess their perceptions of such an event and to attempt to understand why they feel as they do. What kind of territorial behaviour have the formal residents displayed in order to defend the sense of place of Hout Bay as they perceive it?

In the previous sections the application of structuralism, humanism and territoriality as tools of analysis to the specific issues under consideration in this thesis have been focused upon. The perspective is now broadened by investigating how the concept of locality can be used in developing an understanding of the situation that has developed in Hout Bay.

3.5 LOCALITY THEORY: HOUT BAY AS PLACE

Hout Bay has a strongly developed sense of place and as a locality is at least spatially insular and identifiable. Certain elements of Hout Bay as place, such as socio-economic, political and environmental characteristics, have been influential in

determining the nature of the conflict that has developed in relation to the informal settlement and thus it is appropriate that the framework of locality is used. Locality, in terms of the socio-economic, political, cultural and environmental context of Hout Bay, both internally and in relation to the broader South African context, is a central core of the analysis of the perceptions of the surrounding community to the development of Mizamoyethu.

Locality does not result in neatly packaged sets of people each experiencing the same constraints and enjoying and making use of the same opportunities. The situation that has developed in Hout Bay clearly suggests that this is not the case. Within a particular locality, different people will perceive and experience situations differently because of the influence of structure and agency. Yet locality is characterised by a particular set of characteristics and contingent circumstances which create a place-specific, local outcome to the operation of wider structural forces. Locality is not deterministic, but rather forms a framework within which structure and agency operate.

Places are the product of the intersection of social relations. As Massey (1993, p 148) suggests the "spatial organisation of society has an effect on the operation of society. For the happenstance juxtapositions which occur in place will often result in further social processes, and add another component thereby to the uniqueness of that locality". The nature of the social processes played out in Hout Bay have been largely altered by the development of the informal settlement over the past five years. There have been various phases in the resettlement of the informal communities, right from the time when there were 'squatters on the beach' through to the present conflict which is related to the future growth of the informal settlement. Each stage creates a new set of circumstances which influences and alters the process and changes the nature of locality. This thesis questions how the spatial location of the informal settlement in the area has altered and changed society and space in Hout Bay.

It is also important to recognise that localities are actively involved in their own transformation, if not entirely responsible for their own destiny (Cooke, 1990). This is evident in Hout Bay where the transformation of place has been a result of the

broader planning structures imposed by the state, as well as the decisions taken at local level by the Liaison Committee in terms of the future development of the settlement. Pressure groups, the reaction of residents and the reporting of such reactions through the press have also served to create and determine the outcomes of the process. Many of these decisions are being made relative to the way in which the decision-makers view the meaning and nature of Hout Bay as place, as well as in relation to the socio-economic and political context of Hout Bay. Hence the local context plays an important role in the outcome of the processes operating.

The history of place is also important to consider. It is imperative to acknowledge the fundamental role that apartheid ideology has played in the forming and conceptualisation of place for people of different racial groups in the South African situation. It is important to explore how the previous divisions of society have impacted on the reaction of residents to the development of the informal settlement in Hout Bay. The way in which the current changes in our society have affected the residents' perceptions is considered.

Locality is not fixed in time, it is provisional, always in a process of change, still being made. New arrivals and new connections are incorporated and moulded over time. This is evident in Hout Bay where residents' views and attitudes to particular issues have changed and shifted as the circumstances in Hout Bay have changed. People adjust and extend their boundaries; that which was not acceptable three years ago is now accepted as new issues become the focus of concern. This process is clearly evident in the transitional phase in South Africa, as people move through the period of transformation, redefining the way they perceive issues and changing the limits of what they find acceptable. Hence changes in place and the development of place plays an important role in shaping and changing people's perceptions and attitudes.

Massey (1993, p 145) makes an important comment when she states that

while sometimes these distinct senses of place can happily co-exist, through mutual ignorance or through regular patterns of negotiation, sometimes they may be contradictory and even erupt into conflict...the

images they bring to mind when thinking about how the place ought to be, are rudely interrupted by the arrival of new groups.

The permanent resettlement of informal settlers in Hout Bay has had a dramatic impact on the nature of place. There have been many changes in the different realms of existence. Readjustments, shifts in attitudes and a new set of contingent circumstances have created the need for a reworking of the meaning of place by all people living in Hout Bay. The mediation and resolution of conflict has caused people to evaluate and substantiate their positions, and hence by thinking through and determining what they believe relative to the different issues at hand, they have defined and perhaps reconsidered the meaning and nature of Hout Bay. In the broader context, the nature and composition of Hout Bay has changed and so it has had to redefine its boundaries in terms of the outside world.

There are many other examples of the development of informal settlements in existing residential areas in South Africa, such as Noordhoek and Milnerton in the Cape, and Zevenfontein and Ivory Park (Midrand) in the PWV area, and there are many similar issues which arise in terms of the way the in which the communities have reacted to such developments. However, there are many subtle and important differences that can be recognised when considering the different conflicts and these are very closely linked to place.

For example, the residents of Bloubostrand, a residential suburb in Northern Johannesburg, barricaded their residential area and set up armed blockades to stop the development of an informal settlement in the area (to be moved from Zevenfontein), whereas in Hout Bay residents initially reacted far more liberally, by attempting to negotiate a just solution to the problem. The environmental considerations of Hout Bay are extreme, as it is an area of high environmental quality bordering on the Cape Peninsula Protected Natural Environment (CPPNE), as compared, for example, to the environmental issues of concern that may be raised in the Midrand, which is already highly developed.

The issues are similar, and people have similar fears and concerns re the establishment and growth of such settlements. These concerns are a result of both the broader underlying structures, as well as the response of human agents to a group of people who have been stigmatised and stereotyped within society. However, in understanding the complexities of the conflict, it is essential to recognise the context and locality within which the conflict has evolved. It is not the determinism of place which creates these differences, but rather the complexity of place which both shapes the perceptions of individuals and in itself is shaped by the action of structure and agency.

From the above discussion it is clear that locality is an appropriate framework within which to consider the complex processes evident in the Hout Bay conflict. The criticisms of the theory have been acknowledged and it is certainly not being adopted as a grand theory encompassing all the issues at hand. The importance of the particularities of place in influencing the nature of society and space, and the value of investigating the significance of structure and agency as played out in the local context have been recognised.

The approach of this thesis in investigating place is summed up in Johnston's (1991b, p 255) comment where he recommends that

individual and collective perceptions and experiences of place are conditioned by and themselves affect a multiplicity of social, environmental, economic and political factors. Understanding their interactions, how they constrain milieux, and how they shape individual and community development, should be a central goal of geography.

In order to develop an understanding of the causal powers and contingent circumstances operating in space in Hout Bay, it was necessary to investigate, in depth, the conflict situation that had arisen. Structuralism, humanism and locality theory offered valuable tools for the analysis of the situation. In the following section the discussion considers how the framework of realism provides insight into the nature of the processes operating in Hout Bay, by integrating the role of structure and agency in time and place.

3.6 REALISM AND THE HOUT BAY CONFLICT

In considering the response of residents to the establishment and growth of an informal settlement in Hout Bay, it is important to link abstract theory to the concrete findings of intensive and extensive research. The following section focuses on the application of realist theory to the complex dynamics of the Hout Bay situation. The realist frame is used to provide an explanation for the broad findings of the research and serves to summarise and draw together the different explanations offered by the structuralist and humanist frameworks as set within locality. The realist approach is further developed in the conclusion of this dissertation.

The methodology and concepts used are based in part on research done by Watts and Bohle (1993). They adopted a realist approach to examine the vulnerability of different groups to hunger and famine, focusing on the causal powers and contingent conditions of hunger. Watts and Bohle (1993, p 44) argue that

the locally and historically specific configuration of poverty, hunger and famine defines what we call a space of vulnerability, and it is one of our intentions to provide the theoretical means by which this space can be mapped with respect to its social, political, economic, and structural-historical co-ordinates.

They use a realist approach since they believe that "whatever the particularities of these different approaches, vulnerability is a multi-layered and multi-dimensional social space defined by the determinate political, economic and institutional capabilities of people in specific places at specific times" (Watts and Bohle, 1993, p 46). Their work on hunger and vulnerability offers a useful approach to the conflict in Hout Bay, which is also multi-layered and determined by the interaction of structure and agency within place.

Watts and Bohle (1993) suggest that the position of different groups shifts in relation to the causal powers, as the contingent circumstances change, and the specifics of time and place are altered. This approach therefore provides a framework to integrate

the 'factors' identified in the causal structure of the conflict which has developed in Hout Bay.

The relationship between causal powers and the outcomes and events is contingent and open. While structures tend to produce certain tendencies ('mechanisms'), their effects can be mediated by other mechanisms and by empirical variations in local ('conjunctural') conditions (Watts and Bohle, 1993). The same mechanisms can therefore produce different events and similarly the same event may have different causes.

In using the approach suggested by Watts and Bohle (1993), a similar tri-partite structure of causal powers which interact to determine the conflict which has arisen in Hout Bay, is developed. In this research the relationship of class, political relations and human agency and interpretation and are explored as determinants of the conflict that has developed. The way in which the three different communities under investigation, namely the informal settlers, the ratepayers and the harbour community, shift their positions over time relative to the three main causal powers which have been identified, is discussed. A realist approach provides a useful means of considering the Hout Bay situation in an integrated manner, combining the different factors which interact within place, thereby creating the particular outcomes which are evident.

The relationship between the causal powers and the contingent circumstances is explored in this study as the nature of society and space in Hout Bay is examined. In the conclusion of this dissertation, chapter 11, a realist model of the conflict is developed and explained.

The previous sections of this chapter have considered the Hout Bay conflict through the various theoretical lenses used in this dissertation. Attention is now focused on the particularities of the South African case.

3.7 THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

The tragedy of apartheid is that it has worked so well: for most South Africans, of whatever 'colour', inter-racial mixing is still regarded with suspicion, mistrust and fear. It is the fear of the unknown that is at the heart of much prejudice and xenophobic feeling (Tomaselli and Tomaselli, 1992, p 290).

3.7.1 Introduction

In order to investigate the conflict which has developed in Hout Bay, it is necessary to consider the nature and form of the South African city. Attention is paid to two fundamental phases, namely the apartheid and post-apartheid eras, which have created the dynamic of South African urban places. In understanding the perceptions of residents of Hout Bay within the South African context, the following was considered: what socio-spatial structures and processes initially created Hout Bay; what patterns of reconstruction and transformation are now evident; and how people have responded to this change.

South African cities are spatially divided and segregated largely as a result of structures imposed upon the city by apartheid ideology. Davies (1981, p 59) states that "the segregation of race and ethnic groups has historically been a characteristic of social, economic and spatial organisation in the South African city". The majority of non-white groups have experienced restricted opportunity, high levels of relative deprivation and structural poverty as a result of the apartheid system. The white group, however, "has come to display economic levels and patterns of economic and social mobility characteristic of advanced western industrial societies" (Davies, 1981, p 62).

The South African city is a product of both its colonial past and its apartheid heritage. It has now moved into a rather uncertain phase as the process of transition alters and changes the existing patterns. In terms of setting the framework for understanding the

land use conflict in Hout Bay, it is important to consider the structures and resultant spatial forms of the apartheid city.

3.7.2 The pre-apartheid city

Colonialism represented a coercive rather than integrative process in South African society and hence the spatial patterns that emerged reflected the domination of white colonialists in the allocative process. The political economy of the colonial system was further entrenched by cultural and technological factors which favoured the dominant group. The patterns of normal class differentiation and access to the mode of production that were evident in capitalist society were restricted and superimposed upon by the colonial legacy. Blacks were severely constrained socially, economically and politically (Davies, 1981). Colonialism therefore created a spatial order that laid the foundations for the development and structuring of the apartheid city.

The Native (Urban Areas) Act (1923) served to restrict the presence of black people in urban areas (see Morris, 1981). Although there was no formal control in terms of segregation, urban places reflected the dominance-dependency relations of the different groups within society. By the late 1940s, just prior to the implementation of the apartheid structures, there were already severe housing shortages for black people (Soni, 1992).

Africans were excluded from ownership and participation in the urban land market by the Native Laws Amendment Act of 1937, thus entrenching residential segregation. Whites occupied land that was located in environmentally desirable areas. Socio-economic differentiation of housing resembled that of the advanced capitalist city (Davies, 1981). "The distribution of the residential space of African, Asian and Coloured populations, on the other hand, displayed the social relations each group bore to society and to the sets of controls to which it was subjected" (Davies, 1981, p 64). Urban Africans were politically mute and landless. Family life was discouraged and single sex hostels were provided to house labour.

This early phase was thus marked by segregated areas and a growing shortage of black housing. The 1945 Native (Urban Areas) Act led to strict control of residential areas, greater segregation and the beginnings of influx control. Black people were seen as temporary sojourners to urban areas and hence the provision of housing was approached in these terms. This resulted in a complex mosaic of African housing; overcrowded shanty towns which developed on private and public land on the periphery of urban areas (Davies, 1981). Ethnic diffusion "was perceived by whites as a process of penetration that introduced undesirable competition in trade and undermined the property market and stability of white residential areas" (Davies, 1981, p 67).

The coloured group was the least constrained by the system. No legal controls limited their access to the housing market; they were segregated on the basis of income difference and customary practice. Coloureds filtered freely into older central and peripheral less desirable land in suburban areas (Davies, 1981).

3.7.3 Transformation to the apartheid city

The formal acceptance of apartheid ideology in 1948 had serious impacts on the nature and form of the South African city, particularly in relation to residential segregation which was based on racial classification. The Group Areas Act of 1950 was fundamental in restructuring and defining the nature and form of the residential areas in South Africa.

The spatial organisation of the South African city, like other cities, reflected and was structured by the social formation of the society within which it was embedded (Davies, 1981). The political and ideological forces were linked to and integrated with the economic system of capitalism. As Soni (1992, p 39) suggests

The conflictual situation is exaggerated in the apartheid city, where the struggle against deprivation due to racial segregation and the continual battle to maintain an acceptable quality of life explains much of the dissension in black residential areas. It is within this context that the question of housing and its inextricable relationship to capital and the state takes on a distinctive dynamic in South Africa.

Hence apartheid ideology, as well as relations to the capitalist system, determined the spatial structure of the South African city. Residential segregation was based on two elements: race and socio-economic status. The usual residential patterning of the capitalist city was overlaid and altered by the divisive structures of apartheid.

The South African city displays the characteristics of the Western capitalist city in terms of land values and land use patterns in relation to bid rent processes of the land market and in terms of zoning. However, beyond this, the spatial form of the city, most particularly residential areas, is very different to the advanced capitalist city. South African cities are more closely related to the capitalist colonial city reflecting the dual elements of the First and Third World city (Davies, 1976).

The blueprint of apartheid planning created a city with a comprehensive framework of spatial and social controls which were structured in such a way that the aims of segregation were achieved (see Figure 3.1).

The fundamental structure for spatial control in residential areas was the Group Areas Act of 1950. Under this Act different racial groups were designated different areas in which they had to reside. Black residents' presence had already been severely restricted by the 1923 Native (Urban Areas) Act. The Group Areas Act was based on the concept that race and cultural differences in society are incompatible and that in order to avoid conflict the level of contact between ethnic groups should be reduced to a minimum (Davies, 1981). The Act resulted in a highly segregated and structured city with the urban form reflecting the positions of the different ethnic groups in relation to the broader structures within society.

The urban planning model which fulfilled most of the criteria was the sector model. Thus different racial groups were organised into different sectors (McCarthy, 1990). Figure 3.1 represents the structure and form of the Apartheid city. The impact of the Group Areas Act is fundamental in understanding the processes and conflicts which have developed in Hout Bay.

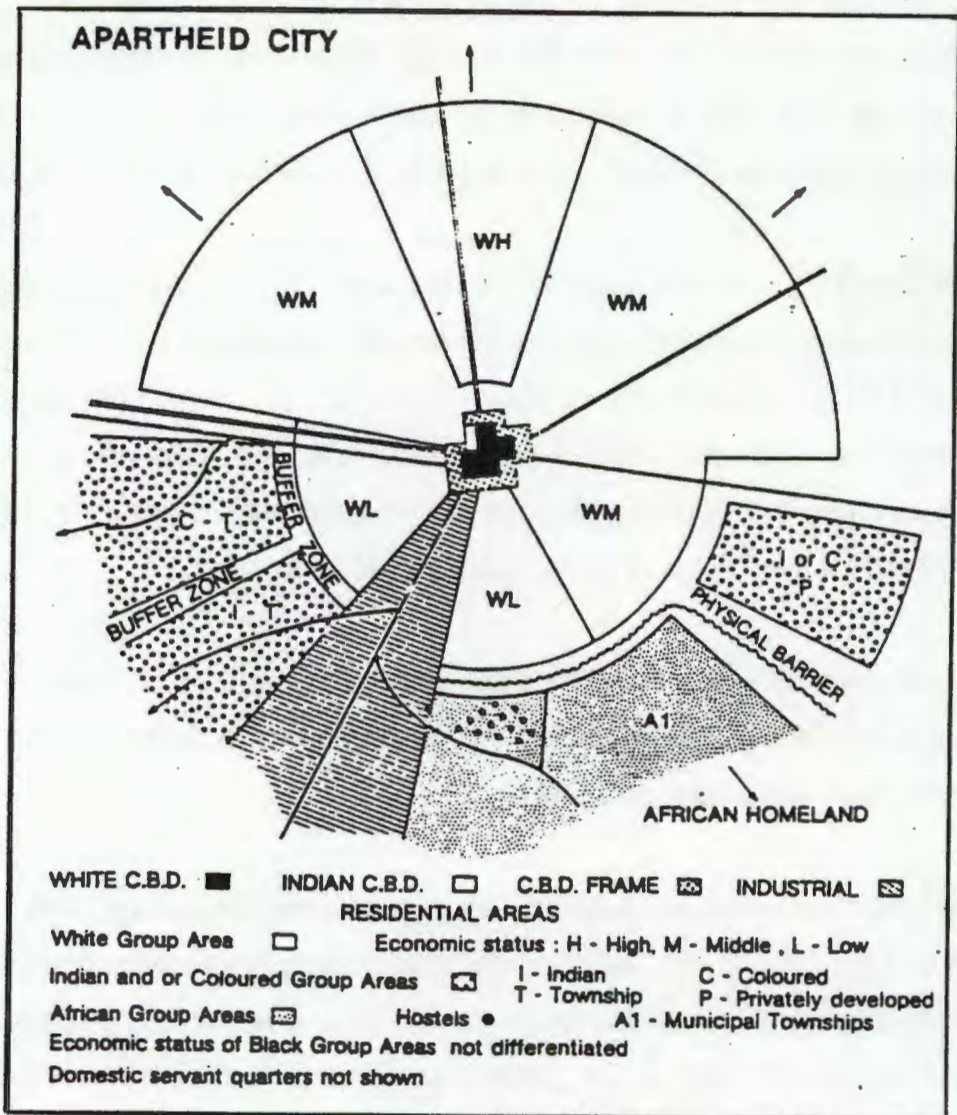


Figure 3.1 The structure of the apartheid city (Source: Davies, 1981)

The implementation of this model resulted in large numbers of people being moved and resettled, most particularly coloured people. Group Areas had a number of serious consequences (McCarthy, 1990). Firstly it was inefficient since commercial markets for housing were severely distorted. Since people were only allowed to live in areas zoned for them, one found the location of upmarket coloured and asian housing within lower-income areas. There were also severe shortages of black housing, with surpluses in white areas. Residential areas could be easily classified according to race, and in the case of white areas, by socio-economic status as well. This was harder to do in the other groups as the lack of land, especially land of higher

value, resulted in different housing submarkets being located in the same area. The Act also had serious implications for the urban poor, resulting in further inequality and injustices by placing restrictions on the land available to them. "Blacks were moved further and further from their places of work and from other facilities and opportunities available within city or town centres" (Morris, 1981, p 144). It also had socio-political consequences since it was an act of dispossession (McCarthy, 1990). It created the basis for race-based politics and intergroup conflict.

Probably one of the most serious impacts of the Group Areas Act in terms of the conflict in Hout Bay was that it segregated and separated people, thus fostering the development of stereotypes and images, which were essential in maintaining and reproducing the apartheid system, but which now severely hamper and influence people's ability to accept change. It is necessary to investigate the way in which this segregation has impacted on the perceptions of the surrounding community to their relatively new black neighbours. Lack of experience of other groups, due to previous low residential spatial proximity, surely plays a role in the development of the conflict which exists in Hout Bay.

The importance of the housing process in reflecting the structures of society cannot be underestimated. As Soni (1992, p 50) comments:

Our conceptual understanding of the housing question is not simply a matter of production or consumption. The housing question in South Africa, especially for blacks, pervades their very existence: who they are, what they are, and where they stay ... Housing therefore 'becomes an indicator and a potent symbol of the shifting power relations between classes and within different sectors of capital' (Klausner, 1986, p 38).

Housing in South Africa not only represents class relations but is indicative of the position of a group in relation to apartheid structures.

The Group Areas Act facilitated and enabled the development of white housing within environmentally desirable and accessible suburban localities (Davies, 1981). Patterns of residential segregation within these areas typifies the market orientated spatial organisation of the advanced capitalist city. Socio-economic status is reflected by the

type and location of housing of different residents. It is necessary to consider the processes which have resulted in the particular housing submarkets which are present in Hout Bay. The spatial organisation of residential segregation is documented in the previous section under the housing process of the capitalist state and can be applied to the white residents of Hout Bay. The commodification of housing results in it being valued not only in terms of its functional use and relative to what its location offers in terms of socialisation opportunities, but also for its investment potential. White areas were protected by the Group Areas Act from the so-called invasion from other less desirable groups. This created residential areas that were insular in terms of race and culture, which in turn fostered and facilitated the development of stereotypes with regard to other racial groups. Cultural and social norms were easily maintained, where socio-economic class determined the social reproduction occurring in the neighbourhood.

Coloured housing was located in specific areas under the Group Areas Act which were aligned within middle to working class sectors within the apartheid capitalist city model (see Figure 3.1). Coloured areas experienced conditions of severe overcrowding and were (and remain) limited in terms of the provision of services and facilities. Housing for coloured people varied from rental accommodation in hostels, to rented flat units and low-income housing, to middle- and upper-income homes inappropriately located in terms of land value. The mix of housing submarkets is clearly evident in most coloured areas. The housing process for coloured people in the apartheid city is reflected in the conditions and situation of the harbour community in Hout Bay.

Black housing has been the most severely constrained and restricted by apartheid ideology. It is important to consider the development of black housing under apartheid, in order to gain an understanding of the processes which finally resulted in the settlement of black people informally in Hout Bay.

The implementation of the Group Areas Act, in terms of the housing of black residents, meant that blacks occupied the peripheral sectors with origins at significant distance

from the CBD (Davies, 1981, see Figure 3.1). The logic behind this was that low cost housing could thus be located on cheaper peripheral land and the process also served to segregate the different racial groups and hence achieved the aims of apartheid. However for the people living out in these areas, this decision meant that they had to bear high transport costs and that they were spatially removed from areas of economic opportunity. The model of the advanced capitalist city usually has the poorest people living in the inner city areas, close to places of work. By placing the urban poor on the peripheries of our cities, planners essentially inverted the capitalist urban model.

Blacks' access to urban areas was also constrained. Influx control and the homeland policies restricted the permanent residence of blacks in urban areas, treating them as temporary urban sojourners. The temporary nature of their existence in the cities, and most especially the migrant labour system, has played a fundamental role in determining the housing process for black urban dwellers.

Black areas were characterized by hostels, mass public housing with enclaves of higher status housing and large areas of informal settlements. The 1950s and 1960s saw the adoption of policies which led to the development of townships and the removal and flattening of squatter settlements (Soni, 1992). Uprising and resistance to these strategies began in the late 1960s. This gained momentum and strength during the 1970s where large scale rioting and protest began to reflect the seriousness of the housing crisis.

Housing was seen as a major source of grievance and became highly politicized. As Soni (1992, p 44) remarks,

one of the major bones of contention was the fact that Blacks could not own their homes in urban areas. Amongst the other housing issues which paved the way for resentment were: a great shortage, overcrowding, lack of funding, too-high rents and the serious lack of services and facilities in most Black townships.

The state's refusal to build houses forced people to build for themselves, and due to high levels of poverty, this took the form of shacks in squatter settlements. Through

legislation the state intensified the removal of informal settlements during this period. However, despite the harsh restrictions, squatter settlements continued to emerge across the urban landscape (Soni, 1992).

People became actively involved in securing for themselves access to urban life and all that it offered. As Mabin (1992, p 20) comments:

Struggling to survive and gain greater access to the accumulation of wealth represented by cities, African people all over South Africa, by individual and collective actions, began to remake the nature of urbanism in the country... Crossroads survived, grew, and developed a defiant and uncontrolled culture which challenged the bases of an earlier urban regime. It did so at exactly the time at which state officials had to face both their inability to impose full control on the urban population, and the new, unapproved, unintended concentration of population in unserved areas.

This process and the political power of these human agents must be recognised if one is to understand the development of the informal settlement in Hout Bay.

By the late 1970s even with the restrictive measures of influx control, black urbanisation could be restrained no more. The early 1980s saw a shift toward housing provision by the private sector as opposed to the previous system of state provision of housing on a rental basis. Thus there was a shift toward market orientated housing. However this type of housing was only accessible to those who had security and could afford it and hence did not provide for the masses of impoverished urban residents.

During the 1980s the power of the state was increased and a number of different measures were implemented in an attempt to suppress and quell the state of unrest in the country. The struggle against apartheid continued and by the late 1980s the transformation process was underway. Influx control legislation was repealed and there were calls to remove the Group Areas Act. By this stage the housing shortage had reached critical proportions. Different arguments exist with respect to the impact of the removal of influx control on urbanisation. It has been suggested that urbanisation has increased rapidly, thus placing pressure on land resources resulting

in land invasions (Soni, 1992). However, certain researchers are now suggesting that migration is still circulatory and that although rural-urban migration continues, many see this as a temporary situation and still retain their links with the rural areas. This is relevant in terms of processes which may have led to the development of the informal settlement in Hout Bay.

As a reaction to the huge increase in squatting, the state introduced the 1989 Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act. The implementation of this Act proved to be extremely difficult and essentially passed the onus of removing 'squatters' from existing residential areas onto the private landowners. Investigation of the implementation of this Act in Hout Bay reveals that politically powerful and mobilised communities are successful in overcoming such legislation. Squatting was allowed to happen as it took place at a time when state urban policy and administrative structures were being reorganised (Crankshaw, Heron, and Hart, 1992). It is important to recognise that the rapid increase in squatting is largely due to chronic housing shortages, low wages and high unemployment. Even if formal housing was available, large numbers of people would be unable to afford it.

Conclusion

Apartheid structures played a fundamental role in reshaping the models and patterns of the western capitalist city to create a unique South African urban form. The colonial heritage, with its dominance-dependency relationships, also served to create segregation. White residential areas developed essentially according to the spatial organisation expected of an advanced capitalist city. Coloured housing was restricted by Group Areas and resulted in mixed areas of housing, which were often overcrowded and had limited services and facilities. Black housing was most restricted by apartheid ideology. The housing process, which was underpinned by the attitude that black people were a temporary labour source in largely white urban areas, resulted in extreme housing shortages and hence the inevitable development of informal settlements. The ability of human agents to restructure the urban process became more prominent as South Africa approached the transformation of society to

a post-apartheid situation. It is to this period of transition that the discussion now turns.

3.7.4 Post-apartheid reconstruction

South Africa has moved into a phase of social transformation, which is part of and which lays the foundation for the post-apartheid era. Political, economic and social structures are in a state of transition and flux. This has created many uncertainties and has resulted in fear, particularly on the part of the white group, who perceive that they have the most to lose. A Markinor survey of the South African populace, completed at the end of 1993, indicated that black optimism with regard to the future of South Africa had increased, whereas white optimism had decreased considerably over the past five years (SATV News, 1994). Structures are changing, power relations are shifting, but on-the-ground realities, firmly entrenched in the built environment of the past, still serve to maintain the status quo. The past structures of the capitalist apartheid city are still largely in place, but they are being challenged by groups who no longer recognise them as being legitimate. Apartheid legislation has been removed, but the spatial representation of these structures is still evident in the environment and hence serves to perpetuate certain elements of the past system. What happens when a place changes, when the built environment begins to reflect the transition of society? What is the nature of the conflict that arises and how do people perceive these changes? This thesis considers how have the residents of Hout Bay have reacted to and coped with the changes that have occurred in their environment.

The urban crisis

All major South African cities are growing at unprecedented rates. Urban populations are expected to double by the year 2010 (Beavon, 1992). One of the most pressing issues facing South African cities is that of housing provision. As has been suggested earlier, the rate of housing supply has been unable to match the demands of the increasing poor urban population. The two main problems in relation to the serious housing deficiencies are that there are approximately 7 million people living in informal

settlements; and the housing process has been severely distorted by the Group Areas Act (Corbett, 1992). As Dewar (1992, p 243) suggests:

Urbanisation ranks as one of the most significant and far-reaching dynamics currently affecting South African society...accompanying this dynamic of growth are high and increasing levels of poverty, inequality and unemployment, with a large and increasing proportion of people seeking survival in the informal economic sector: the socio-economic profile within South African cities corresponds increasingly with those of other Third World cities.

There are huge tasks ahead in terms of housing and job creation. This all occurs against a backdrop of economic recession further weakened by the legacy of sanctions (Beavon, 1992). There is a vast imbalance between black and white housing. The resolution of problems is very difficult as there has been no universally accepted urban policy for South Africa in the recent past (Beavon, 1992; Corbett, 1992). To quote Mabin (1992, p 23),

new developments in South African urbanisation would depend to a high degree on struggles over the de facto ability (and right) to live, work or enjoy facilities in particular places; on struggles over access to urban life, rather than merely on policies from above.

In the prevailing urban regime, struggles within informal and formal townships often place one group against another, involving no direct confrontation with the state. The state may become involved to mediate the resolution of the conflict, and so the power relations of the various parties in relation to the state become clear. But even with policy change, the state's involvement in the last few years has not been with the provision of housing units, but rather just on providing services and acquiring land. Thus as Parnell (1992, p 59) states "in the face of unmanageable shortfall in black housing, the private sector and individuals themselves have been called upon to assume their 'rightful place' in supplying shelter and redressing apartheid's failures." As a result of this as Rogerson (1989, p 130) comments,

the makers of the new urbanism in South Africa were not, however, those communities who traditionally occupied the minds of urban policy-makers. In particular, these were communities who could afford to pay little or nothing for housing and services, with little alternative but to build their own shelter and neighbourhoods, and who subsisted on inadequate and unstable incomes upon which household survival depended.

There are many state and non-governmental organisations that are involved in the upliftment and development of informal communities. The South African Housing Trust; the Development Bank of Southern Africa; the Independent Development Trust; and the Urban Foundation have participated in a number of different ways in the housing sector. Numerous smaller agencies have also been involved in the upliftment of informal communities in urban areas. At policy level the state commissioned the South African Housing Advisory Council in 1990 to review the existing dispensation and to advise on a new national housing policy and strategy for South Africa. This was known as the De Loor Commission (1992). This document focused on the importance of the housing sector in aiding development and growth in the South African economy. It recommended that the "housing sector should contribute to the greatest possible extent towards a properly functioning, non-racial society and economy" (De Loor, 1992, p 3). The document indicated that home-ownership should be promoted and that "every owner should contribute something, no matter how modest it may be, to his home, and secondly that owners should be entitled to expect security of tenure of their property" (De Loor Commission, 1992, p 1). The involvement of the state and the private sector in the provision of housing is stressed. This document was formulated under the Nationalist government. In the recent past the state became aware of black people's inability to afford formal housing and so has been involved in the subsidisation of site and service schemes, as is the case in Hout Bay where the settlement has been financed through the Cape Provincial Administration, which is subsidised by the National Housing Trust.

With the political transformation taking place, a new housing policy will most likely be formed under the new dispensation. The African National Congress's present policy on housing focuses on the state provision of low-income housing, with subsidies being made available to the urban poor. They propose that a variety of security of tenure and housing options should be provided to accommodate the various needs of different communities. Public participation in the design and implementation of housing is stressed.

Policies for the future

There is the need for an urban policy in the 'new' South Africa that works towards the resolution of the many crises and problems that have emerged. Social struggles have placed the questions of housing cost and location firmly on the agenda of change, alongside the national political and constitutional questions.

Bernstein and McCarthy (1990) recommend a policy which ensures the following goals:

- permanence, security of tenure and opportunity to upgrade their conditions where appropriate for millions of inhabitants of informal housing;
- security against crime for all urban dwellers;
- environmental protection and neighbourhood upgrading in the cities and towns;
- sufficient trained management resources (town clerks, engineers, community organisers) for the cities and towns;
- sufficient finance and appropriate new vehicles for urban development.

It is important to question the extent to which the broad principles of such an urban policy framework have or have not been applied to the resolution of conflict in Hout Bay.

In terms of urban spatial planning, the need for infill within our cities is recognised, as well as for the development of informal settlements not to occur on the urban periphery as was the case with Winterveld and Botshebelo (Dewar, 1992). This approach implies a move toward the "reintegration of South Africa's divided cities and towns where new development is channelled away from a dispersed and racially divided urban growth pattern, towards more compact, accessible, economically prudent and productive urban systems" (Urban Foundation, 1990, p 43). There is a call for the development of cities within cities, a densification and re-integration of South African cities, where mixed usage corridors could link the disparate parts of the

urban form (Bernstein and McCarthy, 1990). Viewed in these terms it is necessary to assess in this thesis the appropriateness of the development of the informal settlement within the existing residential suburb of Hout Bay.

To what extent will South African cities be restructured? Will the power relations of the past be repeated in a marginally different form? It is important to be wary of the nature of social transformation, exploring who the beneficiaries will be. Geographers must be vigilant and critical of the changes taking place. As Robinson (1992, p 302) suggests,

for not only will the continuing dominance of global capitalism seriously threaten newly-won freedoms, but the durability of parts of the old order itself, especially that fixed in the built environment and embodied in professional knowledge and language, as well as the particular form which freedom itself might take, all suggest that the struggle for liberation is set to continue.

It is now important to consider the changes taking place within each of the different housing sectors. The focus in terms of the changes in residential areas must be on the plight of the homeless and most particularly in relation to this research project, the issue of 'land invasions' into existing residential areas.

The integration of residents into previously 'whites only' areas

In considering residential patterns at present in previously white areas, it is evident that the most notable policy change would be the repeal of the Group Areas Act in 1992. However, the lifting of the Group Areas Act has had little effect on the ground in white areas due to high market prices, which have worked to perpetuate the status quo. "White fears that the scrapping of Group Areas Act would bring about a collapse of standards and prices were not realised because economic factors determined where people lived and what standards would apply" (Maharaj, 1993). The rezoning of these areas and the moving in of people of other race groups has proved to be largely unproblematic (Beavon, 1992; Tomaselli and Tomaselli, 1992; Cilliers, 1990; Schlemmer and Stack, 1990).

Schlemmer and Stack's (1990) survey on ethnocentric symbols gives a detailed account of the reactions of the white community to the removal of the Group Areas Act. This research was carried out before the repeal of the Act, but nonetheless serves to indicate the perceptions residents have of racially mixed residential areas. It was administered to householders in the PWV area.

One of the main concerns of white residents was that with the repeal of Group Areas Act, black people would move unconstrained, en masse into existing residential areas (Schlemmer and Stack, 1990). Residents were more accepting of desegregation where control on standards and numbers of new residents was guaranteed. Aspects of this particular study are applicable to the analysis and understanding of the conflict in Hout Bay. A relevant finding was that "the greatest endorsement of desegregation occurs if the average white voter can contemplate people of the same class and lifestyle as himself/herself entering the neighbourhood" (Schlemmer and Stack, 1990, p 46). Class reassurance was one of the most fundamental aspects in terms of people accepting racially mixed suburbs. The survey indicated that only between 20 and 30 percent of whites would endorse open, free settlement. Reasons given by residents as motivation for the retention of the Group Areas Act were that different ethnic groups are culturally incompatible, and that blacks would introduce various social pathologies, such as crime, into the neighbourhood. Some residents felt that segregation was a natural process (Schlemmer and Stack, 1990).

The study also indicates that this anxiety would not be translated to middle- and upper-income people whose property values, large plots and general sense of place insulate them from threats of status decline. By ensuring territorial control they are able to remove themselves from such conflict. Policy suggestions made by the Department of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture of the House of Representatives supported the separation of residential areas by socio-economic position. The document states that in terms of housing

a range must be available to accommodate everyone, from the more affluent people who require quality residential areas which offer large properties with access to the amenities of the city, to the poorest sections of the community who require housing in areas close to work

opportunities and close to high concentrations of people to promote informal business opportunities (Department of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture, 1987, p 3).

What happens, however, if a group of socio-economically deprived people manage to settle themselves within the confines of a suburb as described above? A whole new set of contingent circumstances and social relations arise, as has happened in Hout Bay.

Beavon (1992) indicates that it is in the politically conservative areas that the most dramatic impacts of the repeal of the Group Areas Act will be noticed and "not in the leafy suburbs of white affluence" (Beavon 1992, p 238). This assumption is made on the grounds that integration will initially occur in lower- to middle-income areas, where property prices are affordable to members of the non-white, middle-class urban population. These areas are generally more conservative, partly because this group is more threatened by the changes taking place. The land invasion that has occurred in Hout Bay has contradicted the above scenario, and this is perhaps why it has received so much media attention. Much of the conflict in Hout Bay is based on class differences, which are at an extreme in the area.

As Schlemmer and Stack (1990, p 44) comment, "whites as a collectivity are caught in a tension between two realities; residential life as they have always known it and the inevitability of change". They conclude by suggesting that there is the need for "some very firm and effective policy provisions for areas vulnerable to the kind of rapid social transition which will create disruption and a loss of residential benefits for both white and black" (Schlemmer and Stack, 1990, p 53), such as has been the case in Hout Bay.

Their study paints a rather negative picture of perceptions towards residential integration. The demise of the Group Areas Act is now a *fait accompli* and many of the fears described in this study have proved to be unfounded. However, the fears and perceptions discussed above are relevant to the understanding of people's fears and

attitudes toward land invasions by those of a lower socio-economic group, such as in Hout Bay.

Tomaselli and Tomaselli's (1990, 1992) study of the integration of Westville throws some light onto the expected attitudes of Hout Bay residents to racially mixed residential areas. Westville and Hout Bay are reasonably similar places in socio-economic terms and thus it is possible to draw comparisons between the reactions of residents to mixed residential areas. Their study considers how the ratepayers' action group were successful in integrating Indian people into the community. On the issue of opening Westville to other groups, "63% of the Westville residents polled said they should, while 34% said they should not" (Tomaselli and Tomaselli, 1990, p 60). Areas of concern to residents were security, crime, overcrowding, differing standards, schooling and class positions. Residents were essentially positive in terms of change and hence the transition to a multicultural neighbourhood was reasonably unproblematic. Many had positive perceptions; they wanted to see racial harmony in South Africa and they wanted to show the world that South Africa could achieve this. The important fact to recognise is that racially mixed residential areas were regarded as acceptable as long as the in-migrants were of the same socio-economic class. "The fears can be subsumed under two strands: firstly blatant racism (whites not wanting to live near other races); and secondly misunderstanding of the *class* of person who is likely to want to, or afford to be able to move into Westville" (Tomaselli and Tomaselli, 1990, p 61). Hout Bay residents would probably have similar attitudes to racial integration as their Westville counterparts. Timing, taking advantage of political changes and unprecedented international pressure on South Africa, created the right conditions for the acceptance of the removal of the Group Areas Act (Tomaselli and Tomaselli 1992). However, it must be noted that in the Westville case the in-migrants were middle-class Indians, not working class coloureds and blacks.

As long as class structures are preserved then racial integration is relatively unproblematic. Cilliers's (1990) study of the repeal of racial zoning in Namibia indicates that the process was unproblematic and that it had not affected property prices. The majority of residents accepted the change that had taken place. What is important in

all these positive studies, is that in-migration has been consistent with class and socio-economic standards. In-migrants have brought with them attributes which are congruent with the socialisation of society within each particular neighbourhood. Hout Bay residents must question the repeal of the Act and the impact it has had on their neighbourhood. Have they followed the same patterns as discussed above? Or has the difference in socio-economic status resulted in very different responses to the racial integration of their neighbourhood?

In summing up, it would seem that there has been relatively little change in white areas with the repeal of the Group Areas Act. Racial integration has been a slow process with people of similar socio-economic backgrounds filtering into previously white areas. Integration does not seem to be problematic where numbers are controlled and socio-economic standards are maintained. Conflict arises when a group that is not of the same socio-economic status or class moves into an area. It is important to assess the perceptions and attitudes of residents when such a situation develops. The factors which determine people's responses and attitudes to the development of an ethnically and socio-economically different group within their area and the way in which the Hout Bay residents have responded are examined in this thesis.

Coloured and black housing in the reconstruction phase

In terms of coloured housing very little has changed with the repeal of the apartheid laws. Housing is still extremely varied within coloured areas, and those with economic mobility have been able to move away from these areas and gain access to housing through the market. Low-income communities are still overcrowded and deprived in terms of facilities and services. Homeowners with houses worth more than the value of the land they were built on, find themselves unable to recoup the capital outlay on their housing.

Black housing has continued with much the same trends as mentioned in the previous section, with a relatively small number of people being able to relocate into more affluent areas. Black residential areas have very poor facilities and services. Policy

decisions which made black municipalities independent have, due to a number of reasons, led to severe financial crises. Rent boycotts as a result of the implementation of the Tricameral Parliament have severely affected the administration of the townships (Beavon, 1992). Corbett (1992, p 265) sums up the state of black housing:

Half of all Black urban residents live in informal settlements where simplest tasks of obtaining water and fuel are costly and time-consuming. Even in the formal Black townships electricity and other basic services are often absent. Where there are facilities such as schools there are too few and quality is very low. Local government where it still functions at all in Black townships, is a farce.

Informal housing dominates the housing process for black urban dwellers and it is to this form of housing that the discussion now turns because of its significance to the research being undertaken.

Housing of the urban poor in South Africa

As the previous section indicates informal housing or squatter settlements have been around for a very long time. As Boaden and Taylor (1992, p 147) comment

Although people have been housing themselves in this way for a long time, it is only in recent years that the seriousness of the situation has been recognized and efforts made to address the problem...Despite the concern and efforts to improve housing conditions and despite the goodwill that has been generated amongst the general public towards the plight of the urban poor, informal settlements continue to grow rapidly and continue to be the most common means of poor people acquiring shelter.

According to Gill (1990, p 66),

since the abolition of influx control, squatter movement has been characterised by either rural to urban migration, with informal settlements as the initial form of accessible shelter in the urban areas, and/or intra-urban movement, often from areas of high density and scarce housing to other townships and informal settlements where economic and social conditions are better.

Informal settlers initially located themselves in out of the way places, hidden, where they could obtain a foothold and hence avoid removal. Beavon (1992, p 241) states that

Following trends which have been observed in other Third World regions, squatters have sought out land adjacent to existing impoverished communities and secluded spots beyond the eyes of officials even if such spots are in the interstices of the white urban fabric. Land invasions have only recently begun to occur.

The more recent series of 'land invasions' into existing areas, has changed the pattern considerably. The political power of 'squatter' groups, who have established themselves within existing residential areas, is considerable. Robinson (1989, 1992) explores the importance of power relations in determining the nature of society and space. Her work reflects the important impact the shifting power relations have in shaping and changing urban form. In the case of Hout Bay, the state has acted autonomously in response to political pressure and changing ideology. The timing of such invasions, which have taken advantage of political shifts and change, as well as increased international pressure on South Africa, has facilitated such developments (Tomaselli and Tomaselli, 1992). Wolfson (1991, p 237) comments on the shifts in policy taken by the Transvaal Provincial Administration in 1990. He states that

prompted by politico-economic effects on their own agencies in the latter half of 1990, the Transvaal Provincial Administration, which previously located site-and-service schemes in peripheral areas, set a precedent in the PWV municipal area of Midrand where a large scheme is being planned adjacent to existing wealthy suburbs. Nevertheless, many site-and-service schemes continue to occur on the urban periphery or within the bounds of industrial deconcentration points.

The above example reflects the shifting positions of planners and state authorities with regard to the establishment and growth of informal settlements. The reasons for such changes in policy are linked to the transformation of South African society. The consequences of such decision-making is well represented by the Hout Bay case study.

Mabin (1992a, p 21) considers the nature of land invasions:

Civic associations...have planned and executed land invasions in which members of the township communities concerned have taken over land adjacent to the townships and erected settlements. Through a variety of tactics they have encouraged authorities such as local white town councils, development agencies such as the Urban Foundation and branches of the state such as provincial administrations to negotiate on

their security, and even more significantly, on the provision of basic services to these new urban communities (Mabin and Klein 1991). ...but these movements are not without their problems, ...they tend to reinforce the broad apartheid geography of the cities rather than to fundamentally challenge it....apartheid in this sense of the broad allocation of segregated, remote land to black urban residents is very much alive, though it is continuously challenged by squatters who occupy land far from approved townships. Through the actions of squatters, support groups, and even officials in places such as Hout Bay and Noordhoek in the Cape, Midrand in the Transvaal and a few instances in Natal, there are prospects that the apartheid land allocation pattern may at least begin to break down.

Mabin's (1992a) suggestion that land invasions are a means of overcoming the apartheid legacy is, however, only partly true. Although these invasions provide the urban poor with access to land in areas that offer far better opportunities, the segregated township ethic of apartheid still persists in terms of the socio-economic integration of those communities within the host community. It is important to be critical of the development of pockets of informal settlements which are poorly integrated and surrounded by buffer zones, within existing residential areas.

Informal housing, as in other developing countries, is becoming the accepted means of housing the urban poor. As a result of the housing crisis and the recognition in the literature that informal housing based on site and service schemes is the only appropriate means of housing the urban poor (Ward, 1982; Gilbert and Gugler, 1982; Turner 1982), planned informal settlements have become an accepted feature of the urban landscape. As Horn, Hattingh and Vermaak (1992, p 120) indicate "informal settlements reflect a way of urban living and should be accepted, promoted and fully incorporated into metropolises." Local authorities have begun to accept this fact. As Gill (1990, p 65) indicates, "virtually all Black Local Authorities in the PWV initially opposed the erection of shacks and actively sought to remove them. However, coupled with their own inability to deliver conventional housing, together with the persistence of informal settlers, many Black Local Authorities had to review their position on the issue."

Developments are planned in such a way that further upgrading and development of the settlement is possible. Shack upgrading is the process whereby both the physical living conditions and the economic well being of the community are uplifted (Boaden and Taylor, 1992). One of the most important aspects of upgrading is the provision of security of tenure. However, a problem with site-and-service is that people do not always accept the concept of self help. This sense of helplessness is born out of years of dependency fostered by the apartheid system. Dependence on churches, planners and the state as the purveyors of goods and services is common in many areas. It is important to consider how this dependency situation impacts on the resolution of conflict in Hout Bay. Equally the incredible resourcefulness and innovation of people in housing themselves in areas where no services and facilities have been provided and the positive community action that develops can be considered. Both attitudes discussed above impact upon the way the surrounding community view the support of these informal communities.

Wolfson (1991, p 237) supports the process of land invasion when he comments that

some of the residents of the suburbs concerned argue that the proximity of the proposed informal settlement will result in a decrease in the value of their properties. The residents are fearful that overcrowding, increased crime, health hazards, and a lack of infrastructure will be possible outcomes of such a project. Counter to this argument is the need for low-income earners to have residential sites allocated for their use in areas which overcome the great distances from the workplace and the lack of access to efficient and affordable transport networks and urban services. Locations offering greater economic opportunity are not only a necessity, but could also lead to a reintegration of low-income communities into the central urban fabric, thus providing more permanent and secure access to urban services.

Land invasion results in a highly complicated set of political, social and economic relations between the various communities and the state. The complexity of the conflict is clearly evident in this dissertation. Central to the conflict is the juxtaposition of two communities with highly disparate socio-economic positions. As Wolfson (1991, p 237) remarks, "at the root of this issue is the complex and contradictory relationship between housing as an exchange value and housing as a use value." The constraints

and opportunities present in the planning of informal housing schemes within existing residential areas receives attention in the following section.

The planning of informal settlements within existing residential areas

For the purposes of this research project, it is not necessary to focus in detail on the planning and development of informal settlements. For a detailed account of the planning process, see Gawith (1994). However, it is important to consider briefly the issues and problems related to the resettlement of informal communities within existing residential areas.

The planning and development of site-and-service schemes is a complicated and difficult process, particularly when the settlement is located within an existing residential area. Much of the planning which has taken place with regard to the establishment and growth of such settlements has been crisis management and ad hoc due to the time pressures and urgency of resolving the situation. The state has been called in to mediate, plan and subsidize such developments.

Many of the problems are a result of certain myths or misunderstandings which have developed and impacted on the planning process (Boaden and Taylor, 1992). The planning process often treats the housing of people as a technical problem of providing shelter, which is inappropriate. Conventional formal township development models are used and these often do not provide to best solutions. Technocratic planning approaches seem to dominate, ignoring the concerns of the communities involved.

Another assumption which is made is that community consultation and participation is an uncomplicated process. The Hout Bay case study clearly indicates that the above is not true. It is extremely difficult to deal with shifting views, misunderstandings and the different perceptions of the various parties involved in arriving at solutions to the problem. The broader research project, of which this thesis is a part, will hopefully enlighten planners about the importance of understanding and considering people's

perceptions when dealing with the conflict related to the establishment and growth of informal settlements within established areas. It also emphasises the need for environmental considerations to be taken into account in the planning process. As Gawith (1993, p 1) states, it is clear that "failure to incorporate environmental and community concerns in the planning and development of sites may result in environmental degradation and the reduction in the quality of life of those concerned."

The success of the housing project is also not always of primary concern to some of the parties involved. Different groups with different agendas influence the outcome to meet their own aims. The power struggles that develop often result in decisions being made on principle, rather than for the benefit of all the communities involved. The involvement of independent groups in the community, such as non-governmental organisations, although often beneficial, can be highly frustrating for the community because of the lack of integration and co-operation amongst the various agencies present. Legitimate negotiating forums, such as the Liaison Committee in Hout Bay, which is made up of all the major players, are fundamental for successful and appropriate development.

Upgrading is also not always in everyone's interests; some people cannot afford to upgrade and hence the assumption that formal housing will eventually succeed shack settlements is often incorrect (Boaden and Taylor, 1992). The level of servicing required is often problematic. For example, many people in informal settlements cannot afford electricity or the appliances needed for the proper use of such a service, and thus it is often not adopted as a service option. This, however, has environmental implications and is therefore an issue of concern to planners.

Planners have to consider the growth and future development of informal settlements. Who should adopt the responsibility of controlling the future growth of settlements within existing residential areas, and is this a realistic and viable option? How do planners aim to deal with the natural expansion that will occur within the settlement? These are all important issues that need to be dealt with at the outset of the development of such projects as those in Hout Bay, Noordhoek and the Midrand.

As this thesis shows, negative perceptions towards informal settlements are highly destructive. A change in attitude is therefore required for sustainable development to occur. The stigmatisation and stereotyping of informal settlers plays a fundamental role in determining people's responses to the development of such settlements (Sapire, 1990, 1992; Emmett, 1992). It is also necessary to recognise the important role that the media plays in influencing people's perceptions and attitudes.

Understanding why such settlements have developed is often distorted as is seen in the results of the survey conducted in Hout Bay. Mabin (1992, p 21) suggests reasons for the development of such settlements "fundamental to their motives is usually the question of finding places to live...some security, access to varying levels of participation in the real urban economy, lower costs of living than encountered in formal urban environments or in remote bantustan districts". The assumption that most 'squatters' are rural-urban migrants is also incorrect. In many cases they are people who have moved out of the extremely overcrowded conditions of existing townships (Beavon, 1992).

The misunderstandings mentioned above play an important role in determining the success or failure of the resettlement of informal settlers within existing communities. The perceptions of residents to the development are influenced by the above-mentioned factors. The role of the planning process in resolving conflict is paramount. It is thus imperative that the above issues are considered.

Positive approaches to the integration of South African society need to be considered and adopted if the past inequalities and disparities are to be broken down. As Tomaselli and Tomaselli (1990, p 62) suggest:

many people have very real fears about the future. This is understandable. For so long, South Africans of different, enforced racial categories have lived separate lives. When people do come together, they are pleasantly surprised to discover that instead of the different experiences they imagined, such encounters turn out to be mutually enlightening and rewarding.

3.8 CONCLUSION

The application of the theoretical frameworks to the questions under investigation in this study have been considered. The nature of the urban form within the South African situation has been discussed in order to provide the context for the conflict which has developed in Hout Bay. The following chapters discuss the findings of the research undertaken, as set within the theoretical discourse outlined above and in chapter 2.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter outlines the methodology used in this thesis. Realism has been adopted as the broad theoretical framework and thus the methodology used is congruent with the approaches employed in this paradigm. A number of different approaches have been adopted in studying the perceptions of the surrounding community to the development of the informal settlement in Hout Bay. Both quantitative and qualitative research methods have been used to develop an understanding of society and space. These different approaches are compatible with each other as well as being appropriate to the theoretical frameworks adopted for this study. Each approach, in its own way, offers a means of interpreting the Hout Bay situation.

Research undertaken within the realm of human geography is difficult, as one is dealing with human agents who do not act rationally, consistently or with repeated identifiable outcomes. Human activity and behaviour operate at different levels and with varying agendas, and are imposed upon by the structures which underlie the systems of society and space. It is thus imperative to pay attention to the structures of society; the actions and interpretation of individual human agents; and the nature of the study's locality, considering the way in which these factors interact with each other to create the outcomes that are to be investigated.

Research is a highly dynamic, reflexive and interactive process. The important role of the researcher must be recognised. In developing the theoretical framework for this thesis, the philosophical and theoretical positions to be used in the study have been altered as an understanding of the conflict has evolved. In conducting research which

focuses on perceptions, values and attitudes, the methodology and approaches used are woven into and become part of the research itself.

It is thus important to describe the processes undertaken in gathering and analysing the information for this dissertation. First the broad methodological approach of realism is considered, and then the focus shifts to the particular questions asked in this thesis. What did this thesis aim to unravel and understand and what did it aim to achieve by doing this? Lastly the specific methods and approaches adopted in this dissertation are considered.

4.2 THE METHODOLOGY OF REALISM

The realist project focuses on both abstract and concrete research. As Cloke, Philo and Sadler (1991, p 148) suggest "realism ... has needed to develop a research strategy in which concepts are interconnected with and inform empirical materials, which in turn are informed by the theoretical categories."

In order to understand social processes operating in space, it is important to work within theoretical frameworks which provide the appropriate tools for analysis. In the theory chapter the value of using structuralism, humanism and locality in explaining the conflict that has developed in Hout Bay is indicated. Each of these frameworks provides valuable insight into the nature of society and space. The interaction of these theories, as described by the realist approach, shows how the different factors combine to result in the particular situation which has developed. A good understanding of the theoretical frameworks of human geography is thus essential.

However, this abstraction must be balanced by concrete research. A sound empirical investigation of the processes operating is therefore also necessary. In studying the perceptions of the surrounding community to the establishment and growth of the informal settlement in Hout Bay, a number of different approaches were adopted. A survey was conducted in the formal community, using questionnaires comprising both

open and closed-ended questions, administered by trained interviewers. Estate agents in the area were interviewed and the nature of newspaper reports on the Hout Bay conflict were investigated. For the past eight months I have acted as the administrator of the Liaison Committee of Hout Bay (which comprises of representatives from all the communities in Hout Bay, as well as the Cape Provincial Administration (CPA) who act as the local authority) as well as being involved in meetings and workshops in the Mizamoyethu community. Both the extensive and intensive research methods discussed by Sayer (1984) have thus been adopted. These two research designs "ask different sorts of questions, use different techniques and methods, and define their objects and boundaries differently" (Sayer, 1984, p 221).

By combining the abstract and the concrete, and the extensive and the intensive, insight into the problems and issues in Hout Bay has been gained. Having set the research in the realist paradigm, the questions and methods used in determining the nature of society and space in Hout Bay are now considered.

4.3 THE RESEARCH APPROACH ADOPTED IN THIS THESIS

4.3.1 Alms and objectives of the research

In attempting to understand the conflict that has developed in Hout Bay from the perspective of the formal community, it was necessary to investigate their perceptions of the development of the informal settlement in the area. A number of questions needed to be explored.

1. The extent to which residents' perceptions of the informal settlement were influenced by 'real' events and experiences needed to be determined. Were residents' perceptions based on a whole range of underlying factors or were they related to 'real' impacts created by the location of an informal settlement in the area. It was thus important to investigate whether distance from the settlement played a fundamental role in influencing residents' perceptions of the settlement. To what extent is distance-

decay (in terms of negative perceptions) evident? If those closest to the settlement were most impacted upon and had the most negative attitude towards the informal settlement, then this would imply that the 'real' impacts of the settlement were responsible for the negative views and attitudes of residents. However, if it could be shown that there were residents in areas further away from the settlement that were equally negative, then these attitudes may be as a result of their perceptions of negative externalities associated with informal settlements. It must be noted that some of the perceived impacts of the settlement are more widespread throughout Hout Bay, such as the increase in taxi traffic, and so not all of the impacts are restricted to areas in close spatial proximity to Mizamoyethu.

Having suggested that there may be underlying factors which influence residents' perceptions, attention was paid to these various factors in terms of how they influence residents' perceptions.

2. The structural underpinnings of South African society were considered and documented. The following questions were explored. What are the underlying structures which influence the perceptions of residents. i.e. what drives the conflict? Is it the 'real' impacts of having the informal settlement in the area, or are these impacts based on perceptions and attitudes that are derived from the underlying structures of society? To what extent is the conflict in Hout Bay a result of class conflict? How has apartheid legacy influenced the conflict? Do the perceptions of the white middle to upper-income community differ from those of the lower to middle-income coloured community of the harbour area?

3. Explanations offered by the humanist paradigm of the interpretation and action of human agents were then focused upon. What are the world views of residents? What is the nature of the sense of place of Hout Bay and how has the establishment of an informal settlement in the area disturbed and altered this sense of place? What do people attach meaning to in their environment and what is it that they wish to defend? How do the different communities in Hout Bay interpret the landscape and how do they value it? How do the perceptions of individuals differ? The role and action of

human agents in shaping the events and processes in Hout Bay also needed to be considered. What action did the formal residents take and in what way did this alter the outcomes of the processes? How did the action of various communities manifest itself and what was the power base for such action?

4. Other broad factors which may have influenced the situation in Hout Bay were explored. Issues that were investigated were: What other agencies influenced the process of change? How has the timing of the event, as set in the transitional phase of South African society, affected the conflict? What is the historical context of the conflict? Why have informal settlements developed in South Africa and how have the power relations between different groups and the state shifted? Did the media and/or neighbourhood network influence the perceptions of residents? To what extent has territoriality been evident in Hout Bay?

5. It was important to consider the nature of the locality of Hout Bay. What are the particularities of place and how have these influenced the development of the informal settlement? What are the contingent conditions of place that have shaped the events and outcomes? How has the locality changed over the past five years and what has been the response of the formal residents to such change?

6. The inter-relationship of all of these factors and the role they have played in shaping the situation that has developed in Hout Bay needed to be considered. What are the causal powers and contingencies that are operating and how has the nature of place influenced the outcome of events? What is the relationship between class structures and shifting power relations?

7. Having considered the situation that developed, it was important to explore how the conflict could have been and should be managed. Was the siting of an informal settlement in the area an appropriate decision? How should it have been managed and what processes and policies could have been put into place in order to resolve or facilitate the development process? What planning and development approaches should be adopted in terms of the future development of the settlement in Hout Bay,

as well as in relation to the development of other such settlements in existing residential areas? These conclusions will be fed into a broader research project undertaken by the Environmental Evaluation Unit of the University of Cape Town, entitled "Environmental Guidelines for the Planning and Development of Informal Communities within Existing Residential Areas".

The methods and approaches used in investigating the questions discussed above are now considered.

4.3.2 Methods and approaches

In this thesis both intensive and extensive research methods have been adopted and these have been combined to form an understanding of the Hout Bay situation. The methods of the various approaches used are described in sections as follows. The design and analysis of the formal questionnaire is considered first; second the investigation of the change in property values in Hout Bay as well as the impact of newspaper reports on the perceptions of residents is discussed; thirdly, an explanation of the application of geographical information systems in analysing whether distance from the settlement and class structures impact on residents' attitudes is given; next the use of principal components analysis in determining patterns and underlying dimensions in the responses of residents to the informal settlement is considered; and finally involvement in the Hout Bay community through participation in both the Liaison Committee and UCT's Environmental Evaluation Unit is explored.

The Formal Questionnaire

The sample design

Hout Bay is a good study area as it has well defined boundaries and is spatially separate from other residential areas and thus the definition of the study area was unproblematic. One of the main questions under discussion in this thesis was whether

distance from the informal settlement affected the perceptions of residents. It was therefore appropriate to use a stratified random sample in order to group people in such a way that the relationship between perceptions and distance from the settlement became apparent.

Three subgroups were chosen on this basis (see Figure 4.1). The first group, zone one, consisted of the three residential townships immediately adjacent to the informal settlement. These areas are commonly held to be the most affected by the informal settlement. This zone included Penzance, Hughendon Estate, and Riverside Terrace.

The second group, zone two, was selected not only in terms of distance from Mizamoyethu, but also because it represented a group of residents that had lived close to the two largest original 'squatter' settlements, namely Princess Bush and Sea Products. The resettlement process resulted in the informal settlers being moved away from this group to a spatially more distant location. Residents in zone two thus represented a group that had initially experienced the impacts of the 'squatter' community more directly. This group was made up of residents in the low lying areas alongside the Disa river and adjacent to the main commercial axes of Hout Bay.

The third group was chosen as the peripheral group, as they were not considered to be spatially close to the settlement. It was postulated that if the perceptions of residents were dependent on 'real' impacts then this group would have the most positive perceptions. This group extended up the valley toward Constantia Nek, and encompassed people on the slopes of the valley opposite to Mizamoyethu (with a view of the settlement), as well as those in Scott estate who were 'around the mountain', on the Chapman's Peak side of the settlement.

The fourth group was stratified according to distance from the settlement, but also formed an important subgroup according to another set of criteria. Zone four encompassed the harbour community in its entirety. This group was selected for two reasons: it has a different socio-economic status to the broader formal community; and it is a predominantly coloured community that has been impacted upon by the

legacy of apartheid planning. It was postulated that this group would have different perceptions to the other three groups because of socio-economic and political differences.

Four zones were therefore identified and were drawn out on a 1:5000 map (WCRSC, 1992) using natural breaks as the borders for each zone (see Figure 4.1). The sampling of households to be interviewed was done using random numbers. All of the plots in the four zones were numbered and the random numbers then identified which plots would be chosen.

The sample size was difficult to determine, as a sample that would be significant in terms of the statistics to be used was deemed appropriate. However, other factors that needed to be considered were the cost of the survey; the time taken to conduct the interviews (which were to be personally administered); and the size of sample needed to show up broad trends. In consultation with market research companies it was learnt that for a subgroup to be significant, in terms of the results it offers, it should contain at least fifty members. Because of the relative size of the harbour community in relation to the rest of the formal community, a sample size of fifty residents for the harbour community, and seventy-five residents in each of the other three zones was used. The total sample thus consisted of 275 residents (see Figure 4.2). The total number of ratepayers at that time in Hout Bay was 2006.

It must be noted that two members of the same household may not share the same views on the development of the informal settlement. People's perceptions and attitudes are formed not only by the structures of society, but also by their own world views and personal constructs. Households were sampled and individuals in that household were chosen according to who was at home at the time. If both partners were present, then the person who had 'the next birthday' was selected. In some cases the choice of respondent was dependent on who was not busy; and who chose to do the interview. Because the issues being discussed were sensitive, and because the interview took a considerable length of time, it was felt that residents should have

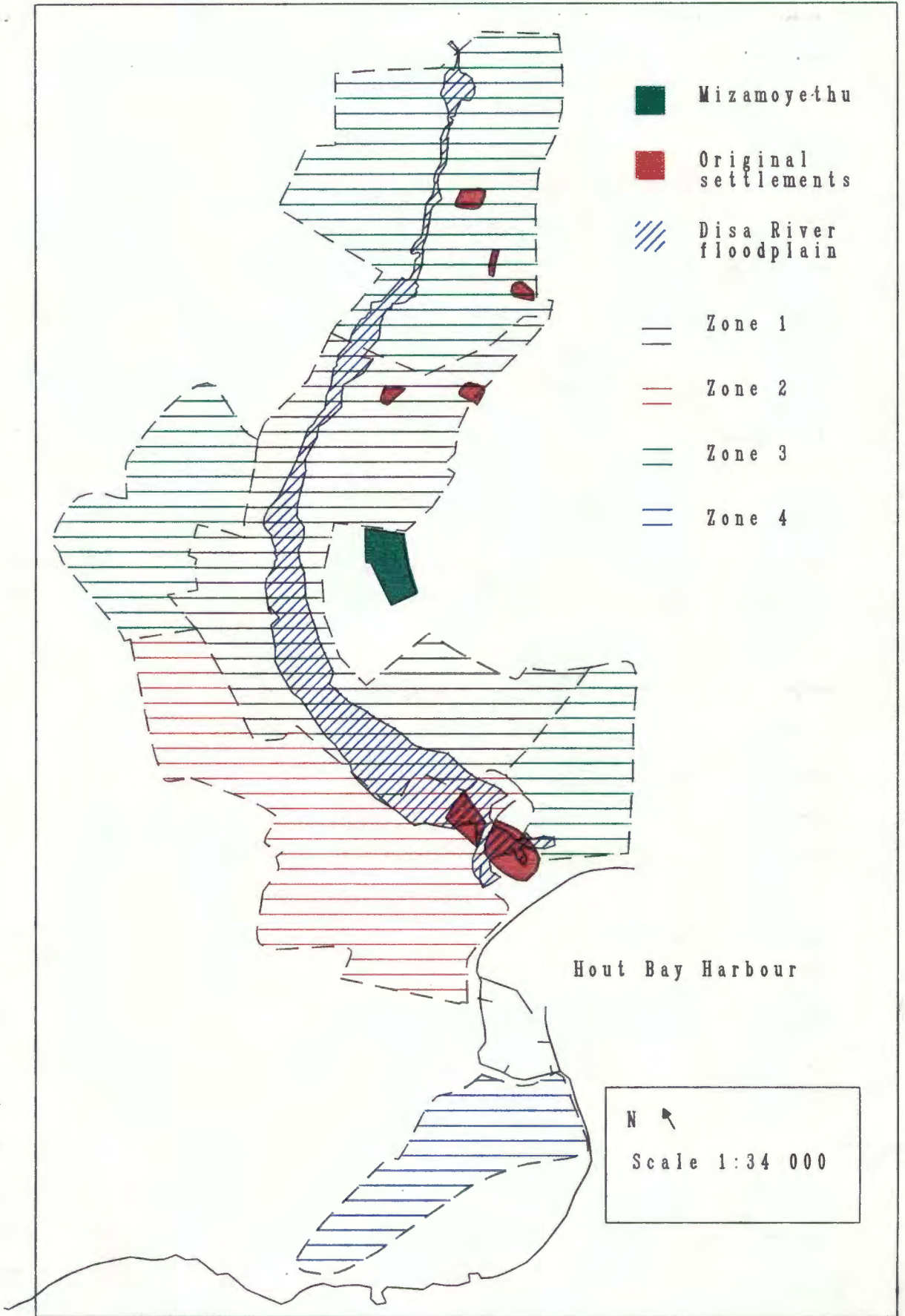


Figure 4.1 A base map of Hout Bay indicating the four zones of the sample.

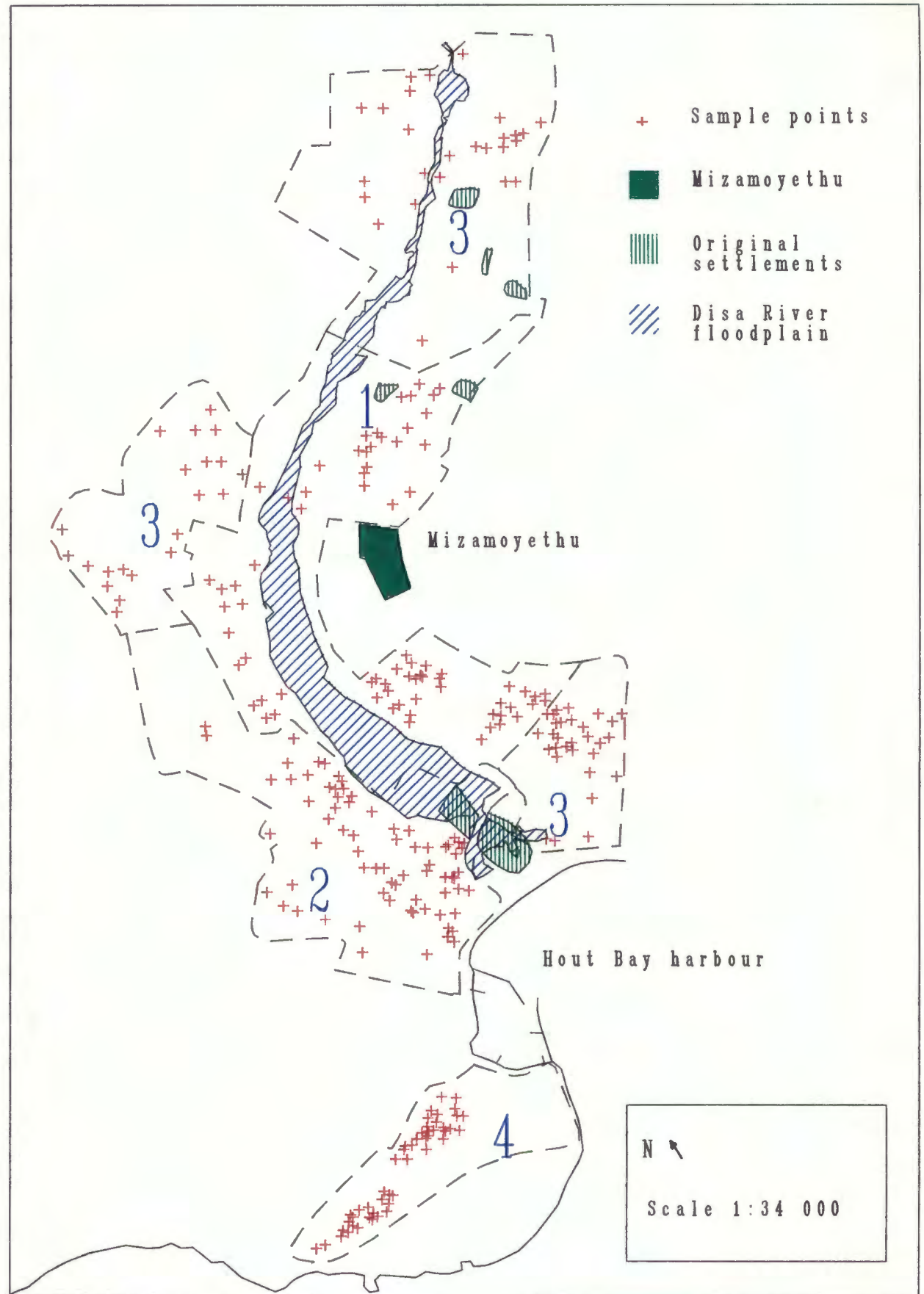


Figure 4.2 The sample: residents interviewed in Hout Bay.

the choice in deciding whether or not to participate in the interview. Some couples elected to complete the questionnaire together, which was also accepted.

Gender was considered to be an important factor to investigate and so an attempt was made to balance the number of male and female respondents by conducting most of the interviews in the evenings and over weekends, when all members of the household were most likely to be at home.

The sample erfs were marked onto a map, copies of which were handed out to the interviewers. Because the map used is very recent, some of the erfs marked in the sample were undeveloped plots. At the end of the initial sampling and interviewing process, random numbers were once again used to generate enough erfs to complete the sample number in each group. Interviewers were instructed to go to a house three times and if no contact was made with the residents, then they were to go to the house to the left. If the house to the left also resulted in an unsuccessful attempt, then the erf was deleted and resampled in the same way as the empty plots. If people refused to complete the questionnaire then the house to the left was to be chosen. There were very few instances where respondents were unhappy to participate in the interview. Most of the residents of Hout Bay wanted to express their opinions on this very controversial issue. Some respondents seemed to get a lot of satisfaction out of completing the questionnaire, as many of them felt that it was a way of getting their point across.

The hostels in the harbour community proved to be problematic since many people co-habited in flats in crowded conditions and hence it was often difficult to sample accurately. A number of the residents did not wish to participate in the survey as they felt it was of no benefit to them and thus they were not prepared to waste their time completing it. The flats were sampled using random numbers and the individual present at the time of the interview was chosen. If more than one person was present, the 'next birthday' method, or the most co-operative person was used. Using the most co-operative person may have biased the responses since they may be willing to participate in the questionnaire as they feel strongly about the informal settlement

issue. However, in the total sample there were very few residents who refused to conduct the questionnaire (less than 15 households) and so the bias introduced would have been minimal.

It was decided that people who had been in Hout Bay for less than six months would not be eligible to complete the survey, as they would not be able to respond to many of the questions and they also would not be aware of the many issues under consideration. Nevertheless it was necessary to interview relatively new residents as it was important to assess the role 'length of time spent in Hout Bay' played in influencing residents' perceptions. Newcomers who had spent longer than six months in Hout Bay were interviewed.

The interviewers

Casley and Lury (1981, p 117) suggest that interviewers " should be indigenous to the locality; fluent in the local languages; personable with sufficient education; diligent when working alone; have a liking for field conditions; honest and trustworthy." Four interviewers were used in administering the survey for this thesis. For a number of reasons it was decided that interviewer administered questionnaires would be used. Because of the nature of the questions being asked, many of which dealt with sensitive and controversial issues, it was felt that better responses would be achieved by having someone there to explain the use of the survey and also to develop a rapport with the respondent, facilitating more open responses. If the drop and collect method had been used, respondents may have left out certain questions and also may not have expanded on the reasons for their responses. A lot more information was gained by having the questionnaires completed in this way. Some of the open-ended questions needed to be explained to the respondents, possible only by having an interviewer present. By interviewing the respondents, the survey was more conversational and so the interviewers were able to pick up other relevant comments that the respondents made that were not fixed to a particular question.

By completing just over half of all the surveys myself, a lot of information was gained just from being an observer in the interviewing process. A strong sense of the issues and problems in Hout Bay was developed thus cultivating a good awareness of the situation before the questionnaires were analysed. It was very interesting to observe residents' reactions to the questions and also to note how their prejudices emerged as the survey became more conversational. Questions often led to emotive and detailed responses, which diverged from the original question, but which often reflected residents' 'true' attitudes and feelings.

The second interviewer completed one hundred questionnaires and the rest were split between the third and fourth interviewers. There was thus a considerable amount of uniformity in the interviewing process. All the interviewers had similar academic backgrounds (they had all been schooled in environmental and geographical science). They were all of similar age and demographic profile and had a good understanding of the process that had occurred in Hout Bay. The interviewers were of mixed gender. A male interviewer was used in the hostel community of the harbour, because of the nature of some of the people being interviewed.

According to Babbie (1973) the interviewer must gain rapport with the respondents, remain neutral and observe and note down the responses accurately. The interviewers were briefed on the aims of the questionnaire and were trained in administering it. Casley and Lury recognise the value of adequate training. They suggest that "teaching enumerators to conduct a survey during which they will be working individually requires that every trainee has a 100 percent understanding of the methodology and content of the questionnaire" (Casley and Lury, 1981, p 127). Interviewers were made aware of remaining as neutral as possible and they were cautioned about leading the respondents with loaded statements during the interviewing process. The questionnaire was pre-designed but interviewers had to be careful not to introduce the questionnaire in a manner which was loaded, nor to explain any questions that had been misunderstood in a way that biased the response. Interviewers were carefully guided through the questionnaire in order to iron out misunderstandings and to explain the context of certain open-ended questions. They were given flash cards

which were used in questions that had scales attached to them, a map of the sampled erven and a set of questionnaires.

The interviewers had the ethical responsibility of not raising residents' expectations in terms of the application of the material collected. Many respondents asked, at the end of the interview, if the survey would help to resolve the conflict by making the authorities more aware of the concern of the formal residents. They were informed that the data would be fed into a broader research project but they should not expect their responses to the survey to dramatically affect the outcome of the processes operating in Hout Bay. The material would be used to inform the future planning process, but it was up to the authorities to implement change.

The duration of the survey

The survey was administered over a period of two months from 20 October to 20 December, 1992. Timing was considered to be an important factor as people's perceptions could have been altered by events that occurred during the time of the interviews. It was therefore important to interview residents in as short a time as possible, so as to minimise the impact of change in the neighbourhood. At the time of the interviewing process, there was a considerable amount of uncertainty with regard to the control of the size of the settlement and thus it was important to avoid conducting the interviews over the time when decisions with regard to these issues could cause a flare-up in the conflict. Fortunately circumstances in Hout Bay were relatively stable during the survey period.

The questionnaires took on average thirty to forty minutes to complete. Residents seemed to cope with the length of the survey, and many of them wanted to continue the conversation once the interview was completed. A large number of residents asked the interviewers if they knew anything about the future development of the settlement, as they had not been informed about what was going on.

The pilot study

According to Babbie (1973) the development of a questionnaire is a continual multi-stage process. It is thus important to conduct a pilot study before one embarks on the final survey. A pilot study was administered to a group of 25 people in Hout Bay during September 1992. A basic analysis of this smaller survey was completed and the information gained from these surveys helped set up the categories in the closed-ended questions of the questionnaire. The pilot study also uncovered problems in the phrasing of questions. Questions that resulted in unclear or ambiguous responses were identified and these could therefore be improved. The pilot studies provided an idea of how long the questionnaire would take. A sense of how forthcoming residents were in answering certain questions, as well as their general attitude to the interviewing process was obtained.

The questionnaire

A copy of the questionnaire is given in Appendix A.

A questionnaire is defined as "a group or sequence of questions designed to elicit information upon a subject, or sequence of subjects, from an informant" (Kendall and Buckland, 1960, cited in Casley and Lury, 1981, p 91). A questionnaire must be suited to the people being interviewed and it must take into account whether the respondent will understand the questions and be able to answer them. It is also important to consider whether respondents will be willing to reveal information, particularly in relation to sensitive issues (Casley and Lury, 1981). Questions that require residents to recall events are problematic as length of recall can alter the way people remember the 'truth'. A number of questions in this survey, which dealt with the original settlements and the planning process, required respondents to recall events and situations. This may have affected their responses to these issues. However, on the whole residents did not seem to have much difficulty in remembering or responding to these questions (the longest recall period required was less than two years). The

following sections consider different aspects of the questionnaire design used in this thesis.

Human social behaviour can be subjected to legitimate scientific study. It was important to design a questionnaire that enabled statistical analysis to be applied while at the same time was not narrowly positivist in nature. Statistical techniques are used to measure patterns of association between categories and populations that an investigator defines. However, it was necessary to question the use of statistical methods in this study, which is set within the realist framework. Sayer and other realists reject "the use of enumerative induction, (and) generalisation on the basis of observed regularities" (Pratt, 1989b, p 104). Pratt (1989b, p 105) counteracts this position by arguing that "the use of statistical inference is compatible with a realist view of theory. The logic of using statistical hypotheses is to generalise about empirical regularities across classes on the basis of samples of these classes." In linking the abstract and the concrete one can use statistics as a means of suggesting relationships within the data. Pratt (1989b, p 107) comments that

theoretical abstractions are not removed from the empirical world; they highlight the causal connections within that material world. Granted that theoretical abstractions are not empirical regularities, associations at the level of events give clues to theoretical causal mechanisms and their absence raises very serious questions concerning contingent conditions. Statistical techniques are useful in assessing these patterns of association.

Abrams (cited in Pratt, 1989b) supports the use of descriptive statistics in going beyond the qualitative base of analysis in order to make relational distinctions. In using statistical methods it is essential that "quantitative data must always be interpreted in the light of the theoretical and societal context in which they are collected. For this reason quantitative data are usefully complemented by more qualitative understanding of the context" (Pratt, 1989b, p 111).

The quantitative techniques in this research have been applied in a manner which is congruent with Pratt's comments about the use of such methods. Statistics have been used to support the arguments developed and to expose certain relationships which

are present in the Hout Bay conflict. This quantitative analysis is "complemented by a more relational, contextual understanding, as well as more abstract theoretical development" (Pratt, 1989b, p 111). Like Pratt, it is suggested in this thesis that these methods are compatible with the realist approach.

Having commented on the validity of using statistical techniques in this thesis the type of questions used are now considered.

Since the survey dealt with perceptions, values and attitudes it was important to have open-ended questions which prompted responses that were not fixed but rather were expressions of what respondents really felt. Closed-ended questions, on the other hand, facilitated analysis by providing a set number of categories of responses. The validity of using closed-ended questions is recognised as "it is possible to ask a respondent his attitude to a phenomena that is within his experience, which indeed he may be currently experiencing. In such cases pre-testing should lead to a list of options which can be pre-coded" (Casley and Lury, 1981, p 111). The questionnaire comprised both open and closed-ended questions. It aimed to gain an understanding of the residents' perceptions of the development of an informal settlement in the area. The underlying factors, such as the causal powers; contingent circumstances; interpretation and action of individual human agents; and the nature of society and space in the South African context, which influenced residents' perceptions, were to be investigated. The questions therefore needed to draw out the values and attitudes of residents. However, it must be noted that attempting to explore perceptions and attitudes is problematic. Attitudes have many attributes and can vary in intensity. The discussion in the theory section on perceptions and attitudes explains how difficult it is to unravel the 'truth' when dealing with such complicated concepts. It was necessary to use wording in the questionnaire that evoked feelings and emotions in the respondents, but at the same time did not create a bias.

In questioning residents on their perceptions, there were a number of aspects to be aware of. Firstly, people are often unaware of their own motives and needs and hence they find it difficult to respond to certain questions. They may then respond using

attitudes that they have heard others expressing. People generally do not like to differ from the norms and expectations set by society and so will often temper their own responses so that they are more congruent with what is deemed 'acceptable' by the majority. It was interesting to observe how many respondents began the questionnaire in this manner, but once they had settled down and were being probed by the more detailed questions, many of their 'true' feelings emerged. They seemed to forget that they were being interviewed and they began to use the survey as an outlet for the feelings they had about the settlement. Respondents generally do not like to be open about their own prejudices and negative attitudes. Most people seem to want to be politically correct in what they say and do unless they are fundamentalists. They tend to want to remain polite and positive especially when they are dealing with issues that reflect the status of their own neighbourhood. It is therefore difficult to uncover the 'true' responses of residents in a survey.

However, given all the above constraints on the survey, it is felt that residents did respond in a way that reflected their feelings on the matters being discussed. The informal settlement issue has been highly publicised, with many residents openly discussing the issues and impacts of the settlement. The press reports certainly do not give a 'middle of the road' account of the 'squatter' issue and hence residents are aware of the negativity in the community toward the issue and thus may feel that it is acceptable to express such views. It is also an issue that has impacted directly upon them in a space that holds a lot of importance to them, i.e. in their home environment, and thus they have strong feelings which they are willing to express with regard to the presence of informal settlers in their area.

The phrasing of questions is important, particularly in a survey which is dealing with highly sensitive issues. Aggressive questions, which would have resulted in the respondents becoming defensive, were avoided. Respondents tend to want to respond in a way that they think is socially acceptable. Very few people will admit to being racist, but answers to well-designed questions may well bring out such prejudices. An attempt was made to ensure that the questions in the survey were not

loaded, and that they did not represent any attitude or position. The questionnaire was thus as neutral as possible.

Careful attention was paid to the format of the questionnaire. It needed to flow; hold the interest of the person being interviewed; and become conversational. According to Casley and Lury (1981, p 132) "the effect required is that of a friendly conversation between enumerator and respondent. The posing of questions and the noting of the replies should have the flow and pattern of a dialogue, not the staccato delivery, punctuated by pauses, of the inquisitional chamber." Oppenheim's (1973) funnel approach was used in that the broader issues were dealt with first and then the questionnaire was narrowed down and focused on the more specific issues. This was very important in this survey, highly sensitive issues were being dealt with making it essential to gain the trust of the respondent first, before exploring the more contentious issues.

Thus more factual and less threatening questions were asked at the beginning in order to enable respondents to settle into the survey. The questionnaire started with general issues of concern to residents in Hout Bay and then moved on to consider the nature of place, by asking residents about their quality of life and their reason for choosing to live in Hout Bay. Residents were questioned about their perceptions of the planning process; largely factual responses, but which were beginning to lead into the more controversial issues. Their broad response to the development of the settlement were then focused upon and this led into the more specific questions about the acceptability of the sites; the perceived impacts of the settlement; their attitudes toward the informal settlers and their concerns with regard to the future development of Mizamoyethu. The demographic section was placed at the end of the questionnaire as this is the least interesting section and it is also quick to complete. The demographics section provided valuable information which was used in the cross-tabulations to determine the influence of age; stage in the life cycle; socio-economic status; gender; landownership; and length of time spent in Hout Bay on residents' perceptions. The erf number was noted at the beginning of the questionnaire and this was used to spatially locate the data in the distance analysis.

Single questions were not relied upon in attempting to measure attitudes. By using a set of questions which were related, the stable components were maximised while reducing the instability and variance in the responses (Oppenheim, 1973). Some of the main issues being explored were repeated in a different form a number of times throughout the questionnaire in order to cross check residents' responses as they became more comfortable with the questionnaire and as their rapport with the interviewer developed. As the interview progressed, respondents tended to become more honest and "up front". Residents' response to the development of the informal settlement, which is fundamental to this thesis, was questioned a number of times throughout the questionnaire, as was their perceptions of quality of life in Hout Bay.

The different types of questions used in the survey, namely open and closed-ended questions are now considered.

Open-ended questions

These questions were used to enable respondents to express openly how they felt. They did not provide any pre-determined categories and hence gave the respondents the opportunity of responding freely to the question. Questions such as why residents had chosen to live in Hout Bay; their response to the development of the settlement; why they thought the informal settlement had developed in Hout Bay; their attitude toward integration and buffer zones; and issues related to the future development of Mizamoyethu were asked in this manner. Open-ended questions needed to be assessed carefully - do snap answers that reflect residents immediate 'gut' response to the question give a better indication of their perception, or do longer answers, where respondents have taken time to think about the issues provide a more accurate account? It seems that it is often better to consider what first comes into people's minds as being their actual attitude to an issue, rather than a long philosophical debate where they start analysing their own position. It was useful to get people to think and express themselves as they do habitually - they were not required to think out a new philosophy of life on the subject. Quick answers are often less open to defensive bias and face-saving on the part of the respondent.

Some of the residents being interviewed asked questions back at the interviewer, probing to see what would be considered the 'right' answer. The interviewers bounced the question back at the person, trying to get them to respond from their own point of view. It was thus important that the questionnaire became conversational because then residents tended to forget about 'answering' the questions and rather just responded to the stimuli being offered.

Closed-ended questions

Closed-ended questions are useful as they create greater uniformity and they are more easily processed. There are problems with such questions as the process is pre-empted and structured and so some of the issues could be overlooked. Categories in closed-ended questions must therefore attempt to be exhaustive and mutually exclusive. The categories for the questions were drawn up after conducting a pilot study, as well as in consultation with Merle Sowman and Megan Gawith who have had considerable experience in the Hout Bay process (HNRE research project: "Environmental Guidelines for the Planning and Development of Informal Communities within Existing Residential Areas"). Scales which reflected a broad range of responses from one extreme to the other were used. Seven point scales were chosen, as this spread the responses of residents, ensuring that they indicated how extreme they felt an issue was. Many of these categories were later collapsed in the data analysis but it was useful to have the differentiated responses.

It was also important to break certain issues into smaller categories. Indicators of quality of life were therefore used to attempt to gain insight into the nature of place in Hout Bay. Socio-environmental impacts were also broken into indicators that were tangible and to which residents could respond directly.

The survey questions

The questionnaire consisted of a wide variety of questions each with relevance to particular aspects which needed to be understood. Some questions sought simply to

elicit information about the residents' perceptions of the process while others served to uncover deep underlying factors.

In attempting to gain an understanding of the nature of place in Hout Bay questions such as: "why did you chose to live in Hout Bay?"; and "on the seven point scale, how would you describe your quality of life in Hout Bay at present?" were asked. Many of the responses and reasons given by residents to other questions also alluded to the sense of place of Hout Bay. As their fears and concerns with regard to the settlement became apparent, so they revealed what they wanted to protect and maintain in Hout Bay.

Certain questions served to uncover the structural conflict that was evident in Hout Bay. A number of demographic questions were asked which alluded to the socio-economic status of residents living in the area. This was then used to compare the responses of the ratepayers and the harbour community to the development of the informal settlement in the area. The different responses of the ratepayers and the harbour community indicates how socio-economic and political circumstances influence residents' perceptions and attitudes. In asking residents to explain their reasons for giving a particular response, many highlighted the issue of class conflict. In considering residents attitudes to the planning process, insight was gained into the way residents perceived of their relationship with the state. Issues relating to the future growth of the settlement reflected people's attitudes toward land as a resource hence reflecting values related to market-orientated or state provided access to land. The means of acquiring land and differential access to housing clearly reflects the structural nature of capitalist society. Residents' attitudes as to why they thought that the informal settlers had come to Hout Bay and what advantages the settlers gained by being there, also exposed the nature of class relations in society.

In considering Hout Bay residents' meaning and attachment to place questions such as why they had chosen to live in Hout Bay; what the socio-economic impacts of the settlement were; whether they felt the informal community could be integrated into the Hout Bay community, therefore reflecting the division of people into perceived insiders

and outsiders; and the issues of concern to them with regard to the future development of the settlement were asked.

Residents were questioned about their involvement in the planning process in order to examine the extent to which human agents played a role in attempting to maintain the previous status quo. The political affiliations of residents were considered in an attempt to discover how they felt about the transformation process in South Africa in terms of political decision-making.

Certain questions were asked in order to expose variables which may have affected residents' responses to the informal settlement. Residents were asked how far away they lived from the informal settlements, both the original and the new sites; they were asked if they could see the settlement; and most importantly whether they had had any contact with residents from Mizamoyethu. The demographic section also provided a number of variables that were used in the cross-tabulations.

Analysing the data

The data was captured using coded blocks. Both the closed-ended and open-ended questions were coded. Categories were set up for the open-ended questions, according to the residents' responses, and the questions were coded according to these. The data was then recorded by a computer processing unit and this was exported to a statistics package called "Systat". Certain characteristics of the data were checked, such as range and maximum values, in order to ensure that there were no missing values or extreme errors in the data.

The data was analysed in terms of: the entire sample; the ratepayers (zones 1, 2, 3); the harbour community (zone 4); and then each of the zones separately. The entire sample was analysed using principal components analysis in order to ascertain if there were underlying dimensions or factors which were influencing the way in which formal residents were responding. The responses of the ratepayers and the harbour community were compared in order to investigate the role socio-economic and

political differences played in influencing residents' attitudes and perceptions. Finally the responses of residents in each of the four zones were considered separately, so as to determine whether distance from the settlement affected residents' responses. Frequency tables and bar graphs were generated which provided the basic understanding of the data. The data was displayed in a variety of forms and from this a sense of the way in which the residents were responding was developed. Cross-tabulations of the data were computed on Systat. Some of the cross-tabulations were calculated on the Geographical Information System. This method is explained further on in this section.

Because of the sample size of each group, namely 75 respondents for the first three zones and 50 respondents for the last zone, it could not be concluded that the cross-tabulations performed were statistically significant. However, these tables were used only to support the contentions already being made in this thesis, and hence the use of descriptive statistics was deemed as being acceptable. The statistical analysis was used to support the general trends that had been identified. The findings represented in the tables were congruent with the understanding of the data and so they are taken as being valid.

In computing the cross-tabulations the raw data was used and this was then converted to a percentage of the total number in that sample that responded in a particular way. The proportion of residents in each category that were responding in a particular manner were therefore being calculated. The proportions of each of these categories were then compared and hence it was possible to identify which variable had the highest response in each category. An example of the manipulation of the cross-tabulations is given below.

Table 4.1 Raw data values of the amount of contact between the ratepayers and the informal settlers through long term employment by their responses to the settlement.

	No response	Long term employ - yes	Long term employ - no	Total
No response	0	0	2	2
Negative Response	1	18	98	117
Positive Response	1	20	49	70
Mixed feelings	2	5	29	36
Total	4	43	178	225

Table 4.2 Figures from Table 4.1 converted to proportional percentages.

	No response	Long term employ - yes	Long term employ - no	Total
No response	0	0	100%	100%
Negative Response	0	16%	84%	100%
Positive Response	1%	28%	71%	100%
Mixed feelings	2%	14%	81%	100%

It was concluded from Table 4.2 that there is a relationship between contact with the informal settlers through long term employment and a positive attitude toward the settlement.

Geographical Information System

The geographical information system, Arcinfo, was used in order to explore the extent to which distance from the settlement played a role in influencing residents' perceptions. By spatially mapping the responses of residents, it was possible to analyse whether those closest to Mizamoyethu, or the original settlements, were more negative, or more aware of the impacts than those further away. Strong differences

in responses between the harbour community and the ratepayers also became apparent in this analysis.

A WCRSC Hout Bay 1:5000 1992 base map was scanned, creating an image upon which information was digitised. The erf numbers of the residents interviewed were mapped as points and a data base containing the residents' responses to the questionnaire was attached to these points. Maps were generated that represented the spatial positioning of responses to the issues under discussion. A number of cross-tabulations were also computed and these were mapped. The cross-tabulations therefore represented the relationships of different responses to each other as well as to their spatial position.

The numerical tables of the data were created using the four zones which had been digitised, and which were recognised as separate polygons, together with the statistical functions of Arcinfo. These tables represent the percentage of residents in each zone which responded in a particular manner to an issue and they are displayed below each map. It must be noted that in the statistical representation of the data in the tables, there may be small percentage differences as compared with the points marked on the map. This is due to the decimal system used by the statistical functions. However, these errors are negligible.

The responses of residents in the different zones were compared, in an attempt to pick up trends in the responses given. Again the sample sizes of each zone were not large enough to make the comparisons statistically significant, but they were large enough to enable trends to be identified and for it to be possible to judge the impact of distance from the settlement on residents' perceptions.

These maps have been used to get a sense of the effect of distance-decay on residents' perceptions in Hout Bay. The percentages of the tables have been examined but insight into the data was also gained by observing the maps which have the various responses marked in different colours. In preparing and working on the maps a good feel for the data was developed.

Observation of the maps also provided information with regard to the difference in attitude between the harbour community and the ratepayers. The strong variation between the ratepayers and the harbour community is evident in many of the maps, thereby supporting the contention that socio-economic and political differences influence residents' perceptions and attitudes.

All the roads of Hout Bay were initially entered onto the map. However, because of the spatial accuracy of the map, particular responses could be attached to exact houses. The residents had been told that their responses would be confidential and because of the sensitive nature of the questionnaire, it was important that responses could not be traced to particular households. It was therefore decided that maps would be orientated by drawing in the river floodplain and the coastline and to leave out the roads for ethical reasons. It was also important not to clutter the map, as the spatial responses represented the most significant information, and so the other information provided was kept as simple as possible. The base maps (see Figures 4.1 and 4.2) which show the zones, old and new sites and sample points have more detail on them, and the rest of the maps are based on these. The reader can thus orient the maps indicating residents' responses on the base map.

Principal Components Analysis

A principal components analysis was performed on the entire data set. Principal components analysis (pca) finds a measure that summarises the main dimensions of variation among the variables. It also indicates the way in which the variables are grouped together. The principal component procedure attempts to discern all the underlying dimensions existent within the data matrix. It has been devised to explain the interrelationships in a large number of variables by the presence of a few factors (Davis, 1973). It begins by calculating the dimension which accounts for the greatest proportion of the total variation. From these resolution vectors, one can determine the 'principal components' of the data set which represent the 'basic underlying dimension'. Each of these resolution vectors is known as an eigenvector which has a value assigned to it. In any data set, there will be as many eigenvectors as there are

variables, since these vectors are determined by the correlation matrix made up of variables by variables. Each component, or underlying dimension, accounts for a certain percentage of the total variation.

As each successive component is extracted, the amount of explanation that it contributes decreases so that the last few components account for a very small proportion of the total variation. It is thus important for the researcher to decide how many components to retain. The problem of 'cut-off' is vital because many of the components may consist of errors that have occurred in the original measurement of the data. There are a number of different ways of determining where the cut-off should be. Rule N (Preisendorfer and Barnett, 1977, cited in Overlander and Preisendorfer, 1982) was used in the pca conducted in this thesis.

The components are then interpreted in terms of the variables from which they are constituted. The loadings of the different variables onto each component give an idea of which variables are associated with each component. Both high positive and high negative loadings indicate a relationship between the variable and the component. The variables are rank ordered with respect to their loadings on the principal components. "The interpretation of these components therefore requires a little descriptive imagination, and the resultant labels may therefore vary from researcher to researcher" (Yeates, 1974, p 225). The scores of the pca indicate how the individual observations load onto each component and are interpreted in the same manner as the loadings.

In running a pca, it is often necessary to rotate the eigenvectors in order to get the best fit and the highest amount of variation. A varimax rotation was used to rotate this data.

Running a pca of the entire data set is a valuable means of analysis because it is a technique which allows the data to 'speak for itself'. It does not rely on any pre-determined assumptions, but rather enables the data to group itself in terms of the amount of variation present in the data set. If the percentage of variance is low, then

it can be assumed that the people or events being surveyed are relatively independent and that they are not highly correlated.

Analysis of property prices in Hout Bay

The perceptions of the surrounding community with regard to the impact of the development of the informal settlement on housing prices in Hout Bay were obtained in the survey. In order to consider whether these were perceived or 'real' changes it was necessary to assess the actual changes in property prices in Hout Bay from January 1990 onwards. Change in land value is difficult to assess since it is not easy to separate the impacts of both the economic recession and the impact of the informal settlement on land value in Hout Bay. Property price statistics were therefore analysed in order to attempt to pick up changes in the housing market in Hout Bay and to see if these could be tied to the 'squatter' issue. Statistical summaries of house sales were obtained from the estate agents in the area. The most reliable figure seemed to be the number of houses sold. Changes in the number of houses sold were identified and related to political and planning decisions made in Hout Bay. However, these figures were very general and so did not offer information that enabled significant conclusions to be drawn.

Five estate agents in Hout Bay were interviewed in order to obtain a more accurate understanding of the fluctuations of the property market in the area. Estate agents have the experience which enables them to make sound judgements about property in an area, and thus their statements with regard to changes in the land market were trusted. It is important to acknowledge that the estate agents themselves act as agents and gatekeepers in the land market. They are important players in the functioning of the property market and they would certainly do their best to keep prices in Hout Bay as high as possible. Five estate agents in the area were selected and an interview with the owner/manager of each of these businesses was conducted. A fairly structured questionnaire was used in order to cover specific issues, but the interview ended with an informal discussion from which valuable information was gained. For the purpose of this thesis, it was not necessary to conduct an in-depth analysis on property value

changes. Rather broad trends were explored in order to assess whether the perceptions of residents were based on 'true' experience or on expectations of change.

It is very difficult to analyse changes as the recession has certainly impacted on land markets all over the country. In order to assess the impacts of Mizamoyethu it would be necessary to complete a comparative study which considered changes in suburbs that are similar in socio-economic status to Hout Bay. It was felt that the information gained from the residents themselves, the statistical summary and the estate agents was sufficient for this thesis.

Analysis of the newspaper reports

The media plays an important role in influencing people's perceptions and attitudes. Media reports are generated as a response to events that happen, but they represent a certain perspective and hence they can serve to bias the outcome of the way in which a reader perceives the event. The objectivity of the press is questionable and their responsibility in maintaining or challenging the status quo also needs to be explored.

The nature of the press reports which were published in the *Argus* and the *Cape Times* from May 1989 through to March 1993 were investigated. All the articles written were considered, rather than just a sample of articles, in order to get a sense of the events and processes in Hout Bay as they unfolded in chronological order. The number of articles written per month were considered in relation to the particular events taking place at that time. The research was conducted in the library of Newspaper House in Cape Town. Access to all of the articles on the Hout Bay informal settlement issue was gained through the library archives. All of the reports were read and this provided insight into the nature of the reporting that had taken place on the Hout Bay conflict.

The reports were analysed under the following headings: the date of the report; the caption/heading of the article; the basic subject matter of the article; the length of the article; the nature of the article; and the groups quoted in the article. The date was used to relate the material and nature of the article to events happening in Hout Bay at that time. The headline was considered to be important as this sets the general tone of the article and it is also something that people see and respond to even if they do not read the whole story. Captions often convey strong messages. The articles were categorised in terms of their general slant or attitude toward the issue. The articles were divided into three groups: those that were positive or sympathetic to the issue; those that were pragmatic or neutral; and those that were negative about the issue. Those who were quoted in the article were documented as this gives a sense of who is being represented (i.e. those groups that have a voice through the press).

There is obviously a certain amount of subjectivity in this type of analysis. The articles were considered in terms of the context within this thesis is set and hence biases may have been introduced into the interpretation. However, background knowledge of the conflict enabled the articles to be considered in terms of what they represented to the general public. The media influences people in many different ways. Those that hold strong views on the issue will use the articles that support their views to reinforce their beliefs, while denying or manipulating the articles that are more positive. Those that tend to stand on middle ground will be swayed by the opinions presented in the press reports. Letters submitted by the residents to the press were also considered as these reflect the attitudes and response of residents to events in their community.

The analysis of the press reports performs two functions. It documents events and happenings in the community but more importantly it comments on the events that are reported and it questions the way that the articles influence peoples' perceptions and attitudes. It is also significant to consider what is left out of the reports. Do journalists cover the more sensational conflict issues or are they also prepared to cover the success stories of the development as well? This is discussed more fully in the results section.

Activities of the Liaison Committee of Hout Bay

Sayer (1984) stresses the importance of using intensive research methods in gaining insight into the nature of society and space. Intensive methods

adopt particular research techniques - qualitative methods, participant observation, informal and unstructured interviews, life-histories, ethnographies- that permit the detailed study of the individual in his or her or its causal context, so as to establish interconnections between the necessary and the contingent (Cloke, Philo and Sadler, 1991, p 156).

The following section describes my involvement in the process in Hout Bay which has enabled intensive research to be conducted. As Van der Burgh (1988, p 63) states, "the social world is not objective but involves subjective meanings and experiences that are constructed by actors in social situations and that in order to interpret these meanings and experiences, the researcher must actively participate in the social worlds of the actors involved." This involves observing; listening; enquiring and recording.

By acting as the administrator of the Liaison Committee of Hout Bay I have gained considerable insight into the conflict. The Committee is made up of the major players in the Hout Bay conflict. There are representatives from the ratepayers constituency; the Mizamoyethu community; the harbour Community; and the Cape Provincial Administration (CPA) who act as observers on the committee. I organise the meetings, take the minutes and act as an observer. Other agents involved in the community may be invited to meetings in an observer capacity.

The Liaison Committee was instituted in March 1992 in order to enable the local people of Hout Bay to determine their own future. A constitution was drawn up and the Committee has been operating relatively successfully (on and off) for the past two years. Some of the issues discussed in this thesis have been dealt with through the forum of the Liaison Committee and have been partly resolved. In the middle of 1993 communication had broken down within the Committee and between the informal settlers and the CPA. This resulted in a considerable amount of conflict and misunderstanding. Involvement in the process which aimed at getting the appropriate

forums back into action was enlightening. The meetings in the Mizamoyethu community at this time were extremely interesting and much was learnt by observing the discussions. In a situation of conflict resolution, such as in Hout Bay, it is imperative that the communication channels remain open and that misunderstandings are avoided by up-front discussions of the issues that arise. It is evident that people need to take responsibility for their actions and for the process to be transparent.

During the past few months the Committee has dealt with a number of controversial issues such as the future growth of the settlement; the issue of buffer zones; the development of and the move to the new site-and-service sites; and the accommodation of the extra 211 unregistered lodgers and shack dwellers. By being involved in the Liaison Committee, a deep insight into the informal settlement issue in Hout Bay has been developed.

By spending time in the informal settler community, getting to know a number of the residents, my understanding of the issues has deepened. A great deal has been learnt from working with the Civic Committee. Participation in site meetings, and involvement in workshops and informal activities in the community have enabled me to gain a good understanding of the informal community and the way in which they perceive the nature of society and space in Hout Bay. The land-use conflict has thus been considered from both sides and this has enriched this research considerably.

From the above it is clear that the experiences gained by being involved in the process in Hout Bay has been invaluable to this research. The conflict has been considered from the perspectives of the various groups involved, the reaction of the ratepayers to the issues being discussed have been observed; the negotiation of issues that are major components of this thesis have been witnessed; the way in which human agents can act to shape and alter the structures of society has been seen; and an understanding of the different frameworks within which human agents operate has been gained. Intensive research has contributed significantly to an understanding of the Hout Bay situation.

4.3.3 Conclusion

A number of different approaches have been adopted in investigating the situation that has developed in Hout Bay. Abstract and concrete research methods have been used, and both qualitative and quantitative techniques have been adopted and employed in a complementary manner. By using these various approaches, which are congruent with the realist framework, insight into the situation which has developed in Hout Bay has been developed. Statistical analysis has been used to support the contentions made in this thesis. In understanding the nature of society and space in Hout Bay, which is highly complex, a number of different tools of analysis needed to be adopted in order to unravel and understand the conflict which has developed. Each has a place and offers a way of seeing and interpreting that is valid and informative.

The following chapters focus on the analysis of the results of the various investigative processes, thereby considering the underlying factors and causal powers which are influencing the conflict in Hout Bay, as played out in time and space.

CHAPTER 5

HOUT BAY – LOCALITY AND HISTORY

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on Hout Bay as a locality, investigating it both in terms of its internal sense of place as well as with respect to its broader context within society. Hout Bay is known for its attractive residential estates; the fishing harbour; its potential for tourism; and more recently as a model for the resettlement of informal communities within existing residential areas.

Many stories have circulated about the creative ways of using a "Republic of Hout Bay passport".



Plate 10 An entry sign to Hout Bay.

The concept and gimmicks associated with the "Republic of Hout Bay" reflects the strong self-identity of the white community living there. It also gives the impression of an independent, easily identifiable area with a strong sense of place. According to Bolton (1992, p 193) sense of place can be defined as a

complex of intangible characteristics of a place that make it attractive to actual and potential residents and influence their behaviour in observable ways. Both the 'setting' of the place and the social interactions of the community are important, and setting includes natural, cultural and historical characteristics.

Consideration needs to be given to the context or sense of place in which the perceptions, attitudes and behaviour of the Hout Bay residents are formed and acted out. Buttner (1980b, p 167) states that

people's sense of both personal and cultural identity is intimately bound up with place identity.... People have not only intellectual, imaginary, and symbolic conceptions of place, but also personal and social associations with place-based networks of interaction and affiliation.

The development of a framework for understanding the residents' sense of place in Hout Bay is thus essential in probing the deeper meanings of the responses of residents to the establishment of an informal settlement in the area.

5.2 HOUT BAY - THE NATURE OF SOCIETY AND SPACE

Prior to the development of the 'squatter' issue, if people were asked to generalise about Hout Bay as a residential area, the descriptions given would refer to the aesthetic quality of the environment; the beauty of the area; the peaceful, rural nature of the place; and to the fact that it is a middle- to upper-income area with many desirable qualities. An estate agent working for Pam Golding estates was quoted in the *Cape Times* (17/1/89) as saying "Hout Bay is an upmarket area, with virtually no low priced houses available. It is a suburb for those who have made it, and those who are going to make it". The success referred to is clearly financial and social success associated with the notion of class structure and the development of a neighbourhood

that fosters and supports such a class of people, hence facilitating the reproduction of the upper socio-economic group.

In offering this description, most would be referring to the suburbs of Hout Bay occupied by the predominantly white ratepayers, which until 1991 constituted 45% of the total population of Hout Bay and occupied 98% of residential land area. The harbour residential area, which comprises of 2% of the residential land area and 49% of the population of Hout Bay, was created to house the coloured fishing labourers under the Group Areas Act of 1950 (MLH Architects and Planners, *Argus*², 4 May, 1991). This area has a very different socio-economic structure. As Killet (1990, cited in Gawith, 1990) noted, there were approximately 1000 lower-income, working class people living or "squatting" in the harbour area, over and above the 4500 people accommodated in crowded conditions in the harbour. The so-called coloured residential area has since been extended and a middle-income area has developed above the hostels, flats and low-income houses. This new development is known as Hout Bay Heights.

Subsequent to 1991, there has been the development of a permanent, informal settlement in Hout Bay. Hence, within the broader Hout Bay community, there are three distinct residential areas (see Figure 4.1 and Figure 5.4): the area housing the middle- to upper-income, predominantly white ratepayers; the economically mixed, largely coloured suburb of the harbour community; and the informal settlers of Mizamoyethu (both coloured and black residents). The surrounding community (as defined for the purposes of this study) is thus made up of the ratepayers and the harbour community. It was deemed necessary to separate the responses of the ratepayers and the harbour community since they have different socio-economic and ethnic backgrounds and hence many have different perceptions of the issues. The distinct responses of these two communities provide a sound basis for the analysis of the class conflict which has developed in Hout Bay.

It is important to identify the characteristics people associate with Hout Bay as a residential area, and the sense of place that results, as it is from these references that

the socio-economic profile of the Hout Bay community can be elucidated. Likewise the socio-economic profile serves to reflect the nature of place.

5.2.1 The socio-economic status of the residents of Hout Bay

The demographics of the formal residents

It was necessary to investigate the demographics of respondents in order to gain insight into the socio-economic status of residents in Hout Bay. This provides the background necessary to develop a class-based argument in relation to the structural forces of residential segregation and patterning evident in Hout Bay, as discussed in the structuralist framework.

Table 5.1 comprises of demographic information which gives an indication of the socio-economic status of the ratepayers and the harbour community. The procedure for allocating rewards in capitalist society is through income, power and status (Johnston, 1984) and thus it is important to consider the socio-economic status of the residents of Hout Bay.

The spatial display of income data in Hout Bay, Figure B.1 in Appendix B, as well as the above table, supports the conclusion that the harbour community and the ratepayers represent residents of differing socio-economic status. The map also indicates that the residents of zone two generally represent a middle-income group, as opposed to the middle- to upper-income groups of zone one and three.

Consideration is now given to the socio-economic structure of society in Hout Bay, since this plays an important role in influencing the nature of locality, as well as forming the basis of much of the conflict (which is class-based).

Table 5.1 The demographics of the formal residents of Hout Bay.

	Ratepayers	Harbour Community
Income bracket per household	No Response – 36% R7500+ – 33% R6000 – R7499 – 10% R4500 – R5999 – 9%	No Response – 76% R6000 – R7499 – 8% 0 – R1499 – 10%
Occupation	No Response – 2% Housewife – 23% Business – 18% Retired – 18% Self employed – 13%	No Response – 2% Housewife – 23% Self employed – 16% Unemployed – 14%
Education qualification	No Response – 16% Matric – 39% Diploma – 12% Degree – 25%	No Response – 70% Std 8 – 8% Matric – 18% Diploma – 4%
Employment of domestics and gardeners	Domestics – 73% Gardeners – 54%	Domestics – 22% Gardeners – 10%
Home ownership	88%	54%

Source: From the questionnaire used in this thesis.

The ratepayers of Hout Bay

From the survey it is evident that the majority of the group classified as ratepayers fall into the middle- to upper-income group. This is clearly supported by the demographic information displayed in Table 5.1. In terms of income, occupation structure, education, home-ownership and the number of residents who can afford to employ domestic servants and gardeners, it is evident that the ratepayers are part of a middle to upper socio-economic group. The employment figures indicate that the majority of ratepayers of Hout Bay are skilled people with a reasonably high standard of living as a result of their occupation. A high percentage of respondents interviewed have a tertiary education, namely 37%.

The high socio-economic status of this group is further supported by-on-the ground observation of residences that are certainly 'upmarket': – of two cars in the driveway,

and household furnishings that represent people belonging to an economically well-off group. The socio-economic structure of the largely white residential area is reasonably homogeneous, but with a 'relatively middle-income' area close to the shopping axis and on the main routes (largely zone two).

The harbour community

Residents in the harbour community tend to belong to a lower-income stratum. Outsiders would probably describe the harbour community as a lower-income area, predominantly housing working class people associated with the fishing industry. This is supported by the figures given in Table 5.1.

Many of the harbour community residents did not respond to the question on monthly income. This could be for a number of reasons, namely: they do not have a fixed income and due to the variable nature of their income it is difficult to quantify; many were unemployed; housewives may get allowances and hence do not have access to their husbands' income; people may obtain income in ways that they do not wish to make public; respondents may not wish to volunteer such information as they do not trust the use of the survey.

One of the interviewers explained that many of those interviewed in the harbour were angry about their situation and were not happy about being questioned about their lives when nothing ever seemed to change for them. They were not very responsive to certain questions, especially those that asked for personal information. This is a common problem of conducting interviews in a stressed community using the methodology adopted, as many of the respondents do not trust or respect the work being done, as it never seems to be to their benefit.

However, an association with a particular class sub-structure can be drawn from the data and from other socio-economic indicators. Levels of unemployment in the harbour community are relatively high; many residents rent accommodation and so do not belong to the landowning group. It is interesting to note the reasonably high

number of people of the harbour community who are self employed. Self employment in this community possibly implies that people are not involved in formal employment. They are most likely contract workers such as carpenters and builders etc. who pick up work when it is available.

The level of education and type of occupation of residents also enables one to deduce the class structure of the harbour community. It is interesting to contrast the education levels of the ratepayers and the harbour community and to note the low percentage of harbour residents that have been exposed to tertiary education. Very few harbour residents employ domestic servants or gardeners which is also indicative of a lower socio-economic status.

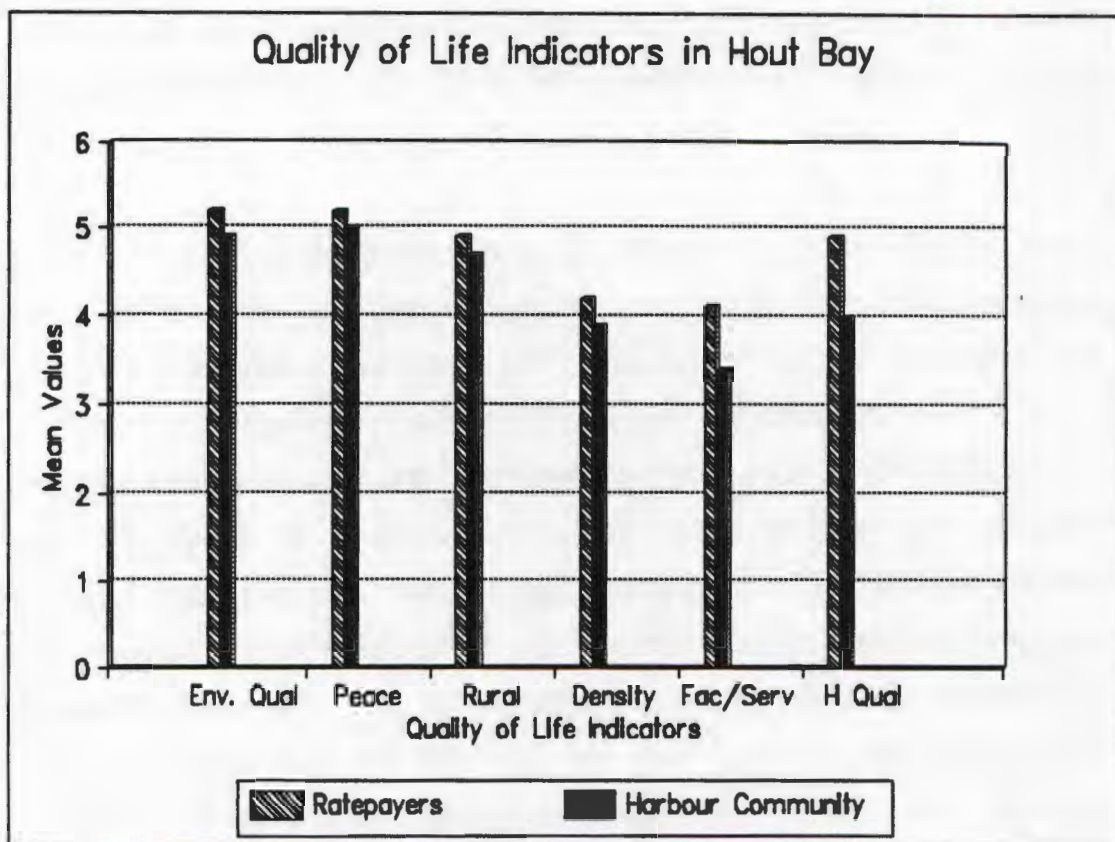
The implication of the above findings is that residents of the harbour community are of a very different socio-economic status to the ratepayers and this will be used as a basis of explanation in the consideration of the class conflict which is evident in Hout Bay.

There is, however, a problem with using the term community to refer to the harbour community, as this makes the assumption that the residents of this area are homogeneous. This is not the case. The area was designated as a coloured area under the Group Areas Act, housing largely harbour workers. However, during the early 1980 s, Hout Bay Heights was developed and this has grown into a middle class area, housing a professional group, not with access to the means of production, but who are landowners that form part of the service class of Hout Bay. This situation has developed because of apartheid legislation of the past. Planning patterns of class were complicated by underlying apartheid ideology and thus class differentiation and segregation have not completely coincided with the expected patterns of advanced capitalist cities. Hence those residents interviewed in Hout Bay Heights are of a different socio-economic status to their neighbours in the hostels and council housing.

Having considered the demographic characteristics of the residents, attention is now focused on other indicators of the nature of society in Hout Bay. Quality of life indicators reflect the positive or negative externalities of the place, thus mirroring socio-economic status, while the length of time that residents have lived in Hout Bay also gives one a sense of the nature of the communities living in the area.

Quality of life indicators – A reflection of socio-economic position

Residents of Hout Bay were asked to rate their quality of life in Hout Bay according to a number of indicators. They were required to rank aspects such as environmental quality; rural atmosphere; facilities and services etc. on a seven point scale ranging from very poor to excellent.



Mean values: 1: very poor to 7: excellent.

KEY: Env. Qual: Quality of environment; Fac/Serv: Facilities and Services; H. Qual: Housing quality.

Figure 5.1 Comparison of the ratepayers and harbour communities' perceptions of quality of life in Hout Bay

Figure 5.1 suggests that socio-economic position is reflected by quality of life indicators. The harbour community ranked all aspects of quality of life lower than the ratepayers. Their perception of the immediate environment is impacted upon by the conditions of that environment. The standard of living in the harbour community is clearly not of the same quality as the surrounding white suburbs. Note particularly that housing density and quality; facilities and services; and security are all rated much lower, which is indicative of an area of lower socio-economic position.

Length of time residents have lived in Hout Bay

Table 5.2 Length of time formal residents have lived in Hout Bay.

	Under 3 years	3-5 Years	6-10 Years	Over 10 years
Ratepayers	22%	23%	24%	31%
Harbour Community	6%	14%	16%	64%

The length of time that residents have spent in Hout Bay gives one a sense of the association the ratepayers and harbour community have had with the area. It also gives an indication of the history of the development of Hout Bay. The sample represents a good distribution in terms of the length of time the respondents have lived in Hout Bay. There is a high percentage of residents that have lived through the many changes that have occurred in the suburb and so have a sense of the way in which the place has developed and changed, particularly over the past five years.

Table 5.2 indicates that the harbour community is a far less mobile group. This is because of their economic situation and because of the limits imposed on them by the Group Areas Act (1950). Low-income residents do not have the financial mobility to be able to relocate themselves as easily as those above them in the class structure. The data also supports the attitude that the harbour community should have been considered for socio-economic upliftment before the 'squatters', as they have lived in and contributed to Hout Bay, as a community, for a considerable length of time.

In order to develop a greater understanding of the sense of place of Hout Bay, it is important to consider why people chose to live in the area. This information also alludes to significant findings in terms of the different perceptions that different socio-economic groups have toward environmental resources. Hence it forms an valuable platform on which to develop a class-based argument.

5.2.2 Reasons why residents chose to live in Hout Bay

The Hout Bay community were asked why they had chosen to live in Hout Bay. Once the perceived identity or sense of place of Hout Bay had been established, an understanding of the residents' expectations of the place and the value they attach to particular characteristics of the residential area could be developed. In considering the sense of place it is important to recognise the role of the researcher in interpreting this information. As Buttimer (1980b, p 181) comments, "even though residents spoke about 'home ground' and 'sense of place', I heard those words through filters of my own experience."

The majority of ratepayers live in Hout Bay because it is seen to be an area of good environmental quality – valued for its beauty; scenery; rural atmosphere and good natural environment. Gold's comment about 'aspirational satisfaction' seems to be congruent with the way that the ratepayers feel about living in Hout Bay. He states that residential satisfaction "affords feelings of having arrived for those living there. These are essentially private values, deriving from the house and garden, the general appearance of the neighbourhood and its social status" (Gold, 1980, p 178). Implicit in the high environmental quality of the neighbourhood, is the socio-economic status offered by living in such an area. Due to the nature of the capitalist land market, as described in the theoretical chapters, areas of high aesthetic value house upper-income residents. This in turn offers socialisation opportunities which are appropriate to such a class of people.

The responses of the harbour community are very different, focusing far more on basic needs such as family connections and employment opportunities. This

emphasises the extent to which class structure underlies and forms the perceptions people have of place, as well as the value that they attach to place. Position within the class structure also determines residents' needs relative to the way in which that particular environment is useful to them. Only a third of the harbour community chose to live in Hout Bay for the same reasons as the ratepayers.

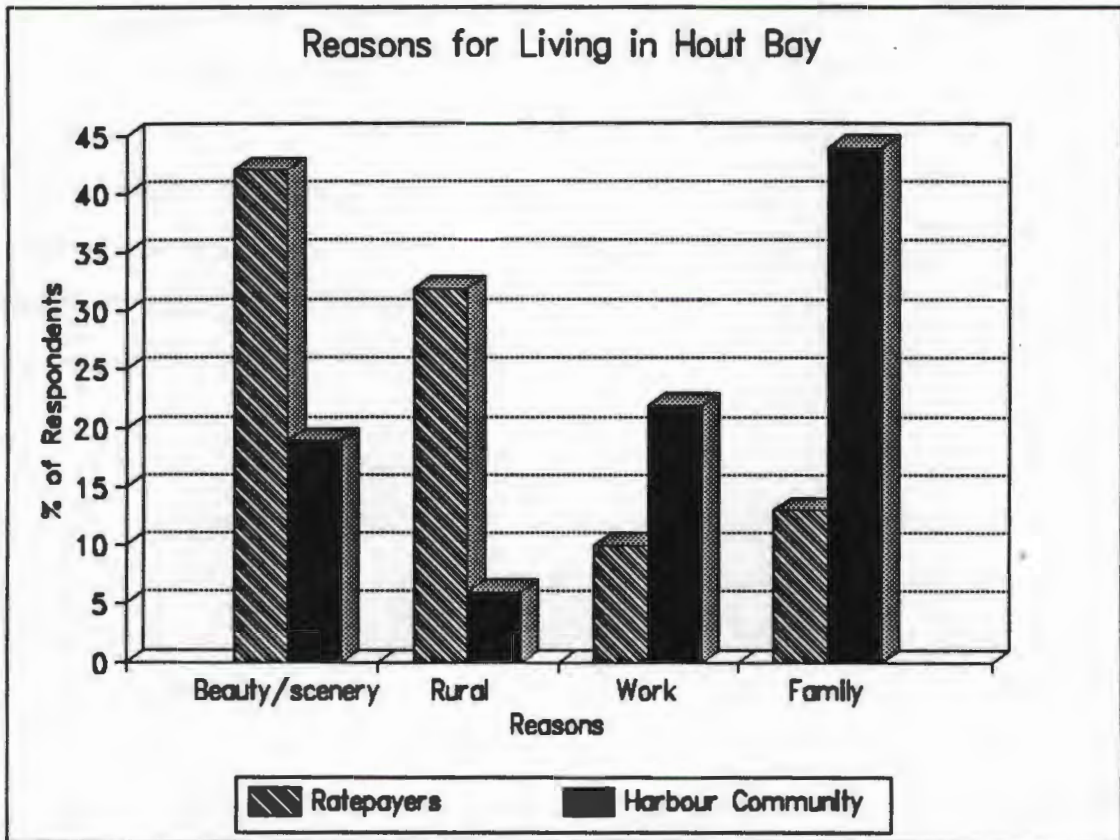


Figure 5.2 Reasons given by residents for choosing to live in Hout Bay.

This indicates that the Hout Bay ratepayers, being of a higher socio-economic status, can afford to choose to live in an area for reasons that occur higher up on Maslow's hierarchy of needs, whereas the majority of the harbour community live there in response to the fact that they work in the area or because of supportive family connections. In research done on sensitivity to residential stressors in Ohio, Salling and Harvey (1981) indicate that those sensitive only to aesthetic qualities of a residential environment are those higher in socio-economic status, characterized by

being achievement and success oriented. This class is independent of the kinds of basic concerns for necessities of a residential environment and hence can focus on the aesthetic qualities when choosing an environment. The contrast in expectations of the ratepayers and harbour community underlies many of the differing responses given in the survey.

Reasons given by respondents for choosing to live in Hout Bay are significant as they reflect people's expectations of an environment and indicate the way in which they see the area as a resource. Any change that would undermine or threaten residents' reasons for being there would be seen as negative change and hence would result in a reaction from the community. As Buttimer (1980b, p 167) says, "it appears that people's sense of both personal and cultural identity is intimately bound up with place identity. Loss of home or 'losing one's sense of place' may often trigger an identity crisis."

People associate negative externalities, particularly aesthetically, with informal settlements. Informal settlements are generally stigmatised with perceptions of poor environmental quality and a high degree of negative impact on environmental quality and way of life of surrounding areas. As Emmett (1992) indicates in his research done in the Hottentots Holland Basin, 'squatters' are stigmatised and labelled as having particular impacts. This stigmatisation is underpinned by and manifest in the racial and class conflicts that exist. The perceptions of Hout Bay ratepayers toward the development of an informal settlement in the area, which they chose for its peacefulness and beauty, are important to examine. The harbour community reflects a different set of expectations, fears and concerns and so the informal community impacts upon them in a different manner, especially in relation to work opportunities and the relative provision of services and facilities.

The impact of the land-use conflict in Hout Bay is to a large extent dependent on the socio-economic position of the groups involved. The perceived impacts are relative to the needs and expectations of the surrounding community and these needs are strongly influenced by position in the class structure. The extent to which these

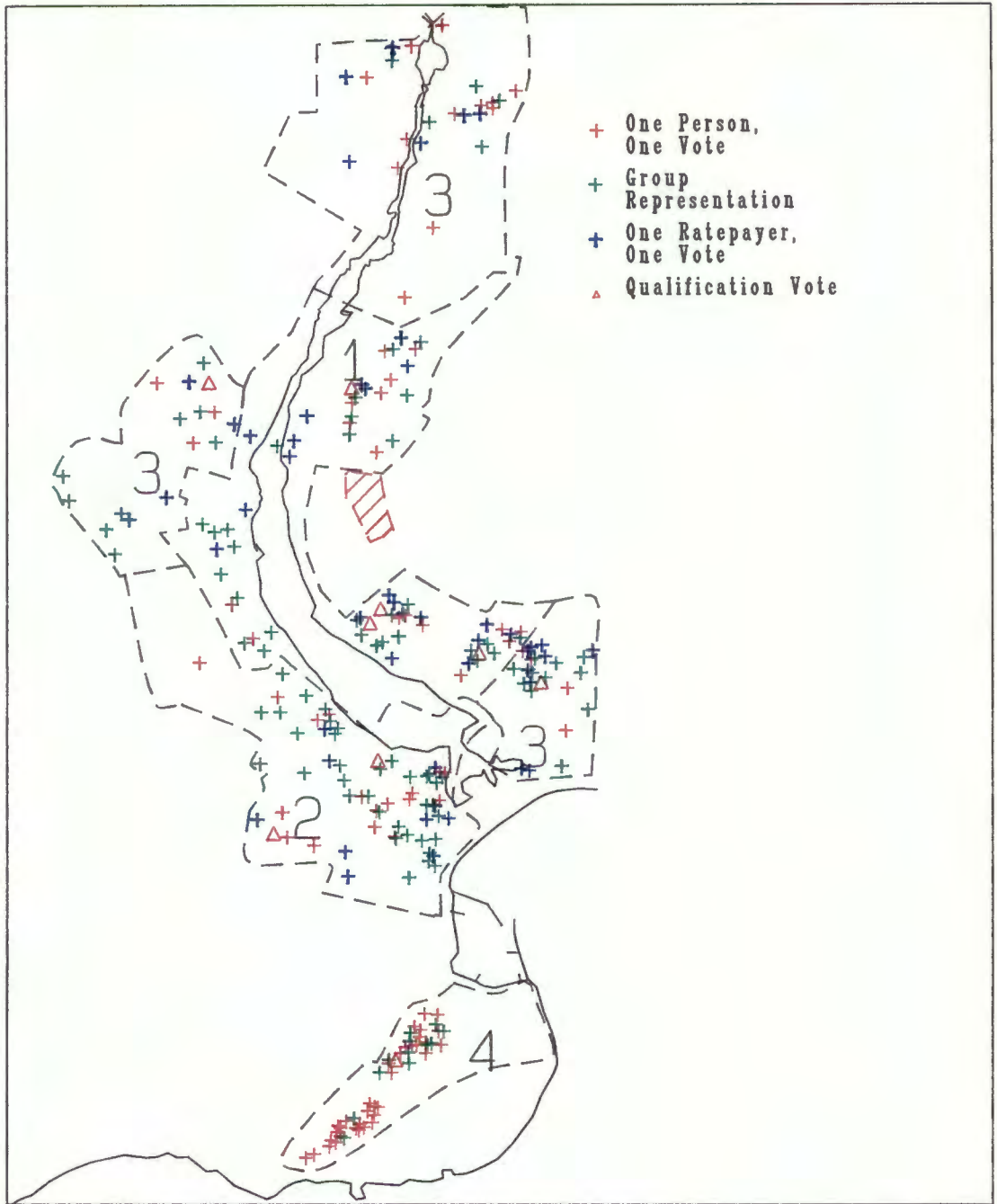


Figure 5.3 The voting patterns of formal residents.

Table 5.3 The voting patterns of formal residents.

	1	2	3	4	Total
One Person, One Vote	24%	23%	24%	78%	32%
Group Representation	44%	51%	35%	26%	40%
One Ratepayer, One Vote	25%	16%	24%	0	40%
Qualification Vote	5%	3%	3%	2%	3%

expectations are threatened becomes clear as the discussion evolves. This is a fundamental component of the conflict which resulted from the development of the informal settlement in Hout Bay.

5.2.3 Broad political affiliations of the residents of Hout Bay

Further to the consideration of the nature of the communities residing in Hout Bay, it is interesting to consider the broad political affiliations of the respondents. Even though these are related to the development of local government in the area, the findings do indicate political differences between the ratepayers and the harbour community. The perceptions of residents toward access to power are important to consider when considering the nature of locality.

Respondents were asked to indicate their political representation preferences for a local government in Hout Bay in order to assess the broader political framework with which they align themselves. This is significant since the framework and ideology within which people operate influences and serves to mould their perceptions and attitudes, especially in South Africa, where political affiliations certainly impact on people's perceptions. This question also gives an indication of residents' acceptance of the 'squatters' as members of the Hout Bay community by suggesting who should be involved in the political decision making process at local level. Figure 5.3 and Table 5.3 give an indication of the voting preferences of residents over space.

It is noteworthy that the majority of Hout Bay residents opted for group representation, followed closely by one person one vote. The high percentage of one person one vote is influenced by the strong response of the harbour community in this category. From the map (Figure 5.3 and Table 5.3) it is evident that the predominantly white ratepayers are politically more conservative, wishing to maintain the status quo by holding onto political power.

The majority of ratepayers clearly favour a system that would protect their rights as property owners because of their fear that they might not be the majority (in terms of

numbers) in the years ahead. They emphasize group representation. The ownership of land and the financial commitment of paying rates is seen as an important means of controlling political decision-making. This system would exclude and render powerless those who do not own land or who do not pay rates as in the case of the informal settlers at present. Hence the capitalist system can be used to maintain control.

The harbour community's voting patterns were very different to the ratepayers', as is to be expected (see Figure 5.3 and Table 5.3). A high percentage of the harbour community indicated that they would prefer a system of one person one vote, with a much smaller number of residents stating that group representation would be an acceptable system. This group has been denied access to any real political decision making through the policies of apartheid and this is reflected in their need for a system which is just and which gives everyone access to political decision making. They do not express the same need for minority control, at present, that the ratepayers displayed in their choice of a voting system.

Having developed and discussed the nature of society and space in Hout Bay, in terms of the community surrounding Mizamoyethu, it is now important to consider the history of the establishment and growth of the informal settlement in the area. This section serves to provide the context of the development of the settlement, so that the reader can understand the processes and changing spatial patterns that have developed in Hout Bay over the past few years.

5.3 THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INFORMAL SETTLEMENT IN HOUT BAY

5.3.1 Introduction

Informal settlements have been in existence in Hout Bay for over fifty years. The main economic activities of fishing and farming in the Hout Bay area created the need for a labour force. Many of the workers were accommodated in hostels and houses in the

harbour area, or else they lived in labourers' cottages on farms. The majority of the labour force consisted of coloured people. In 1944 there were "155 black workers in Hout Bay and by the late 1950's this number had increased to 500" (Ziller, 1990, cited in Gawith and Sowman, 1992).

The Group Areas Act was implemented in the 1950's, zoning Hout Bay as a white residential area with an attached coloured township. No provision was made for the accommodation of black people. They were to be housed by bone fide employers with licensed premises or residences. At the same time many farms in Hout Bay were subdivided and sold for residential development and this resulted in a large displacement of labour. Labourers moved onto smaller pieces of undeveloped land which they occupied illegally (Greene, 1990, cited in Gawith and Sowman, 1992). A shortage of accommodation developed in the harbour area and hence more single hostels and council flats were built to house coloured workers and their families. These workers were specifically related to the fishing industry. However housing provision was still inadequate and serious overcrowding resulted.

The general shortage of housing intensified in the 1970s. By the early 1970s, a number of small 'squatter' settlements had been established in Hout Bay. The earliest of these were Kadosloot, located above the harbour area and the Disa River settlement (see Figure 5.4). "The people of these early settlements were mostly coloured people referred to as 'traditional squatters' given their long association with the land in Hout Bay" (Ziller 1990, cited in Sowman and Gawith, 1992, p 4)

By the 1980s the housing shortage in the harbour was critical. By 1989, 500 families were on waiting lists for housing in the harbour area, while 4500 people lived in 700 housing units (Meter, cited in Gawith 1990). The hostels were overcrowded and many people resorted to living in backyard shacks as lodgers. By 1990 at least 50% of the hostel inhabitants were not employed in the fishing industry (Gawith, 1990). People moving into Hout Bay seeking work and accommodation resorted to living in the hostels as no other accommodation was available. Housing provision had not responded to the increased migration of people to urban areas.

As a result of the severe shortage of housing, people resorted to 'squatting' in undeveloped areas.

5.3.2 Growth of the Informal Settlements in Hout Bay

A number of other communities emerged as a response to the housing crisis, namely Dawid's Kraal, Blue Valley, Sea Products and Princess Bush (see Figure 5.4). "These increasing informal communities began a collective struggle to obtain legal rights to land and permanent residence in Hout Bay" (Gawith and Sowman 1992, p 5). Representatives of the communities attempted to initiate talks with the authorities in an attempt to obtain land for the homeless people of Hout Bay.

By November 1990 it was estimated that approximately 2000 informal settlers, including the harbour 'squatters', were living in Hout Bay, (Gawith and Sowman, 1992). Disa River, Dawid's Kraal and Blue Valley settlements were predominantly comprised of extended families. These communities were relatively stable until 1990 when extensive growth occurred.

Sea Products and Princess Bush were more recently established settlements in the dunes on either side of Princess Road (see Figure 5.4). Many of the residents worked at the Sea Products company, but could not get access to accommodation and so moved onto the dunes with their families. The first shacks were built on this site in 1984 but the settlement was small and limited (Surplus People's Project, 1982 cited in Gawith and Sowman, 1992). Both communities grew rapidly from 1988 onwards. Single men moved from the hostels onto the dunes, thus enabling them to accommodate their families. No reliable information exists documenting the origin of the settlers. It is not clear what percentage were from the overcrowded harbour area and other Cape Flats townships as opposed to the influx of rural-urban migrants.

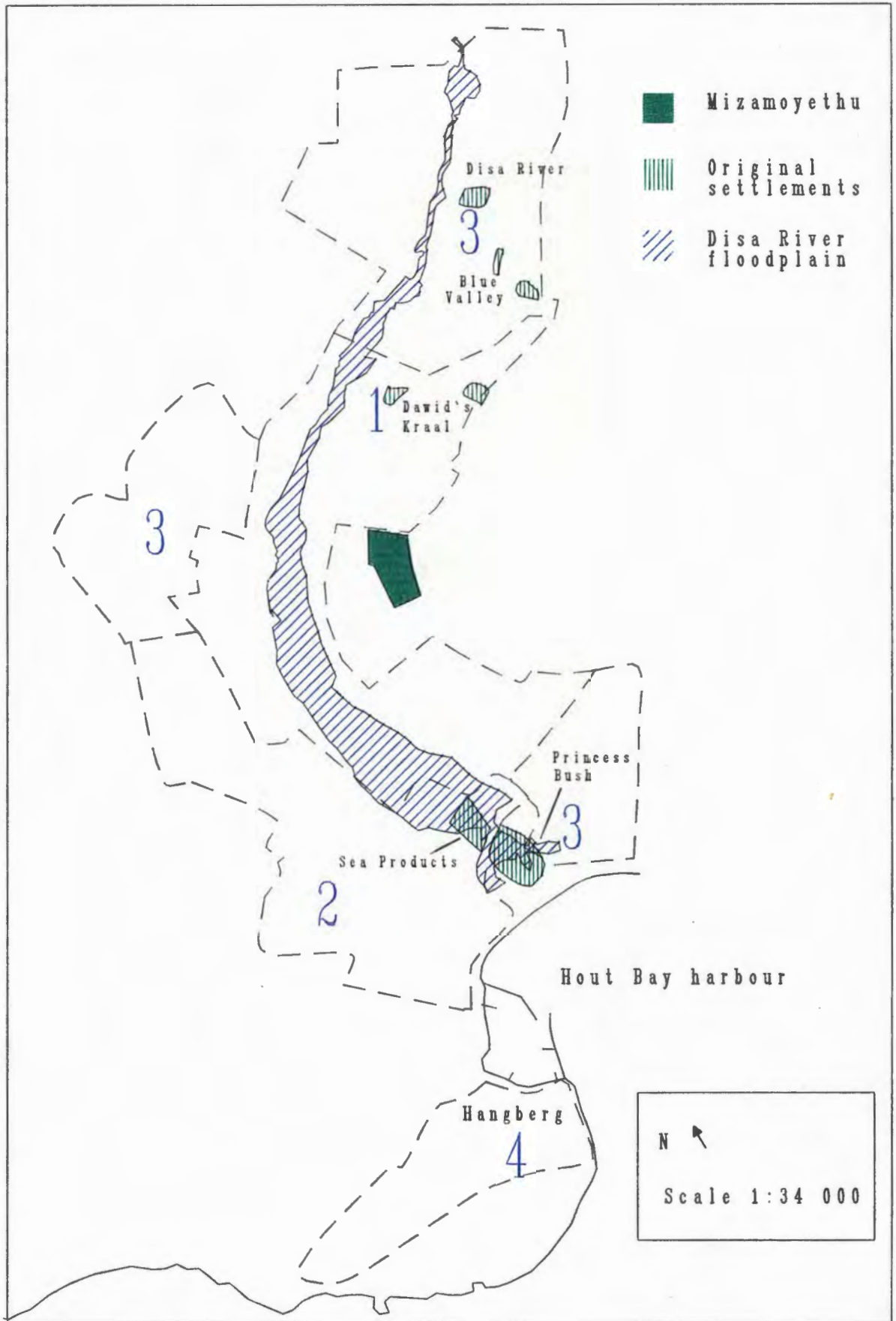


Figure 5.4 The informal settlements of Hout Bay.

5.3.3 The permanent resettlement of the 'squatters' in Hout Bay

The increase in the size of the settlements resulted in a growing concern amongst landowners and formal residents. The issue of the establishment of an informal settlement to accommodate these homeless people created a large amount of conflict in Hout Bay. This resulted in public meetings, intense press coverage, and pressure on landowners and local and government authorities to address the problem (Gawith and Sowman, 1992). The informal communities also exerted pressure on the authorities to find a solution to the housing crisis in Hout Bay (see press reports documented in Appendix D). The state was called in to mediate and resolve the situation. Evictions were resisted and court cases ruled that the informal settlers could not be forcibly removed. Various committees, each with their own agenda, were formed in Hout Bay. The Ratepayers Association, the Property Rights Association, and the Hout Bay Squatters Co-ordinating Committee were established to represent their constituents in the resolution of conflict.

The government had to find a solution to the problem which would give the informal settlers rights to land, but which would also be acceptable to the ratepayers. This was made possible by changing political structures and international pressure on the South African government to resolve such issues. An explanation for the ability and power of the informal settlers to withstand evictions after land invasion has occurred, has been provided in the section on South Africa, chapter 3.

In August 1990, MLH – a firm of architects and planners – were appointed by the House of Assembly, through the WCRSC, to find solutions for the housing crisis that had developed in Hout Bay. They needed to identify land that was acceptable to all parties involved. The process of site identification, for potential sites for state-aided low-income residential development to meet the immediate needs of the Hout Bay 'squatters' and the Hangberg (Hout Bay harbour) communities, was commissioned. The planners were to identify one large piece of land for all five communities. The issue of upgrading the old sites was never seriously considered. The communities indicated that they would only be prepared to move if acceptable land and permanent

tenure was provided. Conflict and eviction threats became the order of the day and the situation became critical. Minister Sam De Beer, the then Minister of Welfare, Housing and Works (in the House of Assembly), made an urgent decision to allocate the WCRSC Forestry site for the permanent resettlement of informal communities. The informal communities were dissatisfied as they felt that this decision did not take into account the housing of the surplus people in the harbour community.

5.3.4 Resettlement to the present site - Mizamoyethu

For the initial move 8 hectares of forest land was set aside as a temporary settlement area. Basic services, such as pit latrines, taps and gravel roads were provided.

In March/April 1991, 429 sites of approximately 65m² were allocated to all registered households from five different communities. Households were moved with their lodgers. This was seen as a transitional camp whilst the planning and development of the entire site proceeded. Registered households and lodgers were eligible for sites in the new site and service development. The site was named Imizamo Yethu meaning 'through collective struggle', although it is commonly referred to as Mandela Park. It has now been registered with the name Mizamoyethu (see Figure 5.4)

The move was highly problematic – problems of instability within the community, unsatisfactory provision of services, clayey soils which severely hampered the functioning of pit latrines, drainage problems and the critical lack of facilities such as schools, creches and recreation opportunities resulted in poor living conditions for the settlers (Gawith and Sowman, 1992).

Subsequently an extra 16 hectares was obtained from the WCRSC for the development of community facilities such as schools, recreation areas and a community centre. The present development of this extra land, which essentially forms part of the 'interface' or 'buffer' zones is still being negotiated through the forum of the Liaison Committee. Decisions about the future growth of the settlement are at present under discussion. By November 1993, people in Mizamoyethu had begun moving onto

the new site and service sites. Completion of the process of site and service development is expected to occur by early 1995. The future development and management of the area is thus still under consideration.

The above discussion provides the background to the establishment of the informal settlement in the area. The presence of the informal community in Hout Bay has shaped and altered the locality of Hout Bay, by introducing a whole new set of contingent circumstances. It is the impact of this development, as perceived by the surrounding community, which is the central focus of this research.

In the previous section the socio-economic profile of Hout Bay, which gave a broad indication of the nature of place under consideration, was explored and then the establishment of the informal settlement in the area was documented. This provides insight into the nature of the surrounding community, as well as developing an understanding of the history and process of the development of Mizamoyethu. Attention is now focused on the issues of concern to the surrounding residents, as well as to their perceptions of quality of life in the area in relation to the impact of the informal settlement on Hout Bay.

5.4 ISSUES OF CONCERN TO RESIDENTS OF HOUT BAY

In considering local environmental issues, respondents were asked what issues were of most concern to them as residents of Hout Bay. This was done in order to investigate how the issue of the development of the informal settlement related and compared to other environmental concerns in the area. Is it as important as the other issues or does it stand out as the dominant issue of concern? Residents were asked to rate a pre-determined list of issues on a seven point scale ranging from 'of no concern' (1) to 'critical' (7). This was the first question in the questionnaire and was aimed at focusing respondents on development problems in Hout Bay.

Table 5.4 Issues of concern to the formal residents of Hout Bay.

Issues of concern 1. Ratepayers 2. Harbour Community		Percentage who ranked issue as of strong concern	Percentage who ranked issue as critical	Mean
Local Government	1.	40%	26%	5.0
	2.	34%	40%	5.5
Sewerage Outfall	1.	35%	40%	5.5
	2.	48%	16%	5.0
Housing Density	1.	41%	23%	4.9
	2.	64%	8%	5.0
Mizamoyethu	1.	31%	35%	5.1
	2.	44%	6%	4.6
Encroachment on Mountain	1.	46%	32%	5.4
	2.	46%	10%	4.7
Environment	1.	43%	35%	5.6
	2.	46%	16%	5.0
Shopping	1.	24%	10%	3.9
	2.	28%	2%	3.8
Constantia Nek Road	1.	30%	23%	4.5
	2.	36%	2%	3.9
Shortage of housing in harbour	1.	27%	28%	4.6
	2.	22%	74%	6.7

Table 5.4 displays the issues of concern to the formal residents of Hout Bay indicating the difference in opinion of the ratepayers relative to the harbour community. The main issues of concern are discussed and a summary of the less critical issues is provided.

5.4.1 Lack of local government

Lack of local government is considered to be a serious issue in Hout Bay. The mode for both the ratepayers and the harbour community was in the critical category. The harbour community rated this as a very serious issue and this probably reflects their lack of access to power in the broader sense, since they politically fall within a system where the government, at the time, did not represent them. They thus voted strongly for the institution of a local government in Hout Bay. They clearly indicated the need for the establishment of a local body which could act as a representative voice for them.

The issue of local government has been raised a number of times in Hout Bay and at the height of the decision-making process, in terms of land identification for the 'squatters', the ratepayers voted and agreed to a non-racial local government. This relates to the feelings residents have that they should have been left to solve the 'squatter' problem on their own, thereby creating their own solutions to the problem within their own local context. Many residents felt that the decision-makers were from outside Hout Bay and hence were not aware of the issues and did not have to live with the consequences of their decisions. As was found in Kemp's (1990) study of the siting of a nuclear waste site in the United Kingdom, one of the most significant factors affecting public attitudes, was the degree of confidence placed in the trustworthiness of those responsible for making decisions. The Hout Bay community clearly has expressed the desire to have a local government body that could adequately represent them.

Bolton (1992) believes that local governments do play an important role in conserving the valuable capital represented by sense of place. He says that: "we can count on local governments to make an effort to preserve a sense of place: the relevant issue for state and national governments, however, is whether the sense of place in localities is of value to the larger region or to the nation" (Bolton, 1992, p 188). The relative value of a sense of place is an important underlying issue in relation to the conflict in Hout Bay and this is explored more fully in later sections of this chapter.

Winnick (1966, in Bolton, 1992) also supports the notion that while government and state may abandon a community the local government cannot.

5.4.2 The development of the informal settlement

The response to the issue of the informal settlement in Hout Bay gives an indication of how residents view the settlement in relation to other issues. The ratepayers as a whole rated the informal settlement as an issue of strong concern. Just over two thirds of all ratepayers ranked Mizamoyethu as an issue of strong concern or critical.

In comparison only half of the harbour community rated Mizamoyethu as an issue of strong concern or critical and a third of this community ranked it as an issue of some concern. From these findings it is evident that the harbour community perceive the development of Mizamoyethu differently to the ratepayers and it is important to consider the underlying structures which lead to this difference in opinion.

In considering Figure 5.5 and Table 5.5 it is clear that distance from the settlement influences residents' perceptions of the settlement, but that it is not the only factor. It is interesting to note that residents in both zone one and zone two showed equal concern with regard to the development of the settlement. Even though residents of zone 3 were much less concerned than those living closer to the settlement, they still indicated a relatively high degree of concern. The differences between the ratepayers and the harbour community are supported by the spatial representation of the data.

5.4.3 Shortage of housing in the harbour community

Shortage of housing in the harbour community was ranked as an issue of strong concern by the harbour community. Many residents felt that the harbour community's needs had been ignored and that the 'squatters' (who were relative newcomers in Hout Bay) had received housing and services before the harbour residents who had lived in and contributed to Hout Bay for a long time.

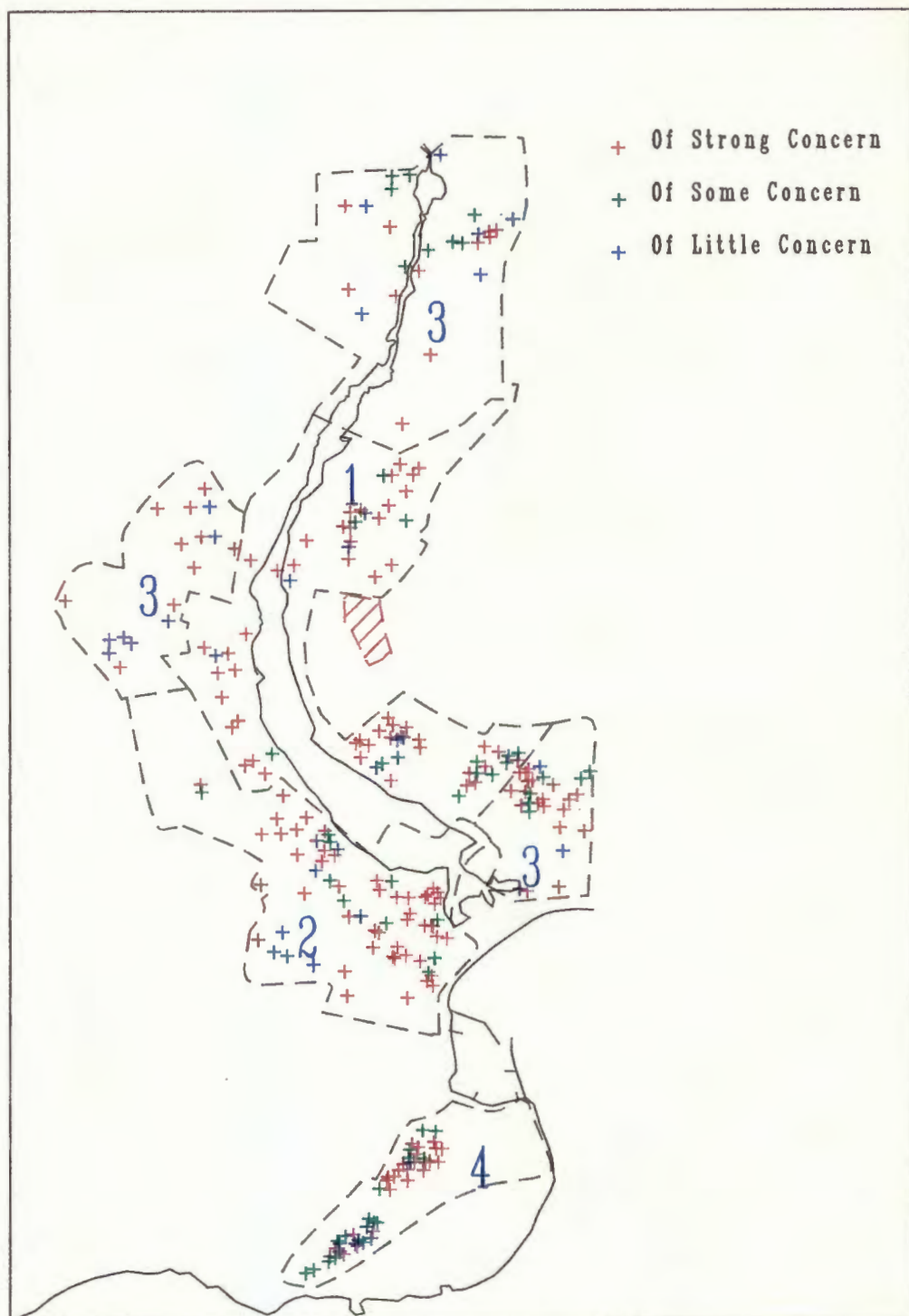


Figure 5.5 Mizamoyethu as an issue of concern to formal residents.

Table 5.5 Mizamoyethu as an issue of concern to formal residents.

	1	2	3	4	T
Of Strong Concern	72%	70%	56%	50%	63%
Of Some Concern	16%	15%	20%	36%	20%
Of Little Concern	12%	12%	17%	14%	14%

This has created conflict in terms of residents' perceptions of the development of Mizamoyethu, since the needs of a long term resident group have been overshadowed by the strong political voice and demands of the relatively newer 'squatter' group. It is probably because of this that the harbour community voted strongly for the development of local government in Hout Bay, where they could at least voice their needs and requirements in terms of the social and economic upliftment of their community.

The ratepayers were less aware of the needs of the harbour community, not rating the shortage of housing as that serious. This reflects the expectations of the different communities: the harbour community resent the development of Mizamoyethu for reasons that relate to important basic needs (such as housing and services), whereas the ratepayers are concerned for reasons that occur higher up on a hierarchy of needs (such as aesthetic quality and property value).

5.4.4 Other issues of concern

In summary the ratepayers rated most of the issues listed as of stronger concern than the harbour community, except for the issues of the shortage of housing within the harbour community, housing density and the need for local government in Hout Bay. It is interesting to note how much higher the ratepayers rated issues such as the conservation of the environment and development encroaching on the mountain slopes. This reflects the attitudes depicted earlier in this section where Salling and Harvey (1981) remarked that it was the socio-economically privileged group who could afford to choose to protect the aesthetics of an area, whereas the lower-income groups had to concentrate on more basic needs. The harbour community were far more concerned with social needs whereas the ratepayers reflected a stronger concern for physical environment problems.

The ratepayers were far more concerned about the quality of the road to Constantia Nek and this too reflects their socio-economic position relative to the harbour community. The ratepayers on the whole probably have greater access to private

transport and hence are more concerned about and impacted upon by the condition of the road.

Mizamoyethu, in comparison to the other issues of concern, certainly does not stand out as the only development-related problem in Hout Bay. It is an issue of strong concern, but there are other issues which rank as equally important. However, the amount of publicity about and the negative reaction to the establishment and growth of the informal settlement in Hout Bay certainly leads one to believe that residents view it as 'the' major issue of concern. Many of the issues which concern residents are related to the growth and development in Hout Bay which has resulted in a change in the sense of place of the locality.

Having investigated the issues of concern to residents, the focus is shifted to the nature of place by considering respondents' perceptions of the quality of life in Hout Bay, as they see it at present. These findings serve to highlight the broad impacts that the informal settlement may or may not have had on the environment of Hout Bay.

5.5 QUALITY OF LIFE IN HOUT BAY AS PERCEIVED BY THE FORMAL RESIDENTS OF THE AREA

In defining quality of life indicators, Pacione (1982) states that it is important to differentiate between objective indicators, which are hard measures describing environments within which people live, and subjective indicators, which describe the way people perceive and evaluate conditions around them. In terms of this survey, the indicators are clearly subjective indicators as they represent residents' perceptions of quality of life. The need to understand how social conditions are perceived and evaluated has been argued by Pacione (1982) who points out that it is people's perceptions of their own wellbeing or lack of wellbeing that ultimately define the quality of their lives. The place for subjective indicators is thus well accepted. The aspiration level or expectations of the individual will also impact on their perception of quality of life (McCall, 1975; in Pacione, 1982).

The assessment of wellbeing or quality of life can only be effective if the complexity of social reality is recognised and dealt with (Pacione, 1982). By considering Hout Bay in terms of locality, the context for such a study of social indicators is thus provided.

Quality of life is a difficult concept to pin down and define. A considerable amount of research and discussion has led to both quantifiable and qualitative definitions and methodologies being used to describe quality of life. Craik and Zube (1975, p 32 in Galster and Kesser, 1981), who have contributed significantly to the discussion on quality of life, indicate that it is important "to identify background factors that influence perceived environmental quality (age, life cycle, socio-economic status)" and secondly that it is necessary "to differentiate among notions of perceived environmental quality held by significant user constituencies and to search for correlations between perceived environmental quality and physical environmental attributes and conditions". The cross tabulations done in this thesis, as well as the comparisons made between the ratepayers and the harbour community, reflect the factors mentioned above. It is important to attempt to differentiate, if possible, between perceived and objective indicators of quality of life.

There are a variety of factors which influence people's reaction to environmental stressors. Campbell (1983) indicates that the personal significance of ambient stressors are related to intra-individual characteristics and elements of social and physical contexts associated with a particular stressor. The temporal context; duration of exposure; recollection of past experience; and anticipation of future events impacts on the way residents perceive the stressor. These factors have, to a certain extent, impacted on the perceptions of residents to the development of the informal settlement as is shown in the cross-tabulations further on in the results section. The different perceptions of residents, depending on the length of time that they have lived in Hout Bay, was considered. For those that are new to Hout Bay, the changes will not be as extreme as they have come in knowing that the 'squatters' are already there; they have not had to go through the process of change and acceptance as residents who have been in Hout Bay for longer than five years. Their sense of place has developed differently. They also may be comparing Hout Bay to areas that have

indicators that would fall lower on the scale. For example, those residents that have recently arrived from Johannesburg probably feel that the security in Hout Bay is very good.

Residents who have lived in Hout Bay for longer periods of time, have possibly been able to adjust to the stressors created by the informal settlement, and so, in some ways, should be able to cope with them better. According to Campbell (1983), coping mechanisms usually allow for adaptation over time to environmental stressors. However, those that are new in Hout Bay seem to be less impacted upon and this may indicate that it is not the actual impacts that have created the conflict, but rather the change itself that is the issue.

In assessing residents' attitudes towards quality of life in Hout Bay, it is important to consider how they rank the quality of life in Hout Bay relative to their perception of quality in other areas. These indicators are problematic as they are obviously dynamic and change continually as Hout Bay develops and grows. The development of Mizamoyethu has happened at a time when a considerable amount of other development has been occurring in the area and thus, in some cases, it is difficult for residents to separate the change and impacts caused by the different development projects.

Table 5.6 Formal residents' perceptions of quality of life in Hout Bay.

Quality of life	Ratepayers		Harbour Community	
	Mean value	Percent rated as good +	Mean value	Percent rated as good +
Environmental quality	5.2	77%	4.9	58%
Peacefulness	5.2	75%	5.0	62%
Rural atmosphere	4.9	66%	4.7	58%
Housing density	4.2	40%	3.9	28%
Facilities/Services	4.1	44%	3.4	14%
Housing quality	4.9	69%	4.0	34%
Cohesiveness	4.6	53%	4.0	30%
Security	4.3	44%	3.5	24%

From the above table and the graphs (Figure 5.6 and Figure 5.7) it is evident that the majority of ratepayers rate the quality of life in Hout Bay as good. Security, facilities and services, housing density and community cohesiveness were rated as being average. The harbour community rated most of the indicators lower on the scale than the ratepayers, most particularly housing quality and density, facilities and services, and security. The differences between the two communities reflect their differing socio-economic position and the respective quality of environments in which they live. Reasons for differences in positive externalities in residential areas according to class structure, has been explained within the structuralist framework in the theoretical section.

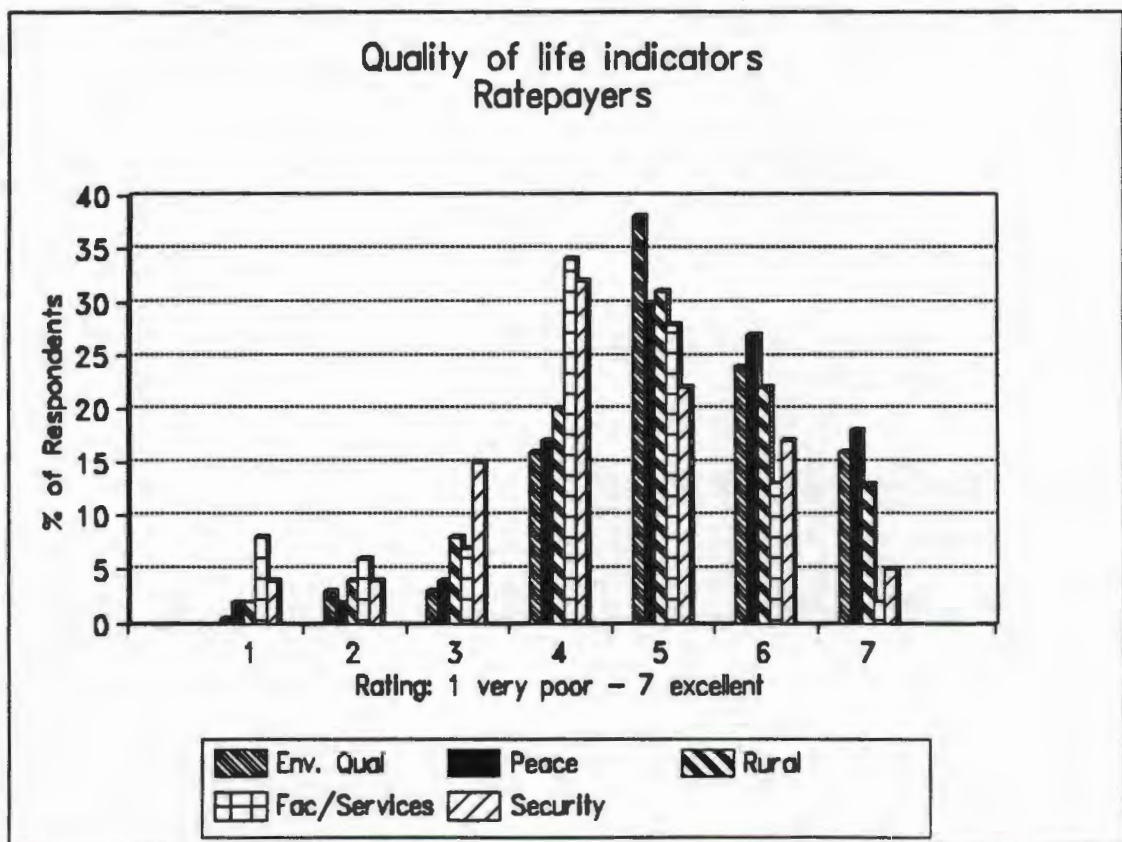


Figure 5.6 Perceptions of quality of life indicators in Hout Bay – the ratepayers.

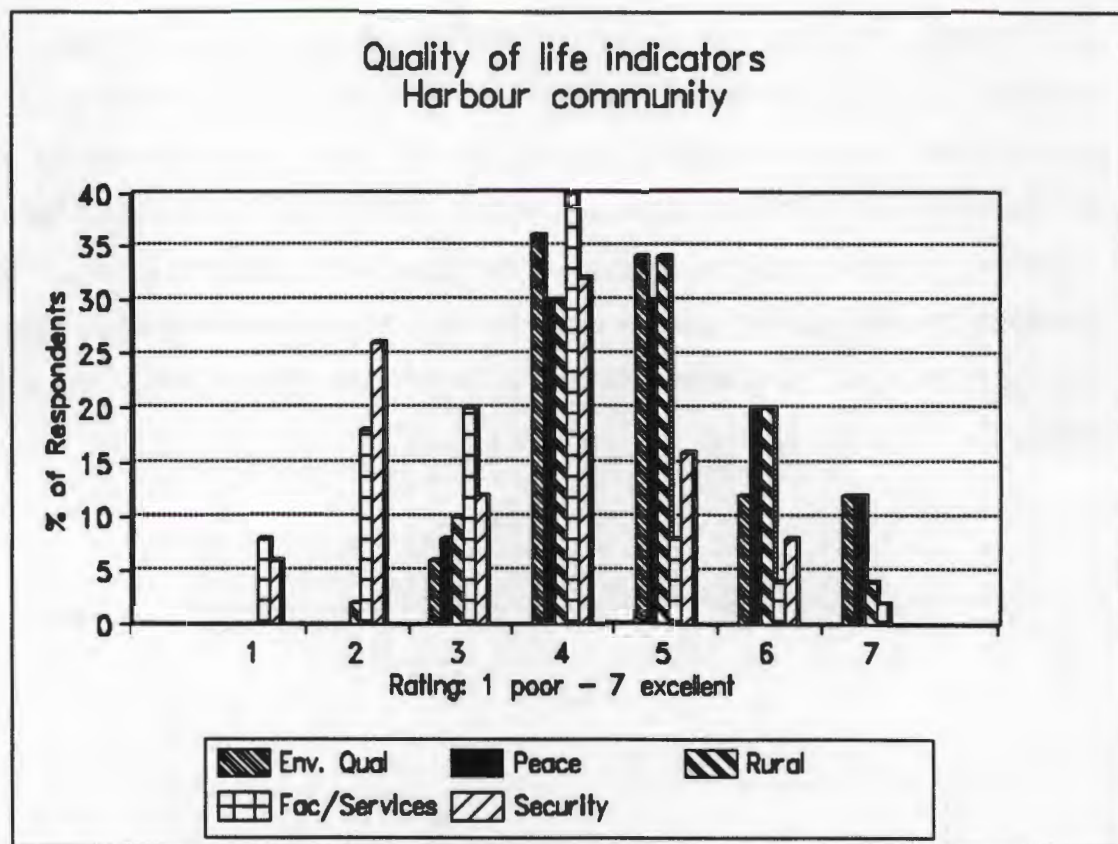


Figure 5.7. Perceptions of quality of life Indicators in Hout Bay – the harbour community.

5.5.1 Environmental quality

The term environmental quality is problematic in that residents attach different meanings to the phrase. In the survey it was used to imply a broad perspective of quality of environment in Hout Bay. This was explained to respondents in the interviewing process. However, the broad nature of the term and the implications of including both the physical and human environment made this a difficult indicator to investigate.

Environmental quality in Hout Bay was rated by the majority of ratepayers as being good, as indicated in Table 5.6 and Figure 5.6. The harbour community ranked their

environmental quality as being much lower than that of the ratepayers, although a reasonably high percentage indicated that environmental quality is good. Conditions in the harbour community, not including Hout Bay Heights, are poor. There is overcrowding; lack of adequate facilities; crime; litter problems; and general conditions associated with a lower-income area, and so this relatively lower rating of environmental quality is to be expected. Even with these problems, the harbour community still rated most indicators as average or above average.

In considering the spatial representation of the data, Figure 5.8 and Table 5.7, it is clear that distance from the settlement has not impacted on the perception of residents to the quality of the environment. It is interesting to note that those living closest to the settlement gave the highest rating to environmental quality, whereas those in zone two gave the lowest rating. This is understandable as this latter zone has higher housing densities and is close to the main commercial axes and transport routes and hence is not as attractive as the other areas. The informal settlement does not seem to have impacted on residents' perceptions of environmental quality, other than perhaps to cause them to over-emphasise the natural environment in contrast to the perceived negative impact of the informal settlement.

Hout Bay, in terms of its environment, it is generally perceived as being a high quality area and this heightens the contrast between the rest of Hout Bay and the Mizamoyethu settlement which is associated with impacts on environmental quality that are considered negative. The perceptions people have of informal settlements, in relation to environmental quality, would therefore conflict with their views of Hout Bay as place.

5.5.2 Peacefulness

Hout Bay was generally considered a peaceful place by most residents, with the harbour community rating it as slightly less peaceful than did the ratepayers. Peacefulness of the area was one of the reasons given by the ratepayers for choosing to live in Hout Bay. The spatial map of responses (see Figure B.2 and Table B.2 in

Appendix B) reflects that distance from the settlement has the same impact on perceived peacefulness as it has on perceived environmental quality.

5.5.3 Rural atmosphere

Hout Bay was described as a rural suburb by the majority of ratepayers who commented that the rural atmosphere was good to excellent. The harbour community also considered Hout Bay to have a rural atmosphere, but to a lesser extent than the ratepayers. The rural atmosphere of Hout Bay has changed considerably over the past few years. However, this can be attributed to formal housing developments in Hout Bay, rather than to the development of the informal settlement. Mizamoyethu detracts less from the rural character of Hout Bay than the many high density townhouse developments that have gone up in the area over the last five years.

5.5.4 Facilities and services

Facilities and services in Hout Bay were generally ranked as being very poor. Of the ratepayers, 56% felt that the facilities and services provided were average or below average, while the majority of the harbour community, namely 86%, felt that they were in this category.

The harbour community have serious problems with services and facilities and feel angry because they perceive that the Mizamoyethu community have received services at the expense of the upliftment of their community. The allocation of funds for services and facilities is a complicated process and so it is not correct to assume that the harbour community have had funds diverted away from them for services for the Mizamoyethu community. However, this is the way they perceive the situation and hence it must be recognised as a valid issue of concern. The harbour community have, over a long period of time, requested that their area be upgraded and so they resent the development that has occurred in Hout Bay as it has not benefited their community in any way.

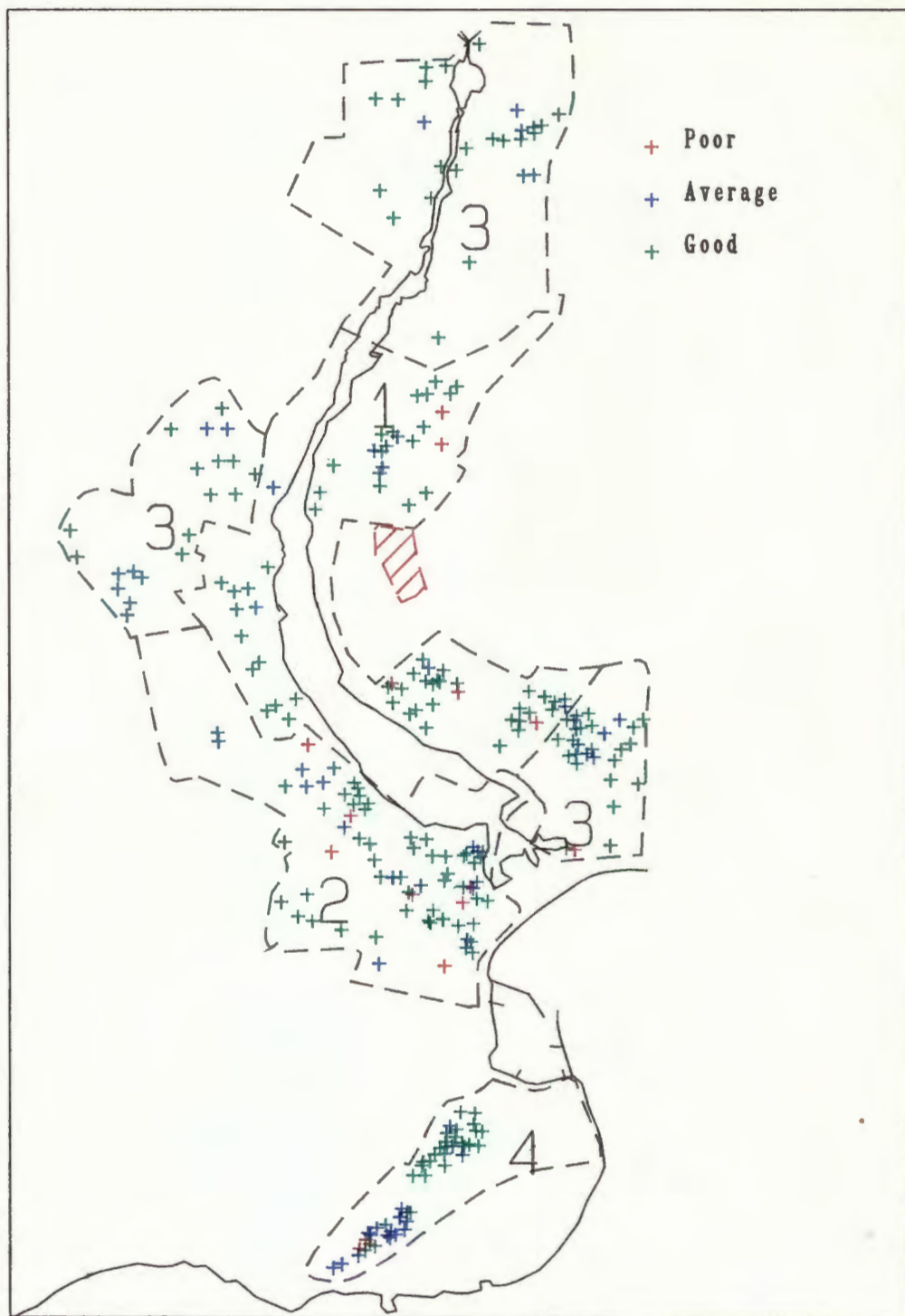


Figure 5.8 Perceptions of environmental quality in Hout Bay.

Table 5.7 Perceptions of environmental quality in Hout Bay.

	1	2	3	4	Total
Poor	7%	9%	1%	6%	6%
Average	9%	17%	21%	36%	20%
Good	81%	74%	77%	58%	74%

Many of the ratepayers commented that they had been waiting for years to have street lights put in and to have their roads tarred and that this had not happened. However, the people of Mizamoyethu had street lights and a tarred access road. The ratepayers who felt they were paying for this in their expensive rates. Many residents indicated that they paid high land taxes and yet received very few services in return for this investment. This angered them and they reflected this anger upon the 'squatters' whom they felt were getting everything free.

5.5.5 Community cohesiveness

Community cohesiveness was rated as average in Hout Bay. People tended to live private lives within the ratepayer community, which is prevalent in middle- to upper-income residential areas within South Africa. The question was asked to determine if the development of the settlement had created a new awareness of class consciousness or sense of community within Hout Bay. The harbour residents also indicated that Hout Bay was not a cohesive community but this may be as a response to the segregation they have felt as a result of apartheid ideology. This also may be because of the diverse nature of this community.

5.5.6 Security

Security is an interesting indicator, as residents generally feel reasonably secure in Hout Bay and yet this is one of the main issues of concern of residents and is highly emphasised in the press reports (see press report summary in Appendix D). Increase in crime rate is perceived as being a major impact in relation to the development of informal settlements within established residential areas (Emmett, 1992).

The ratepayers' perception of security could be due to the fact that many of the white residents have installed expensive security systems and thus they feel that they are now secure. There was some confusion with regard to this question, as residents were commenting on their own security, rather than to security standards in Hout Bay in

general, which is relative to the amount of security that they have installed in their own houses.

Security standards in Hout Bay are probably above average as compared to other residential areas in South Africa. It is rather the perception of change in security that people fear in terms of the future development of the settlement. As the above findings suggest, it is difficult to separate 'real' impacts and perceived impacts in such a study.

Security in the harbour community was rated as poor, with only 24% of respondents indicating that it was good to excellent. A third of the harbour residents ranked security as average which is the same as the ratepayers. The differences between the harbour community and the other zones is clearly indicated in Figure 5.9 and Table 5.8. Many of the residents in the harbour community felt that the security in their community was very bad; that there was a high incidence of gang crime and that they found the situation difficult as they could not afford to take adequate security measures. However, they felt that their security problems came from within their own community and were not attributable to the informal settlers. This again indicates the extent to which the issues change depending on the class and context of the various groups being affected.

The spatial representation of the data highlights some interesting comparisons (see Figure 5.9 and Table 5.8). The residents who live closest to the settlement indicated that they were the most secure group. This does not necessarily imply that they have the least security problems, but rather indicates, given the context, that they have made their properties more secure because of the perceived threat, and so feel more secure than residents living in zone three. They have taken action to change their security situation and thus their responses indicate less concern.

Residents in zone two have rated security lower than any of the other zones. This is probably due to their past experiences when the original 'squatters' were close to them. Crime did increase during this time, as is shown further on in the socio-environmental impacts chapter. These residents are also on the main axes of

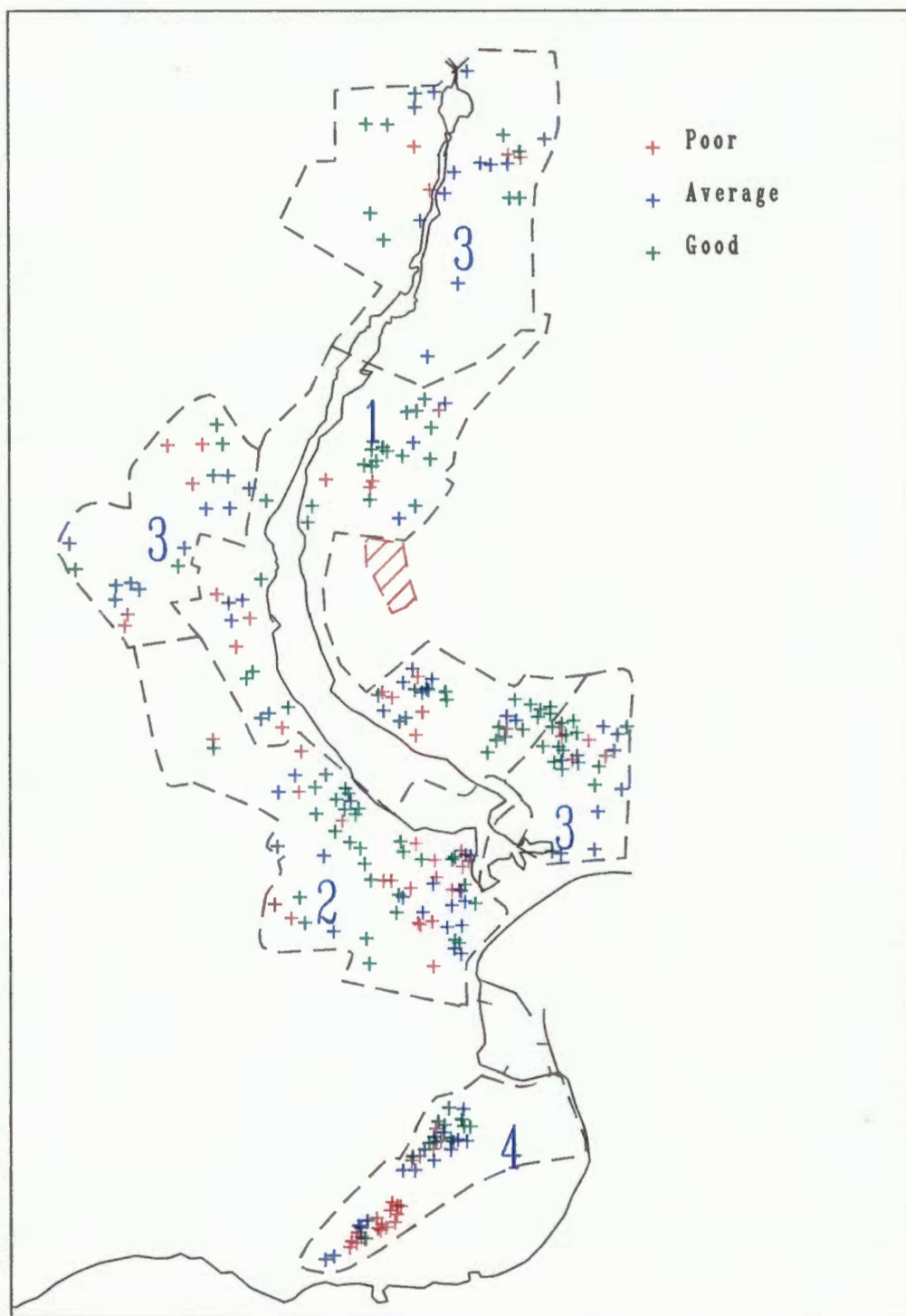


Figure 5.9 Perceptions of security in Hout Bay.

Table 5.8 Perceptions of security in Hout Bay.

	1	2	3	4	Total
Poor	20%	29%	19%	44%	28%
Average	28%	29%	40%	32%	32%
Good	51%	42%	41%	24%	40%

movement through Hout Bay and thus are probably more susceptible to opportunist or petty crime.

5.5.7 Summary

The following conclusions can be drawn from the above findings. In considering the distribution of responses in Figure 5.6 and Figure 5.7 it is clear that the ratepayers consider Hout Bay to offer a higher quality of life than the harbour residents. This is essentially related to the different socio-economic positions of the groups, which alters the relative advantages that the environments within which they live, offer. Even though both communities exist within the same locality, economic, social and political factors have resulted in differing perceptions of and different opportunities offered by the quality of life in Hout Bay.

Responses given to the indicators listed are fixed in the present time and so residents are describing the environment as they see it at present. Many indicated that they felt it was rapidly decreasing, but the issue of change was not in the scope of this question. It would be interesting to implement a longitudinal survey in Hout Bay to determine if these indicators changed as the informal settlement followed its course of development.

The results indicate that even though an informal settlement has been developed in Hout Bay, the general perception of residents is that the quality of life in the area is still good. Figure B.3 and Table B.3 in Appendix B reveals that almost a third of all residents perceived peacefulness, environmental quality and security as being good in Hout Bay, with the majority of these residents being in zone one, which is closest to the informal settlement. Perhaps a few years ago residents would have rated most of the indicators as excellent. However, considering the striking restructuring that has taken place, the impact of the presence of informal settlers in Hout Bay does not seem to be that dramatic.

The perceived impact of the development of Mizamoyethu on quality of life in Hout Bay is discussed in detail in chapter 8. The above section has considered the residents perceptions of quality of life in Hout Bay at present.

5.6 CONCLUSION

By considering the socio-economic profile of Hout Bay, in order to gain insight into the class structure of the community as well as the nature of place; the historical context of the development of the informal settlement; the issues of concern to residents living in the suburb; and the perception of residents to the quality of life, a sense of society and space in Hout Bay has been documented. The nature of Hout Bay as a locality has thus been elucidated and this is developed further as the analysis of the conflict unfolds. This chapter therefore provides the context for further discussion of the perceptions of the surrounding community to the establishment and growth of the informal settlement in the area. Given the background as discussed above, the response of residents to the development and planning of the informal settlement is considered.

CHAPTER 6

FORMAL RESIDENTS' RESPONSE TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INFORMAL SETTLEMENT

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter seeks to investigate the perceptions of residents to the concept of the establishment of an informal settlement in the area. The underlying factors which underpin and influence the attitudes that residents hold are explored. The way in which the structures of society, most particularly class conflict and power relations; the action and interpretation of human agents; and the context of the locality of Hout Bay have influenced residents' perceptions are considered.

In the first section attention is paid to the formal residents' perceptions of informal housing in general. Secondly, their perceptions and attitudes toward the development of the informal settlement in Hout Bay and the acceptability of the old and new sites are investigated. Consideration is then given to the manner in which human agents acted to shape and alter the processes evident in Hout Bay. The development of action groups and the attendance of residents at meetings is explored. Finally the impact of press reports on the conflict that developed in Hout Bay is considered.

6.2 HOUT BAY RESIDENTS' UNDERSTANDING OF INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS IN GENERAL

In terms of residents' general attitude toward informal settlements, it was found that almost all of the respondents interviewed accepted that informal housing was a permanent part of the urban landscape in South Africa in the future. The reality of the housing shortages and the need for people to house themselves informally is accepted by respondents. Hence the form of housing seems to be an acceptable

reality, but it is the location of such housing that is the issue. The land-use conflict in Hout Bay could be considered to represent the NIMBY (Not In My Backyard) syndrome. However, Kemp (1990) concluded from his case study on the impact of a nuclear site on residents in the United Kingdom, that the NIMBY syndrome was far too simple a concept for analysis. He suggested that the views expressed by residents reflected a hierarchy of concerns about environmental impacts. It is clear that the situation in Hout Bay is equally complicated and thus the analysis of the conflicts cannot be addressed solely by considering the NIMBY factor. Some of the anger felt by the residents could be attributed to this, as reflected by responses given to certain questions. However, the conflict and the issues at hand are far more deep seated and complicated than a simple negative response to having to deal with problems of LULU (locally unwanted land-use).

Residents were asked to give their views on the concept of informal housing in general. The reasons given by respondents for the development of informal housing in South Africa were as follows:

- excessive population growth
- the urbanisation process
- people looking for work
- blacks 'taking over'
- the ANC's political motives
- the housing shortage in South Africa
- high levels of poverty making housing unaffordable
- the government's policies.

The percentages are not important since the main aim of this question was to determine people's perceptions of the changing nature of the political and urban landscape; their acceptance of the realities of the transition in South Africa; and to get a sense of the respondents' awareness of other people's needs.

From these responses it is clear that the majority of respondents do not recognise that the planning policies of the apartheid system are largely responsible for the problems

of informal housing. Very few people acknowledge or perhaps are even aware of the underlying structures that have determined and restricted access to housing within urban areas in South Africa. The group that cited the government as being responsible for the housing crisis was the coloured harbour community. This group have been severely impacted upon by the structures of an apartheid state and are thus far more aware of the underlying structures that govern and limit choices for the different sectors of the South African population. Informal housing is a result of some of the factors cited by the Hout Bay residents, but these are all factors which have been influenced by a system underpinned by far more serious and deep-seated ideologies and policies.

Most respondents were aware of other communities that were experiencing a similar situation to Hout Bay in relation to the development of informal housing. Residents are reasonably informed about the housing crisis in South Africa, but they do not seem to have a good understanding of the processes which lead to the development of informal settlements. This is important as these attitudes will impact on the empathy that they have for those people who are forced to house themselves in shack settlements on undeveloped land.

6.3 THE RESPONSE OF FORMAL RESIDENTS TO THE ESTABLISHMENT AND GROWTH OF INFORMAL HOUSING IN HOUT BAY

6.3.1 Response to the decision to settle the 'squatters' permanently in Hout Bay

Residents were asked if they were initially for or against the decision to settle the 'squatters' permanently in Hout Bay. These results are indicated in Figure 6.1.

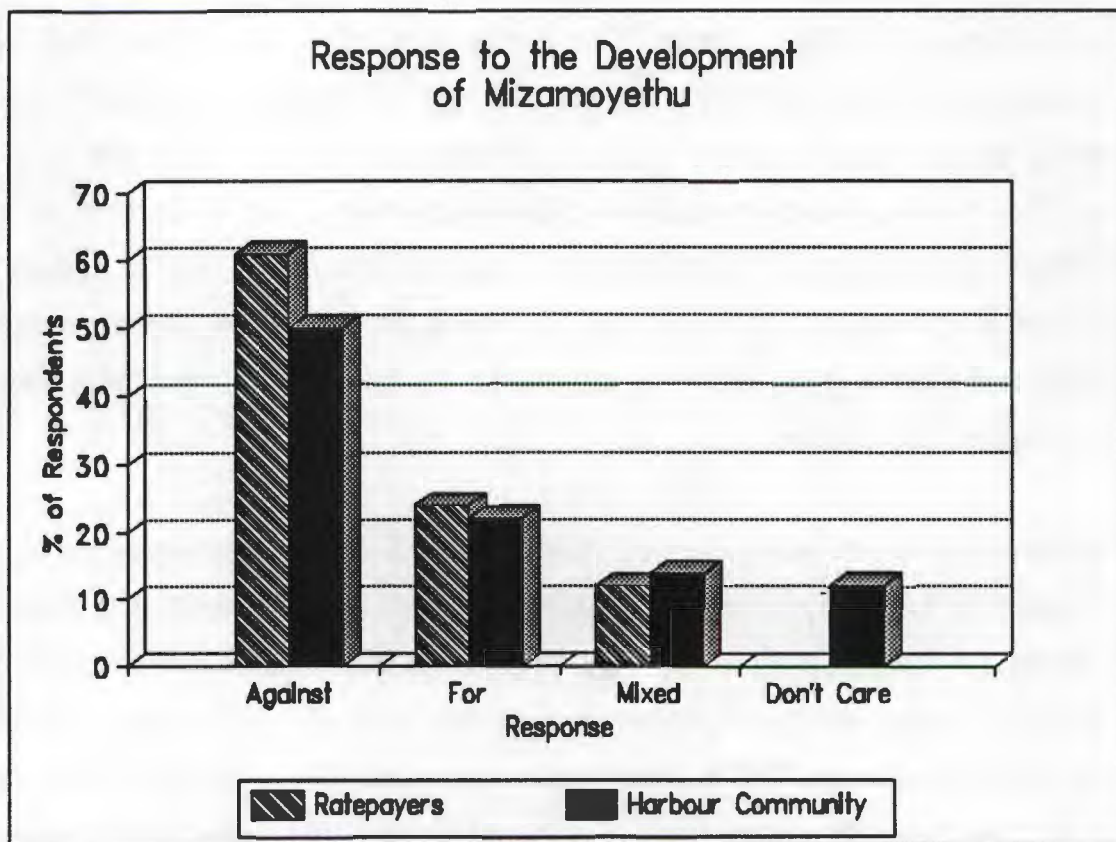


Figure 6.1 The opinion of residents of the decision to resettle the 'squatters' permanently in Hout Bay.

The majority of the ratepayers indicated that they were against the decision. Some of the ratepayers felt that they could not give a polarised response as they had mixed feelings with regard to the settlement of the low-income community in Hout Bay.

The harbour community's reactions differed considerably to those of the ratepayers, with a considerable number of harbour residents being less negative about the decision. This correlates with later findings which indicate that many of the harbour community residents do not consider Mizamoyethu to be an issue of concern as they have far more important issues of their own to consider. From the above, and as indicated in Figure 6.2 and Table 6.1, it is evident that the harbour community are less concerned about the decision to settle the 'squatters' permanently in Hout Bay.

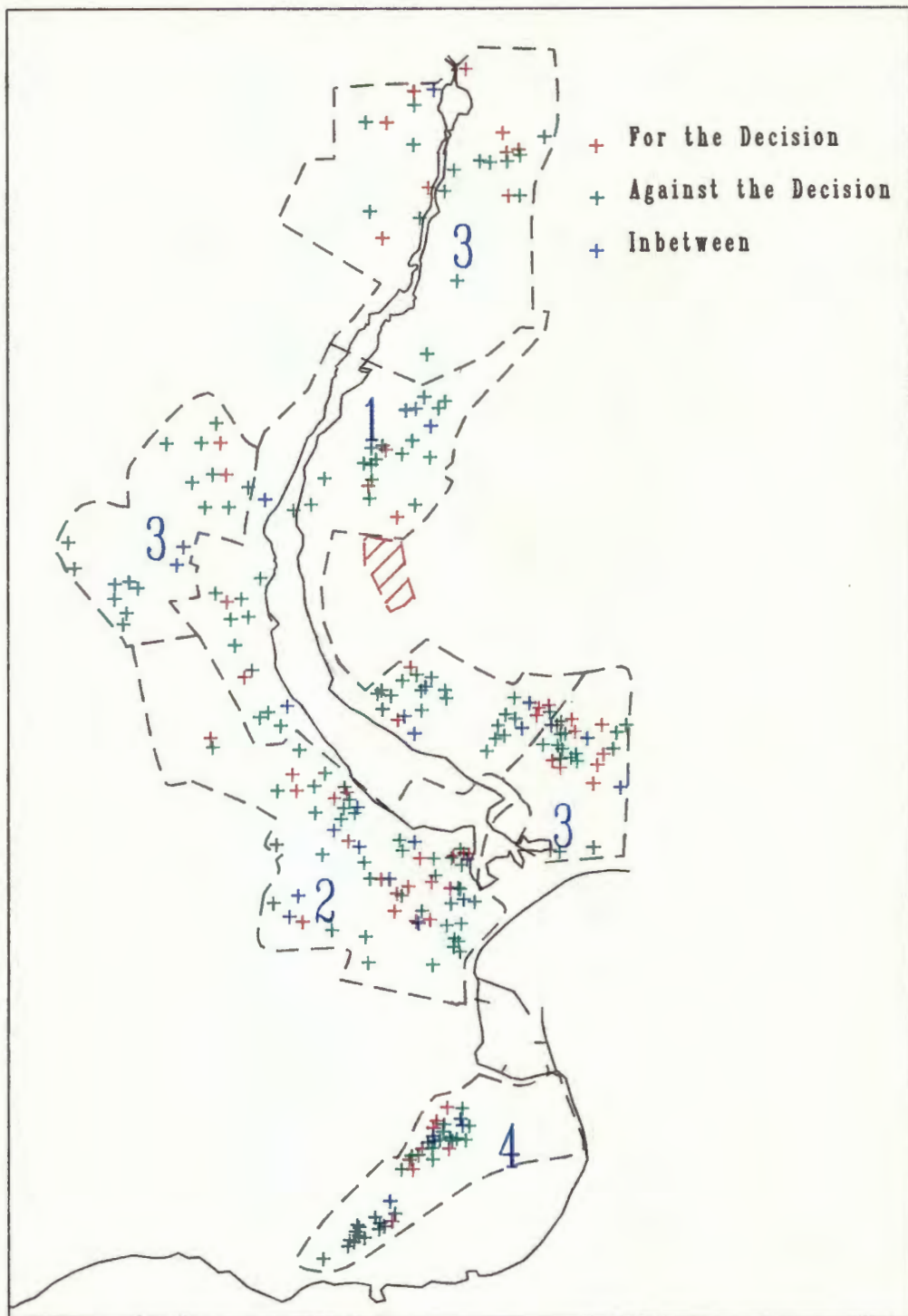


Figure 6.2 Residents' attitudes toward the decision to resettle the 'squatters' in Hout Bay.

Table 6.1 Residents' attitudes toward the decision to resettle the 'squatters' in Hout Bay.

	1	2	3	4	Total
For	13%	28%	29%	22%	23%
Against	69%	56%	59%	50%	59%
Inbetween	12%	15%	8%	14%	12%

Figure 6.2 and Table 6.1 represent the spatial patterning of the responses. It is noteworthy that residents in zone two were the least negative about the decision. This probably reflects their own self-interest as the decision to resettle the 'squatters' in a low-income site and service scheme in Hout Bay meant that they would be moved away from the people living in zone two. This is further supported by the cross-tabulations between Mizamoyethu as an issue of concern and the decision to settle the 'squatters' in Hout Bay (see Figure B.4, Appendix B). To residents in this group, Mizamoyethu was an issue of strong concern, and yet they were most strongly for the decision to settle the community in the present site. Residents in zone one were the most negative about the decision. However, residents in the other groups were also highly negative and thus spatial proximity to the settlement is not the only factor in determining residents' attitudes, although it seems to have influenced residents' perceptions to a certain extent.

The following table represents the cross-tabulations of demographic characteristics by residents' responses to the decision.

Table 6.2 The relationship between demographic characteristics and the response to the decision to permanently settle the informal settlers in Hout Bay.

*(A * indicates no significant findings)*

	Ratepayers		Harbour community		Don't care
	For	Against	For	Against	
Age	Youngest	Middle aged	30-40 years	40-50 years	40-50 years
Gender	Females	Males	Males	Females	Males
Vote	1 person 1 vote	Group rep., 1 ratepayer 1 vote	1 person 1 vote	Group rep.	1 person 1 vote
Length of time	< 3 & 10 + years	5 – 10 years	5-10 years	Oldest group	*
Land-ownership	*	Slightly higher ownership	Landowner	Rent	Rent

With regard to the ratepayers, it is clear that political affiliations, gender, stage in the life cycle (which is related to socio-economic position) and length of time in Hout Bay

are all factors which influence residents' responses to the permanent settlement of an informal community in Hout Bay. Those that were the most negative tended to be politically conservative, middle stage of the life-cycle, male, homeowners.

The harbour community's attitudes are affected by similar factors, except that these are reflected differently because of their different position in terms of apartheid planning and their socio-economic status. For example, those members of the harbour community that rent property are more negative than the landowners in the harbour community, since they are part of the working class group and hence they are most threatened by the presence of the informal settlers for reasons related to work and access to resources. In contrast, it is the landowners of the ratepayers community who are most against the development of the informal settlement and this reflects their vested interest in the built environment. Two different responses to the same event can thus be explained by examining class conflict.

6.3.2. Change in attitude toward the informal settlement

Residents were asked if their attitude toward the informal settlers had changed in the past year, in order to determine whether, now that the informal settlers were permanently settled in Mizamoyethu, the surrounding community had accepted them as part of the locality. An assessment could also be made as to whether conditions in Hout Bay had become better or worse since the resettlement process. Respondents were required to reflect this in the reasons they gave for change in attitude. The findings are indicated in Figure 6.3.

The majority of ratepayers had not experienced a change in attitude towards the informal settlers. The harbour community felt even more strongly that they had not experienced any change in attitude to the informal settlement.

The ratepayers indicated that changing times and the acceptance of conditions prevalent in the new South Africa had led them to change their attitude. Some had changed their attitude as they felt that the settlement of people in Mizamoyethu had

turned out far worse than they had expected and hence they were now feeling more negative towards the settlement. Others, however, indicated that they felt that the settlement of people at Mizamoyethu had not turned out nearly as badly as they had expected and so they had changed their perceptions.

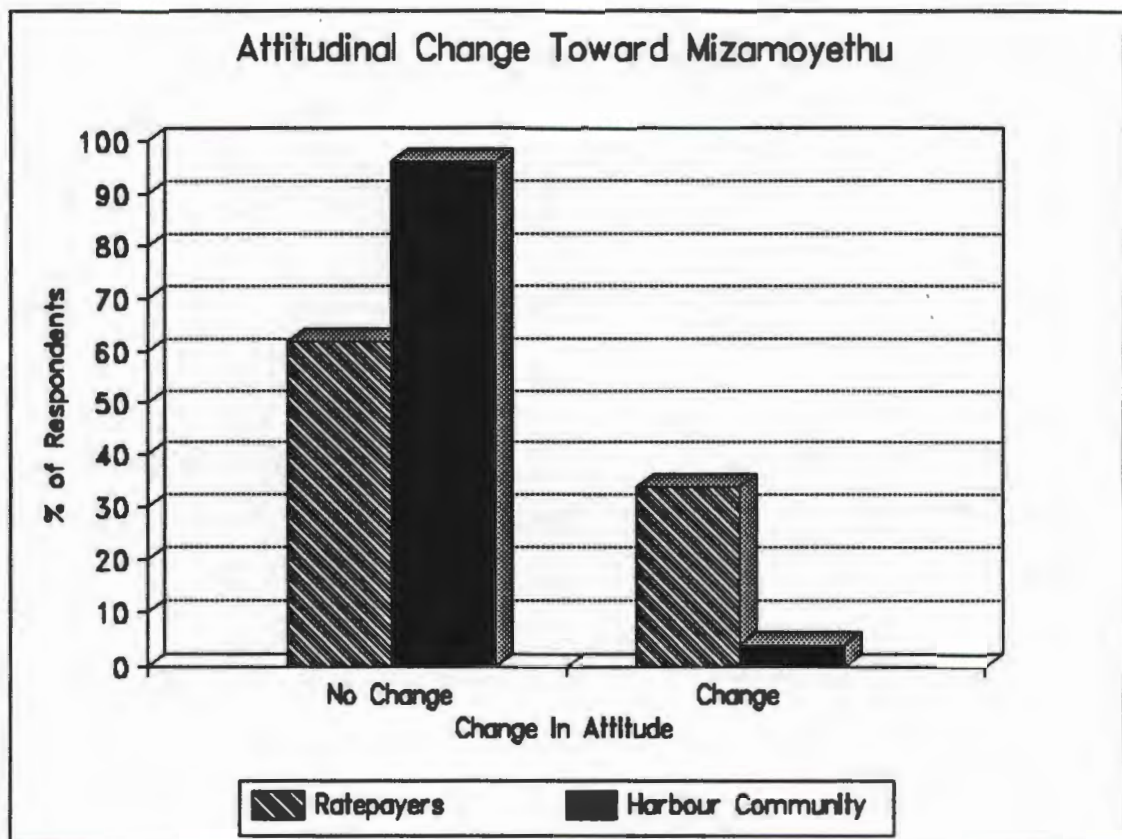


Figure 6.3 Change in attitude toward the informal settlement.

Other factors that residents mentioned were that the process of resettlement and planning was unacceptable and thus they had changed their attitude, while some stated that the situation had improved as the 'squatters' had been moved away from them. Certain respondents felt that they had got to know members of the Mizamoyethu community and by communicating with them, had experienced a change in attitude. Most of the change in attitude expressed by respondents was a positive shift in attitude.

The cross-tabulations of contact with informal settlers by change in attitude produced some interesting results (see table C.1 in Appendix C). Even though the sample numbers were low, the differences were significant enough to indicate that those that had changed their attitude toward the informal settlers were residents who had had more contact with the people of Mizamoyethu.

The above discussion represents the broad perceptions that residents have of the informal settlement. It is now important to focus on their response to the development of Mizamoyethu and the reasons they give for such a response.

6.3.3 The response of formal residents to the development of Mizamoyethu

Residents were asked to indicate what their response was to the development of Mizamoyethu. Figure 6.4 indicates residents' responses to the development of the settlement.

In analysing the results it was found that the majority of ratepayers were unhappy about the decision to resettle the 'squatters' in Mizamoyethu. The harbour community responded in a similar way with just over half the respondents feeling negative about the establishment of the settlement.

Figure 6.5 and Table 6.3 indicate the spatial distribution of the data. In comparing the different zones, it was found that those living closest to the settlement, i.e. in zone one, were the most negative about the resettlement of the informal community in Mizamoyethu. Residents living in zone two were more positive because the decision to locate the informal settlers permanently in Hout Bay represented a solution to some of their problems. They were relieved that the informal settlers were to be moved off the beach to an area that was further away from them. Residents in zone three were the least negative and this is most likely as a result of their spatial distance from the settlement. However, even though distance plays a role in determining attitudes, there

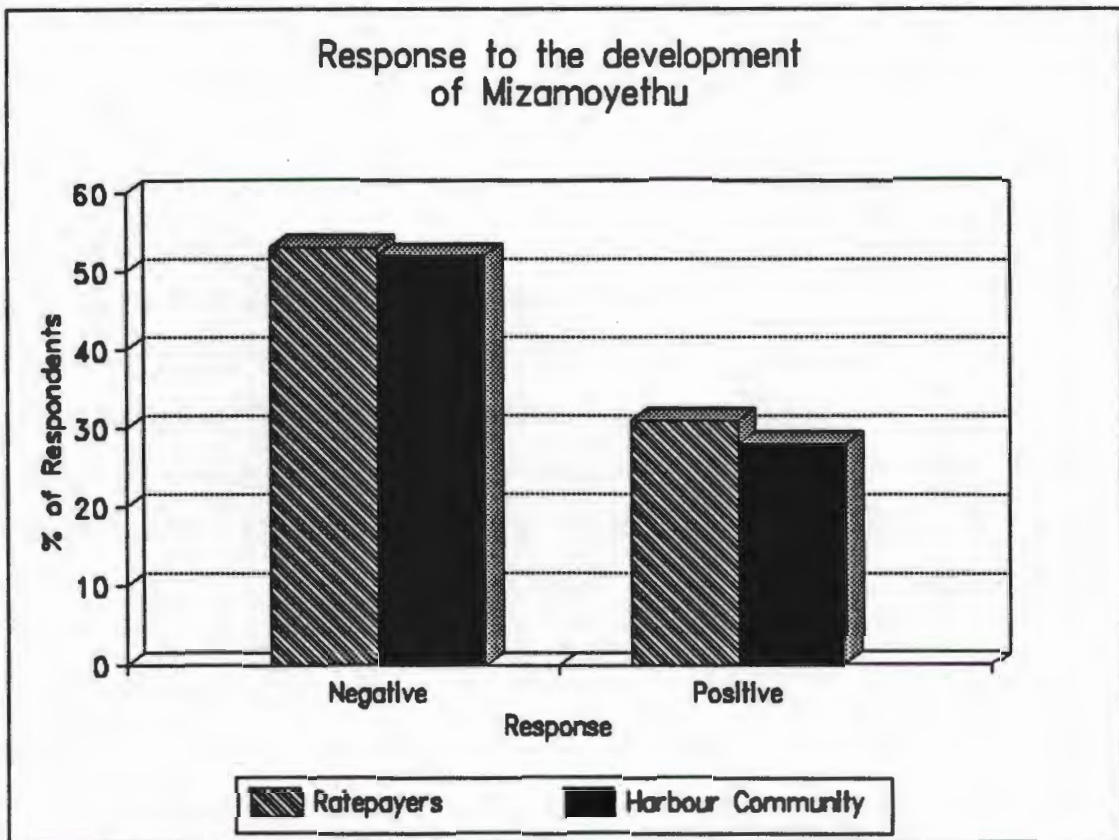


Figure 6.4 Broad responses of formal residents to Mizamoyethu.

are other factors which influence perceptions since there are a considerable number of residents in zones two, three and four who are also negative toward the settlement.

It is interesting to consider the high percentage of harbour residents that were negative about the settlement since they are as far from the settlement as residents in zone three. Also, due to their own crowded conditions it is expected that they would be more aware of the housing problems facing the urban poor, and yet they have reacted negatively toward the settlement. It is therefore necessary to pay attention to the reasons given by the formal residents' for their responses to the settlement.

Those that felt happy about the development of Mizamoyethu said they did so because they believed that people in South Africa needed to share and help support

poorer communities. They also felt that the process experienced in Hout Bay was inevitable in the new South Africa and that people needed to accept the development as a means of redressing some of the imbalances in society.

Those that disagreed with the development of Mizamoyethu felt that there were not enough employment opportunities in Hout Bay for the informal settlers and hence they believed that crime would increase in the area. Residents did not consider the fact that the informal settlers may get work in other areas and commute just as they do. The surrounding community did not recognise that the relative distances to work opportunities from Hout Bay are so much less than from areas like Khayelitsha on the Cape Flats. Other residents felt that an upmarket area should not have 'squatters' and so highlighted the issue as being based on class conflict.

The harbour community responded with reasons that emphasised their deprivation relative to the other members of the broader Hout Bay community. They felt unhappy because the informal settlers had got what the harbour community themselves believed they were entitled to. A very real fear of the harbour community was that the informal settlers would undercut the price of labour by increasing the supply, resulting in the harbour community losing their jobs or not being able to compete for jobs which became available. In terms of the harbour community, this is a serious issue of concern as it threatens their means of survival.

This is a very different type of threat to those experienced by the white ratepayers and so it becomes evident that class differences determine and influence the types of perception and impacts each group experiences. It is interesting to note that the newspaper articles place far more emphasis on the issues affecting the wealthier groups while the issues facing the harbour community, which are far more threatening at a basic level, are ignored (see the summary of press reports in Appendix D). Those with voices are those in power, and hence the press reports focus on their problems as opposed to those of the more threatened, but less powerful, harbour community.

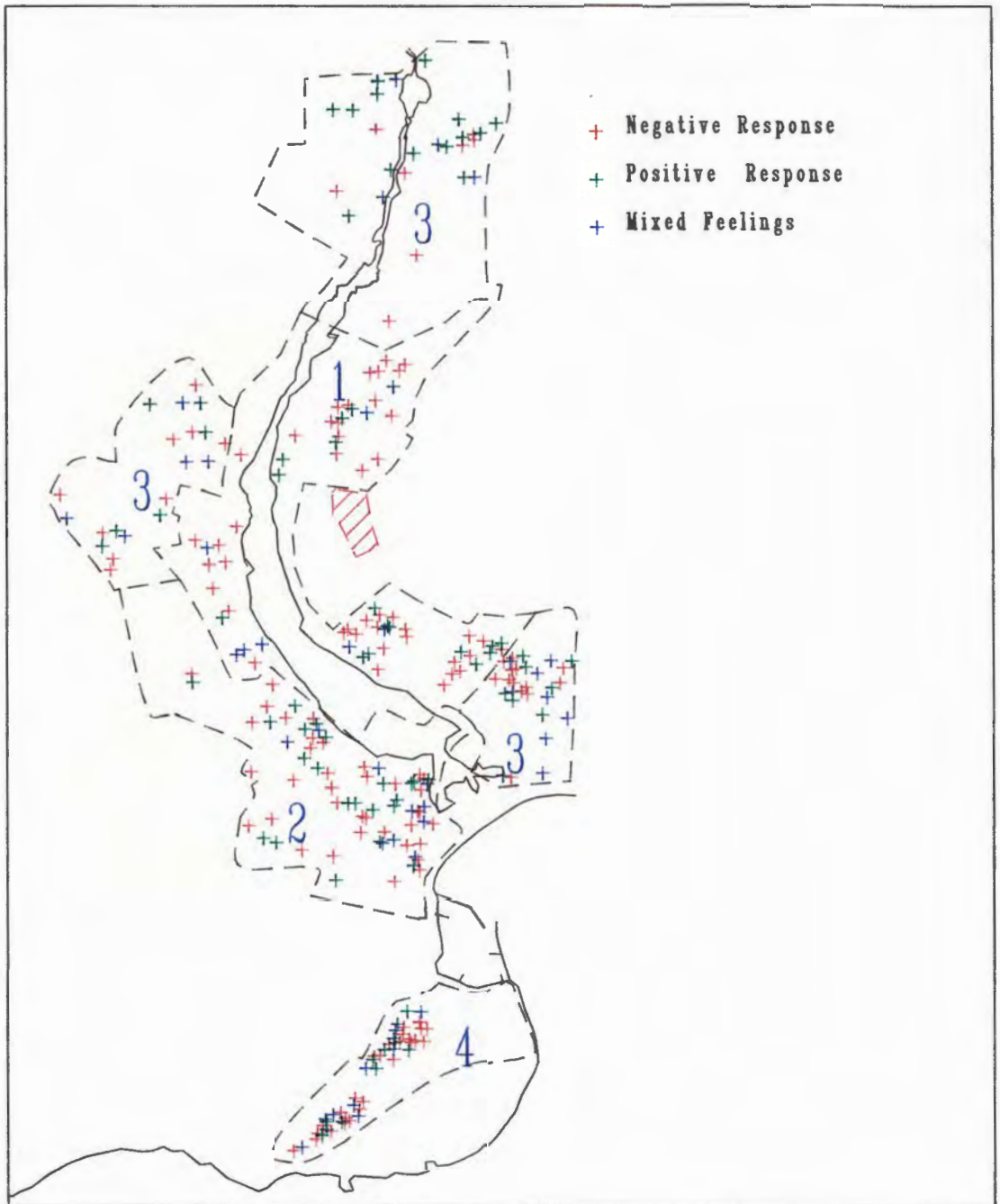


Figure 6.5 Response to the development of Mizamoyethu.

Table 6.3 Response to the development of Mizamoyethu.

	1	2	3	4	Total
Negative Response	63%	52%	41%	52%	52%
Positive Response	23%	33%	37%	28%	31%
Mixed Feelings	12%	15%	21%	18%	16%

Other reasons mentioned by the residents of Hout Bay were that the original settlement was acceptable but that they did not want to see the settlement increase in size, which is related to a fear of the impacts of the settlement – as the settlement expands so the impacts will increase. Residents felt that an increase in the size of the settlement was totally unacceptable. An increase in size implies an increase in numbers and the ratepayers would obviously want to maintain control by keeping the informal settlers in the minority.

Reasons given by respondents were grouped into broader categories and these results are shown in the table below (Table 6.4). The categories for those that disagreed with the development of the settlement were: because of incompatible socio-economic standards; because they felt that the informal settlers were getting services and facilities for free that other groups in Hout Bay were entitled to. Those that supported the development of Mizamoyethu did so because they believed it was better to have a more controlled and organised settlement and they realised that such development was inevitable in the new South Africa.

Table 6.4 Reasons given by respondents for their responses to the development of Mizamoyethu.

Reasons	Ratepayers	Harbour Community
For a negative response:		
Socio-economic standards	31%	6%
Unfair provision of free services and facilities	16%	20%
For a positive response:		
Better to have an organised settlement in the new SA	27%	6%

The above table highlights the different concerns of the ratepayers and the harbour community. The ratepayers were most concerned about socio-economic impacts whereas the harbour community reflected that they were angry that a new group in Hout Bay had received resources to which they had been denied access.

The response of residents to the informal settlement is a fundamental variable in this thesis and thus it is cross-tabulated with many other variables in other sections of this chapter. There are certain difficulties in doing this as it is often difficult to determine which came first – a negative attitude causing negative perceptions of impacts, or negative impacts resulting in a negative attitude. Insight into the situation in Hout Bay, and the way in which residents responded to many questions, enables the assumption to be made that, in most cases, the attitudes that people hold underpin their responses to many other issues. A consideration of residents' attitudes to a whole range of variables leads to a deeper understanding of the response of residents to the establishment and growth of the settlement.

A view of the settlement by response

In considering Figure 6.6 and Table 6.5 it is evident that those residents that have a view of the settlement are slightly more negative toward the settlement. However, there are a large number of residents who cannot see the settlement and yet are also negative toward it. A comparison of the zones, in terms of the responses of those that can see the settlement, indicates that the majority of residents in zones one and two are more negative than positive. View and spatial proximity seem to combine to create a more negative attitude, since those in zone three, despite being able to see Mizamoyethu, are less negative. A view of the settlement therefore impacts, to a certain extent, on people's attitudes toward it. Perhaps a view of the settlement acts as a constant reminder of the change that has taken place within Hout Bay and thus it serves to perpetuate and reinforce negative feelings that residents have. The most direct view of the settlement is from across the valley and impacts on residents in zone three.

Voting patterns by response

The way in which residents' voting patterns influence their responses are displayed in Figure B.5 and Table B.5 in Appendix B. Residents that would opt for one person one vote had the smallest margin of difference between those that were positive and

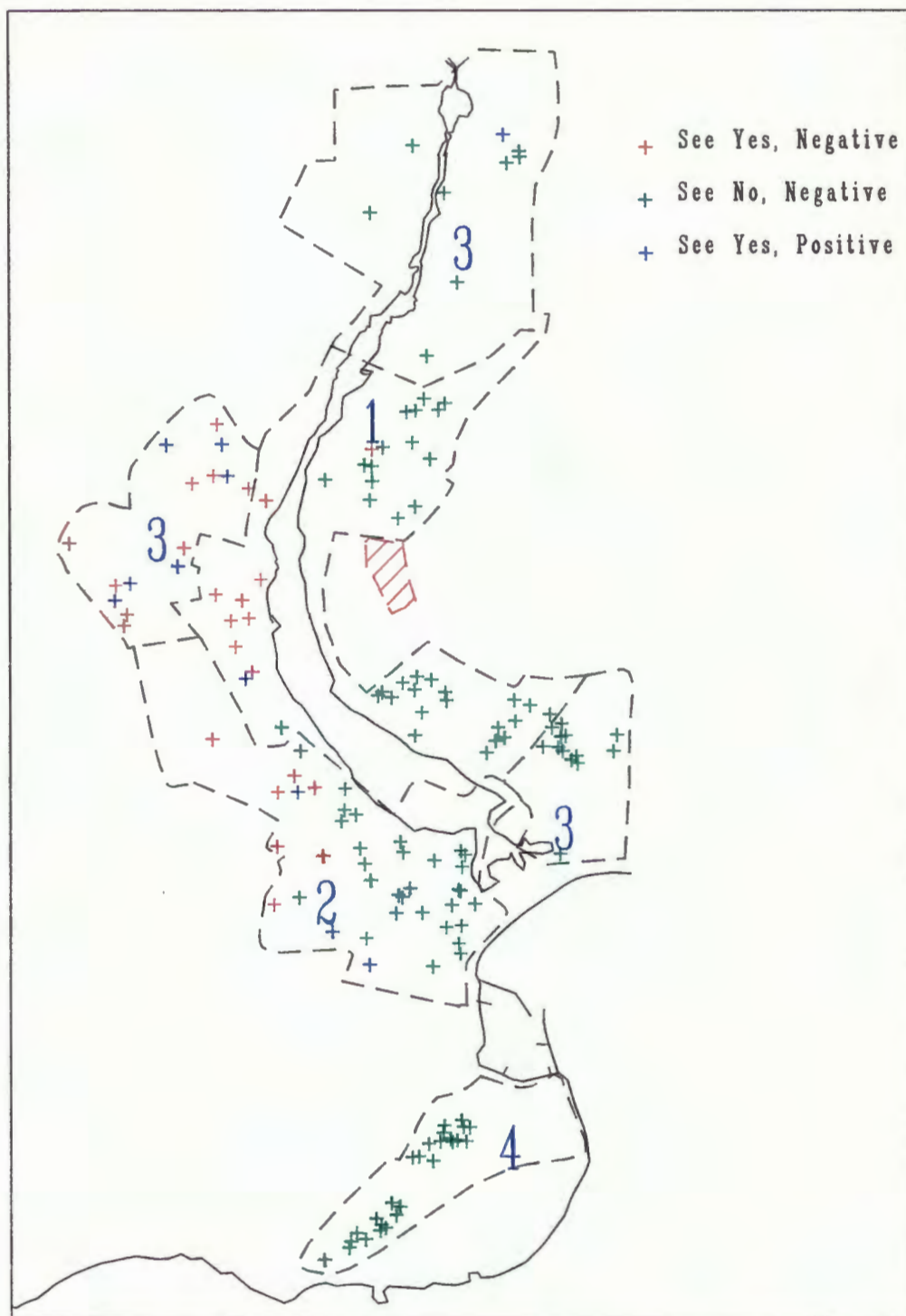


Figure 6.6 The relationship between whether residents have a view of Mizamoyethu and their response to the settlement.

Table 6.5 The relationship between whether residents have a view of Mizamoyethu and their response to the settlement.

	1	2	3	4	Total
See Yes, Negative	12%	9%	12%	0	9%
See No, Negative	47%	40%	28%	52%	41%
See Yes, Positive	1%	4%	9%	0	5%

those that were negative. The ratepayers who opted for one person one vote seemed to be the most positive toward Mizamoyethu. This probably represents the most liberal group of the white ratepayers who are prepared to allow others full access to political power, and so would be more accepting of the informal settlers. The harbour community wanted a system of one person one vote to meet their own political needs, and so a large number of this group agreed to power sharing but were negative toward the informal settlement. Liberal political views in the harbour community did not necessarily imply that they were more liberal about other issues.

Residents that wanted group representation were the most negative. This is to be expected since this is the group that have indicated through their choice of access to power, that the status quo should remain. Residents who suggested a qualification vote were slightly more negative in their response.

It seems that there is a relationship between political affiliation and residents' attitudes toward the informal settlers in terms of the different communities. However, these differences are complex. In the case of the white ratepayers, those that are politically more conservative are more negative. This is contrasted with the harbour community who are politically more liberal (for obvious reasons) but are negative toward the settlement. Their attitudes toward the informal settlers are not shaped by their political affiliations to the same extent as the ratepayers. There are also a number of ratepayers who are politically liberal but are negative about the development of the settlement. This group would probably be against the settlement for socio-economic reasons. They would represent people that are politically liberal but still in favour of the divisions of the capitalist system.

Amount of contact with the informal settlers by response

The table below (Table 6.6) indicates the relationship between the amount of contact the surrounding community has had with the informal settlers and their attitude toward the development of the settlement. It is clear that contact positively influences people's response to the establishment of the informal settlement in Hout Bay.

Table 6.6 The relationship between contact with the informal settlers and response to the development of Mizamoyethu.

Type of contact	Contact Yes		Contact No	
	Ratepayers	Harbour community	Ratepayers	Harbour community
Long term employment	More positive	*	More negative	More positive
Casual Employment	More positive	More positive	More negative	More negative
Church	More positive	More positive	More negative	More negative
Personal	More positive	More positive	More positive	More negative

Demographics of the formal residents by response

The next table (Table 6.7) summarises the way in which different demographic characteristics influence residents' responses to the informal settlement.

Table 6.7 The relationship between demographic characteristics and response to the development of Mizamoyethu.

Demographics	Ratepayers		Harbour Community	
	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative
Age	30 – 39 years	40 – 49 years	30 + years	Youngest & Oldest
Gender	Same	Males slightly higher	Males	Females
Income	Middle to Upper	No Response	*	Un-employed
Occupation	House-wives	Business Self-emp. Military	*	Housewives
Education	Same	Same	Matric	Below matric
Length of time	<5 years, most <3 years	6 -10 years	<5 years	10 + years
Landownership	*	Ownership slightly higher	Ownership higher	*

The above table suggests that there are many factors which influence residents' perceptions of the development of the informal settlement. In terms of the ratepayers, it seems that those who are in the middle stages of their life cycle, reasonably well established, having lived in Hout Bay for a number of years, and possibly reaching a position of status and security are the most negative about the settlement. This reflects the process of distancing as described in the structuralist analysis of land-use conflict. This group would want to protect the neighbourhood for all the reasons discussed in the section on residential segregation. They would be most concerned about conserving the sense of place of Hout Bay since it provides and represents the form of socialisation that they would like to and have invested in. They are also probably the most inflexible group and so would resist any change within the environment.

Older people perhaps feel that they have less to defend, as they are further on in the stage of life cycle and perhaps they do not have the same needs for the future. Younger people are perhaps more flexible, mobile and less well-established and they are more accepting of the changes which are necessary and inevitable in South African society. It is interesting that, in terms of the ratepayers, housewives are more positive than other groups. This may be because of their gender, or else because they spend more time in Hout Bay, and possibly have more contact with the informal settlers and so are more positive. It is interesting to note that those involved in business, and those who are self-employed are the most negative.

Another important observation is that residents who have been in Hout Bay for a longer time are more negative than those that have lived in Hout Bay for less than five years. This supports the idea that it may not be the actual impacts of the settlement that are that serious, but rather that Hout Bay, as a locality, has had to change due to the establishment of the informal settlement in the area. Thus the anger and fear is a result of a resistance to change. Those that have been in Hout Bay for over three years would have experienced the most dramatic change and so may cling to the ideal of what Hout Bay should be. It is important to realise that under the Group Areas Act, black people were not allocated any land within Hout Bay and hence the 'squatter issue' changed the demographics in the locality quite considerably.

However, Hout Bay has developed dramatically in the past few years with new estates and townhouse complexes being opened up and so some of the impacts and changes that are perceived as being caused by the informal settlers may also have been caused by general development in Hout Bay. Those that have lived in Hout Bay for less than two years have different attitudes towards certain issues, especially those that have arrived from areas like Johannesburg where the security situation is so much worse.

It is interesting that the harbour community reflected different characteristics in relation to their responses. The most negative group were young and old females with a low level of education who had lived in Hout Bay for over 10 years. This probably reflects a group of people who have struggled to exist in overcrowded and impoverished conditions for a long time: they are part of the working class and hence for the reasons mentioned in the section above, feel most threatened by the informal settlers. They resent the fact that the informal settlers have got access to resources ahead of them. Many of the males in the harbour community indicated that they didn't care about the settlement and that it was of no concern to them.

Women that are at home seem to be far more informed than other groups in Hout Bay. Through observation (while interviewing respondents) it became clear that housewives were far more in touch with what was happening in Hout Bay. They obviously spend more time at home and hence notice the impacts of begging, noise and loitering far more, and they probably spend more time in the shopping areas and so notice those impacts. They spend more time talking to and being with their domestic servants and are therefore far more aware of what is happening in the neighbourhood. They also spend time at the clinic and drive in and out of Hout Bay during the day. One of the most important sources of information of housewives would be the neighbourhood network: women spend time discussing issues with their friends in the neighbourhood and so they hear the stories of burglaries and conditions in the settlement. This network may however serve to distort their perceptions as stories passed along these networks can often become exaggerated.

From the above it is evident that issues relating to the nature of locality, socio-economic position, individual world views and the perception of change in relation to sense of place have impacted on and helped to shape residents' responses to the informal settlement.

Having considered the formal residents' responses to the development of the settlement, it is now important to focus on why they thought the informal settlement had developed in Hout Bay. Residents' perceptions of the advantages that the informal settlers gain by living in the area are also explored. Responses to these questions provide an understanding of how residents perceive informal settlers which in turn underlies their attitudes and responses (and vice versa).

6.4 FORMAL RESIDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF WHY THE INFORMAL SETTLEMENT DEVELOPED IN HOUT BAY

The formal residents were asked to explain why they thought that the informal settlement had developed in Hout Bay.

The responses of the surrounding ratepayers clearly reflect the fears of a white community caught up in the transitional phase in South Africa. Their perceptions are affected by such processes of change.

The responses of residents are represented in Figure 6.7 and Table 6.8. In considering the combination of the ratepayers' responses as compared to the harbour community, the findings were as follows. Of the ratepayers, 48% felt that the 'squatters' had come to Hout Bay as part of a political move to get blacks into white areas in order to destabilise these areas and to increase the voting numbers within white communities. The land invasion campaign which was launched by the UDF (United Democratic Front) countrywide in 1990, as a response to the housing crisis, would have fueled these perceptions. 19% of respondents felt that the 'squatters' had come to Hout Bay to find work and 14% believed the 'squatters' had come to the area and stayed

because the Hout Bay community was a liberal and lenient community and thus was a soft target for such a development. Some felt that the 'squatters' had come to the area because of the availability of open land; because they could get everything free; and because they were closer to work and transport. Hence the general consensus of the white ratepayers was that the 'squatters' had come to Hout Bay not out of a need for housing, to cut down on transport costs or to look for work but rather because they were politically motivated to do so.

This contrasts strongly with the reasons given by the 'squatters', which is documented in Gawith and Sowman's report (1992) on Mizamoyethu. The results of this survey indicated that the majority of informal settlers (53%) had moved to Hout Bay in search of employment. The second most important reason, mentioned by 21% of the informal settlers, was that they had come to Hout Bay in order to be with their family. Some settlers indicated that they had moved onto the sites to be close to existing work (14%) and 8% indicated that they had been born in Hout Bay (Gawith and Sowman, 1992). From these results it is evident that the informal settlers moved to Hout Bay for practical reasons and not because of political motives. Even if the underlying reason was that this group of people were politically manipulated by their leaders, who used promises of jobs and land to coax the rural people to Hout Bay (as supposed by the majority of ratepayers), the informal settlers moved to the area in search of work and to gain access to land. It is the underlying structures and the agendas of different groups that need to be investigated if any sense is to be made of the ratepayers responses. The ratepayers' responses must also be seen in the context of the transitional phase of the country, where many white people are extremely sensitive to agendas and political motives that seem to undermine the previous status quo.

The harbour community responded very differently, reflecting that they are not caught up with the same fears as the white residents and so see the reasons for the development of Mizamoyethu from a far more practical perspective, with less emphasis placed on hidden agendas. 56% of the harbour community felt that the Mizamoyethu residents had settled in Hout Bay in order to find work. Since most of the harbour community stated that they lived in Hout Bay because they worked in the

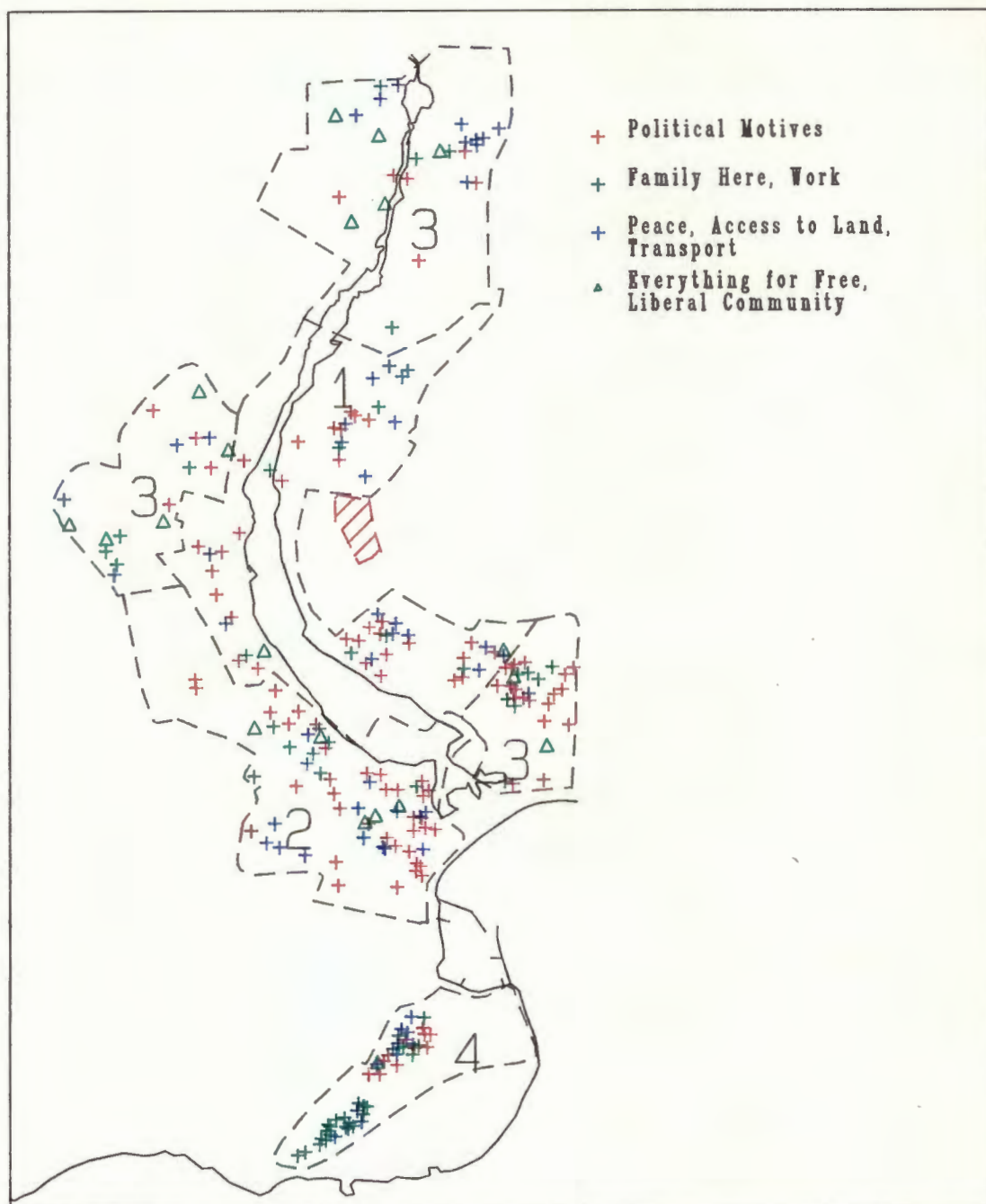


Figure 6.7 Perceptions of why the informal settlement developed in Hout Bay.

Table 6.8 Perceptions of why the informal settlement developed in Hout Bay.

	1	2	3	4	Total
Political Motive	47%	49%	40%	24%	41%
Family, Work	11%	15%	19%	56%	21%
Peace, Land	24%	21%	20%	22%	22%
Free Ride	3%	7%	16%	2%	7%

area, they perhaps have a better understanding of the lack of choice of residential location for lower-income groups (who usually locate in areas close to work opportunities). The majority of white residents had settled in Hout Bay for aesthetic reasons and so did not identify with the constraints placed on the other residents in the area. 24% of the harbour group felt that the move to Hout Bay was politically motivated and this may reflect the views of the middle class group in Hout Bay Heights. Some members of the harbour community, 10%, said that the 'squatters' had come to Hout Bay as it was a peaceful, violence-free place, while 11% of the harbour community believed that the 'squatters' had come to Hout Bay as a response to the availability of land in the area.

The spatial representation of the data, (Figure 6.7 and Table 6.8) indicates that residents in zone one and two were most convinced that the informal settlers had arrived for political reasons. Zone three were less aware of political motives and considered family connections to be an important factor. It is interesting that this group believed most strongly that the informal settlers had come to Hout Bay because they knew that they would get access to resources that they would not have to pay for. Perhaps it is this issue that impacts on the most spatially distant group, i.e. that they perceive that their rates are very high because they go toward funding the informal settlement. They are perhaps less exposed to more immediate impacts, but are concerned about the impact of the settlement with regard to the financing of it.

It is also interesting to recognise that residents in zone one rated peacefulness and access to land as important reasons for the development of the settlement. Hence distance is not the only factor influencing the adoption of a realistic and empathetic understanding of the development of the informal settlement in Hout Bay.

Perceptions of why the informal settlers came to Hout Bay by response

Figure 6.8 and Table 6.9 indicate that residents who were more negative toward the informal settlement as a whole, tended to think that it had developed for political reasons. Ratepayers who felt that the settlement had developed as a response from

people to find work and to be close to their families were more positive about the settlement. The harbour community felt that the informal settlers had come to Hout Bay to find work and be with their family, not because they were more positive toward the settlers, but rather because they understood the difficult constraints these people face. From many of the points discussed already, it seems that the harbour community have a more realistic comprehension of the issues involved and hence their responses are less swayed by other factors such as their attitude toward the settlers, stage in the life-cycle, etc.

Respondents who have a negative attitude toward the settlers will tend to react to other issues in a negative manner in order to reinforce the belief that they hold that the informal settlement is a negative feature of Hout Bay. Residents who are negative would be more likely to assume, from the flying of the African National Congress (ANC) flag in the Princess Bush settlement, that the development of the settlement was as a result of an attempted political take over. Perceptions and attitudes are reinforced by the selective means that individuals adopt to view their world.

In considering the way in which a number of different variables correlate with the reasons given by respondents for the development of the informal settlement, the following was found.

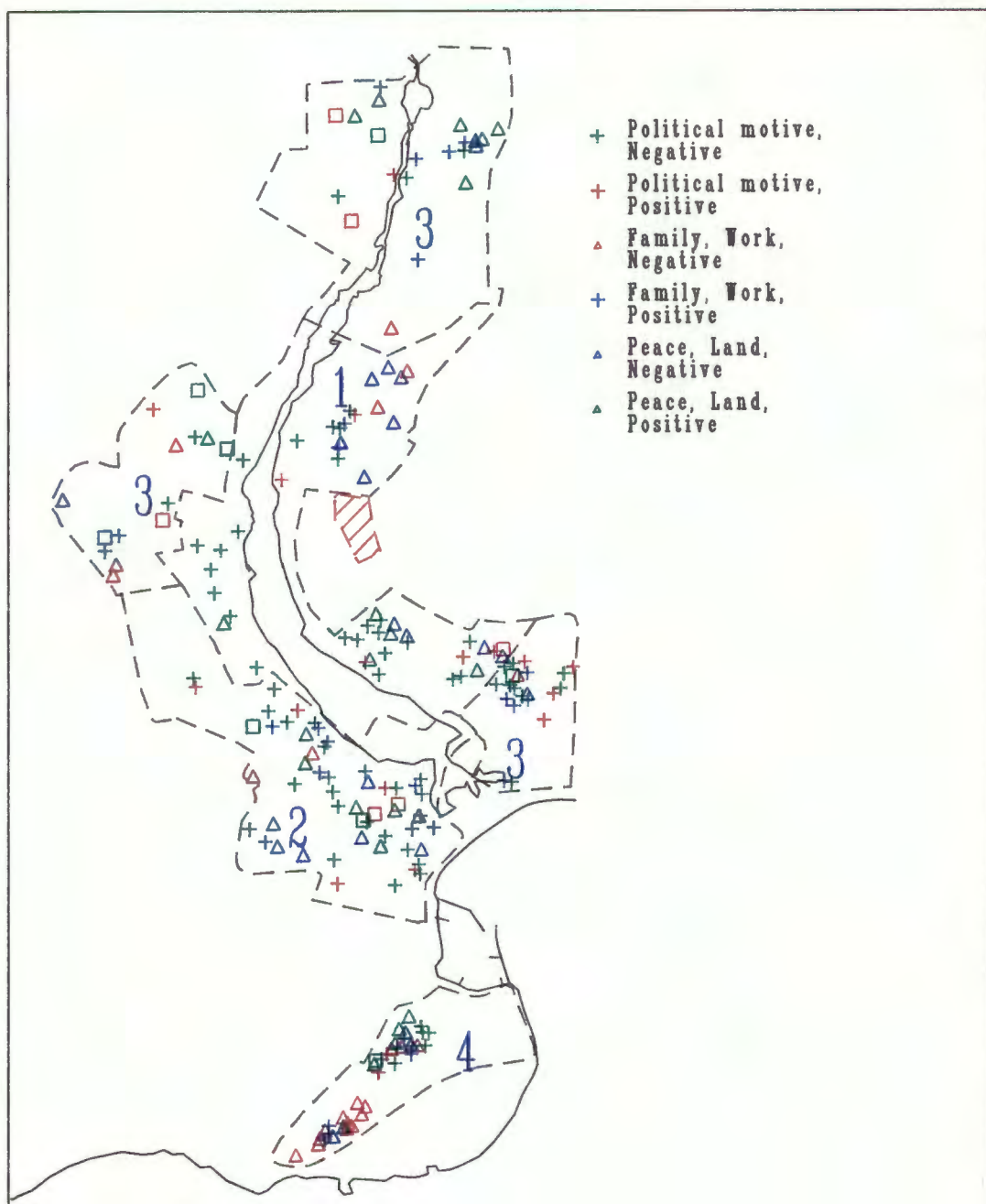


Figure 6.8 The relationship between response to Mizamoyethu and reasons given for the development of 'squatting' in Hout Bay.

Table 6.9 The relationship between response to Mizamoyethu and reasons given for the development of 'squatting' in Hout Bay.

	1	2	3	4	Total
Political Motive, N	32%	33%	21%	16%	27%
Political Motive, P	7%	7%	8%	4%	7%
Family, Work, N	3%	3%	7%	28%	8%
Family, Work, P	3%	8%	13%	10%	8%
Peaceful Place, N	13%	8%	5%	6%	9%
Peaceful Place, P	7%	8%	9%	10%	8%

Table 6.10 The relationship between attitudes and demographic characteristics and reasons given for the development of the informal settlement.

	Ratepayers			Harbour Community		
	1.	2.	3.	1.	2.	3.
1 Political 2 Work/ Family 3 Peaceful						
Perception of polarised communities	Yes	No	*	No	No	No
Decision	Against	For	*	Against	*	For
Length of time	Middle	Long	*	Newest	5-10 yrs	*
Land-ownership	Land-owners	*	Rental	Land-owners	Rental	Land-owner
Age	30-70 years	30-39 years	30-39 years	30-40 years	Oldest & Young	40-50 years
Gender	Males	*	Female	*	Male	*
Education	Matric	*	Degree	Matric	*	*

From the above table it seems that the ratepayers that believe that the informal settlement developed for political reasons were the same residents who were most against the informal settlement. The reason of a political motive supports and helps to justify their negative attitude toward the settlement. Middle stage in the life-cycle males who owned property in Hout Bay tended to think that the informal settlement had developed for political reasons. It is also interesting to consider that residents who had a tertiary education were less likely to support the notion that the settlement had developed because the ANC were trying to destabilise white areas.

In terms of the harbour community it seems that those who opted for political motives as the reason for the development of the informal settlement represented the middle-income residents of Hout Bay Heights, whereas those that thought that the informal settlers had arrived for reasons of work and because their families were in the area tended to be the lower-income members of the harbour community that had resided in Hout Bay for a long time.

6.5 THE PERCEIVED ADVANTAGES GAINED BY THE INFORMAL SETTLERS RESIDING IN HOUT BAY

Linked to the reasons given by residents for why they thought the informal settlers had arrived in Hout Bay, is the issue of what advantages they think the informal settlers gain by living in Hout Bay.

Respondents were questioned on what advantages they thought the informal settlers gained by living in Hout Bay. This reflects their understanding of the needs, expectations and desires of a group less fortunate than themselves. The responses of the surrounding community are displayed in Figure 6.9 and Table 6.11.

The ratepayers' responses were reasonably negative toward the informal settlers and many respondents showed no recognition of many of the issues that face people living in informal settlements and overcrowded, often violent townships. Of the ratepayers, 39%, felt that the informal settlers had nothing to gain by living in Hout Bay, stating that there are no jobs in Hout Bay, and so they couldn't understand why the 'squatters' had come to live in their suburb. A further 32% felt that the informal settlers benefited by living in the area because they could live in a beautiful and peaceful place where they experienced a far better quality of life. 30% of the respondents in this group felt that they gained the advantage of having access to work and hence benefited by being in Hout Bay, while 15% stated that it was to the informal settlers' advantage to live in the area since it provided a safer environment away from the violence of the townships. A smaller group of respondents felt that the 'squatters' gained the advantage of living in an area where they received free services paid for by the ratepayers. A few said that the 'squatters' benefited by having wealthy houses to steal from, while others mentioned they benefited from the liberal and accepting attitude of the Hout Bay community.

The majority of the ratepayers felt that the 'squatters' had nothing to gain by living in Hout Bay. The majority obviously do not think that the 'squatters' wanted to live in Hout Bay for the same reasons as themselves, i.e. for aesthetic reasons, and for the

advantages of living in a high quality environment. This reflects the extent to which different groups perceive the needs and world views of others so differently to their own. However, a considerable number of ratepayers acknowledged that the quality of life experienced by the informal settlers in Hout Bay is far better than the lifestyle that they would have in the Cape Flats townships.

In terms of the harbour community the responses are very different. 64% of the harbour community felt that the 'squatters' gained the advantage of having access to work or at least the opportunity to find work. This contrasts strongly with the ratepayer group and again shows that the harbour people are far more in touch with the needs of the squatter community and the realities that they have to face. Even though there are few available jobs in Hout Bay at present, the opportunity for work is at least there and people are much closer to other areas where there is potential for employment.

It seems as if the ratepayers do not recognise the conditions of unemployment and transport costs that people face in the Cape Flats townships. They also feel that these people should be located close to industrial areas, which represents an attitude fostered by distancing as described in the section on the structuralist approach to housing segregation. Many informal settlers are unskilled workers and so would see the potential of working as a domestic or a gardener as more likely than trying to get into the industrial sector. They also probably feel that the quality of life in Hout Bay is superior to that in the townships.

Of the harbour community, 32% felt that the 'squatters' benefited from living in Hout Bay because they could now live in a peaceful and beautiful place and hence obtain the benefits of a good quality of life. It is evident from this that lower-income groups also express the desire to live in aesthetically pleasing environments, even though many of their white upper-income neighbours do not perceive them as having the same needs in this regard. Only 12% of the harbour community felt that the 'squatters' had nothing to gain by living in Hout Bay.

From the spatial summary of the above data, Figure 6.9 and Table 6.11, it is evident that distance from the settlement does not impact on the way in which people perceive of the informal settlers' needs, and that in fact it is the residents of zone two who are the most negative. Interestingly, those that live closest to the settlement are most empathetic and understanding. It is clear that other factors therefore influence residents' perceptions and attitudes in this regard.

It would seem that there are many good reasons as to why the informal settlers would want to locate themselves in Hout Bay. The settlement is small and relatively peaceful and thus would enable people to have far more control of their lives. The community has access to resources and to support and there is potential for work. The services at present are problematic and are far from acceptable (Sowman and Gawith, 1992), but with the roll-over site and service which is presently being developed, residents will have access to better services. The conditions in Mizamoyethu and its surrounds are surely better than those found in informal settlements out on the Cape Flats.

Table C.2 (in Appendix C), which indicates the relationship between demographic characteristics and the perceived advantages for the informal settlers residing in Hout Bay, shows very similar patterns to those of why residents thought the settlers had come to live in Hout Bay. Length of time spent living in Hout Bay (6 – 10 years), along with negative responses toward the settlement, fostered the attitude that the residents of Mizamoyethu had nothing to gain by living in the area. Those that could understand the reasons why informal settlers may find Hout Bay appealing tended to be younger, more positive about the settlement and to have lived in Hout Bay for a shorter time.

Again the harbour community's responses were different to the ratepayers thus reflecting their different attitudes due to different socio-economic and political circumstances.

Having considered the responses of the surrounding community of Hout Bay to the development of the informal settlement in the area, it is now necessary to focus in on

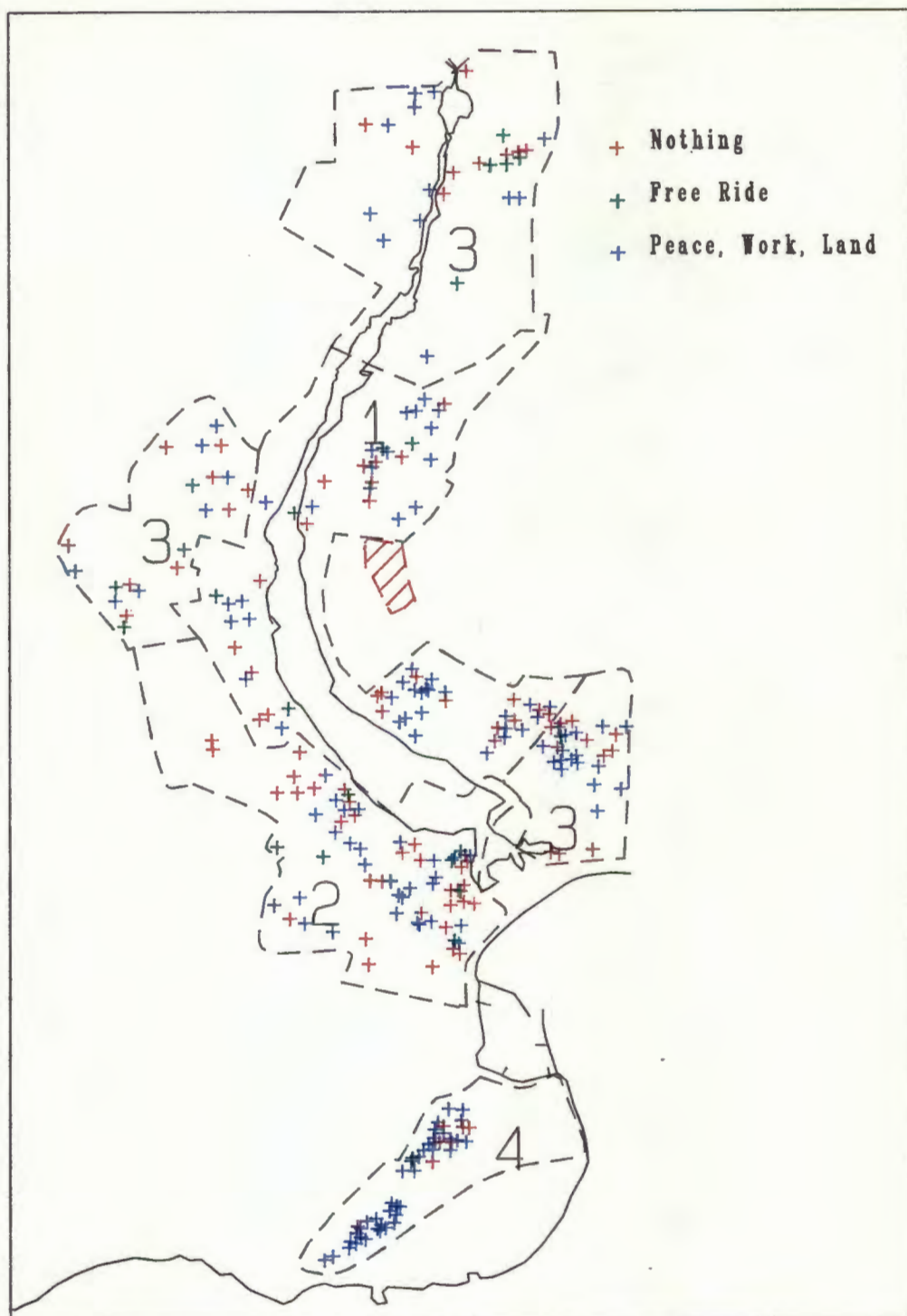


Figure 6.9 Perceptions of the advantages gained by the informal settlers from living in Hout Bay.

Table 6.11 Perceptions of the advantages gained by the informal settlers from living in Hout Bay.

	1	2	3	4	Total
Nothing	32%	44%	32%	12%	32%
Free Ride	7%	13%	13%	2%	10%
Peace, Work, Land	60%	39%	48%	84%	55%

more specific aspects, such as the perceived relative acceptability of the original sites and the new site.

6.6 THE ACCEPTABILITY OF THE ORIGINAL SETTLEMENTS AND THE NEW SITE

The old sites were divided into two categories: those that constituted the 'traditional' settlements, namely the small settlements which had been around for many years, and which were accepted by the majority of Hout Bay residents; and secondly the new settlements on Princess Road which grew rapidly from 1989 onwards. The new site (i.e. the present site of Mizamoyethu) is located on the WCRSC Forestry site adjacent to the residential areas of Penzance, Hughendon Estate and Riverside Terrace (see Figure 5.4). The development of these different settlements is described in the section on the history and locality of Hout Bay.

6.6.1 The upgrading of the old sites

Residents were asked if they thought that the old sites should have been upgraded as opposed to the creation of the new site of Mizamoyethu. The majority of residents felt that the concept of upgrading the old sites was unacceptable and only a few residents believed that this could have been a viable option. However the reasons they gave for accepting this as an option reflected an underlying agenda of removing the majority of the informal settlers from Hout Bay. This question is important in terms of the guidelines for future planning of such resettlement programmes because it is often questioned whether resettlement into larger sites is the best solution. Certain planners believe that if smaller scattered sites were created within existing areas then these smaller communities could be more readily absorbed into the surrounding community. Most respondents indicated that the upgrading of the old sites was unacceptable because of their location, particularly in terms of the Princess Bush settlement, which was sited on the coastal dunes of Hout Bay, and also because many of the old sites occurred on private land. Those that thought that the old sites should be upgraded

indicated that these sites should have been upgraded for the 'traditional' coloured 'squatters' but that the black people that had arrived in Hout Bay in 'bus loads' did not belong in the area, and hence should be removed.

6.6.2 Residents' perceptions of the acceptability of the old sites

Respondents were asked to rate the acceptability of the old sites, first to themselves and then to the Hout Bay community at large and to the informal settlers.

Table 6.12 The acceptability of the original sites.

	UNACCEPTABLE		ACCEPTABLE	
	Ratepayers	Harbour community	Ratepayers	Harbour community
to you personally	83%	68%	5%	0%
to the Hout Bay community	83%	84%	4%	0%
to the informal settlers	37%	18%	29%	26%

In considering the responses it is clear that most rate themselves more positively than the group as a whole.

They are probably basing their perceptions of the group's responses on the reaction of residents at ratepayers meetings and from press reports which paint a very negative picture of the way in which the Hout Bay community feels about the presence of informal settlers in 'their' area (see summary of the press reports in Appendix D). This reflects the power of the press and action groups in formulating and shaping people's perceptions of an event. Individuals may not want to come across as being negative, prejudiced or racist, and hence when reflecting on their own attitudes they try to be more positive; but have no responsibility toward the Hout Bay community's attitudes as a whole and so can be more honest. The contention that individuals in Hout Bay

generally see themselves as being more positive than the Hout Bay community is supported by the findings displayed in Figure B.6 and Table B.6 in Appendix B.

Again, the comparison between the ratepayers and the harbour community yields interesting insights. The majority of ratepayers and harbour residents felt that the old sites were totally unacceptable to themselves personally. Almost a third of the harbour community were indifferent which again reflects their lack of concern with regard to the development of Mizamoyethu.

The majority of ratepayers and the harbour community suggested that the broader Hout Bay community found the old sites unacceptable. The harbour community feel that the Hout Bay community perceive the old sites more negatively than they do, which judging by the responses, is probably true.

The various groups perceptions of how they thought the 'squatters' felt about the acceptability of the old sites, reflects how the surrounding community perceive and understand the conditions of living in informal settlements. The responses in the ratepayers group were spread over four categories and were not skewed in a particular direction. This indicates a clear range in attitudes and is probably due to the different ways that people perceive 'squatters' as a group of people. It also shows how little understanding and communication there is between the two groups. Many residents have no idea of the circumstances and realities of living in an informal settlement and the reasons for doing so and hence are unsympathetic to the plight of the less privileged group.

The harbour community's ratings were far more polarised: 54% felt that the 'squatters' were indifferent to the old sites. This may, however, reflect their own indifference. The harbour community also have serious housing problems and suffer from a sense of powerlessness, leading them to adopt an indifferent and apathetic attitude. McCoy (1973) found that communities that are marginalised or powerless often do not react to a situation as they believe that little can be done to change events because they do not count with the decision makers, and hence they remain passive in a conflict

situation. 14% felt that the 'squatters' would have found the old sites to be totally unacceptable, whereas 22% found the sites to be acceptable to the 'squatters'.

In summarising the above findings, it is evident that the majority of residents in the broader Hout Bay community found the old sites unacceptable to themselves personally and to the Hout Bay community as a whole. Residents gave divided responses on how acceptable the sites were to the 'squatters'. Many felt that the informal settlers had chosen to be there and so must find the sites acceptable.

The spatial mapping of these responses provided insight into the extent to which distance from the settlements impacted on residents' perceptions of the sites. The acceptability of the old sites to the residents personally is considered first. Figure 6.10 and Table 6.13 indicate that the old sites were most unacceptable to the residents of zone two and this clearly reflects their spatial proximity to the sites on Princess Road. It is interesting that residents of both zones one and three and the harbour rated these sites (in terms of being unacceptable) in a similar manner. However, the ratepayers were generally more negative toward the old sites than the harbour community, many of whom were indifferent as discussed above. From the results it is evident that virtually no formal residents of Hout Bay found the old sites acceptable to themselves personally.

The focus is now turned to how acceptable the respondents thought the Hout Bay community found the old sites. Figure 6.11 and Table 6.14 indicates that the harbour community, of all the groups, felt that the Hout Bay community were negative about the old sites. This perception is probably based on a racial and class conflict where the lower-income harbour community are aware of the responses of their wealthier neighbours to negative externalities. They are also probably aware of the conflict that has existed in the valley with regard to the development of the informal settlement, and know that they do not feel as strongly about the issues as the ratepayers do. They have tended to be observers rather than participators in the whole development process. Again zone two reflected the highest percentage of those totally against the settlement, with the other zones reasonably close behind them.

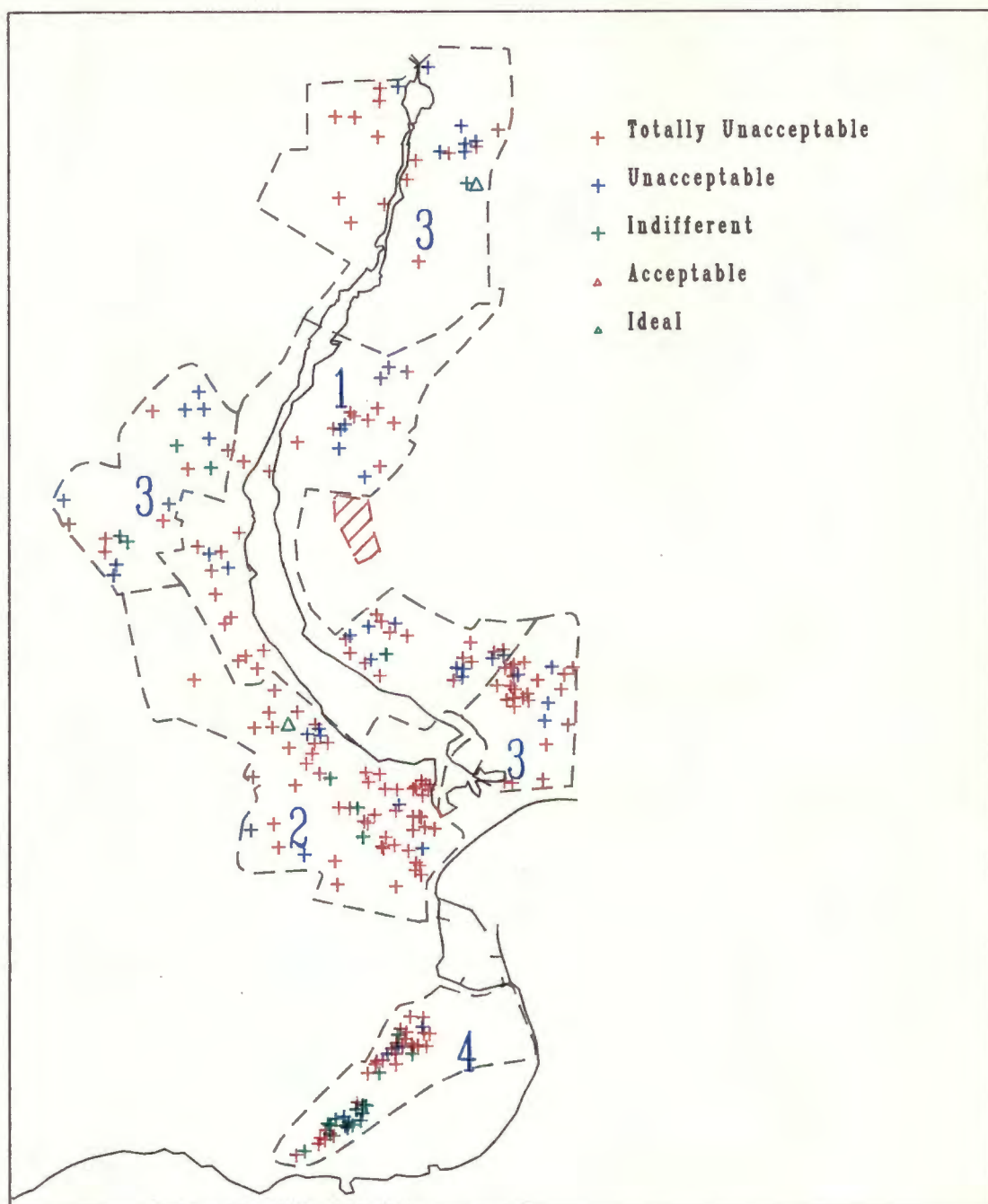


Figure 6.10 Acceptability of the old sites to the respondents personally.

Table 6.13 Acceptability of the old sites to the respondents personally.

	1	2	3	4	Total
Totally Unaccept.	53%	76%	57%	56%	61%
Unacceptable	24%	11%	27%	12%	19%
Indifferent	1%	5%	5%	30%	9%
Acceptable	0	0	0	0	0
Ideal	0	1%	1%	0	1%

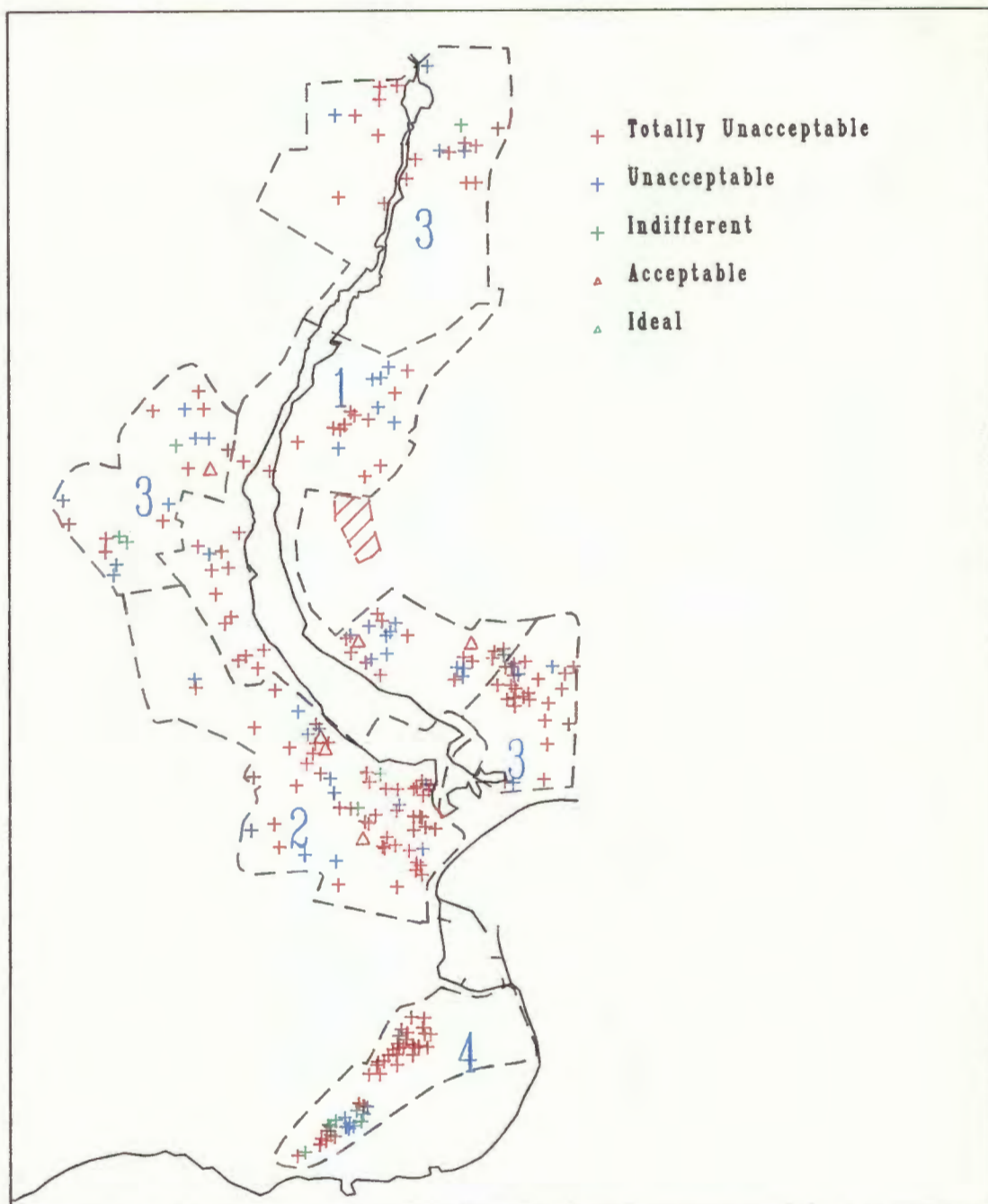


Figure 6.11 Acceptability of the old sites to the Hout Bay community.

Table 6.14 Acceptability of the old sites to the Hout Bay community.

	1	2	3	4	Total
Totally Unaccept.	56%	67%	61%	68%	63%
Unacceptable	26%	20%	20%	16%	21%
Indifferent	0	3%	5%	14%	5%
Acceptable	3%	4%	1%	0	2%
Ideal	0	0	0	0	0

Figure B.7 and Table B.7 in Appendix B indicates that residents' perceptions of the acceptability of the old sites to the 'squatters' is not influenced by distance from the settlement. Those closest to the old sites found the sites marginally less acceptable to the 'squatters' than those living further away. However, residents in zone three, who tend to be more positive about the informal settlement, indicated that the conditions of the sites must be problematic for the settlers.

6.6.3 Residents' perceptions of the acceptability of the new site

In terms of ranking the acceptability of the new sites respondents were asked exactly the same questions as those for the old sites.

Table 6.15 The acceptability of the new site.

	UNACCEPTABLE		ACCEPTABLE	
	Ratepayers	Harbour community	Ratepayers	Harbour community
to you personally	48%	38%	36%	18%
to the Hout Bay community	66%	46%	17%	18%
to the informal settlers	15%	2%	63%	30%

The modal value for the ratepayers was that the new site is acceptable – 25% of the respondents. However the next highest value was 20% of the respondents stating that the new site is totally unacceptable. Hence it is important to examine the combined values to determine how this group has responded. These results are given in Table 6.15. It is evident that the majority of ratepayers find the new site unacceptable, although they find it considerably more acceptable than the old sites. The majority of the harbour community responded that they were indifferent to the site thus showing their relative lack of concern with regard to the development of Mizamoyethu. A reasonably high percentage of both groups found the site acceptable.

Consideration is now given to how acceptable the groups found the site relative to the Hout Bay community as a whole. The rankings are very interesting, since in all groups the respondents rank the rest of Hout Bay as being more negative than themselves with regard to the acceptability of the new sites. Most residents would want to be seen as being more positive than the rest of the community so as not to reflect their own personal attitudes of prejudice, based on race or class.

In terms of the acceptability of the new site in relation to the informal settlers, the ratepayers generally felt that the informal settlers found the new site acceptable. Again the harbour community showed their lack of concern, since 66% indicated that the informal settlers were indifferent to the site, once again probably projecting their own indifference. Some of the ratepayers, 16%, indicated that the informal settlers would find the new site ideal. This type of response is certainly loaded with their own resentment and prejudices, since most individuals would not be arrogant enough to suggest that any informal settlement is an ideal place to live. Some residents suggested that the Mizamoyethu site was relatively ideal in comparison to the situation out on the Cape Flats. Conditions in Mizamoyethu are far better than many of the other areas of informal settlements, but there are still many problems with the site and its broader location. However, there were enough good reasons for the settlers to move to Hout Bay indicating that it is a settlement with considerably more potential than other sites in the Peninsula. The circumstances of different communities within a particular locality need to be considered – circumstances are relative to the specifics of the place and context within which people exist.

Figure 6.12 and Table 6.16 represent the effect spatial proximity has on residents' attitudes to the settlement. Residents in zone one gave the highest indication that the new site was totally unacceptable and this obviously reflects their close proximity to the site. However, if one combines the categories of totally unacceptable and unacceptable then the difference between the three ratepayers zones are not that great. Distance plays a role in influencing residents' perceptions of the new site but it is not the only factor which creates negative attitudes. Residents of zone three find the site most acceptable of the three groups, but there are still a considerable number

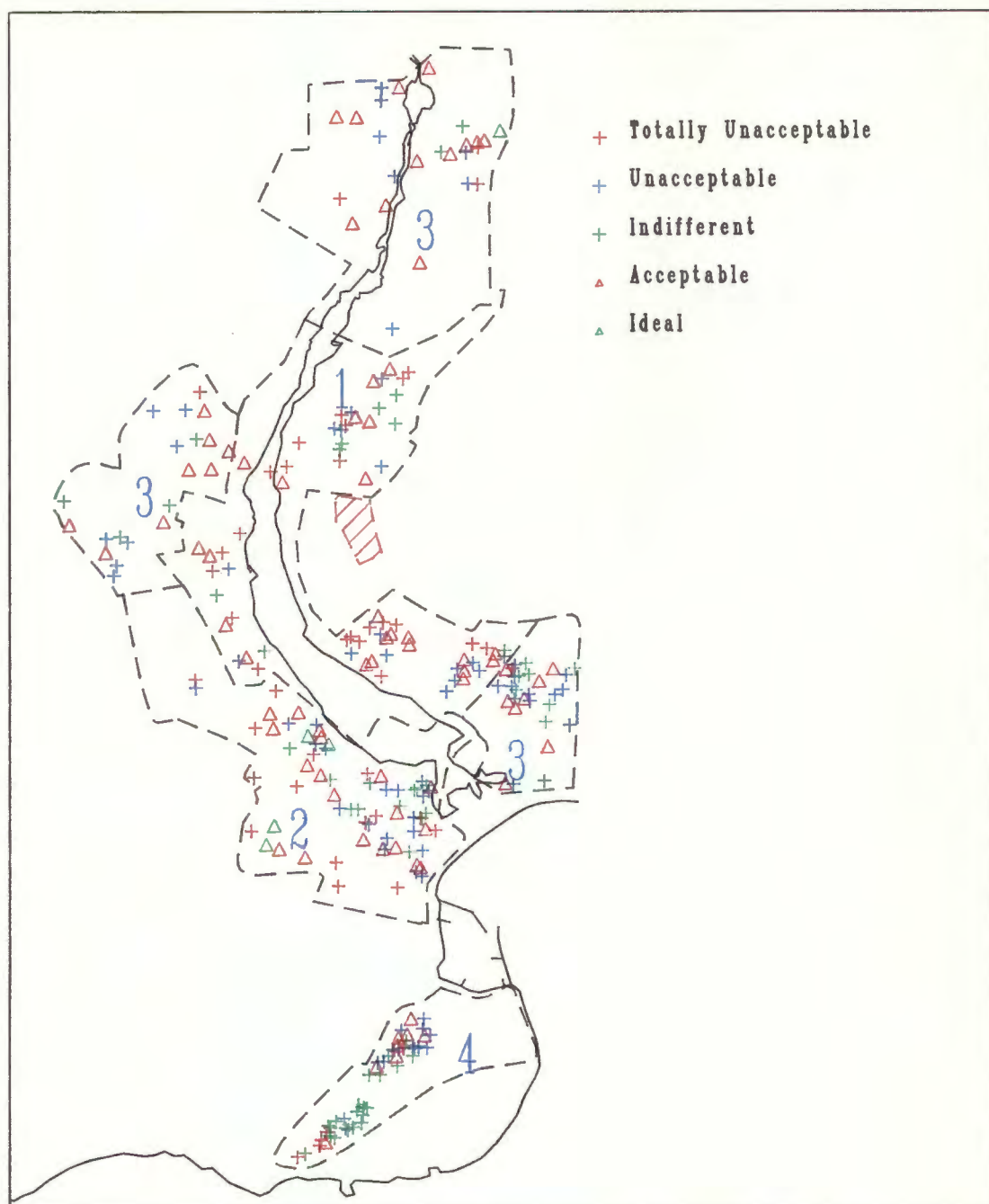


Figure 6.12 Acceptability of the new site to respondents personally.

Table 6.16 Acceptability of the new site to respondents personally.

	1	2	3	4	Total
Totally Unaccept.	31%	23%	7%	10%	18%
Unacceptable	23%	25%	36%	28%	28%
Indifferent	11%	16%	19%	44%	20%
Acceptable	33%	31%	38%	18%	31%
Ideal	1%	5%	0	0	2%

in zone one and two that also find it acceptable. It is interesting to note the relatively low number of residents in zone two who find the new site acceptable, since their other responses indicate that they favoured the move of the informal settlers away from them to the new site. However, this group seems to be the most negative in general (see later findings), and hence their negative attitudes are probably influencing the way in which they have reacted to the development of the new site.

In considering the spatial mapping of the acceptability of the new sites to the Hout Bay community as a whole, Figure B.8 and Table B.8 in Appendix B, it is evident that there is little differentiation in response in relation to distance from the settlement. However, those that live closest to the settlement considered the Hout Bay community to be more negative than their neighbours in the other zones.

Figure B.9 and Table B.9 in Appendix B demonstrate that spatial proximity to the settlement influences, to a certain extent, residents' perceptions of how acceptable the site is to the informal settlers. These perceptions are probably based on resentment and anger, given the poor knowledge that most of the residents have of the informal settlement, and so those closest to the settlement display the highest number of residents who feel that the site is ideal for the informal settlers.

Respondents are rating the acceptability of the sites to the 'squatters' based on their own experiences and expectations. The experiences of the ratepayers and harbour community, in terms of their living conditions, are very different to the informal settlers and this influences their perceptions. It is important to note that many of the ratepayers believed that the informal settlers must find the conditions acceptable because they had chosen to be there. This so obviously reflects a lack of understanding, from this privileged group, of the choices and opportunities available to the impoverished masses of South Africa.

In summarising the above response of residents personally to the acceptability of the old and new sites, attention is given to the cross-tabulations of responses to the old and new sites as displayed in Figure 6.13 and Table 6.17.

Residents' responses are generally split between those that find the old sites unacceptable and the new site acceptable, and those that find both sites unacceptable. It is evident that the majority of residents found the old sites unacceptable. Those closest to the settlement and those in zone two seemed slightly more negative than residents in zone three to the acceptability of the new site. Distance from the settlement seems to play some role in influencing the ratepayers' perceptions in this regard. It is also interesting to note the relatively high percentage of the harbour community who have rated both sites as unacceptable. This is probably because they feel that they have been marginalised and have had their needs ignored, and because of the threat of competition for employment and resources. The middle-income Hout Bay Heights residents may have aligned themselves with the attitudes of those in the ratepayers group who hold a similar socio-economic position. These issues become more clear as the argument in this thesis develops.

In considering the relationship between the response of residents toward the development of Mizamoyethu and their attitude toward the acceptability of the new sites, as shown in Figure 6.14, Table 6.18 and Figure 6.15, Table 6.19, it is apparent that residents who are more negative about the concept of the development of an informal settlement in Hout Bay at all, are also those who are more negative about the old and new sites. The majority of residents, whether positive or negative, were against the old sites. Those that were generally negative toward the informal settlers favoured the response that both the old and new sites were unacceptable, whereas those that were generally positive favoured the response that the old sites were unacceptable but that the new site was acceptable. The resettlement of the informal community into a developed and serviced site has therefore had a positive impact on residents' perceptions. However, residents' negative attitudes toward the concept of the development of an informal settlement in the area clearly impacts on their perceptions of the acceptability of the new site.

Given the above responses to the acceptability of the old and new sites, residents' perceptions of the planning process with regard to the land identification process are now examined.

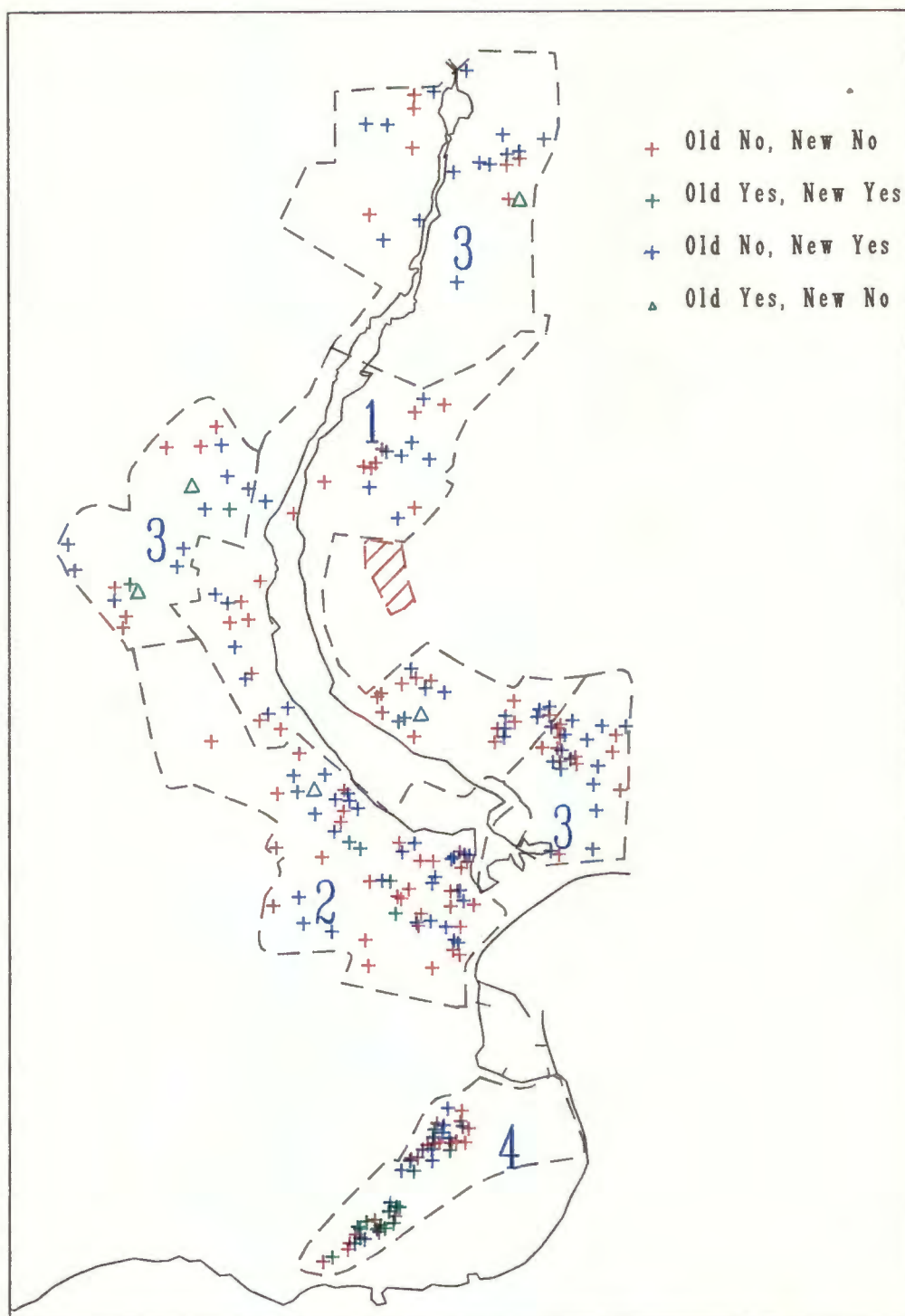


Figure 6.13 Acceptability of the old and new sites to formal residents personally.

Table 6.17 Acceptability of the old and new sites to formal residents personally.

	1	2	3	4	Total
Old No, New No	37%	41%	33%	38%	37%
Old Yes, New Yes	0	4%	3%	30%	7%
Old No, New Yes	33%	39%	51%	28%	39%
Old Yes, New No	1%	1%	4%	0	2%

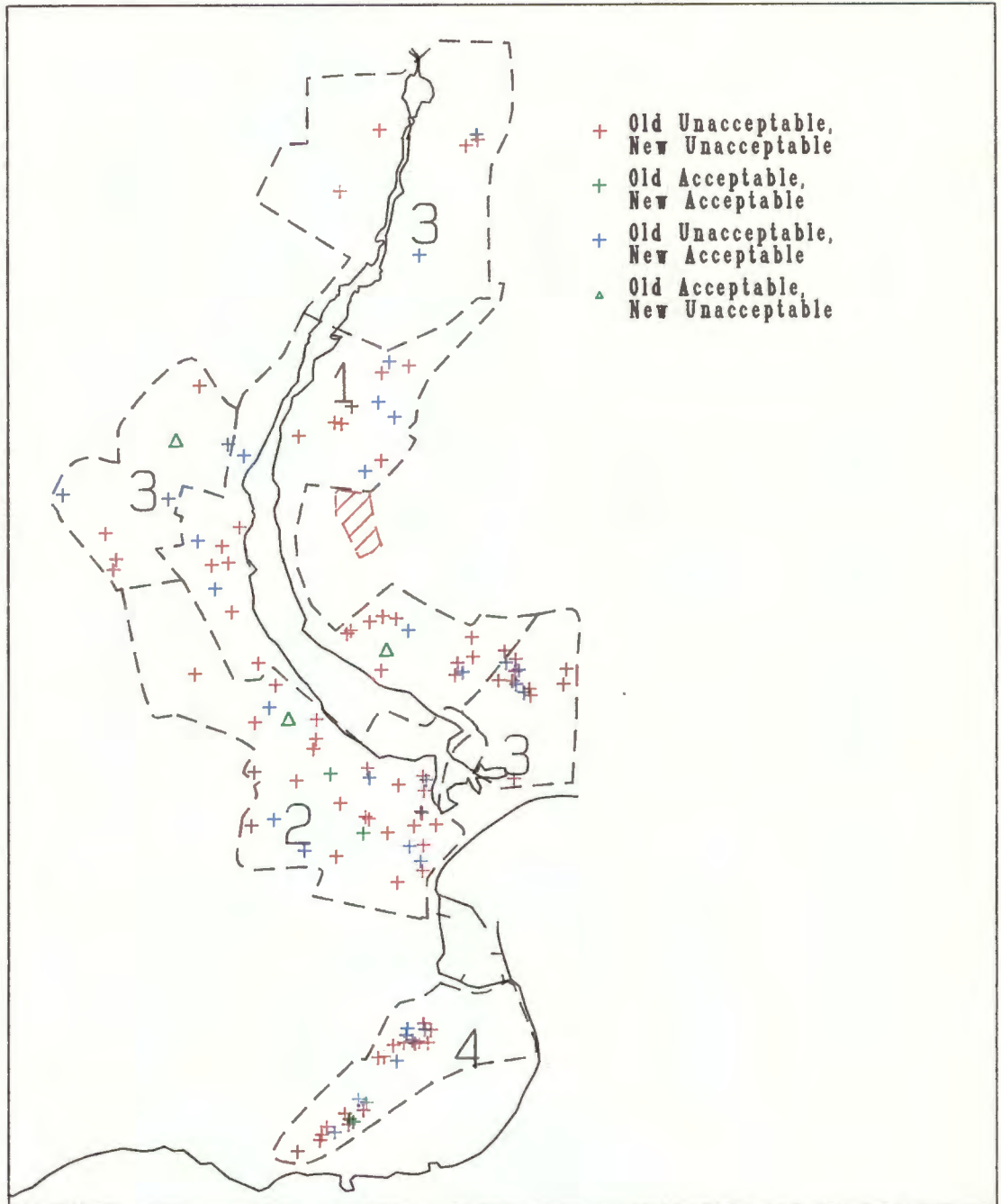


Figure 6.14 The relationship between a negative response to the settlement and the acceptability of the sites.

Table 6.18 The relationship between a negative response to the settlement and the acceptability of the sites.

	1	2	3	4	Total
N, Old No, New No	32%	32%	23%	32%	29%
N, Old Yes, New Yes	0	3%	0	6%	2%
N, Old Yes, New No	1%	1%	1%	0	1%
N, Old No, New Yes	12%	11%	12%	14%	12%

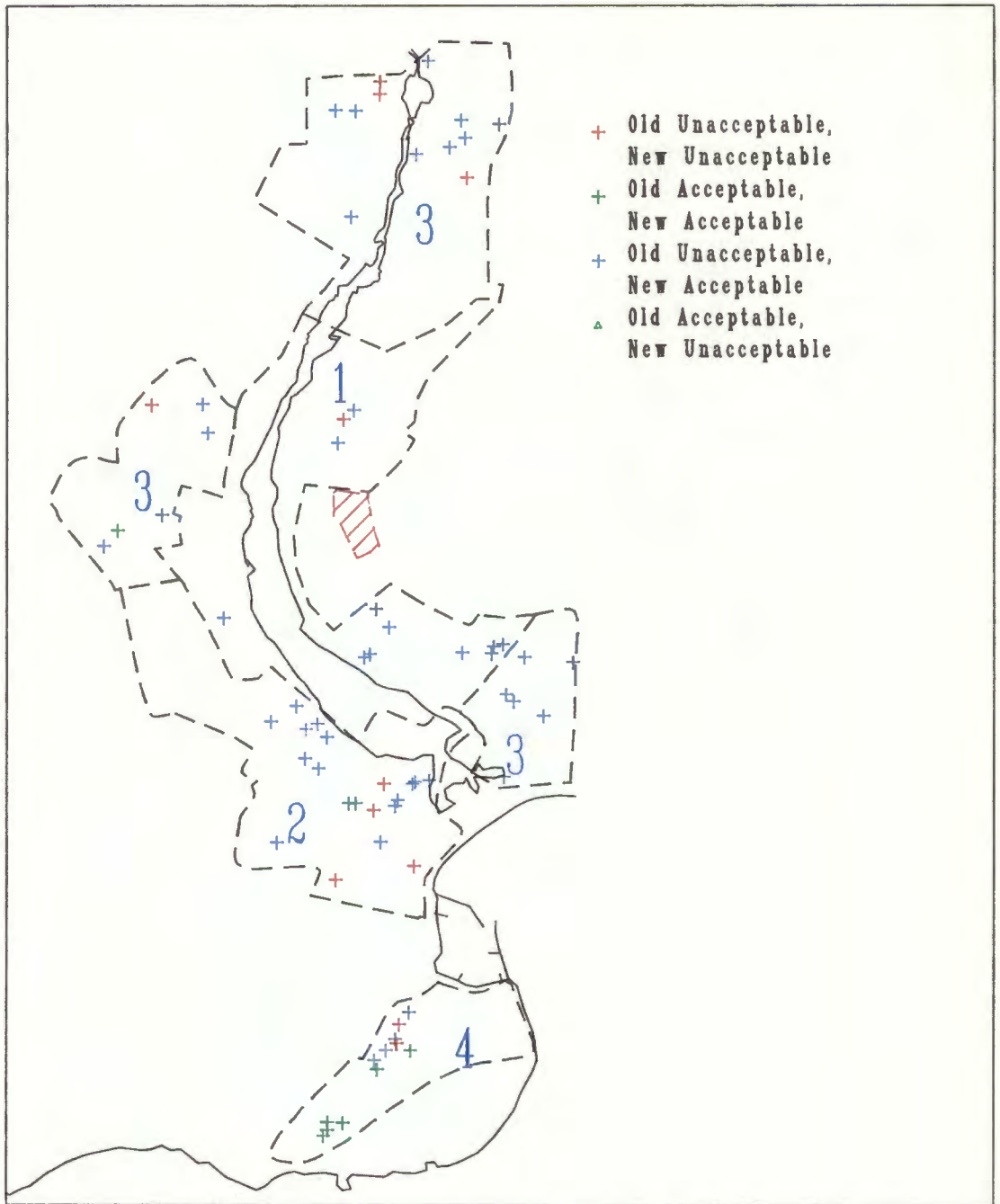


Figure 6.15 The relationship between a positive response to the settlement and the acceptability of the sites.

Table 6.19 The relationship between a positive response to the settlement and the acceptability of the sites.

	1	2	3	4	Total
P, Old No, New No	1%	5%	5%	4%	4%
P, Old No, New Yes	15%	20%	25%	10%	18%
P, Old Yes, New Yes	0	1%	1%	10%	3%
P, Old Yes, New No	0	0	0	0	0

6.6.4 Formal residents' responses to site identification

Respondents were asked to indicate what site or area they would have recommended to the planners. These findings are displayed in Figure 6.16.

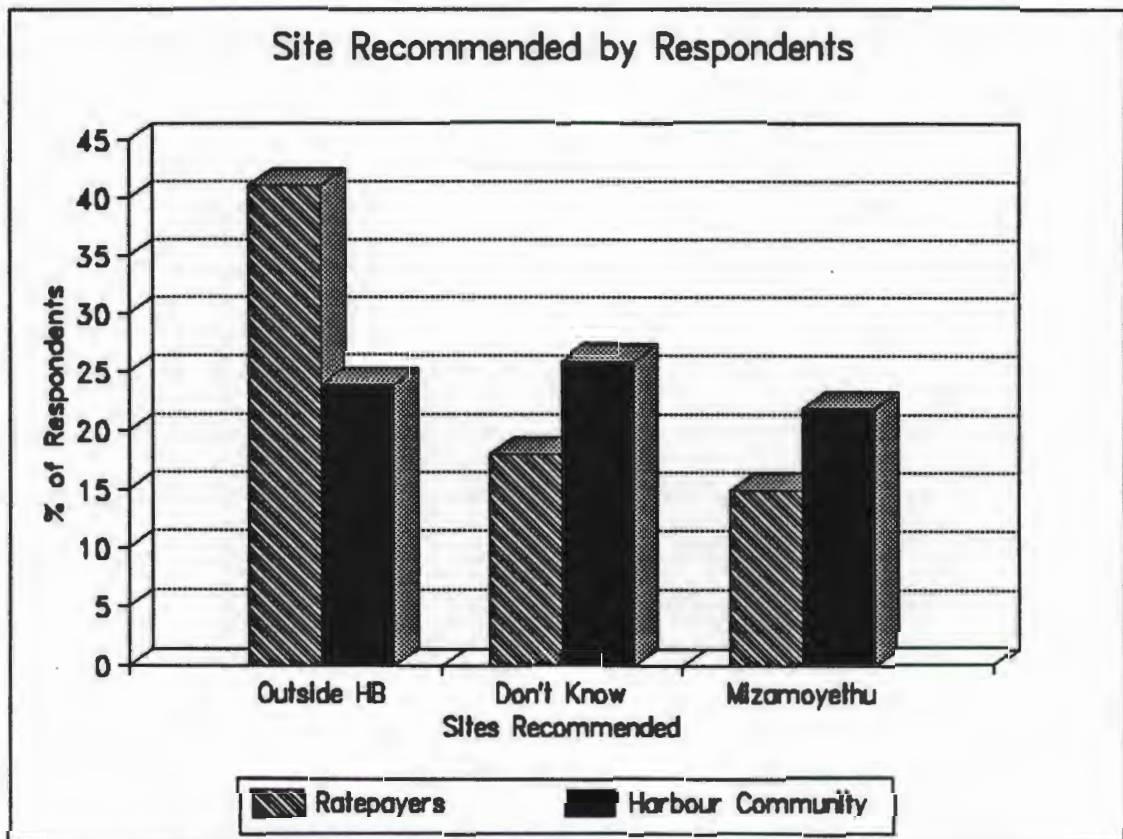


Figure 6.16 Sites recommended by the formal residents.

A large number of the ratepayers felt that the permanent resettlement of the informal settlers should have taken place in a site outside of Hout Bay. Some felt that they were not in a position to give another site or that they did not know what other sites were available. A small number of ratepayers felt that the Mizamoyethu site was acceptable under the circumstances. Other responses from this group were that they should have been settled at another more appropriate site, in Hout Bay or elsewhere. The

responses of the harbour community were quite similar to those of the ratepayers as is indicated in Figure 6.16.

Most respondents who indicated that the settlement should have been developed on a different site felt that a site closer to transport and work opportunities, and which was not on prime land, would have been more appropriate.

It is thus evident that the majority of ratepayers felt that the planners were not successful in their choice of site for the development of Mizamoyethu, and that there were far better options or more appropriate sites that could have been developed. This raises the issue of negotiation in terms of the planning process. If formal residents were asked to respond to the land identification process they probably would have indicated sites other than the WSRSC site that was finally chosen. The planners attempted to consider the many different factors involved in the choice of a site, such as physical attributes; location; and environmental factors (MLH Document, 1991). However, many residents believe that the choice of site was inappropriate, suggesting that the planning process was little more than crisis management. This is discussed in the next chapter on perceptions of the planning process.

It is important to consider how the planners would have dealt with the different options requested by the residents. The majority of formal residents wanted the informal settlers moved out of Hout Bay and yet this was not acceptable in terms of the rights to land and the needs of the informal settlers. This immediately raises the issue of the potential for conflict resolution. Can a situation that is so polarised be successfully negotiated? The planners had very little time to respond to the issue and were under pressure to make a decision. This does not justify the lack of consultation but just reiterates the fact that consultation, negotiation and conflict resolution are complicated and difficult processes which require time and an in-depth understanding of the local context.

6.7 THE ACTION OF HUMAN AGENTS - A RESPONSE TO THE LAND-USE CONFLICT IN HOUT BAY

Having considered the formal residents' responses to the establishment and growth of the informal settlement in Hout Bay, it is now important to consider how they reacted, as human agents, to change and alter their circumstances. The theory section has stressed the importance of both structure and agency in influencing and determining the nature of society and space. Given that the spatial structure of Hout Bay was dramatically altered by the permanent resettlement of the 'squatters' in Hout Bay, the way in which the formal residents reacted to such a development is now explored. What was the nature and form of the action that they adopted in attempting to preserve the locality of Hout Bay as they perceived and valued it? The extent to which their action altered and shaped the outcome of the processes evident in Hout Bay is considered in this section and the mechanisms adopted by the residents of Hout Bay to maintain some control in the decision-making process are examined.

Various action groups were formed in Hout Bay and the Ratepayers Association became a major political vehicle for placing pressure on the authorities. Meetings were held and the ratepayers of Hout Bay were encouraged to act against the development of the informal settlement in the area. The press played a major role in shaping and communicating people's attitudes toward the development of the settlement. This section considers the nature of the action groups formed and the impact of press reports on the Hout Bay community, as well as the broader public.

6.7.1 The development of action groups in Hout Bay

The historical background of the development of the informal settlement in Hout Bay suggests that the group known as the 'traditional squatters' were largely accepted by the broader Hout Bay community. These 'squatters' were settled in unobtrusive sites and consisted mainly of extended family groups (in particular the Disa River group who later became the first group to contest eviction). However from 1988 onwards the original settlements expanded considerably due to the influx of homeless people into

Hout Bay. During this time residents became increasingly aware of the presence of this group of 'squatters', and the socio-economic and environmental impacts that they were having on Hout Bay, particularly the impacts on the beach and the Disa River. Newspaper reports during this time from November 1989 to April 1991 reflect the fears and problems that the residents had with regard to the development of these communities.

As the situation developed, so residents began to feel that they should react to the increasing growth of these settlements and hence various action groups came into being. Human beings display marked patterns of territoriality when development conflicts with their sense of place. As Buttimer (1980b, p 167) states,

When the fundamental values associated with any of these levels of experience are threatened, then protest about the meaning of place may erupt...., they are often not brought to consciousness until they are threatened: normally, they are part of the fabric of everyday life and its taken-for-granted routines.

Hout Bay residents' reaction to the conflict was articulated both in behavioural and legal terms. Preston, Taylor and Hodge's (1983) study on adjustment to hazards found that cognitive adjustments to hazards involve changes in people's awareness of the hazard. In order to cope, political actions may be initiated for compensation, or to modify the conditions themselves. The development of action groups thus represents a coping mechanism for residents in order to attempt to restore control in the decision-making process.

The main voice for the residents was the already established Ratepayers Association of Hout Bay which took it upon itself as a community organisation, to lobby, meet and debate the 'squatter issue'. Other groups which developed in Hout Bay were the Property Rights Association; the Penzance and Hughendon Action Groups; and the Hout Bay Squatters Co-ordinating Committee. The development of these groups and their involvement in and impact upon the planning process is documented by Gawith (1994). The establishment and impact of action groups needs to be analysed beyond the superficial explanations given for socio-political behaviour, focusing on the structural, institutional and contextual factors which contribute to a particular form of

reasoning (Kemp, 1990). Action groups can play a negative role in informing residents as they may spread alarm by magnifying the situation. Damage is both real and psychological and the costs owing to the anticipation of the impact are often well beyond the impact of the actual event (Skaburkis, 1987). The role of human agents in shaping and constraining the processes which exist is a complicated process that cannot be tackled at face value.

In considering the action of these local groups, it is important to consider how many of the formal residents actually became involved in the political lobbying which existed. Were residents concerned enough about the settlement to get involved in public forums?

The attendance of residents at meetings

Residents were asked if they had attended any meetings with regard to the 'squatter issue' and if so, what meetings they had attended. Here, consideration is given to the relationship between those that have attended meetings and have lobbied strongly for the removal of the 'squatters' and the attitudes and perceptions that they have.

The degree to which residents of Hout Bay have attended meetings is important to assess, since those that attended would probably represent the most concerned and possibly the most informed group. Just over half of the ratepayers had attended meetings with regard to the development of the informal settlement. In comparison only 12% of the harbour community had attended meetings (see Table 6.20).

This can be explained in a number of ways. The harbour community may have a sense of lack of power and so could not be bothered to attend meetings which do not represent their community; they may not feel part of the ratepayers or property rights groups and hence did not attend; they may not have known about the meetings; and they may not feel strongly about the issues being discussed (which is already clear from many of the responses they have given in the survey). From the results it seems that the harbour community are far less concerned about the development of

Mizamoyethu than ratepayers and this may be reflected in their lack of attendance of meetings. They may not have had transport to get to the meetings, although many of the meetings took place within the Hangberg community hall (which is situated in the harbour area). Many of the meetings took place at night, and low-income groups generally do not have the resources to be able to attend. Their lack of attendance is most likely due to the fact that they are a politically marginal group.

Figure 6.17 and Table 6.20 indicate the spatial distribution of residents that attended meetings with regard to the 'squatter' issue. From these results it is evident that distance from the settlement has influenced whether residents attended meetings. Those that live closest to the settlement were understandably most anxious about its development and so they were most active in this regard. The siting and planning of the settlement was most relevant to them and therefore felt that they needed access to information, as well as to a platform from where they could voice their concerns. Meetings were the only form of 'consultation' that the ratepayers had access to and also acted as a valuable source of information with regard to the development of the settlement. However, distance from the settlement is not the only factor as a considerable number of ratepayers from the other two zones attended the meetings.

In terms of the relationship between residents' attitudes toward the development of the informal settlement and their attendance at meetings the following was found, see Figure 6.18 and Table 6.21. Residents that were most concerned about the development of Mizamoyethu and that attended meetings were predominantly in zone one; while residents in zone two and three that were strongly concerned about the development of the settlement did not necessarily attend meetings. The map therefore indicates that those closest to the settlement were more prepared to go to meetings about the settlement and this supports the comments made above. This data emphasises the relative absence of the harbour community at these meetings. The harbour community initially were represented by action group, the Hout Bay Squatters Co-ordinating Committee, that pressurised the planners to consider the homeless people in the original sites as well as in the harbour. However, as the process developed the harbour communities needs were marginalised as the crisis regarding

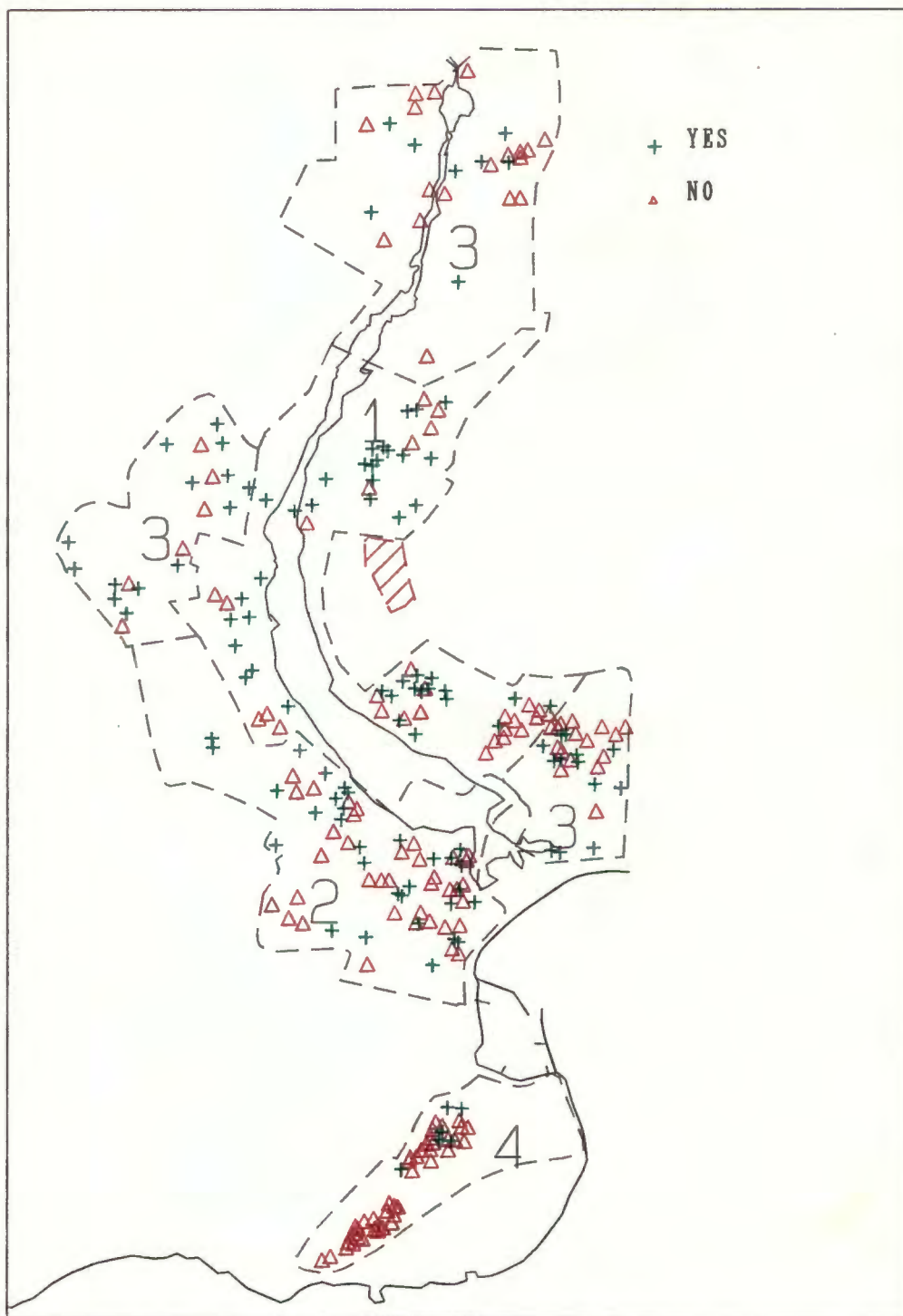


Figure 6.17 The attendance of formal residents at meetings.

Table 6.20 The attendance of formal residents at meetings.

	1	2	3	4	Total
Yes	57%	47%	44%	12%	42%
No	40%	53%	52%	88%	56%

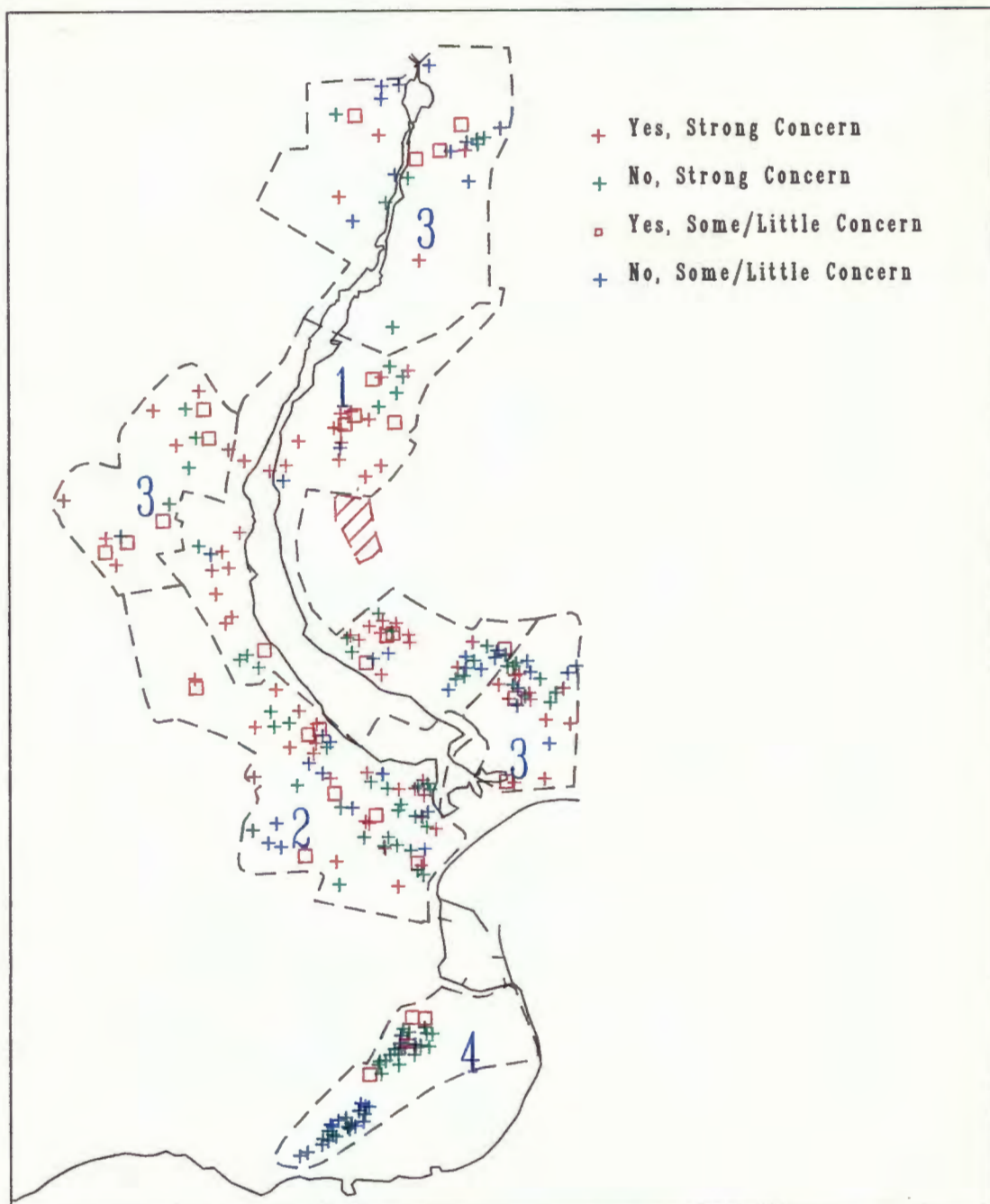


Figure 6.18 The relationship of Mizamoyethu as an issue of concern to formal residents and their attendance at meetings.

Table 6.21 The relationship of Mizamoyethu as an issue of concern to formal residents and their attendance at meetings.

	1	2	3	4	Total
Yes, Strong Concern	43%	31%	25%	6%	28%
No, Strong Concern	23%	33%	25%	44%	30%
Yes, Some/Little Concern	11%	9%	15%	6%	11%
No, Some/Little Concern	15%	15%	24%	40%	22%

the other settlements grew. This reflects the power relationships of the different communities to the then-existing power structures of the state.

Residents were asked to comment on what meetings they had attended. The majority of those that attended meetings, attended the ratepayers' meetings and hence this could be seen as the main platform from where local decisions were discussed and made. The Property Rights Association, which was a more conservative organisation that came across as being strongly against the informal settlers and which espoused and supported views that were highly individualistic and negative were very active in the initial stages of the development of the informal settlement conflict in Hout Bay.

Groups with their own agendas and local concerns were also formed as a response to the location of the settlement close to their residences. Informal splinter groups such as the Penzance residents group emerged as certain people felt that the ratepayers were selling them out. The responses and activities of some of these groups ended up being far more destructive than constructive.

The establishment of the informal settlement in Hout Bay thus led to a whole range of political activity in the community. It was particularly interesting that at the ratepayers election in September 1990, the existing committee was overthrown by members of the Property Rights Association who promised the formal residents that they would work toward getting a fair deal with regard to the 'squatter issue' (see press reports summary in Appendix D). Human agents in Hout Bay were prepared to fight for their rights against the invasion of people from outside. Clearly these action groups represented the needs and views of the ratepayers, and largely excluded the harbour community for reasons discussed above. Hence they provided an unbalanced view of the informal settlement issue and it was these attitudes that were transferred back to the Hout Bay community, and to the South African community at large through the press.

The most constructive and representative forum that developed and which is now centrally involved in the future development of the informal settlement, is the Hout Bay

Liaison Committee. This committee is made up of representatives from all the various communities (the ratepayers, the harbour community, Hout Bay Heights and the civic association of Mizamoyethu). It has a constitution that gives all parties equal representation and which also states that no decisions can be made by the committee unless there is consensus and a mandate from each constituency. This committee has been in action since March 1992 and has been successful in negotiating solutions to the issues that have developed with regard to the future development of the site. The Cape Provincial Administration, which acts as the local authority in Hout Bay, and is responsible for the planning of the settlement, acts in an observer capacity on the committee. This has led to far greater co-operation between the planners and the broader Hout Bay community. Some of the experiences of working on this committee are documented at the end of this dissertation. Observations from these meetings reflect the important role of this committee as an active agent of social and spatial change in Hout Bay.

6.7.2 The impact and influence of press reports

Another very important vehicle for distributing information and for influencing residents' perceptions and attitudes toward the informal settlement was (and still is) the press. As Burgess (1990, p 139) suggests, "the media industry is participating in a complex, cultural process through which environmental meanings are produced and consumed." She indicates that it is important to consider "how class, gender, ethnicity, and locality affect the ways in which media texts are produced and consumed" (Burgess, 1990, p 157). The press reports on Hout Bay in the *Cape Times* and the *Argus* from May 1989, prior to the development of the informal settlement, through to March 1993 were analysed. In reading through the press reports, the powerful role the media plays in shaping and influencing the outcome of conflict resolution becomes clear.

The press reports were analysed in a number of ways. The number of reports on the informal settler issue in each month were recorded; the length of the reports; what the headings were; the general content of the report; and whether they were neutral

articles, sympathetic to the informal settlers or negative about the issue. Those who were most frequently quoted in the reports were also documented. This data was summarised and is presented in table form in Appendix D

A summary of the findings are given in Figure 6.19.

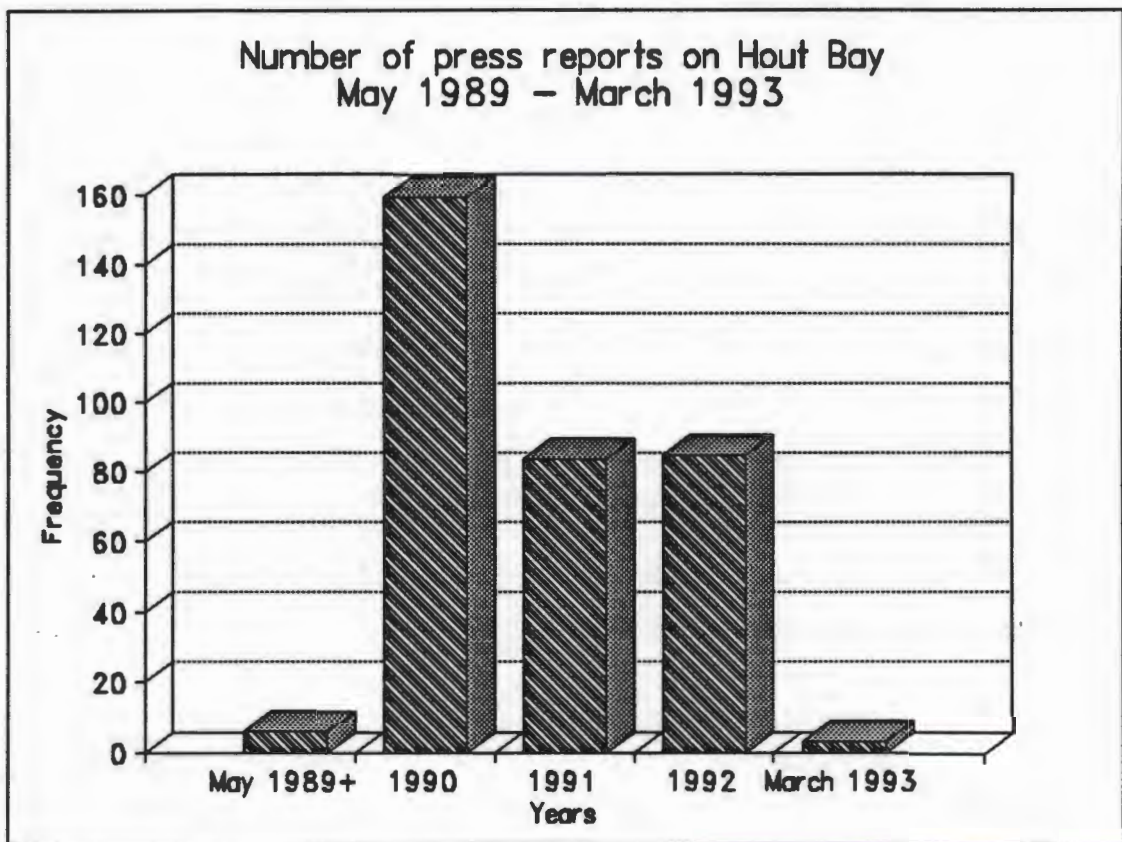


Figure 6.19 A summary of the number of press reports on the informal settler issue.

The month that had the highest peak of articles was October 1992, with 34 reports. Many of these articles were letters to the press, where Hout Bay residents were expressing concern about the future growth of the settlement and the removal of trees. A high number of articles at this time were in response to the future development and growth of the site; the accommodation of the excess, unregistered people; and uncertainty with regard to the planning and development of the new phases. This is

significant because this is the same time period during which the interviews for this study were undertaken. The next highest month was August 1990, which consisted mostly of press reports. This was related to the process of site identification; the eviction of 'squatters' from private land next to Princess Road; the incident of a car bomb being thrown at a Hout Bay motorist from the Princess Bush settlement; and the development of the Property Rights Association. Other months that peaked with over 27 articles were December 1990, June 1990 and January 1991 which are all related to the identification of land and the resettlement of the 'squatters' in Hout Bay.

In terms of the press, 1990 was the most active year with 159 press reports regarding the issue in Hout Bay being published in the *Cape Times* and the *Argus*, followed by 1992 with 85 and 1993 with 84 (see Figure 6.19). The above figures indicate the high profile that this issue carried in the Cape Town Metropolitan Area and the extent to which it was covered in the press. However the media, as is to be expected with the negative reporting that is often experienced in this country, only tended to cover the issues when there were major flare-ups in Hout Bay. During the period over which the survey was done, there were 15 months that had less than two reports about Hout Bay. Hence the press do not give a consistent or balanced view of the development of the informal settlement in Hout Bay.

The table below indicates the division of reports into three categories: pragmatic (neutral) reports; sympathetic reports (to both parties); and negative reports.

Table 6.22 Summary of the analysis of the nature of the press reports on Hout Bay.

Year	Sympathetic	Pragmatic	Negative
May 1989	3	3	0
1990	63	44	55
1991	26	18	40
1992	18	14	52
March 1993	1	2	0
Total	111	81	147

The above results indicate that the press covered the problems of the homeless people in Hout Bay, and the consequences of them 'squatting' on the beach in a far more positive manner than they covered the resettlement process and the subsequent development of Mizamoyethu. The total figures reflect the negative attitudes of the ratepayers to the settlement overall, and the extent to which the press represented this group's claims. This has serious implications because press reports not only impact on the perceptions of residents living in an area, but they often affect those outside the area far more, as they cannot balance the reports they read with actual lived experience. This has very serious consequences in terms of property prices in the valley, as well as impacting on the stereotypes and misconceptions people have with regard to such a development. Some examples of the very negative reporting of the Hout Bay conflict are given in Appendix D.

The estate agents of Hout Bay were so concerned about the negative publicity Hout Bay was receiving in the press (which they believed was affecting the property market) that they employed a journalist to write positive articles about the area and ensured that these articles were published. One such article was the large report which was published in October 1992 stating that Hout Bay had one of the lowest crime rates in the country.

Another important observation of the press reports is that the harbour community's concerns with regard to the development of the informal settlement have largely been omitted. The press reports cover the fears and concerns of the white ratepayer group, emphasising the socio-economic impacts of the informal settlers on the middle- to upper-income residents of Hout Bay. This suggests that the press tends to support the status quo. An article from a more radical newspaper, *The People's Express Newspaper*, September 1990, painted a very different picture of the informal settlement issue in Hout Bay. This article was possibly imbalanced on the side of the informal settlers, ignoring the fact that the formal residents also have rights. However, it did raise a number of other issues not mentioned in the bulk of the *Argus* and *Cape Times* newspaper reports. Newspaper articles should attempt to cover the views of all the parties involved as objectively as possible. Positive developments in the area

should be reported. A report on the work of the Liaison Committee would go a long way in breaking down many of the negative perceptions that exist. However, it seems that it is the conflict and aggression between the two groups that is considered, creating a strong sense of 'us' and 'them' (or 'insiders' and 'outsiders').

Many of the titles of reports reinforce the stereotypes that exist. The following titles reflect a certain group of people's perceptions: "UDF Occupation Campaign Targets Hout Bay" (*Argus*, 19 July 1990); "Squatters spark Hout Bay fear of drop in house prices" (*Argus*, 1 June, 1990); "ANC Flag has Hout Bay in a flutter" (*Argus*, 2 June, 1990). They focus on the conflict rather than the resolution of problems, for example "Squatters challenge residents" (*Argus*, 23 June 1990); "Ceasefire in squatter war" (*Cape Times*, 4 July, 1990); "Squatting likened to Iraqi invasion" (*Argus*, 7 August, 1990); "Squatters: Tensions rise as government fails" (*Cape Times*, 13 August, 1990). The choice of language clearly influences people's perceptions; note the use of aggressive, conflictual terms in the above titles. The press has a responsibility to report the reaction of people to certain events. However, it also has the responsibility of balancing these views with others that represent the attitudes of other parties involved. In analysing the press reports, it was found that certain groups were frequently quoted, whereas others were left out. This also leads to a biased opinion.

There were reports that considered the positive aspects of the development of the informal settlement. Reports such as "Squatter Misery" (*Cape Times*, 28 December, 1990); "Hout Bay opens heart to plight of 600 homeless" (*Argus*, 28 December, 1990); and "Hout Bay could be a model solution" (*Argus*, 3 June, 1992) do represent the other side of the story. However, these were few and far between relative to the negative titles.

The press reports follow events in Hout Bay but they often do not contextualise them. They focus on crime events in Hout Bay and residents of Mizamoyethu are implicated in these crime reports. In some cases Mizamoyethu residents have been responsible for crime in Hout Bay. However, because of stereotypes that are developed, people tend to associate criminal characteristics with all the residents living there. If people

read a report which stated "Car full of stolen goods found in Durbanville" (a predominantly white, northern suburb of Cape Town) they probably would not automatically assume that all residents of Durbanville are criminals. However, if residents read "Stolen Goods traced to Mizamoyethu", this generally reinforces the perception that crime has increased in Hout Bay because of the informal settlement, and that none of the informal settlers are to be trusted.

The politicisation of the Mizamoyethu community is also emphasised in the press, and this creates fear in the surrounding community. However, this is also not seen in context, since most black communities in South Africa at present, are highly politicized.

The press has acted as an agent in the development of the Hout Bay conflict, and must be held partly responsible for some of the misconceptions that have occurred. This issue is a common problem all over the world, as noted in the recent criticism of *Time* magazines coverage of both the Somalian and Bosnian conflicts. The role that the press plays in influencing people's perceptions and attitudes cannot be underestimated.

The above sections have considered the action residents have taken with regard to the development of the informal settlement. The number of residents who feel so strongly about the informal settlement issue that they would like to move away from Hout Bay, is now considered.

6.7.3 Moving away from Hout Bay - a response to the development of Mizamoyethu

Residents were asked if they had considered moving away from Hout Bay and if so why (see Table 6.23).

Table 6.23 The number of formal residents wishing to move away from Hout Bay.

	Those that want to move from Hout Bay
Ratepayers	20%
Harbour Community	2%

These figures indicate that a reasonably high number of residents wish to move away from Hout Bay. The results support the fact that, because of their socio-economic position and the perceived lack of choices available as a result of planning in the apartheid era, the harbour community are a far less mobile group. This group is also less concerned about the informal settlement per se, and thus do not wish to relocate as a result of this issue.

The reasons given for wanting to move away from Hout Bay were as follows: because of the 'squatters'; for better schools; personal reasons; if the 'squatters' get worse; general deterioration of the quality of life in Hout Bay; the rates and taxes and cost of living in Hout Bay are too high.

The spatial representation of the data, see Figure 6.20 and Table 6.24 indicate that distance from the settlement impacts on whether residents are considering moving away from Hout Bay because of the informal settlers. A number of these residents indicated that they would like to move away from the area, but that they would not be able to sell their houses for a fair price and hence have to continue to live next door to the informal settlers.

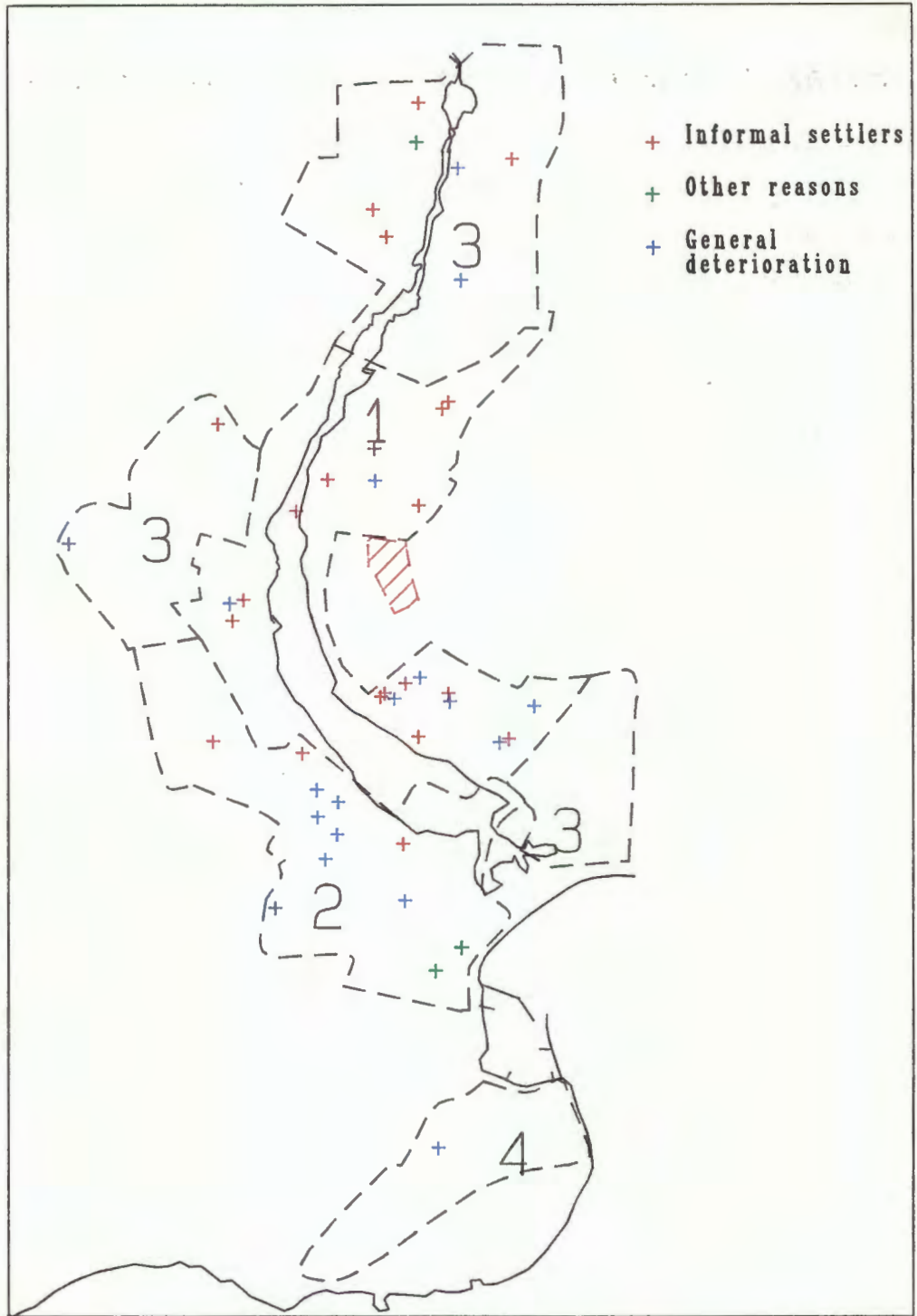


Figure 6.20 Residents wishing to move away from Hout Bay.

Table 6.24 Residents wishing to move away from Hout Bay.

	1	2	3	4	T
Informal settlers	19%	4%	7%	0	8%
Deterioration	9%	9%	4%	2%	7%
Other reasons	0	3%	2%	0	1%

6.8 CONCLUSION

The response of residents to the development of an informal settlement in Hout Bay are complex and multi-faceted. It is evident that distance from the settlement influences residents' perceptions to a certain extent. However, other factors such as socio-economic position, worldviews and prejudices of individuals, and the locality of Hout Bay influence the way in which people have reacted to the establishment of the settlement. The influence of action groups and the impact of the press cannot be under-estimated. The next chapter investigates residents' perceptions of the planning process.

THE CONCEPT

The concept of the "state" is a complex one, and its meaning has changed over time. In the past, it often referred to a geographical area or a political entity. Today, it is more commonly understood as a political organization that exercises authority over a territory and its inhabitants. The state is a key element of modern political systems, and its role is central to the functioning of society.

The state is a political organization that exercises authority over a territory and its inhabitants. It is a key element of modern political systems, and its role is central to the functioning of society. The state is a political organization that exercises authority over a territory and its inhabitants. It is a key element of modern political systems, and its role is central to the functioning of society.

STATE

CHAPTER 7

PERCEPTIONS OF THE PLANNING PROCESS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

In considering the response of residents to the development of an informal settlement in the area, it is important to consider how they perceive the planning process. Urban life is characterised by conflict in which planning plays a central role. As Johnston (1984, p 270) indicates, "some of this takes place in political arenas, where individuals and groups fight the proposals of planners, of other bureaucrats and of individual firms, proposals which are perceived as potential sources of negative externalities and environmental deterioration." According to Potter (1985, p 241) "recognition of the aspirations and perceptions of the general populace is urgently required, along with an increasing emphasis on individual and community participation in the planning process" if planning is to meet the needs of the communities involved. It is thus important to consider how the residents of Hout Bay felt about the planning approaches adopted in the development of Mizamoyethu.

The Hout Bay formal residents' response to the planning process reflects not only their attitude toward the way in which the land-use conflict has been managed, but also alludes to their attitudes toward the settlement in general. Residents' perceptions of the planning process will be strongly influenced by the extent to which they believe their needs and expectations have been accommodated in the solution of housing the urban poor in Hout Bay. As Mansfield (1992, p 378) indicates, "the kind of development process adopted has a major influence on the capability of the social system to adapt to these changes." For a detailed account of the planning process that unfolded in the establishment of the informal settlement in Hout Bay, see Gawith (1994).

The focus here is on residents' expectations of the state. The state has had the responsibility of resolving the housing crisis which developed, and this is analysed in terms of the structuralist interpretation of the role of the state in maintaining the status quo within capitalist society. The process of distancing (residential segregation) has been overridden by an economically powerless but politically powerful group, who have altered and shaped the residential patterning of Hout Bay. The situation has arisen as a result of the transformation of South African society. Disadvantaged groups such as informal settlers, who were formally marginalised, now hold a considerable amount of power (partly because they represent the injustices of the past that now need to be redressed). Other reasons as to why informal settlers have gained power are discussed in chapter 3. The state attempted to resolve the crisis by meeting the needs of all the groups concerned. However, in favouring the economically less powerful group, power relations have developed which go against the expected relationship between the state and the elite group, which in the South African context of the past were white, middle- to upper-income citizens, favoured both for their socio-economic position as well as their racial status.

It is important to explore how the formal residents of Hout Bay felt about the planning process, particularly in relation to the level of participation afforded to them. This section therefore considers residents' perceptions of the planning process; the level of participation and consultation of residents during the planning process; whom they felt were responsible for the planning process; attitudes toward the land identification process; and their expectations of the planners and the state.

7.2 FORMAL RESIDENTS' OPINION OF THE PLANNING PROCESS

The surrounding community were asked to comment on how successful they felt the planning process had been thus far.

The Hout Bay public have severely criticized the planning process. This is reflected in the residents' reactions and responses and in press reports. The findings are represented in Table 7.1 and Table 7.2. Extreme anger toward and mistrust of the planning authorities has developed. The general feeling in Hout Bay is that the planners sold out the Hout Bay community for political gain. They believe that this happened because Hout Bay does not have its own local government and hence is not adequately represented at government decision making level. This is clearly reflected in residents' responses to the need for local government as an issue of concern (see Table 5.4).

Residents felt that the planners responsible for the development did not live in the community and so could make certain decisions because they would not be directly impacted upon by these decisions and they would not have to live with the long term consequences of the planning process. They also felt that because the planners were from outside the area, they did not understand the complexities of Hout Bay and thus were not in a position to make appropriate decisions. This highlights the importance of considering the specifics of locality when attempting to resolve conflict in an area. As Buttimer (1980b, p 170) states:

the language used to describe the residents' perspectives on place is still, by and large, the language of the Newtonian world – people, activities and things contained within place – whereas the language used to plan the economic and technological horizons of place has been profoundly influenced by Einsteinian conceptions of topological space, time and process.

Certain general planning principles do hold, but planners need to consider the nature of place when trying to find solutions which seek to optimise the conditions in any particular environment. According to Potter (1985) the general framework of planning must suit local socio-economic, cultural, and institutional circumstances. To what extent do the formal residents of Hout Bay believe that the planners have responded to the above conditions?

Respondents were asked to state their opinion of the planning process thus far. They ranked the process on a scale ranging from very bad to excellent.

Table 7.1 Formal residents' opinion of the planning process.

Residents' opinion of the planning process	Ratepayers	Harbour Community
Very bad	21%	14%
Bad	45%	46%
Acceptable	24%	36%
Good	5%	4%

The above results indicate that most of the formal residents of Hout Bay found the planning process to be unacceptable. The reasons why the process is viewed so negatively are discussed below. Consideration is also given to the underlying factors which result in residents having negative opinions. Was the planning process that bad, or do residents perceive it as being unacceptable because they did not get the solutions that they wanted in a system that had hitherto favoured their needs?

It seems that people may only feel that there has been adequate planning and consultation when the group concerned achieves or gets what it is demanding. In the case of Hout Bay, the two main conflict groups' expectations are opposed and hence decision-makers would have found it very difficult to please both groups simultaneously. The process of negotiation and conflict resolution is very difficult when the requirements of different groups are so polarised. According to Gawith (1994), there are many areas in which the planning process in Hout Bay has been unsuccessful, particularly in terms of the environmental considerations of the planning process and also in terms of the level of participatory planning. However, the surrounding community are tending to react negatively to the planning process largely for reasons which support their own agendas. Their negative response is problematic, since as Buttimer (1980b, p 174) suggests, "experience shows that any solution that people do not consider to be 'their idea' will be resented, avoided, or rendered ludicrous over time."

It is often difficult to decide what constitutes good planning. Residents have their own needs and expectations and based on these, they will decide what constitutes a good

planning decision. Clearly the ratepayers view the planning process more negatively than the harbour community and this reflects the general attitudinal differences between the two groups toward the informal settlement.

The spatial representation of the data, Figure 7.1 and Table 7.2 indicates that those closest to the settlement are most negative toward the planning process. This is to be expected since this group has been most impacted upon by the decisions made in the planning process. This however is only in the 'very bad' category. There are a significant number of residents in the other zones who also feel that the planning process has been 'bad'. Hence residents' attitudes are shaped not only by spatial proximity. It is interesting to note that the same percentage of residents throughout all the zones indicated that the planning process had been good. Residents of zone two found the process most acceptable and this reflects the fact that, because of the planning decisions, the 'squatters' were moved away from the old sites which impinged dramatically on those living in zone two, thereby improving their situation.

From the results displayed in Figure 7.2 and Table 7.3 it is evident that those that were against the development of the settlement tended to perceive the planning process more negatively. If people's attitudes toward the establishment of the settlement are more negative, this is then reflected in their attitude toward the planning process. They are thus judging the planning process in terms of how it has addressed their concerns, rather than being able to consider the success of the project objectively. This is to be expected since people's perceptions are affected by their attitudes and beliefs and clearly the planning process is inextricably linked to residents' response to the process as a whole. They are viewing the planning process in relation to their own needs.

However, those that were positive about the settlement saw the planning process as both good and bad. This indicates that there are problems with the planning and management of the settlement and that it is not only the residents' attitudes toward the settlement that are affecting their response to the planning process. These findings are supported by the spatial analysis of the relationship between the planning process

and the response of residents to the decision to settle the homeless people permanently in Hout Bay (see Figure B.10 and Table B.10 in Appendix B).

Consideration of the spatial analysis of the relationship between attitude toward the planning process and acceptability of the new site, Figure 7.3 and Table 7.4 indicates that although a negative view of the planning process is linked to the unacceptable nature of the new site, there are a significant number of residents who find the new site to be acceptable, but have indicated that the planning process has been poor. Although negativity toward the concept of the development of an informal settlement in Hout Bay does impact on residents' perceptions of the planning process, it is not the only factor which causes people to respond negatively to the planning process (which supports the contentions made above). It is thus important to consider what aspects of the planning process are unsatisfactory.

It is also clear from the above spatial patterning of data in Figure 7.1, Table 7.2; Figure 7.2, Table 7.3; and Figure 7.3, Table 7.4 that distance impacts, to a certain extent, on residents' perceptions, but that once again it is not the only determining factor. It is interesting to note that, within the harbour community, residents are quite polarised in their views toward the planning process and this could reflect the difference between the two sub-groups in the harbour community, namely the working class group and the middle class residents of Hout Bay Heights.

The demographic characteristics which are seen to influence residents' attitudes toward the planning of the settlement are given in the table below (Table 7.5). Once again the residents that have lived in Hout Bay for 6 – 10 years are the most negative. They have been exposed to a high degree of change, and because of their stage in the life-cycle and their socio-economic characteristics, they are the group that feel they have the most to defend. The fact that residents with a high level of education found the planning process to be most unacceptable, indicates that they are possibly more aware of the possibilities and opportunities for good planning and hence are able to be more critical of the present planning process.

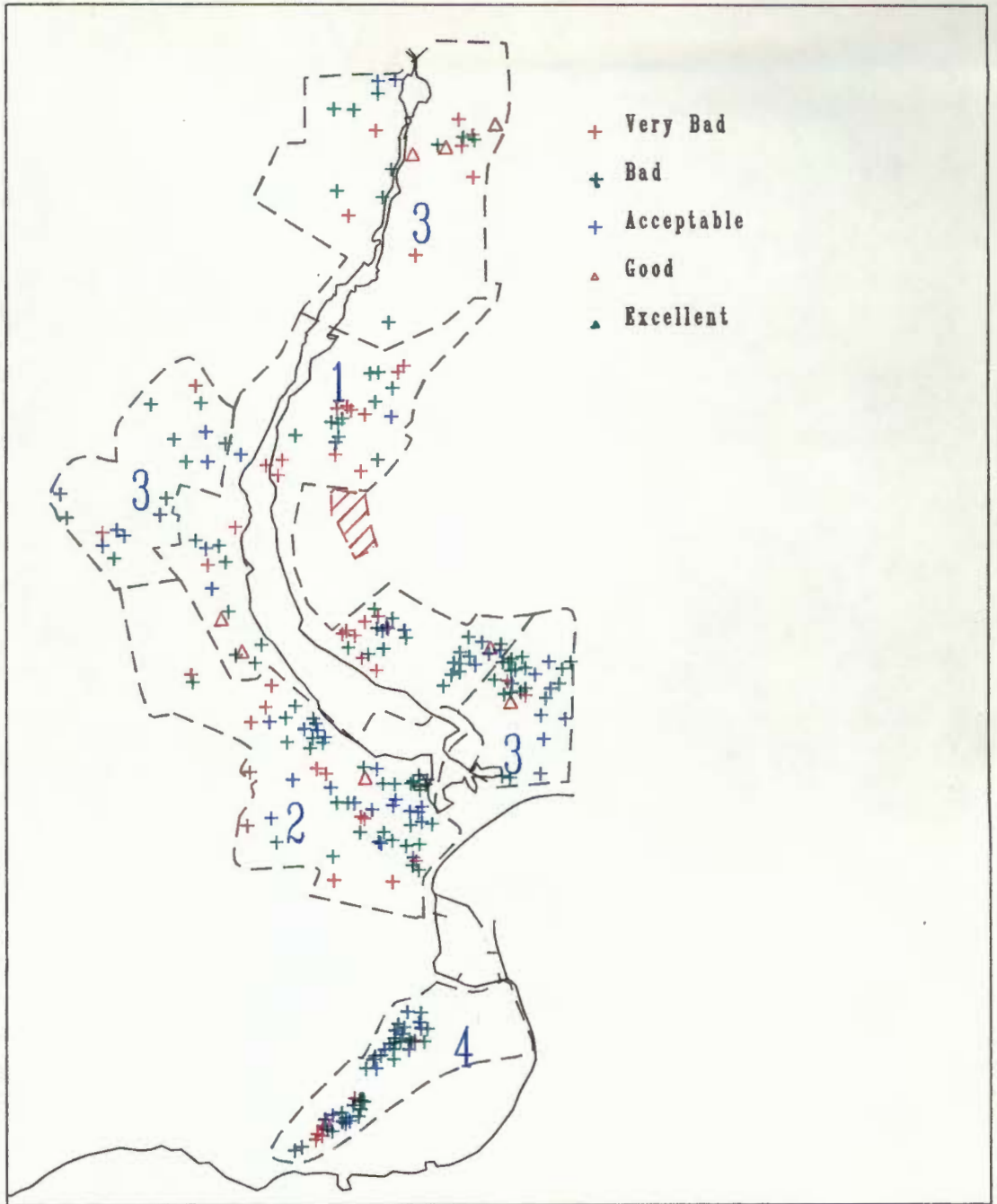


Figure 7.1 Formal residents' opinions of the planning process.

Table 7.2 Formal residents' opinions of the planning process.

	1	2	3	4	Total
Very Bad	29%	19%	15%	14%	20%
Bad	45%	41%	48%	46%	46%
Acceptable	19%	31%	24%	36%	27%
Good	5%	4%	4%	4%	4%
Excellent	0	0	1%	0	0

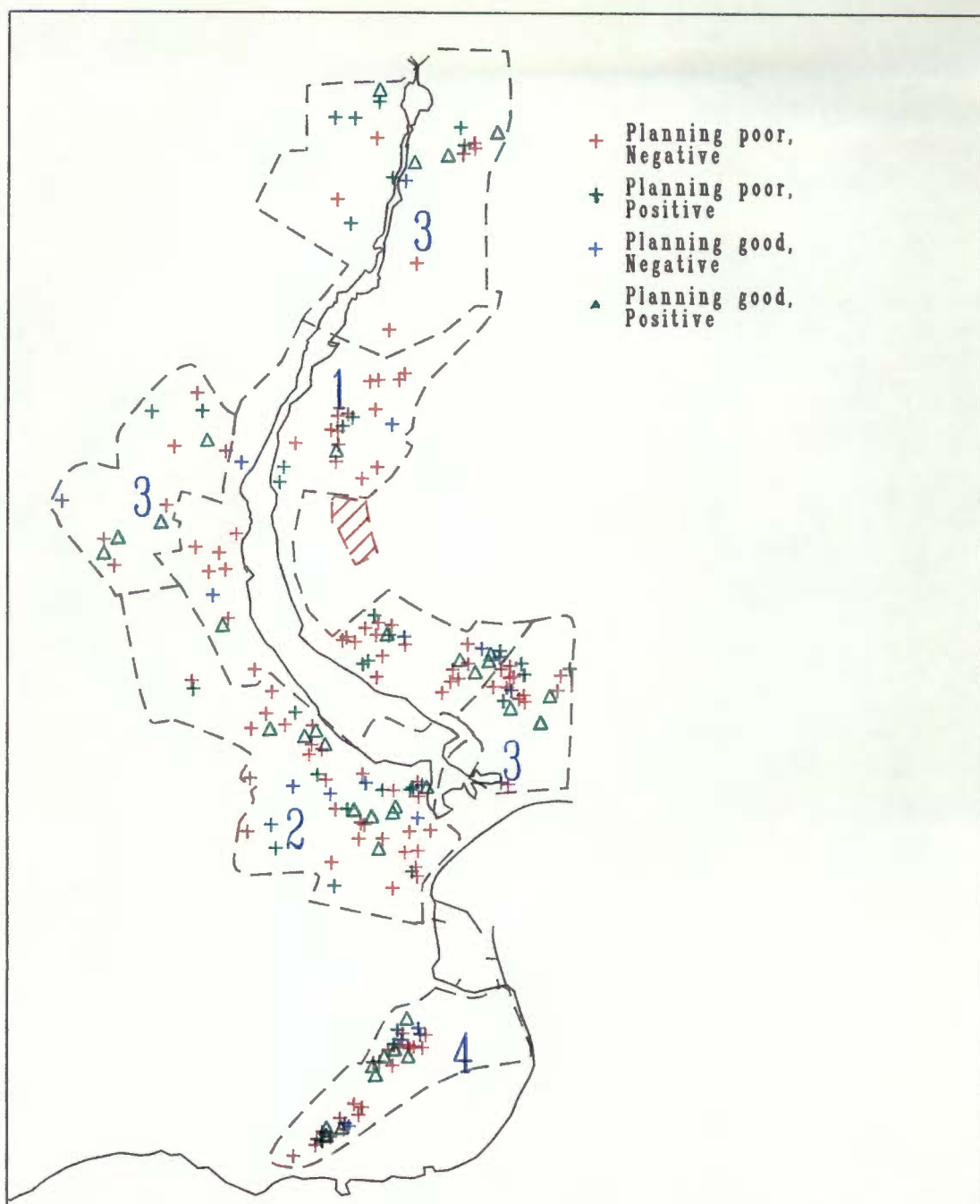


Figure 7.2 The relationship between residents' opinions of the planning process and their response to the development of Mizamoyethu.

Table 7.3 The relationship between residents' opinions of the planning process and their response to the development of Mizamoyethu.

	1	2	3	4	Total
Planning Poor, Negative	49%	395	33%	42%	41%
Planning Poor, Positive	12%	13%	19%	6%	13%
Planning Good, Negative	8%	8%	4%	10%	7%
Planning Good, Positive	9%	13%	15%	18%	13%

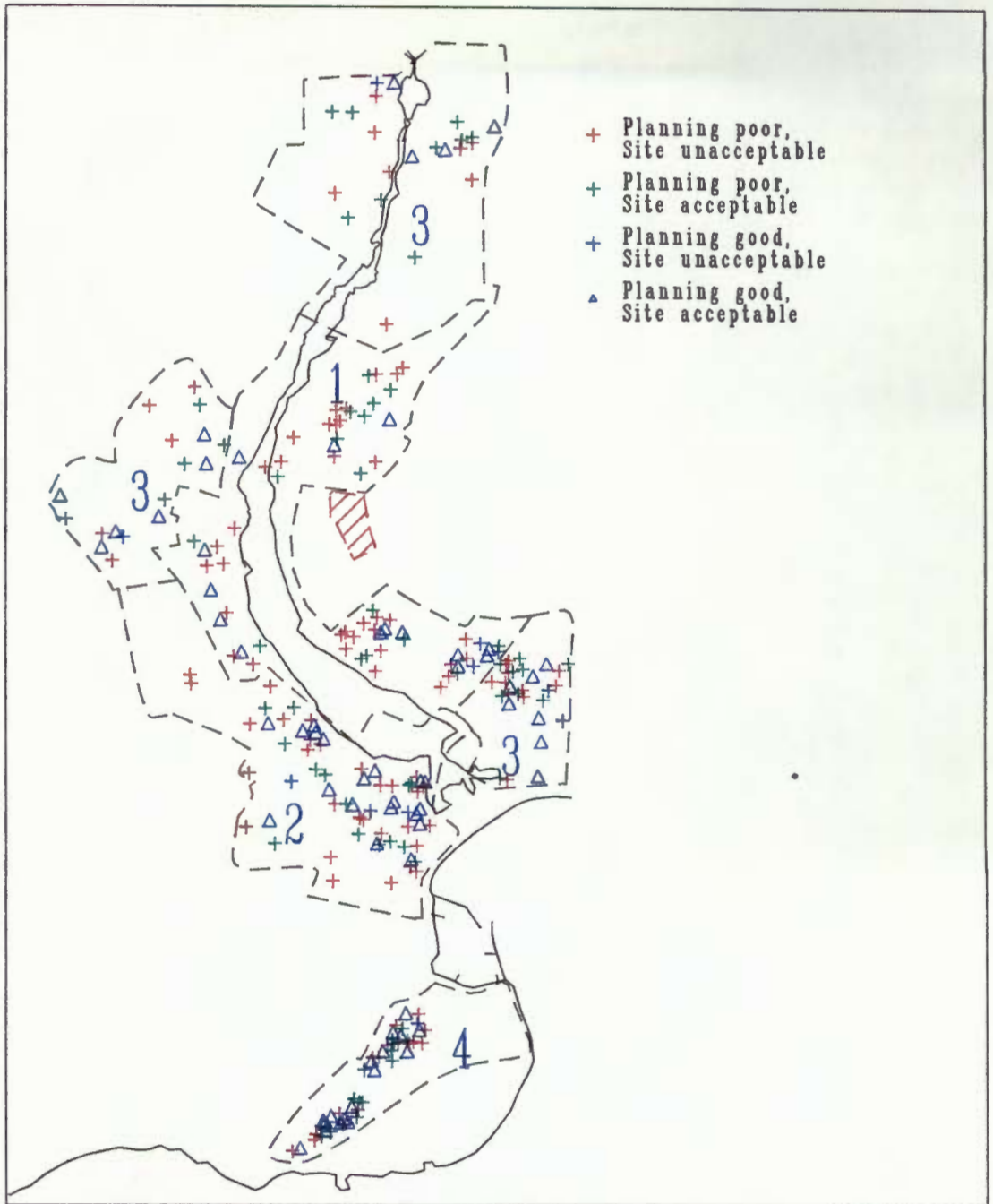


Figure 7.3 The relationship between residents' opinions of the planning process and the acceptability of the new site.

Table 7.4 The relationship between residents' opinions of the planning process and the acceptability of the new site.

	1	2	3	4	Total
Planning Poor, Unacceptable	47%	39%	32%	34%	38%
Planning Poor, Acceptable	21%	17%	31%	24%	23%
Planning Good, Unacceptable	4%	5%	5%	4%	47%
Planning Good, Acceptable	19%	25%	23%	34%	24%

In terms of the harbour community, middle aged residents that had been in Hout bay for the longest time were the most negative about the planning process. The lower-income harbour residents have found the planning process unacceptable as it has not addressed the needs of their community.

Table 7.5 Relationship between demographics and formal residents' opinion of the planning process.

	Ratepayers Planning Bad	Harbour Community Planning Bad
Age	Older residents	Middle aged
Gender	Males	Females
Education	Degree	*
Length of time	6 – 10 years	10 + years
Landownership	Landowners slightly more	*

From the above discussion it is evident that many of the residents of Hout Bay feel that the planning process has been unsatisfactory. The following section considers the reasons why the residents were dissatisfied with the planning process. Many of the complaints they raise are justifiable as shown in Gawith's paper (1993).

7.2.1 Reasons why residents were dissatisfied with the planning process

The reasons given for respondents' dissatisfaction with the planning process were as follows. Of the ratepayers, 28% did not respond, 28% felt that there was no consultation of the Hout Bay community and 10% were satisfied as they felt the planners did the best they could do under the present circumstances. Some of the other reasons given were that there was no control of the development of the site; no proper research had been done and that planners had adopted an approach of crisis management; the planners had broken their promises as the site was to now be extended; the planning decisions had lowered the price of property in Hout Bay; the concept of mixing low-income residents with a high-income community was

unacceptable; and that the needs of the formal residents, particularly the harbour community, had been ignored. Some of the positive reasons given were that facilities were well planned; the Mizamoyethu residents had been properly consulted and hence the planning process was good; the planning was good because now at least the 'squatters' were all in one place and the planners could not be held responsible as they were powerless in the larger scale political powerplay that was going on.

Again, it is important to question what is meant by a successful and acceptable planning process in a situation as in Hout Bay, where both groups could not possibly have all their needs and concerns simultaneously addressed. The reasons given by the ratepayers reflect their concern for maintaining the sense of place of Hout Bay and for having some control of the process of socio-economic distancing which they have become accustomed to under the apartheid, capitalist planning of the past. Thus the reasons for criticising the planning of the settlement are related to the ratepayers' objection to change; the realistic and acceptable concerns they had with regard to the lack of consultation with all communities; as well as the perceived inappropriateness of the given site. Potter (1985, p 239) suggests that "what is required first and foremost is the development of appropriate planning systems and policies that afford the opportunity for people to become involved in the decision-making processes affecting their lives, and which thereby encourage genuine planner-public interaction." It is evident that the formal residents do not perceive that the above approach has been adopted.

By considering further aspects of the planning process, weaknesses in the development approach adopted become apparent. In exploring the level of community participation in the planning process, it is important to consider how informed the residents were about the decisions being made. This was achieved by investigating whether the surrounding residents were aware of who was involved in the planning process.

7.2.2 The decision-makers involved in the planning process

Residents were asked to indicate who they believed were responsible for making decisions with regard to the informal settlement. This was done in order to assess how informed residents of Hout Bay were in terms of the resettlement process. The ratepayers and the harbour community responded in a very similar manner. The findings are given in Table 7.6. One fifth of both groups did not know who was making the decisions, which indicates that not all residents were informed on this issue. This may also be due to a lack of interest of these residents to the development of Mizamoyethu.

The majority of residents indicated that the WCRSC was responsible for the decisions. The government also received a high rating. The ratepayers indicated that the CPA had a role in the decision making process. Some of the members of the harbour community stated that white people were responsible for the decisions being made. Certain ratepayers indicated that the ratepayers association was responsible for the decisions.

Table 7.6 Residents' perceptions of who was responsible for the decisions made with regard to the informal settlement.

	Ratepayers	Harbour Community
WSRSC	36%	44%
Don't Know	20%	24%
Government	19%	18%
CPA	24%	2%
Whites	0%	14%

It is interesting to note the differences in perceptions of the two groups. The harbour community were virtually unaware of the CPA's involvement in the process. The lack of information in terms of the harbour community is probably related to their lack of involvement and representation at meetings, as well as their disinterest in the whole

process because of the inevitable sense of powerlessness that they feel. The extent to which past structures have created the impression amongst less powerful groups that white people are responsible for all the planning decisions being made must be noted. At this point the harbour community are probably correct in assuming that whites were making the decisions. The planning process has largely been run by the CPA with decisions being made by higher government authorities at cabinet level and hence it is clear that the residents are not that well informed with regard to the decision-making process. The complexity and difficulty of the decision-making process is confirmed by MLH Architects and Planners (*Argus*, 4 May, 1991):

The recent identification of land for Hout Bay's homeless was a difficult process arising mostly from the fact that two historically separate housing authorities were involved and all final decisions had to be ratified by the Cabinet. The complexity of this process resulted in top-down rather than bottom-up decision-making.

Clearly when such important decisions are being made, it is to be expected that those involved in the decision-making process should be accessible and transparent. However, this is rarely the case. The normal situation of different parties passing the buck, by referring to decision makers who always seem to be higher up the ladder seems to have existed in Hout Bay. No-one was ever really sure who was actually making the decisions and on what they were basing their decisions.

In considering how informed people were about the planning process, it is also important to consider how they found out about the decisions being made.

7.2.3 How residents were informed about the decision

It is necessary to consider the way in which the residents of Hout Bay found out about the permanent resettlement of 'squatters' in Hout Bay, because the medium through which they received the information impacts directly on the nature and bias of the information and this serves to colour and mould people's perceptions. The development of perceptions and attitudes is a complicated process with many facets and hence there are many determining factors which need to be considered.

Information that is presented to individuals certainly plays an important role. The networks of communication surrounding the development of Mizamoyethu have played an important role in forming images about the development of the settlement in people's minds.

Table 7.7 How residents found out about the development of Mizamoyethu.

	Ratepayers	Harbour Community
Press	55%	24%
Word of mouth	38%	49%
Ratepayer's meetings	13%	8%

Table 7.7 indicates that of the ratepayers, the majority of residents had heard about the development of Mizamoyethu from the press and through word of mouth. This is important, as these two forms of communication have played an instrumental role in influencing residents' perceptions. The categories are not mutually exclusive and many residents indicated that they had heard via word of mouth and the press. The impact and role of the press has been highlighted in various other impact studies (Kemp, 1990; Burgess, 1990) and has been discussed in the previous chapter. Information passed on by word of mouth also leads to a distorted impression of the "facts" since it is dependent on the attitude of the individual passing the information on, and also on the original source of the information. The neighbourhood network has been an important source of information.

The majority of the harbour community said that they had found out about the development of the settlement from word of mouth and a relatively lower number, compared to the ratepayers, indicated that they had got the information from the press.

Residents also found out about the permanent development of the settlement through ratepayers' meetings and the local *Sentinel* newspaper. The *Sentinel* has played an important role in informing residents of issues related to the development of

Mizamoyethu. It is interesting to note that no harbour residents mentioned the Sentinel newspaper as a source of information and yet many ratepayers did. The Sentinel is the local Hout Bay newspaper; however, it does not seem to reach the harbour community. This suggests the extent to which class differentiation plays a role in determining access to information and emphasises the degree to which the harbour community are marginalised. The residents of the harbour community had not seen many of the press reports and many of the housewives indicated that they had heard about the settlement from their husbands. Perhaps these women do not get involved in outside issues as they are part of a low-income group and have their own problems and issues to deal with in terms of their daily lives, which are severely constrained in social and spatial terms.

It seems as if the majority of residents of Hout Bay heard about the planning of the settlement from press reports and other residents and hence have not had access to workshops or meetings where the 'real' facts with regard to the development of the settlement could be presented and discussed. This lack of 'up-front' information has surely contributed to the mistrust the residents have of the planning process.

Consideration is now given to the perceived level of participation of the surrounding community in the planning process.

7.3 PARTICIPATION IN THE PLANNING PROCESS

Questions relating to the planning process and the respondents' attitudes towards participation in the decision-making process indicate that the majority of Hout Bay residents feel that they were not properly consulted, if at all, with regard to the permanent development of informal housing in Hout Bay (see Table 7.8). Buttmar (1980a, p 50) stresses the importance of participation by stating that "joint exploration of the issues involved...and the increased participation of citizens in the planning process itself, may enable communities, in Aristotle's phrase, to 'not merely come together in cities to live, but to stay to live the good life'". Skatourkis (1987) indicates

that a planning process that informs residents of the true nature of expected impacts and helps to avoid conflict, is likely to reduce the costs imposed by the introduction of a land use which is considered to have negative externalities. Participation and up-front information is essential if the planning process is to be successful. Kemp (1990) states that the extent to which decisions are arrived at openly, fairly and in a comprehensible manner, will determine whether the rational, political decision-making process receives public acceptance.

Table 7.8 Consultation of formal residents with regard to the development of Mizamoyethu.

	Ratepayers	Harbour Community
Percentage not consulted	92%	100%
Percentage whose inputs were considered	1%	0%
Aware of investigation by private consultants	40%	0%
Consulted about options	0.2%	0%

From the table it is apparent that an extremely high number of ratepayers indicated that they had not been consulted on the issue of the development of Mizamoyethu. All of those interviewed in the harbour community indicated that they had not been consulted. Those residents that were consulted, indicated that the consultation had taken place at ratepayers meetings. Only 1% felt that their input had been seriously considered. A reasonable number of the ratepayers were aware of the investigation by private consultants but this figure was much lower in the harbour community. A negligible number of residents stated that they had discussed issues about the informal settlement with the consultants. The nature of consultation was discussions at ratepayers meetings and hence it is evident that no surveys or interviews were done to gauge the opinions of residents in Hout Bay.

It is expected that, under the circumstances where fairly large structural changes were being planned for a residential area, part of the process should involve an assessment

of the concerns of those parties to be affected. It seems that the planning process largely addressed the immediate needs of the informal settlers and so the surrounding community was left out of the decision-making process. This has serious implications in terms of the co-operation of the residents. The decision-making process gave the impression of disjointed incremental planning; lack of consultation; secrecy surrounding the site identification process; and little information given on the criteria for choice of site. This approach angered the residents of Hout Bay and created a mood of distrust resulting in a tendency towards non co-operation. Similar reactions were found by Kemp (1990) and Skaburkis (1987), amongst others, in their studies on environmental impacts. They conclude that lack of consultation has serious impacts because it angers residents and makes them more resistant to change. The lack of participation has also caused a polarisation of the informal settlers and the surrounding community, creating a situation of 'us and them' and hence a negative self-fulfilling prophecy has been maintained.

It is important to note that these results reflect respondents' perceptions of the process and therefore may be influenced by the fact that because the ratepayers did not get what they wanted, they felt that they had not been properly consulted. The ratepayers, which usually represent a politically powerful group, essentially had their demands ignored, which goes against the general pattern in South Africa under the apartheid system. This may be the reason why residents felt that no real consultation had taken place. MLH Architects and Planners suggest that the fact that the decisions were made at cabinet level is acceptable since "in view of the vested interests of the economically powerful and legally empowered whites, this may have produced the only equitable result. Only when a properly constituted and fully representative local authority has been established can an equitable process be established" (*Argus*, 4 May, 1991). In terms of class structure, those in power usually have access to more resources and thus are able to sway decisions in their favour. This has not happened in Hout Bay.

Hout Bay formal residents felt that the planning process should take account of the sense of place of Hout Bay. According to Bolton (1992), sense of place represents

valuable capital. Conflict arises in deciding whether the value of that place is worth preserving in terms of broader society. Residents of Hout Bay, who have invested capital into maintaining the sense of place prevalent in the suburb and who thus expect the normal guaranteed returns on that investment, feel strongly that the capital value of the sense of place should be maintained. Planners on the other hand have other issues to consider and hence have made decisions which do not make economic sense to the residents. Bolton (1992, p 201) states "if place-specific community values have genuine externalities for other localities and for larger regions or even for the nation, then significant policy issues are raised for state and national governments." Clearly the context of locality in terms of the broader society is important. The residents believe that their locality is valuable in terms of its broader context because of the potential it offers for tourism and thus this value should be maintained. Was the decision to settle the informal communities in Hout Bay influenced by the internal sense of place of Hout Bay, or was it made in relation to the pressures on decision-makers not only in broader South African society, but also in the context of the expectations of the international community for South Africa to solve its housing problems in a just and politically correct way. Hout Bay, as a locality, has had to respond to decisions that were made in the broader context. More attention was paid to outside considerations than to the impacts on place associated with the specifics of Hout Bay. As Bolton (1990) suggests, this is not necessarily a negative thing. Sense of place has to be valued not only from within, but also in terms of its value to the broader society. Conflict arises when the value attached to place is construed differently by opposing interest groups.

In the case of the harbour community it seems as if they were not involved at all in the decision making process which reflects the general status quo prevalent in local politics in South Africa. The lack of information regarding the harbour community's concerns in the press resorts (see Appendix D) also reflects their lack of involvement.

It is essential to consider residents' attitudes toward the process of site identification since this is one of the most concrete aspects of the planning process.

7.4 THE LAND IDENTIFICATION PROCESS

In considering residents' attitudes to the land identification process, it is important to place this in the context of the different original sites that had developed. This is well documented earlier in chapter 5. It is important to remember that the five different communities which existed had differing cultural and socio-economic characteristics. Residents in Hout Bay also had different attitudes toward the various settlements, depending on whether they were conceived of as being traditional Hout Bay 'squatters' or people from outside.

Respondents were asked what they thought about the decision to move all of the five communities together into one settlement (see Table 7.9). The majority of ratepayers agreed with the grouping together of all the original informal settlements, but the reasons given were not necessarily congruent.

The harbour community's responses were quite different. The majority did not express any opinion in this regard. This once again reflects their attitude that many of the issues related to the development of the informal settlers do not concern them to the same extent that they worry their white neighbours, as the harbour community have pressing needs of their own that they need to consider.

Generally residents of Hout Bay agreed with the decision of having one site.

Table 7.9 Residents' opinion of the creation of one site for the informal settlers.

Site identification	Ratepayers			Harbour Community		
	Disapprove	No opinion	Approve	Disapprove	No opinion	Approve
All together in one site	34%	12%	51%	18%	46%	36%
Upgrade the old sites	67%	21%	12%	0%	0%	0%

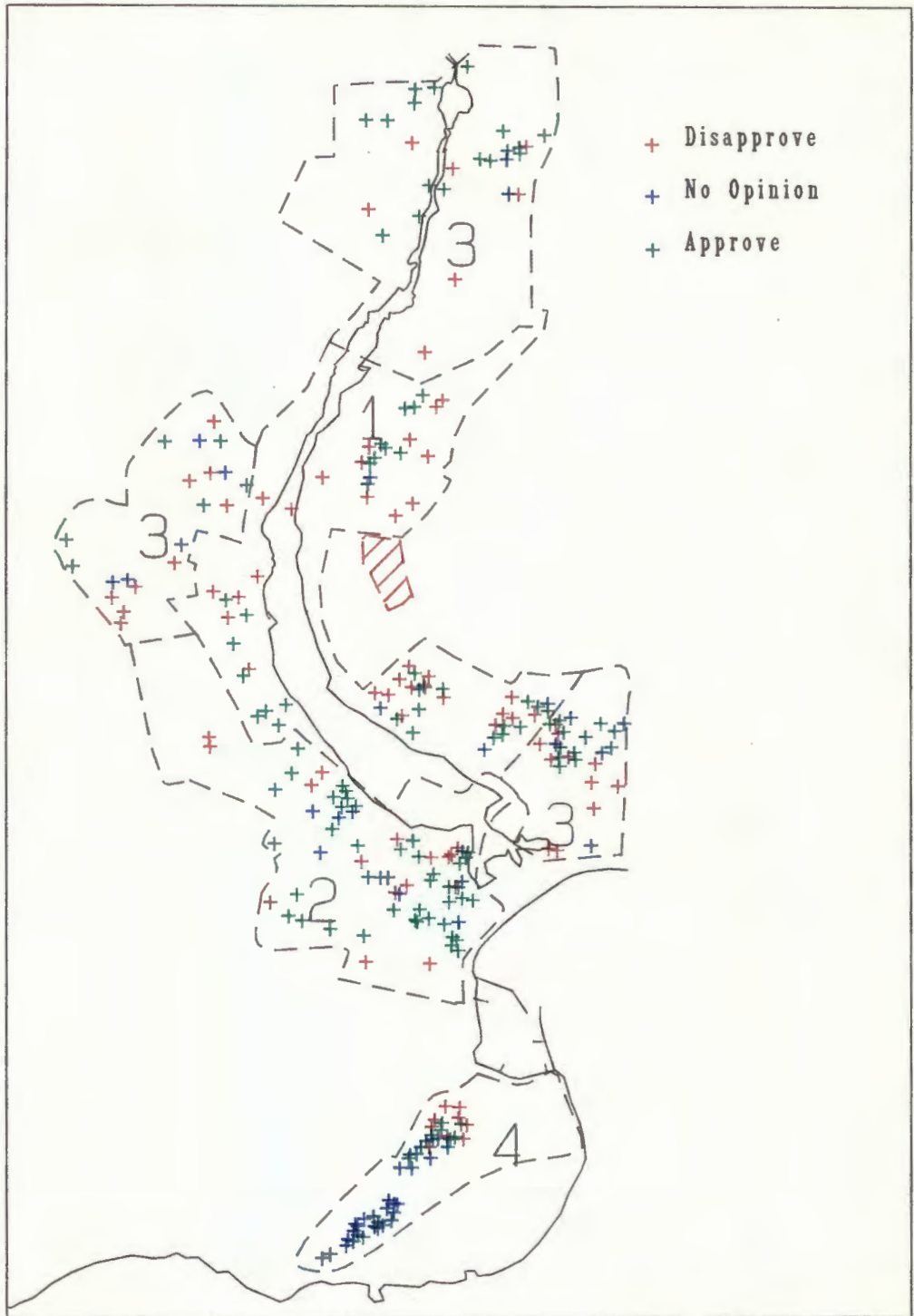


Figure 7.4 Residents' opinions of the resettlement of all five 'squatter' communities into one site.

Table 7.10 Residents' opinions of the resettlement of all five 'squatter' communities into one site.

	1	2	3	4	Total
Disapprove	43%	24%	35%	18%	31%
No Opinion	5%	13%	17%	46%	18%
Approve	45%	60%	47%	36%	48%



Figure 7.4 and Table 7.10 indicate that residents living in zone one were most negative about the relocation of the five different communities into one site. This is clearly related to their spatial proximity to the site. Residents of zone two were most accepting of the development of one site which reflects the influence of spatial proximity on residents' perceptions. They were happier with one site as this meant that the informal settlers would be moved away from the original sites which were impacting more directly on them. However distance is not the overriding factor as many of the residents of zone three were also against the development of one large site.

Reasons for respondents' opinions relating to the resettlement of the 'squatters' into one site reflect people's attitudes towards the development of such a site. The reasons given were as follows. The majority of residents stated that they agreed with the development of one site as it lessened the impact and gave the authorities more control over the development of the site. Others felt that one settlement was a good idea as it would be more organised and hence provide a better standard of living for the residents of Mizamoyethu. A few approved as the 'squatters' had been moved away from sites a lot closer to them, and so the impacts had now been decreased. A large number disagreed as they felt that the grouping of so many different communities together (coloureds from the old sites; blacks from the Princess Bush site; as well as many newcomers) automatically caused conflict. Many indicated that they had had reports of conflict within the informal settlement from residents who worked for them. The harbour community reacted in a similar manner. Some of them disapproved of the move as they felt that the harbour community were powerless and that their needs had been ignored, whereas the informal settlers had received what they had requested.

The acceptability of the land identification process has been documented in section 6.6 (chapter 6). Residents' response to the choice of site in terms of what they would have recommended to the planners has been discussed in chapter 6, section 6.6.4. Both these sections are linked to the discussion above.

The next section focuses on formal residents' perceptions of the accountability and responsibility of the state and planners in resolving the land-use conflict in Hout Bay.

7.5 THE ACCOUNTABILITY OF THE PLANNERS

The state appointed a planning consultancy, MLH Architects and Planners, to investigate the establishment of a new site for the informal settlers. It is important to attempt to unravel on whose behalf the state and the planners were acting and what the power agendas and shifts behind such action were. This section focuses on the perceptions of the formal residents in terms of the accountability of the state.

The accountability of planners is a sensitive and difficult issue especially in the South African situation where planners have largely answered to the powerful white minority, previously marginalising other less powerful groups. The Hout Bay situation is a very interesting case in planning decision-making since the usually powerful group has been undermined by a group that in previous years would have been ignored. The political strength of the informal settler community and the need to relocate people in a crisis situation has led to the 'squatters' largely achieving their aims, i.e. permanent rights to land within an upper-income area at the relative expense of the elite group. The hidden agendas of the various groups are important to consider but are difficult to unravel. It is interesting to investigate what caused the change in political decision-making at government level and what drove the planning process to largely favour the under-privileged group. This is most likely to have been influenced by the broader political changes taking place in South Africa at the time, as well as changing government policy with regard to the housing of impoverished groups. The lack of appropriate and legitimate policies and structures, during this phase of transformation of South African society, has also contributed to the shifts that have occurred (changes in policy and political power have been discussed in chapter 3).

The usual perception of the previously dominant white group is that decision-makers and planners should act in order to protect and preserve their rights and therefore it

is not surprising that 57% of the ratepayers felt that the planners should be accountable to the ratepayers of Hout Bay. 27% of the ratepayers felt that the planners should be accountable to the ratepayers as well as the 'squatters'. This would represent a group of people who are most likely concerned with the larger good of society and so are prepared to compromise in terms of their own expectations and needs.

The harbour community had similar views: 58% felt that the planners should be accountable to the ratepayers (which in this case includes themselves) and 16% felt they should be accountable to the ratepayers and the informal settlers.

The above views, which indicate that the state should be responsible to the landowners of an area, reflect the expectations of a group who, by their socio-economic position, have come to expect that the patterns of spatial distancing should be recognised in terms of the expected patterns of a market-orientated housing process.

7.6 THE LONG TERM AIMS OF THE PLANNERS - RESIDENTS' EXPECTATIONS

In giving their responses to what they thought the long term aims of the planners should be, many of the residents expressed their fears and expectations in terms of the future development of the settlement.

The responses of the two different groups are indicated in Table 7.11 below.

Table 7.11 Residents' perceptions of the long term aims of the planners.

Planners should aim to:	Ratepayers	Harbour Community
Upgrade the settlement	27%	2%
Control the numbers in the settlement	16%	0%
Find a solution acceptable to all	10%	10%
Move the informal settlers away	10%	8%
Look after the harbour community and consider their needs	2%	8%

It is clear from the results that the most important issue for the ratepayers is that the settlement is upgraded and that the numbers are controlled. Other comments that were made were that planners should make the settlement into a model settlement so that the 'squatters' would want to upgrade it and protect it themselves, while others felt it was the planners' duty to maintain the high standard of living and the safety standards in Hout Bay.

Very few of the harbour community responded to this question. This was partly due to the interviewing process and partly due to their lack of interest in the issue. Those that did respond felt that the planners should address the problems in the harbour community as well.

7.7 ACTION TAKEN BY RESIDENTS TO INVOLVE THEMSELVES IN THE PLANNING PROCESS

It is necessary to consider the action taken by formal residents to attempt to maximise their involvement in the decision-making process. Most of this occurred through action groups such as the Ratepayers Association and the Property Rights Group (as discussed in chapter 6, section 6.7). Court orders were threatened, heated meetings were held; but essentially these groups were unsuccessful in achieving their initial aims. What was noteworthy was that the formal residents began to shift their

boundaries with regard to what they found acceptable. The changing structures of society in Hout Bay gave residents little choice but to change the parameters of what they deemed acceptable. Certain residents held onto their negative attitudes, and when interviewed at the end of 1992, almost 18 months after the settlers had been relocated in Mizamoyethu, still believed that the 'squatters' should and would be moved out of Hout Bay. However, the majority of the residents had learnt to live with the initial planning decisions and were now focusing on new issues that had arisen, such as the future growth of the settlement. People's expectations of an event are often very different to their actual experience of the event, and once it happens they realise it is perhaps not as bad as they thought it would be. By getting involved in the planning process, residents also began to realise that, in fact, all residents of Hout Bay have rights that must be addressed in the resolution of the conflict situation.

As already mentioned, the Liaison Committee has played an instrumental role in the most recent development and planning of the site, and has been very successful in achieving participatory planning and negotiated solutions. The action of human agents, particularly at a time of structural fluidity and reform, is able to shape the processes of society, thereby influencing the outcome of conflictual situations. Structures are imposed on society and space, but through mechanisms, as described above, human agents act to alter the spatial patterns that result.

7.8 CONCLUSION

The perceptions of residents to the planning process, indicate that most formal residents feel that the planning process has been highly unsatisfactory. In analysing the planning process in Hout Bay it is evident that initially there was a lack of consultation and participatory planning in the process which unfolded (See Gawith, 1994). The extent to which the planning process was considered to be unsatisfactory by the formal residents, because their needs and expectations were not fulfilled, needs to be questioned. There are important lessons that can be learned from the planning process which took place in Hout Bay. The informal settlers also found many aspects

of the planning of Mizamoyethu unsatisfactory. These issues are discussed in detail in the HNRE project "Guidelines for the Planning and Development of Informal Communities within Established Residential Areas" (Sowman, Gawith and Oelofse, 1994).

Planners need to recognise and be aware of the structures operating in society; the interpretation and action of human agents; and the particularities of locality if the resettlement of informal communities within existing formal residential areas is to be sustainable. Perhaps the most important lesson to be learned is that participation by all players is essential if the process is to be successful.

CHAPTER 8

THE PERCEIVED SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACTS OF MIZAMOYETHU ON HOUT BAY

8.1 INTRODUCTION

This section considers the specific impacts of the development of the informal settlement on Hout Bay relative to the surrounding communities' experiences and perceptions of such impacts. Many people in Hout Bay perceive the development of Mizamoyethu as a highly negative event. They associate such a development with negative externalities such as increased crime, pollution, bad health conditions, etc. (Emmett, 1992). Externalities such as these are usually associated with low-income areas within capitalist society and the expectation of middle- to upper-income residents is that the market should act as a mechanism to increase the distancing between themselves and such negative externalities (Johnston, 1984). As discussed earlier, these usual boundaries have been transgressed in Hout Bay and hence the residents are in direct contact with a group that has a vastly different socio-economic status. Many of the externalities associated with living in close proximity to an informal settlement are perceived impacts based on misconceptions and stereotypes. To what extent has Mizamoyethu impacted on the environment of Hout Bay? There can be no doubt that it has changed the nature of locality by introducing a whole new set of circumstances and ways of being. But is this change as negative as people suggest it is, or is it rather that things have changed for a group that has had a lifestyle incongruent within the context of a just society.

In any capitalist society it is potentially conflictual for residents who have paid high prices to live in a particular area, to have to contend with the problems and issues related to the proximity of a low-income informal group. The juxtaposition of two very different land tenure systems in Hout Bay, namely access to housing via the market

as opposed to access to housing via the state, forms the basis of much of the conflict that exists. Given the complicated relationship that exists between the two communities and the fear, mistrust and lack of understanding between them, it is evident that the perceived impacts will not result purely from real events, but rather will be based on a number of different underlying factors.

It is very difficult to determine what are real and what are perceived impacts; however, certain objective measures can be used to determine how 'real' the impacts are. The residents' responses are perceived responses, but it is important to recognise that for the individuals experiencing these impacts, their perceptions create the reality that they operate within (i.e. their behavioural environment), affecting their behaviour and attitudes. People will respond in terms of the structures of the society within which they exist; and as individual agents influenced by their own worldviews as well as the action of other individuals who may have shaped and altered their perceptions of the impacts (for example, through meetings, press reports and neighbourhood discussions). The nature of the locality of Hout Bay will impact on how people perceive and contextualise the impacts. It is also important to consider residents' resistance to change and the extent to which they want to maintain the status quo and sense of place of Hout Bay.

Respondents were asked what their major issues of concern with regard to the informal settlement were and were required to respond to pre-determined categories, ranking these impacts on a seven point scale. The scale enabled respondents to indicate whether an indicator had changed and if so, whether it had changed positively or negatively. They were then asked in what way these issues had changed their quality of life in Hout Bay. There are difficulties with the analysis of these impacts since people were having to rank them at a given time whereas many of the impacts are dynamic – they have changed and are still changing. Some respondents referred to their own local area whereas other respondents spoke about the Hout Bay area as a whole and this also complicated the analysis of the data. However the responses provided a good sense of the main issues of concern.

In analysing the socio-economic and physical environmental impacts of the informal settlement on Hout Bay, the impacts are initially all considered together and then the focus is shifted to each impact individually. It is important to note that these impacts were listed as categories based on the pilot studies, press reports and meetings. Residents were given the opportunity of indicating other impacts which they felt were relevant. Broadly speaking, most residents did not add any other impacts, suggesting that the original list was indeed comprehensive.

8.2 THE PERCEIVED IMPACT OF MIZAMOYETHU ON HOUT BAY

The following discussion refers to the map Figure 8.1 and Table 8.1. which indicates the relationship between people's response to the settlement and their perception of whether or not the informal settlement had impacted on all the indicators of quality of life mentioned. It is evident from the results that the ratepayers who have a negative attitude toward the informal settlement are far more negative in relation to the impacts of the settlement on Hout Bay. It is noteworthy that no residents who were positive about the settlement, stated that all the indicators of quality of life had been negatively impacted upon by the development of Mizamoyethu. Hence there is a relationship between negative attitudes to the settlement and people's perceptions of impacts. It could be suggested that because residents are affected negatively in all categories, they have a negative response to the settlement. The analysis of residents' responses and their reasons for reacting in the way that they do suggests that the former relationship is more likely. However, this is restricted to the politically and socio-economically different ratepayers group, since members of the harbour community that responded negatively to the settlement behaved in a different manner.

The spatial patterning of the responses reflects that those closest to the settlement and those in zone two (who were previously affected by the original settlements) are the most negative. However the number of residents in zone three that are negative is not significantly lower. Thus it seems that distance is not the only factor influencing perceptions.

The low total percentage of residents that indicated that all indicators had changed negatively suggests that the informal settlement has not impacted on all the indicators mentioned in the survey. It is interesting to note the high proportion of harbour residents that indicated that there had been no change in the quality of life of Hout Bay. This has very important implications. The harbour community are living in the same area as the ratepayers and yet their perceptions of change are dramatically different. What are the factors which influence this? Is it the fact that the socio-economic gap between the two communities is large and this then impacts on the relative change for the two groups, or because they value different resources in the environment and that their basic needs are so different? Perhaps the harbour community are less concerned about preserving the nature of the sense of place of Hout Bay. They also have less to fear in terms of the broader social transformation that is taking place in South Africa and hence are able to be more objective about the level of impact of the informal settlement on the surrounding community.

To summarise the above findings, it seems that for a reasonable number of residents of the harbour community there has been little change associated with the development of the informal settlement. There is a very small percentage of ratepayers that feel that all the indicators discussed in the survey have changed negatively, and all of these residents expressed a negative attitude to the settlement. It is therefore evident that the socio-economic and environmental impacts need to be investigated in more detail. Each of the various indicators of quality of life is now analysed separately.

8.3 THE IMPACT ON SECURITY

Residents were asked to indicate whether security in Hout Bay had changed. The crime rate in Hout Bay and its relation to the presence of the informal settlement in the valley is a highly publicised and much debated issue. A resident was quoted as saying "one woman living alone with a vegetable garden has had all her vegetables pinched, fruit picked off her trees and potatoes taken from out of the ground, and woke up in

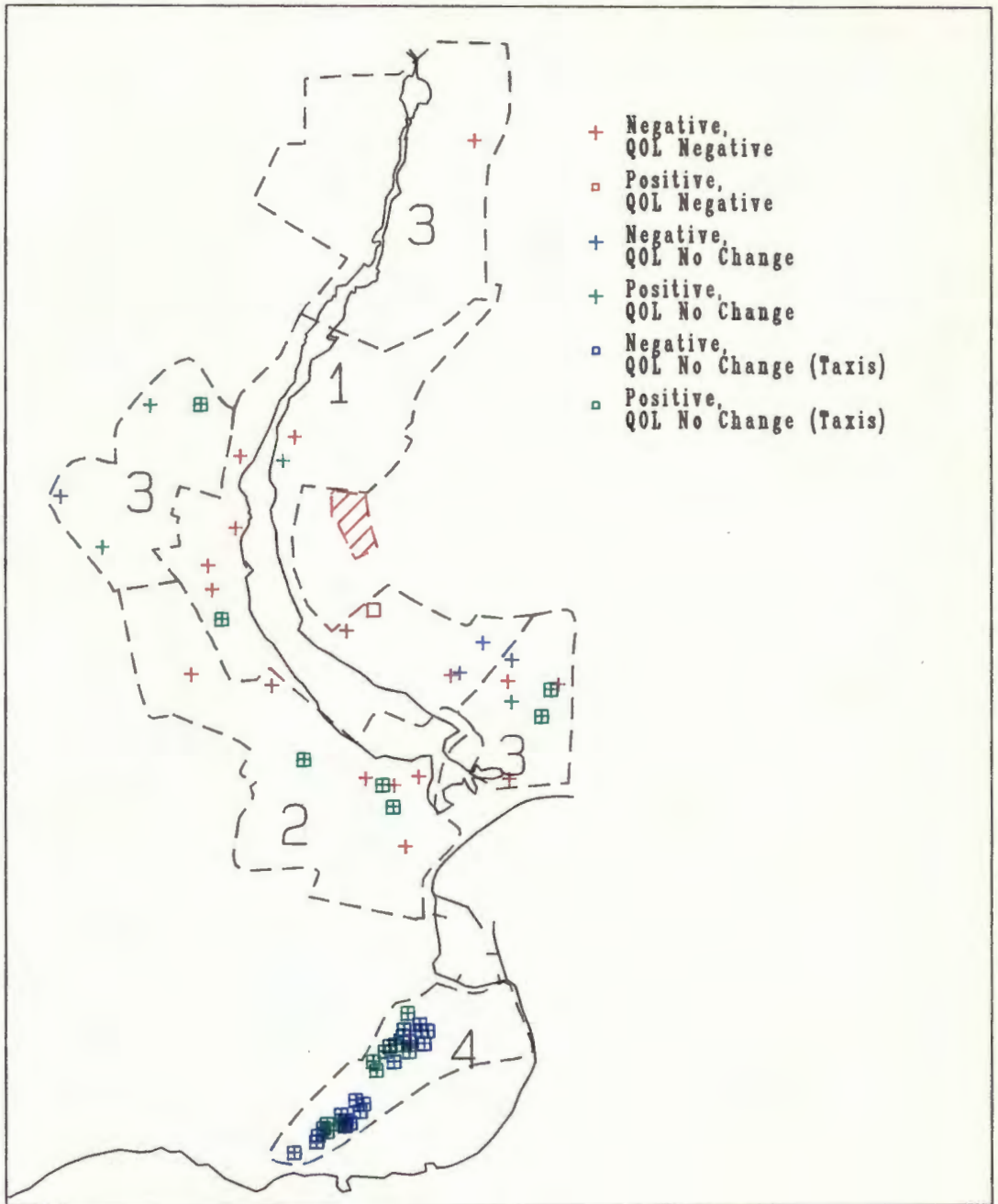


Figure 8.1 The relationship of the response to Mizamoyethu by perceptions of its impact on quality of life indicators.

Table 8.1 The relationship of the response to Mizamoyethu by perceptions of its impact on quality of life indicators.

	1	2	3	4	Total
N, QOL Negative	8%	7%	5%	2%	6%
P, QOL Negative	1%	0	0	0	0
N, QOL No Change	0	0	0	34%	6%
P, QOL No Change	1%	0	7%	18%	5%
N, QOL No Change (Taxis)	0	0	0	34%	6%
P, QOL No Change (Taxis)	1%	0	4%	18%	4%

Not including security and value

the middle of the night to find thieves had stacked her household possessions out in the street" (*Argus*, 12 April, 1991). Press reports continually refer to the problem of crime in the area – however, they are balanced by reports that indicate Hout Bay as being one of the safest areas in the country. It must be remembered that it is the element of change that essentially needs to be considered. It is also important to accept that residents's perception of crime may differ from the actual crime data recorded.

The graph Figure 8.2 and the spatial representation of the data, Figure 8.3 and Table 8.2 indicate residents' responses to the issue of crime in Hout Bay.

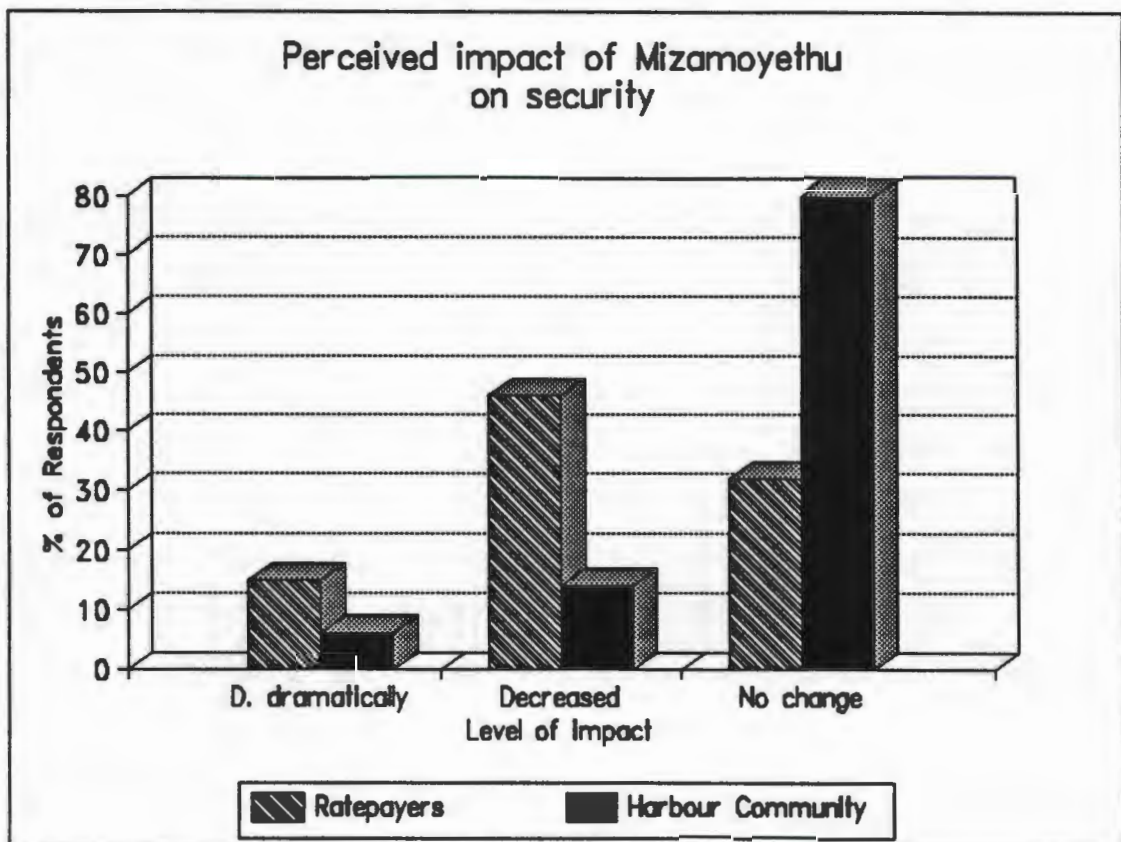


Figure 8.2 The perceived impact of Mizamoyethu on security.

In condensing the data it was found that 61% of the ratepayers felt that security in Hout Bay had decreased since the development of Mizamoyethu, whereas only 20% of the harbour community indicated that security had changed.

Distance from the settlement influences the way residents perceive the security of Hout Bay to have changed. Residents in both zones one and two indicated that security had decreased in Hout Bay. The residents of zone two experienced a large number of burglaries during the period when the informal settlers were living in Princess Bush and the Sea Products settlements (see Figure 8.8, Table 8.4). Residents in zone three were less affected by security issues than their neighbours that live closer to the settlements; however, their perception of crime is still that it is high. The relatively high percentage of residents in zone two that indicated that security had improved were probably reflecting a change or, more likely, a change in perception, now that the informal settlers had been moved away from them.

The results for the harbour community are very different to those of the ratepayers as reflected in Figure 8.2 and Figure 8.3. Most people in the harbour community felt that they had always had a problem with security, usually prevalent in a low-income area, and that they had serious problems with gang-related crime. They therefore did not feel that Mizamoyethu had reduced security in their area. This could be due to a number of factors. First it could be that they were spatially too distant from the settlement to notice a change in crime. However, this does not seem to hold true, since respondents in zone three are equally far away and the harbour community were previously close to the original settlements prior to the development of Mizamoyethu. The harbour community feel less threatened, as they have always had security problems of their own to deal with or possibly they are not targeted in the same way as the wealthier white residents in the valley. They may feel less threatened because they have always been in a more deprived situation and hence perceive that they have less to protect. They are also less prone to the fear that has impacted on the hitherto protected white elite in this 'unstable' transitional phase in South Africa. Many of them indicated that they could not afford to put in security systems and so could not protect their properties against the criminal element in their own community. It is thus

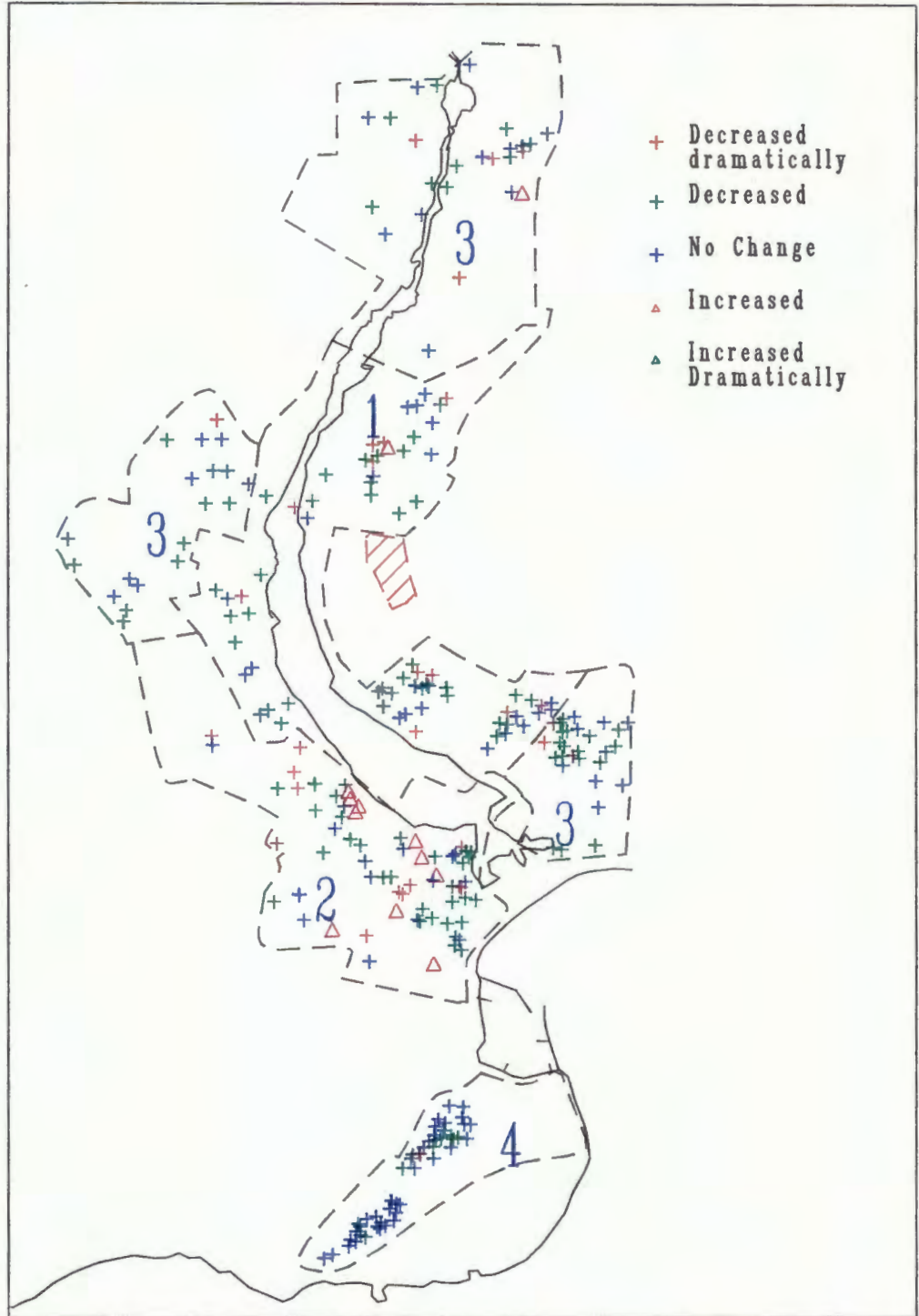


Figure 8.3 Perceptions of the impact of Mizamoyethu on security in Hout Bay.

Table 8.2 Perceptions of the impact of Mizamoyethu on security in Hout Bay.

	1	2	3	4	Total
Decreased	66%	63%	56%	20%	54%
No Change	33%	21%	40%	80%	41%
Increased	1%	13%	1%	0	4%

apparent that socio-economic position influences both the real and perceived impacts of crime.

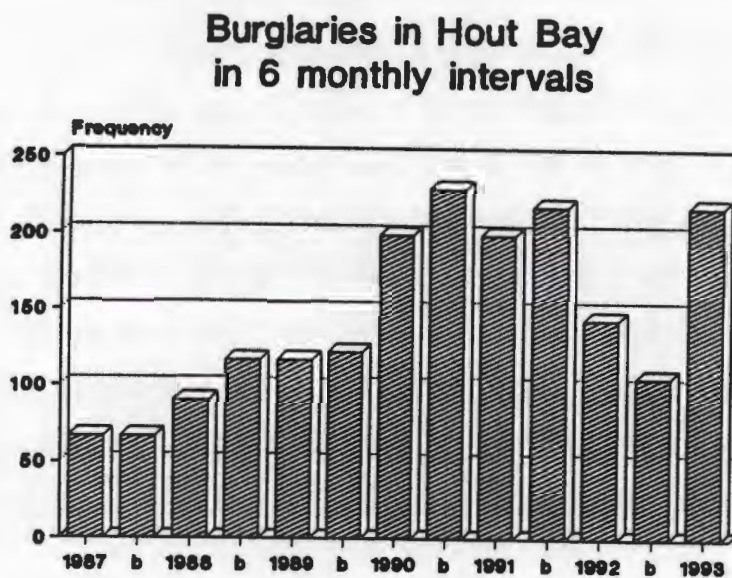
Security seems to be a major issue of concern to residents in Hout Bay. The press reports support and perpetuate this view. Headlines of isolated events such as "17 arrested in Hout Bay crime prevention blitz" (*Argus*, 29 November, 1990); "Robbers ask victim how to start car" (*Cape Times*, 18 December, 1991); and "Squatter shot dead in 'attack'" (*Argus*, 12 February, 1991) serve to reinforce both the Hout Bay residents' and outsiders' perceptions that security in Hout Bay has decreased due to the presence of the informal settlers. The media plays a major role in dispelling or creating concern. The security situation in South Africa has changed considerably in the past few years. Factors such as abject poverty; violence; the breakdown of social and moral codes; the unequal distribution of wealth; and a police force which is not considered to be legitimate have all served to decrease the security of people in the country. Can the increase in crime in Hout Bay be attributed only to the presence of the informal settlers in the area? The presence of these people as a convenient scapegoat may serve to protect the activities of outsiders involved in crime syndicates. Poverty is a reality that forces people to have to consider ways of surviving. The spatial proximity of the two communities, which have vastly different levels of wealth, will lead to a certain amount of crime. This is not acceptable, but it is to be expected. It is interesting that much of the crime in Hout Bay is petty crime (washing stolen; car radios taken) and this reflects the opportunist nature of many of these criminal events.

The above discussion relates to the perceptions of both the residents of Hout Bay and the press in relation to crime in the area. In order to investigate the reality of these perceptions, the crime figures for Hout Bay are now considered.

8.3.1 Crime statistics of the Hout Bay Police

Both the press reports and the results of the crime survey indicate that although crime did initially increase in Hout Bay with the arrival of the 'squatters' and the subsequent establishment of the informal settlement, it is still relatively low. The crime figures for

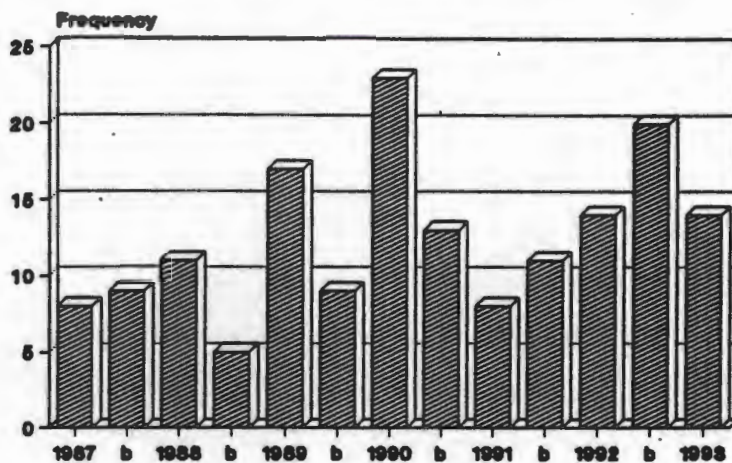
Hout Bay from 1987 – 1993 are displayed in Figures 8.4 – 8.7. These figures indicate that the number of burglaries increased during the period when the Princess Bush and Sea Products settlements were growing rapidly during 1990. Burglaries remained relatively high up until the beginning of 1992 when the number of robberies dropped off considerably. There was a sudden increase again in 1993, but this is probably due to a change in format for recording crimes which was implemented by the police at this time. The number of cars stolen in Hout Bay also increased in 1990, but these figures have remained variable and so are unlikely to be attributable to the informal settlers alone. Theft from cars also increased during the development of the settlement but this also tailed off during 1991. The number of rapes in Hout Bay does not seem to be directly related to the presence of the informal settlers.



(Source: Gawith, 1994)

Figure 8.4 Burglaries in Hout Bay.

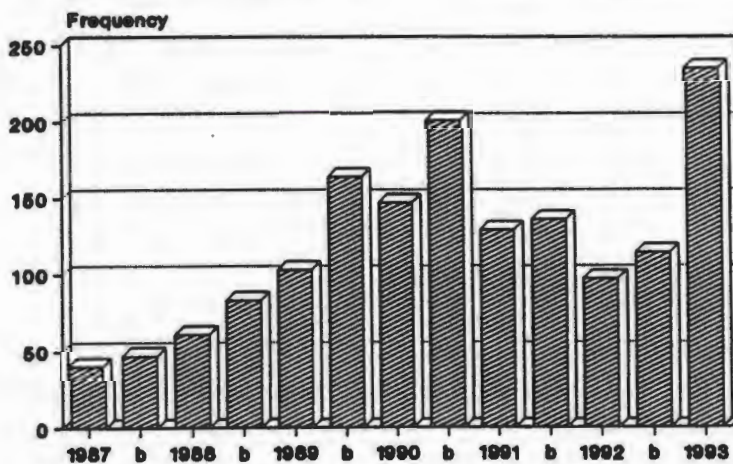
**Stolen cars from Hout Bay
6 monthly intervals: 1987 - 1993**



(Source: Gawith, 1994)

Figure 8.5 Stolen cars from Hout Bay.

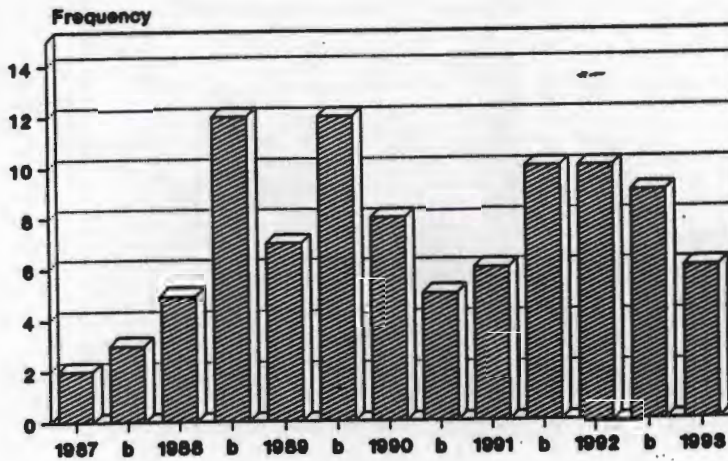
**Theft from cars in Hout Bay
6 monthly intervals: 1987 - 1993**



(Source: Gawith, 1994)

Figure 8.6 Theft from cars in Hout Bay.

Rapes in Hout Bay 6 monthly intervals: 1987 - 1993



(Source: Gawith, 1994)

Figure 8.7 Rapes in Hout Bay.

From these figures it is evident that the presence of the 'squatters' in Hout Bay did contribute to an initial increase in crime, but that once they had been settled in Mizamoyethu and they became a permanent part of the Hout Bay community, crime seemed to stabilise (also indicated by findings displayed in Figure 8.8 and Table 8.4). The transitory nature of the original settlements most certainly would have impacted on crime. Communities were unstable; people were passing through; and the settlers did not have a vested stake in the broader community, thereby reducing their responsibility to the functioning of the locality.

However, it is important to consider that after the growth of the settlements in 1990 and the resultant increase in crime, residents' perceptions of security in Hout Bay would have been altered. Residents probably became far more security conscious – security systems were installed by many residents; neighbourhood watches were instituted – and therefore the amount of crime was controlled and reduced (which is reflected in the figures given above).

Respondents were asked to indicate whether they had been burgled in the last ten years and/or in the last two years in order to assess from the sample, which is taken to be representative of the Hout Bay population as a whole, how many people had actually experienced a burglary. This was then related to the police crime statistics discussed above.

Table 8.3 Burglary statistics provided by Hout Bay residents.

	Petty crime	Ratepayers			Harbour community			
		Yes	No	No resp.	Petty crime	Yes	No	No resp.
Past two - ten years	0%	9%	80%	11%	1%	0%	20%	80%
Past two years	10%	21%	65%	4%	10%	2%	14%	80%

It is important to pay attention to the increase in crime relative to ten years ago (which was very low), since this maintains the context of the particular locality. The number of people in Hout Bay has increased considerably in the last five years and thus the potential for crime has also increased. The figures are also relative to the changing economic climate in South Africa and the general decrease in security countrywide. The crime rate in Hout Bay has increased considerably over the past two years. However given the perception people have of the increase in crime in the area, and the transformation taking place in Hout Bay, as well as more broadly, these figures are not dramatically high. A police officer in Hout Bay stated that "when one considers that crime, nationally, increases by 25% – 30% per year, then Hout Bay, according to our local statistics, has to be one of the safest places to live in our country at present" (*Cape Times*, 6 October, 1992). Many ratepayers have installed security systems over the past few years and this has probably impacted on and served to contain the crime rate. This is supported by the following two statements. "The crime rate in Hout Bay is now lower than any time in the past five years, according to figures released by the South African Police" (*Cape Times*, 6 October, 1992). The decrease in crime can be attributed to "better policing – not only because of efforts of the force, but by

community participation, particularly in the Neighbourhood Watch movement" (*Cape Times*, 6 October 1992). However it is important to note that the decrease in crime is not only as a result of better policing. The initial increase in crime during 1990 has impacted on the figures given by the ratepayers in Table 8.3. However, it seems that crime has decreased also as a result of the resettlement of people to Mizamoyethu and the subsequent stabilisation of this community.

The spatial representation of the data, (Figure 8.8 and Table 8.4) supports the findings discussed above. From the map it is evident that those closest to the original settlements were most impacted upon by an increase in crime. The amount of crime in the area surrounding Mizamoyethu seems to be significantly less, suggesting that, since the stabilisation of the community, the crime situation has improved. It is noteworthy that the areas adjacent to the settlement have experienced less crime than Riverside Terrace which is located across the road from Mizamoyethu. If crime is to be related to the presence of the informal settlement, then this would suggest that the forest boundaries in the interface zones and accessibility have served to decrease crime. Residents in zone three have been the least affected. Those residents in the south-eastern segment of zone three, closest to the original settlements, seem to have experienced an increase in crime prior to the resettlement of the communities. It is important to note that petty crime seems to be directly related to proximity to the informal settlements, particularly the original settlements.

Although crime in Hout Bay did increase during the initial growth of the original settlements, the development of Mizamoyethu seems to have led to a decrease of crime in the area. It seems that the formal residents perceive the crime rate to be higher than it actually is. However, it remains an issue of concern as residents' perceptions of increased crime negatively impacts on their quality of life. Crime statistics need to be communicated to the broader public. Residents' perceptions are bound up in stereotypes and misconceptions and until these change it is unlikely that their perceptions of crime will change. Poverty levels and unemployment in the informal community also need to be addressed in order to decrease the potential for crime.

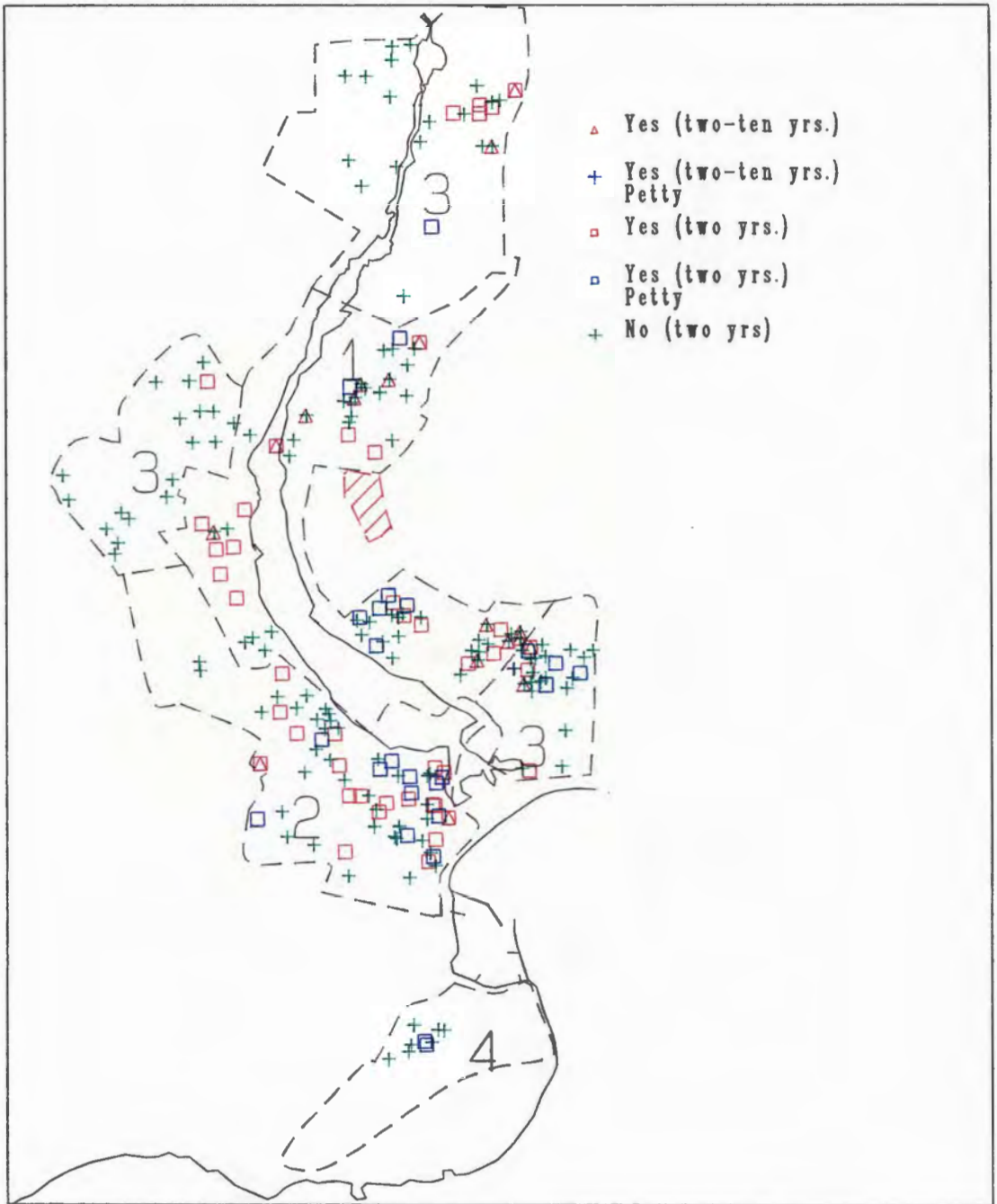


Figure 8.8 Residents burgled in Hout Bay.

Table 8.4 Residents burgled in Hout Bay.

	1	2	3	4	Total
No response (ten)	16%	6%	9%	80%	23%
Yes (ten)	19%	3%	5%	0	7%
Yes, petty (ten)	0	0	1%	0	0
No response (two)	1%	4%	7%	80%	18%
Yes (two)	24%	28%	11%	2%	18%
Yes, petty (two)	9%	16%	5%	4%	9%
No (two)	65%	52%	77%	14%	56%

8.3.2 Territorial symbols of defence

An observation made during the process of completing the interviews was the degree of security measures employed by the ratepayers in Hout Bay. It was often almost impossible to get to a person's front door to request an interview, due to the extensive security systems and the great abundance of large and frightening dogs. Walking down some of the roads was problematic because of dogs that were free to wander and protect their territories outside the bounds of their owner's property. Many of the security systems only allow access via intercom systems placed on forbidding gates and walls. This makes the person who is trying to get in feel that he or she is on the outside, with barriers both spatial and physical between themselves and the person they are trying to contact. If security systems have indeed been installed as a result of the perceived change in crime due to the presence of the informal settlers, then certainly the quality of life and sense of place in Hout Bay has changed.



Plate 11 Security systems employed by formal residents.



Plate 12 Territorial symbols of defense.

The territorial messages and symbols are highly evident and this was a depressing aspect of the interviewing process. However, this situation is prevalent in many areas of South Africa and hence cannot be attributed to the development of Mizamoyethu alone. The psychological impacts, on both those walled in and those walled out (the insiders and the outsiders), work towards creating a defensive and aggressive psyche in the people living in the area. This would be one of the more subtle, but nonetheless severe impacts of the perceived increase of crime. The heightened security also decreases the possibility of integration; but perhaps in the short term it is better for people to feel secure if long term integration is to be possible.

8.3.3 Measures taken against crime

Residents were asked to comment on the measures they had taken in order to improve their own security. The graph below, Figure 8.9 indicates the type of measures taken. This supports the observations discussed above. There are still a reasonable number of ratepayers living in Hout Bay who have not put in any security at all and, as noted above, most of the harbour community could not afford security systems and had taken no measures to improve their security.

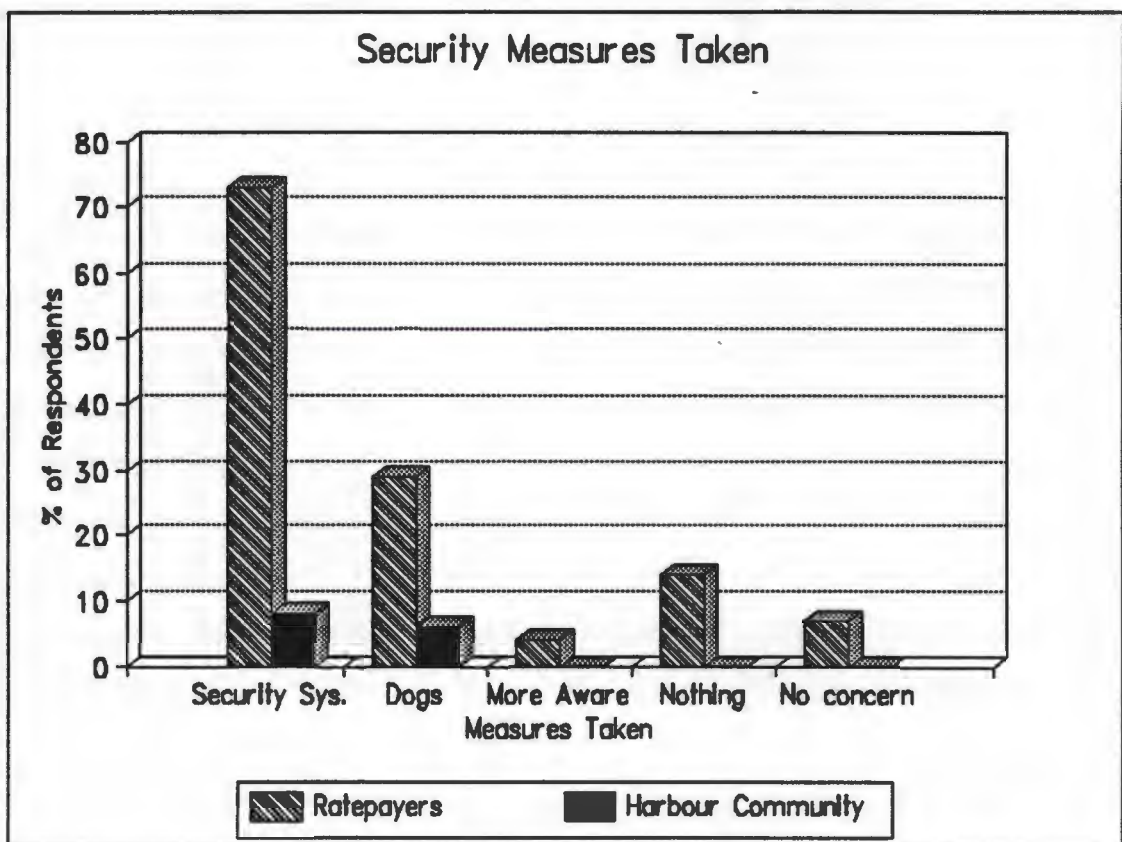


Figure 8.9 Security measures taken by residents.

A series of newspaper articles run during January 1991 indicated that members of the Hout Bay community were to employ a security company costing them R1000 a month to protect their properties against 'squatters'. This kind of statement in the

press as well as this reaction from residents only serves to increase the conflict and prejudices between the two groups.

8.3.4 The neighbourhood network

Another important aspect which has affected peoples' attitudes to security is the neighbourhood network that operates. Respondents were asked to state whether they knew of anyone else around them that had been burgled in order to assess their perceptions of crime in their immediate neighbourhood. This could then be compared to the percentage of people who had actually experienced crime in order to assess whether their perceptions of crime in the neighbourhood were higher than the crime recorded. These results are displayed in Figure B.11 and Table B.11 in Appendix B.

In considering the percentage of residents that indicated that their neighbours had been burgled, it is clear that this figure is considerably higher than the number of respondents that indicated that they had been burgled. Residents in the same street could be referring to the same cases. However, in talking to people it was apparent that they had the perception that most of their neighbours had been burgled. When asked the question people would say: "Oh yes, just about everyone in the street has been burgled", but then residents in other houses in the street would respond in a similar manner – "We haven't been burgled but everyone around here has been". A comparison of the number of residents who indicated that their neighbours had not been burgled indicates that the level of neighbourhood crime is seen as being high. It would seem that people's perception of crime in the area surrounding them is worse than the actual crime recorded; rumours and stories are spread by the network system and this then creates the base upon which people form their perceptions. This can also be linked to the impact of newspaper reports which clearly indicate crime as one of the major issues with regard to the informal settlement. Reports which implicate the 'squatters' in the increase in crime will negatively affect people's perceptions (see analysis of the press reports, Appendix D).

Having considered the issue of security in Hout Bay, attention is now paid to the other much publicised and discussed issue of concern, i.e. the impact of the development of the informal settlement on property prices in Hout Bay. Perceptions of crime and security in the area will most certainly impact on the property market.

8.4 THE IMPACT ON PROPERTY VALUE

According to Johnston (1984, p 170) "the price of property in an area reflects evaluations of its social environment and the balance of negative and positive externalities there; people are prepared to pay high prices to avoid undesirable areas." Before the 'squatter' issue developed in Hout Bay, the area was known for its prime residential property. However, the establishment and growth of Mizamoyethu is perceived to have had a dramatic impact on property prices in the area. During the initial stages of the informal settlement issue, an estate agent was quoted as saying:

33 homes were put on show on a single Sunday a few weeks ago. This is an unheard of number of showhouses in Hout Bay. The squatter situation is definitely one of the main reasons for this. The influx of squatters is encouraging people to put their houses on the market and the publicity surrounding the issue is putting off buyers (*Argus*, 1 June, 1990).

Residents were questioned about how they felt the value of their property had changed. These findings are displayed in Figure 8.10.

The majority of the ratepayers felt that their property value had decreased as a result of the 'squatter' issue. Many of those who indicated that their property value had not changed, said that it had remained stagnant and had not increased as it should have. The majority of the harbour community stated that their property values had not been affected by the development of Mizamoyethu, but this is probably due to the low level of homeownership in this community. Properties in the lower-income areas are also not subject to the same fluctuations in property prices as the wealthier areas in the valley. Many of the harbour residents live in hostels and flats which have no market value to the tenants that reside there. Residents of the harbour community who felt

that their property had decreased in value were probably people who owned property in Hout Bay Heights. Property prices in Hout Bay Heights are impacted upon by the location of high value homes within less-desirable locations as a result of apartheid planning.

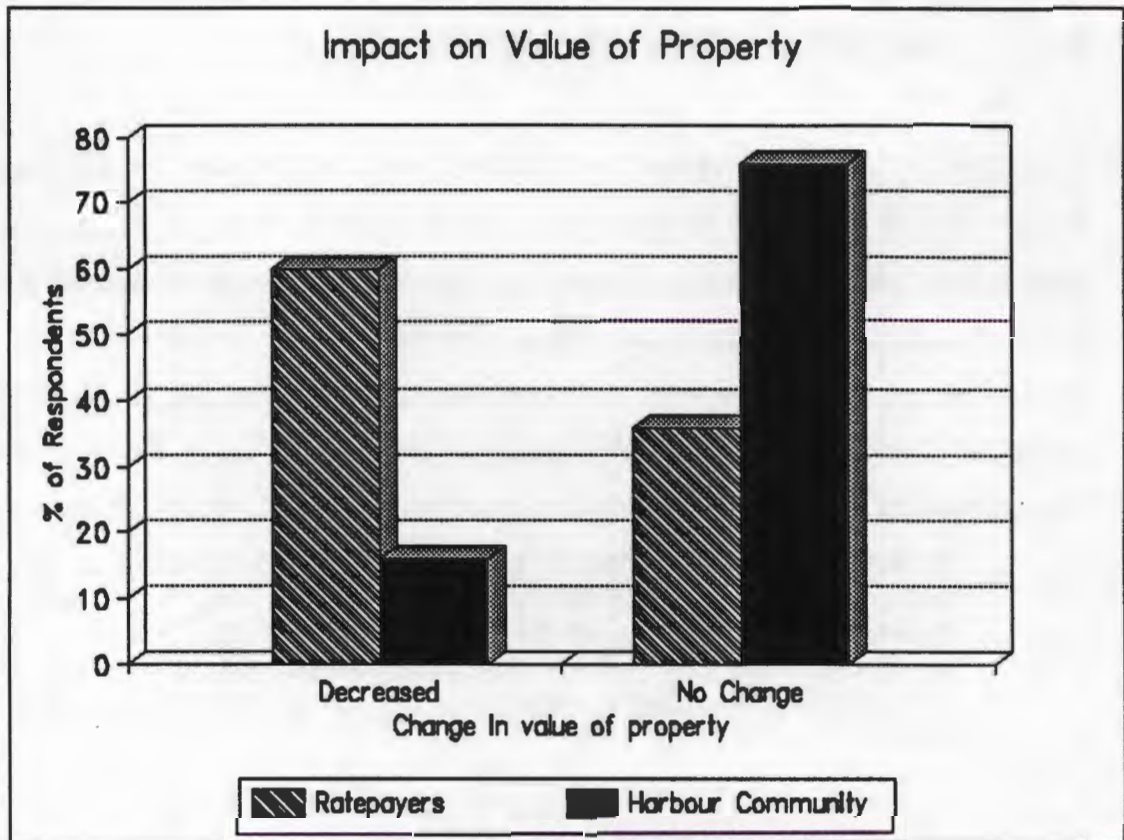


Figure 8.10 The perceived impact of Mizamoyethu on property value.

Proximity plays a major role in determining the extent to which property values are perceived to be and are affected by the development of Mizamoyethu. This is indicated in Figure 8.11 and Table 8.5. Residents in zone one perceive that they have been the most seriously affected in terms of the value of their property because of their close proximity to the settlement. As distance from the settlement increases so the perception that property values have decreased diminishes. However, it is important to note that almost half of all the residents interviewed in zone three indicated that their property values had decreased which is a significant number of

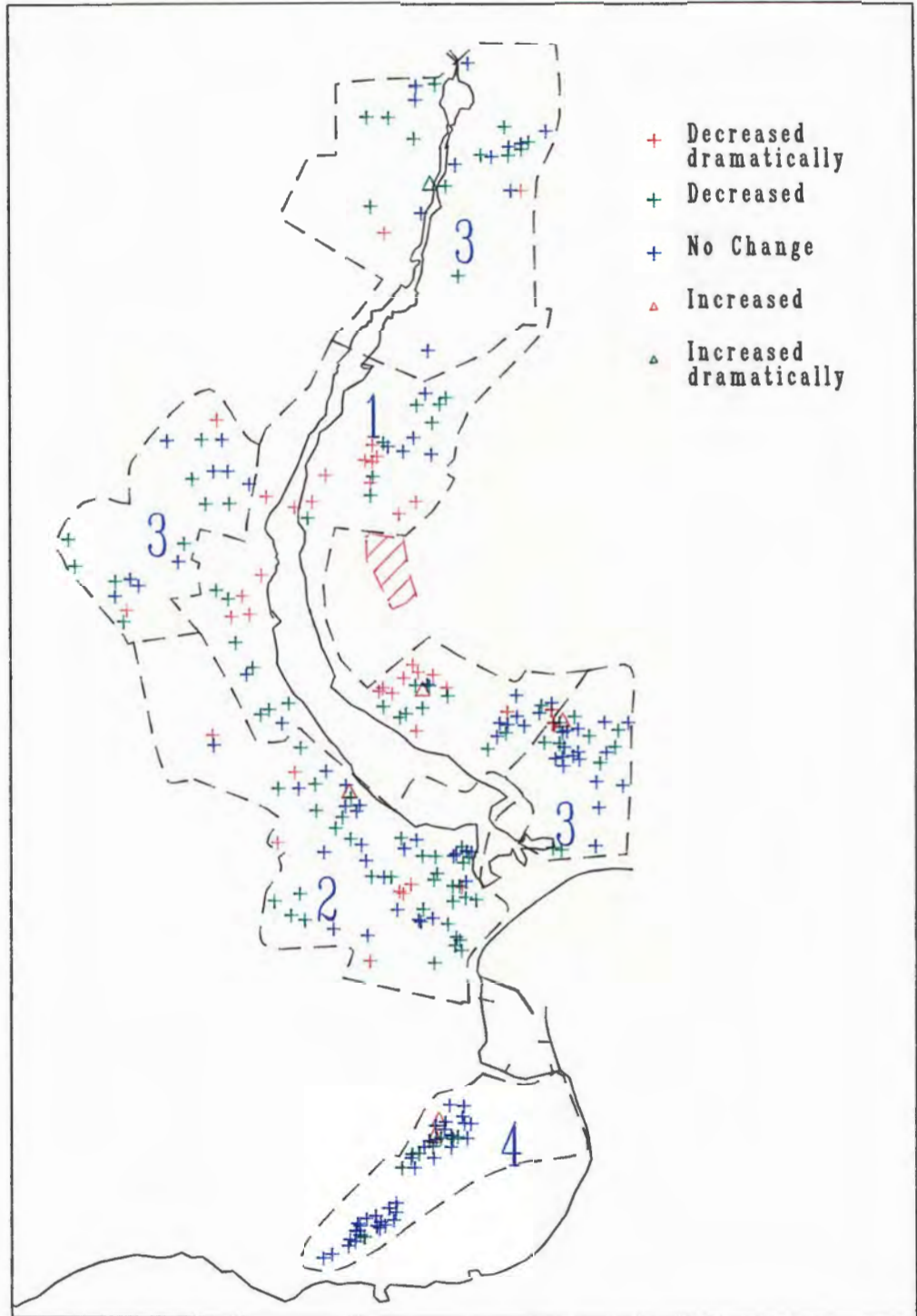


Figure 8.11 Perceptions of the impact of Mizamoyethu on the value of property in Hout Bay

Table 8.5 Perceptions of the impact of Mizamoyethu on the value of property in Hout Bay

	1	2	3	4	Total
Decreased	74%	59%	48%	16%	52%
No Change	23%	36%	49%	76%	43%
Increased	1%	3%	3%	4%	2%

people. According to residents of Hout Bay, their property values have been adversely affected by the settlement, and this impact decreases with distance from the settlement.

These findings are in line with the information gained from the estate agents, as described in the section below. The impact on property prices is also clearly reflected in the attitudes expressed in the newspaper reports.

A Hout Bay estate agent ... said Mizamoyethu village had 'drastically' affected properties in the residential areas immediately alongside it. Property prices generally have dropped by between 15 and 20 percent, but in areas of Hout Bay further from the camp, prices appear to be normalising after the initial scare (*Argus*, 21 March, 1992).

It is thus evident that property prices are affected by proximity and it is important to investigate the reasons for this. What is it about living next door to an informal settlement which causes property prices to fall in these areas? What are the main issues of concern – are there real impacts which affect people's quality of life thereby reducing the value of property; or is it rather what one perceives to be real that affects the property market? To what extent do stereotypes and misconceptions influence the way that people feel about living close to informal settlers and what could be done to break down these negative images? The level of actual impacts on quality of life is considered in the following sections.

There were several qualifying statements made by the residents in terms of the decrease in property value. One was that their property value had decreased by 25%. In some cases houses had been on the market for a considerable length of time, at very low prices, way below the value of the property, and yet they still would not sell. Some residents stated that because they were further away from the settlement their property had not been impacted upon, while others felt that the recession in South Africa was affecting the drop in property value more than the development of Mizamoyethu. Some respondents felt that the press had directly impacted on property prices by publicising the issue of the informal settlement and this affected the perceptions of people living outside of Hout Bay and hence deterring them from wanting to invest in property in Hout Bay. The impact of the media on perceptions and

hence property prices is clearly indicated in the analysis of the newspaper reports and in the attitudes of the estate agents in Hout Bay, presented in the discussion below.

8.4.1 The analysis of property statistics

In order to assess the impact of the development of the informal settlement on property values in Hout Bay, it was necessary to consider property value change in terms of variation in price and number of houses sold according to the views of estate agents, since they drive and manage the process of selling and buying in Hout Bay. Estate agents are concerned to maintain property values in particular areas and so they act to produce and enhance the desired patterns of residential segregation (Johnston, 1984).

Information with regard to the property market in Hout Bay was obtained in two ways from the estate agents. First an analysis of the figures of sales in Hout Bay was completed and secondly five different estate agents in the area were interviewed in order to determine how they perceived the impact of the 'squatter' issue on the locality. An open-ended interview was conducted with each agent.

In considering the statistics for houses sold in Hout Bay from August 1988 to November 1992, it was important to pick up trends in changes both in the number of houses sold and the average price of houses sold. The statistics of sales in Hout Bay are given in Table D.2 in Appendix D. The sales figures were processed for use by the WCRSC. They are analysed and printed three months after the sale date and hence all values shown in the table reflect sales of three months prior to the date given. There are anomalies in the data and thus figures were not taken as being exact but rather changes in value and trends were identified. The decrease in the number of units sold reflects both a lack of buying interest in Hout Bay, as well as the economic recession which has affected housing prices generally across the country. It is evident that the number of houses sold in Hout Bay dropped off from the middle of 1990, staying low right throughout 1991 and into 1992. From the data it is evident that property prices decreased at the same time that the informal settlement issue was

becoming an issue of concern to the residents of Hout Bay. The change in property values also coincides with the increase in the number of press reports about the conflict. Hence one could assume that the informal settlement has impacted on the number of houses sold in Hout Bay. However, the recession in the housing market countrywide was also starting to take effect toward the end of 1990, and so this also affected the functioning of the property market. This view was supported by all of the estate agents interviewed. Some agents suggested that the impact of the informal settlement pre-empted the fall in sales that occurred due to the recession by a few months, and that property prices and sales would have dropped anyway.

Another important factor which does not show up on the sales figures is the number of sales that fell through in Hout Bay over this period. The estate agents explained that many sales were cancelled as events in Mizamoyethu developed. The fact that some houses were seen as unsaleable, that is having prices that were not low enough to attract buyers at all, was of considerable concern to the estate agents. These houses would also not show up on the statistics of sales. This information was conveyed in the interviews with the estate agents.

The average price of houses sold in Hout Bay is difficult to link to the impact of the settlement as there is no standardisation of these figures and change in value is obviously relative to inflation. There does not seem to be a dramatic change in these values however, and so it seems that the informal settlement did not impact dramatically on property prices. A more reliable way of considering changes in property prices is to consider the comments made by the estate agents, as they have the best feel and understanding of changes in the market.

The estate agents indicated that the conflict surrounding the 'squatter' issue in Hout Bay impacted on the property market in the area. Some agents suggested that property prices in Hout Bay had dropped by 15%, and that in some areas prices had decreased by as much as 35%. They commented that the presence of 'squatters' in Hout Bay initially impacted on all property in the area but that once the settlers had

moved to Mizamoyethu and the situation had stabilised so property prices and sales in areas away from the settlement had improved.

When asked whether distance from the settlement was an important factor, the estate agents responded that proximity, as well as a view of the settlement affected the value of property. Agents indicated that certain houses in Hout Bay, because of their location relative to the informal settlement, were, and still are, unsaleable. They commented that the areas which were most seriously affected were Penzance, Hughendon, and Riverside Terrace. These are the three areas which make up zone one of the survey.

They were asked to comment on whether prospective buyers were concerned about the development of Mizamoyethu. All agents indicated that people interested in buying in Hout Bay asked questions about the settlement. They wanted to know 'where the settlement was' in relation to the houses they were interested in. The agents said that they attempted to be as honest as possible about the presence of the 'squatters'. People were concerned about issues such as crime; future property values; and the future growth of the settlement. In dealing with the concerns raised by the clients, the estate agents attempted to allay people's fears by giving them information which counteracted their perceptual fears, such as the newspaper article which states that crime has decreased in the area. They inform clients of the positive aspects of the development by suggesting that Hout Bay will become a model community in the new South Africa as the informal settlement is upgraded. Estate agents also made subtle changes to the marketing of houses, by advertising areas by other names. For example, they advertised houses in Hughendon, which had become stigmatised as a bad area to buy in because of its close proximity to the settlement, as 'The Meadows', since this is the name of the estate adjacent to Hughendon.

All of the estate agents interviewed indicated that the publicity that the informal settlement issue in Hout Bay had received had caused the most damage with respect to the property market. The media influenced the property market dramatically as it acts as the source from which outsiders derive their perceptions and beliefs about the

'squatting' issue in Hout Bay. As already mentioned in the section on the influence of the media, estate agents took action to overcome the negative publicity. They employed a journalist to write articles which represented the positive aspects of the development of Mizamoyethu and they ensured that these were published. This is a good example of how human agents can act to alter the impact of structural changes on society and space.

From the above discussion, it is clear that the development of Mizamoyethu has impacted on the property market in Hout Bay. However, the extent and exact nature of the impact is difficult to determine. A detailed study of property prices which considers changes in the area relative to the rest of South Africa would need to be undertaken. This amount of detail is beyond the scope of this thesis, and the general trends and sense of change that were derived in the above analysis are enough to suggest that the 'squatter issue' has impacted on property prices in Hout Bay. It is interesting to recognise the extent to which the drop in property prices is driven by perceptions. Residents in the area perceive that the settlement will have certain impacts, one of them being a drop in property prices, so conflict develops, and this is reported in the press; outsiders read all about the problems associated with living in close proximity to 'squatters' and hence the area becomes stigmatised, nobody wishes to invest in property in the area, and so the prophecy becomes self-fulfilled. The land market in an area is driven by a number of forces and many of the agents indicated that the Hout Bay market had already stabilised and would continue to improve as the issue of the 'squatters' died down. This is dependent on the future development of the settlement and thus it seems likely that property value in the area may continue to fluctuate for a number of years.

These fluctuations and changes seem somewhat insignificant relative to the opportunities: the development of the settlement has afforded so many less privileged people. In looking beyond self-interest, and in considering the transformation of South African society in the long term, perhaps the above changes in property value can be balanced by the positive spin-offs that the homeless people of Hout Bay have received. This attitude clearly goes against the principles espoused in capitalist

society, but if social transformation is to be more than superficial, then certain structural changes within society need to be accepted.

Having considered the two main issues of concern to residents of Hout Bay, the focus shifts to issues which relate to changes in the environmental quality of the area. Issues such as changes in quality of life, environmental quality and congestion are investigated. These changes are difficult to verify since they are difficult to measure or record.

8.5 THE IMPACT ON QUALITY OF LIFE

Respondents were asked to indicate whether their quality of life had changed since the development of Mizamoyethu, and in what way it had changed. The findings are given in Figure 8.12.

The majority of the ratepayers felt that their quality of life had not changed at all. One third of the respondents felt that their quality of life had decreased considerably in relation to the development of Mizamoyethu. The issues raised by the ratepayers were that the development of Mizamoyethu had caused them to become far more aware of their security situation; that they were concerned about the security of their children and hence would no longer let them play outside or ride to school; and that they did not like to go away and leave their houses unguarded and so felt house bound.

Respondents also indicated that the carefree atmosphere of Hout Bay had gone; that the valley was now far more crowded; and that residents were harassed by people in the streets and at the shops. The formal residents' place ballets and lifeworlds had been interrupted and impacted upon by a group that they consider to be 'outsiders'. Others felt that their situation had improved now that the informal settlers had moved away from them. Most of these issues are not unique to Hout Bay and many areas in South Africa are experiencing similar changes as the balance is redressed and transition takes place. In the case of Hout Bay, the changes have occurred right on

people's doorsteps rather than in the distant townships and this is partly what has made the ratepayers of Hout Bay uncomfortable about the situation.

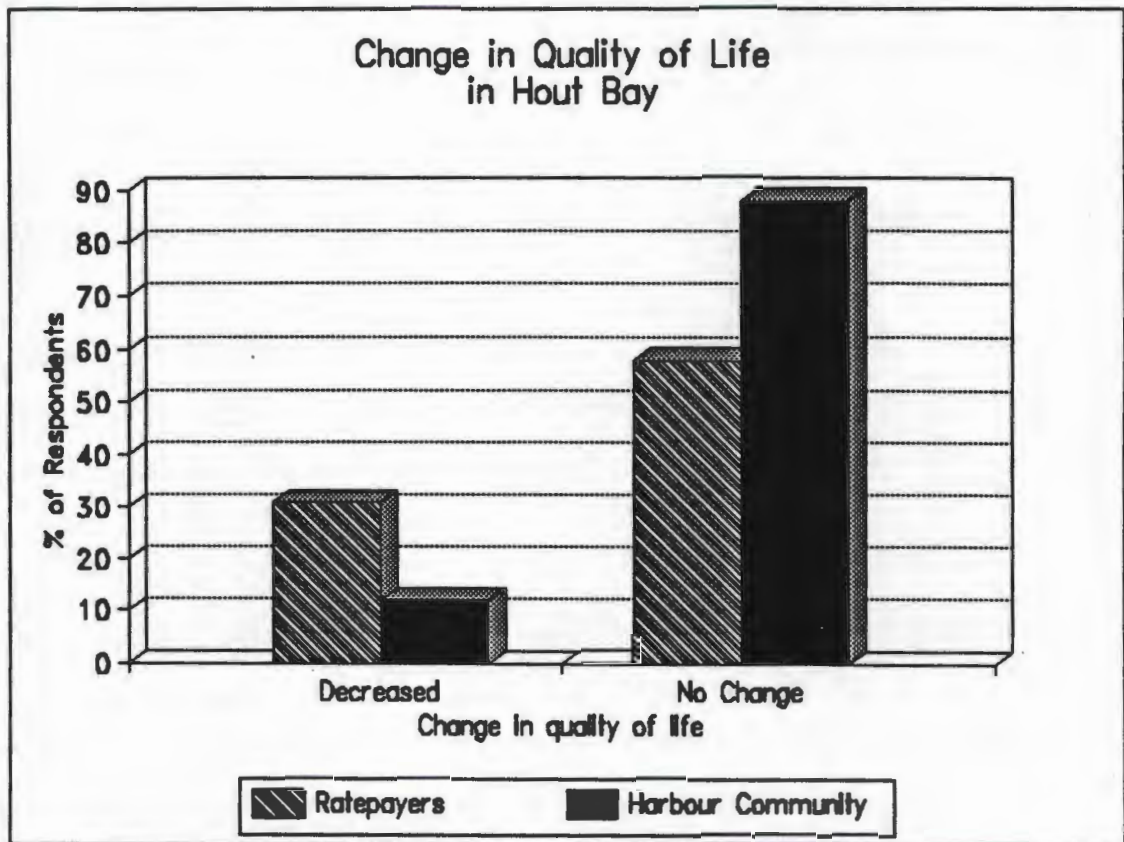


Figure 8.12 The perceived impact of Mizamoyethu on quality of life.

Some of the ratepayers stated that they found living in Hout Bay far more stressful since the 'squatters' had moved in. Some of this stress is no doubt related to the uncertainty of the future of the settlement and the impact that it may continue to have on people's lives. There is considerable stress related to the future size and growth of the settlement.

The majority of the harbour community felt that their quality of life had not changed (see Figure 8.12). Again the harbour community's responses were different to the ratepayers'. These responses emphasise the vast differences between the two groups, which are largely underpinned by differences in socio-economic status. Class structure

underlies a whole range of lifeworld experiences and expectations which impacts on the way that individuals perceive their living environment. The change in quality and privileges of the upper-income area are the most strongly felt. Upper classes want to maintain the status quo by ensuring that the area in which they live has the characteristics that they aspire to.

8.6 CHANGE IN THE NUMBER OF BEGGARS AND HAWKERS

Respondents were asked to indicate whether they felt that the number of beggars and hawkers had increased in Hout Bay since the establishment of Mizamoyethu. The majority of ratepayers felt that begging and hawking had increased as shown in Figure 8.13.

The responses given to qualify the statements about the increase in begging were as follows. Many residents felt that begging had increased dramatically in the shopping areas and many stated that they now refused to go to Shoprite as they did not want to be harassed by people while doing their shopping. Respondents also said that they had people coming to their doors looking for work or money and that their homes had lost their privacy. Some believed that they were too far away from the settlement to be affected while others felt that the situation had improved now that the squatters had been resettled away from them, which indicates the influence of proximity. Residents remarked that the informal settlers wait at robots (traffic lights) and ask for lifts, becoming quite aggressive when they are refused. Residents frequently observe casual workers standing at the intersection of Victoria and Main road, hoping for daily employment. A number of residents said that they now prefer to shop in Constantia in order to avoid confrontations with the 'squatters' in the shopping areas in Hout Bay.

The issue of an increase in the number of people begging, loitering and waiting on the pavements for casual labour upsets the residents of Hout Bay because it upsets their place ballets and time-space routines. These theoretical concepts were discussed in

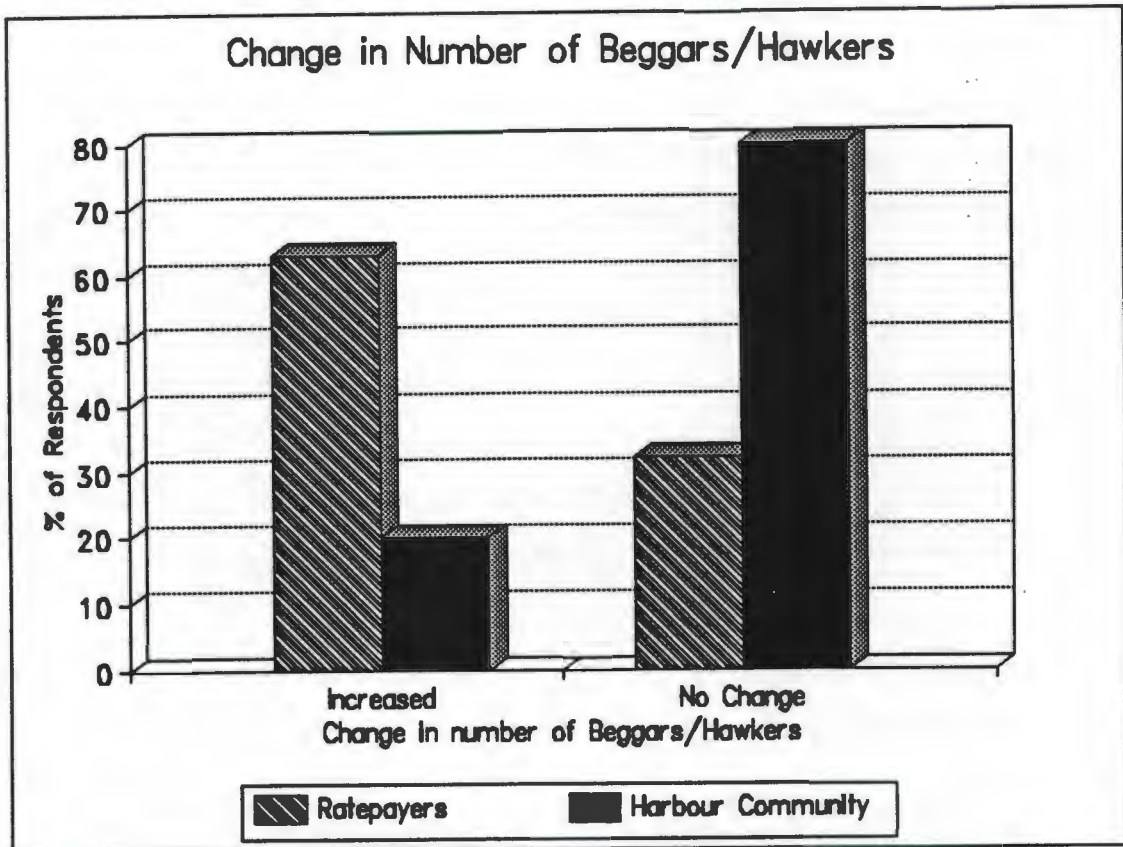


Figure 8.13 The change in the number of beggars and hawkers in Hout Bay.

the section on humanist approaches to the conflict in Hout Bay. The routines that they have established have been interrupted by a group of people with very different ways of being and conflict therefore arises. Some residents of Hout Bay indicated that they felt swamped by the presence of the informal settlers. The behaviour patterns of these two groups and the types of activities that they carry out in Hout Bay are very different and hence the residents feel angry and want to resist the change they feel is taking place. They want to conserve the routines and ways of interacting and existing that were familiar and comfortable. The newcomers are seen to have invaded their territory.

The harbour people were generally not affected by begging and hawking, as indicated in Figure 8.13. The reaction of the harbour community supports the general trend that the harbour community do not perceive the informal settlers as having impacted on

their way of life. The difference in response between the ratepayers and the harbour community is evident in Figure 8.14 and Table 8.6.

The spatial representation of the data, see Figure 8.14 and Table 8.6, indicates that residents in zone two are most impacted upon by the informal settlers in terms of begging and hawking. This zone is situated along the main commercial axis of Hout Bay as well as on the main transport routes and so this group of residents would be most aware of beggars and loiterers. The informal settlers wait at the main intersections hoping to find casual labour. Those that participate in begging would obviously locate themselves close to the shopping areas. The map indicates that spatial proximity, not to the settlement necessarily but rather to areas of opportunity, affects residents' responses to this impact.

8.7 THE IMPACT ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY

Environmental quality was used as an indicator in order to get general idea of whether residents felt that the environmental quality of Hout Bay had been altered. However, there are difficulties in using this term as it is very broad and respondent's interpretation of the term may differ.

As indicated in Figure 8.15, the majority of ratepayers commented that environmental quality had not changed in Hout Bay. The perceived impacts on environmental quality seem to be greater in the area with the greatest proximity to the settlement. Figure 8.16 and Table 8.7 represents the spatial patterning of the responses. It is evident that those that live in zone one feel the most that environmental quality has decreased the most. Residents in both zone two and three responded in the same way to a decrease in environmental quality. What is noteworthy is that zone two recorded the highest number of people who indicated that environmental quality had improved and this is obviously related to the fact that the informal settlers had been moved away from their area.

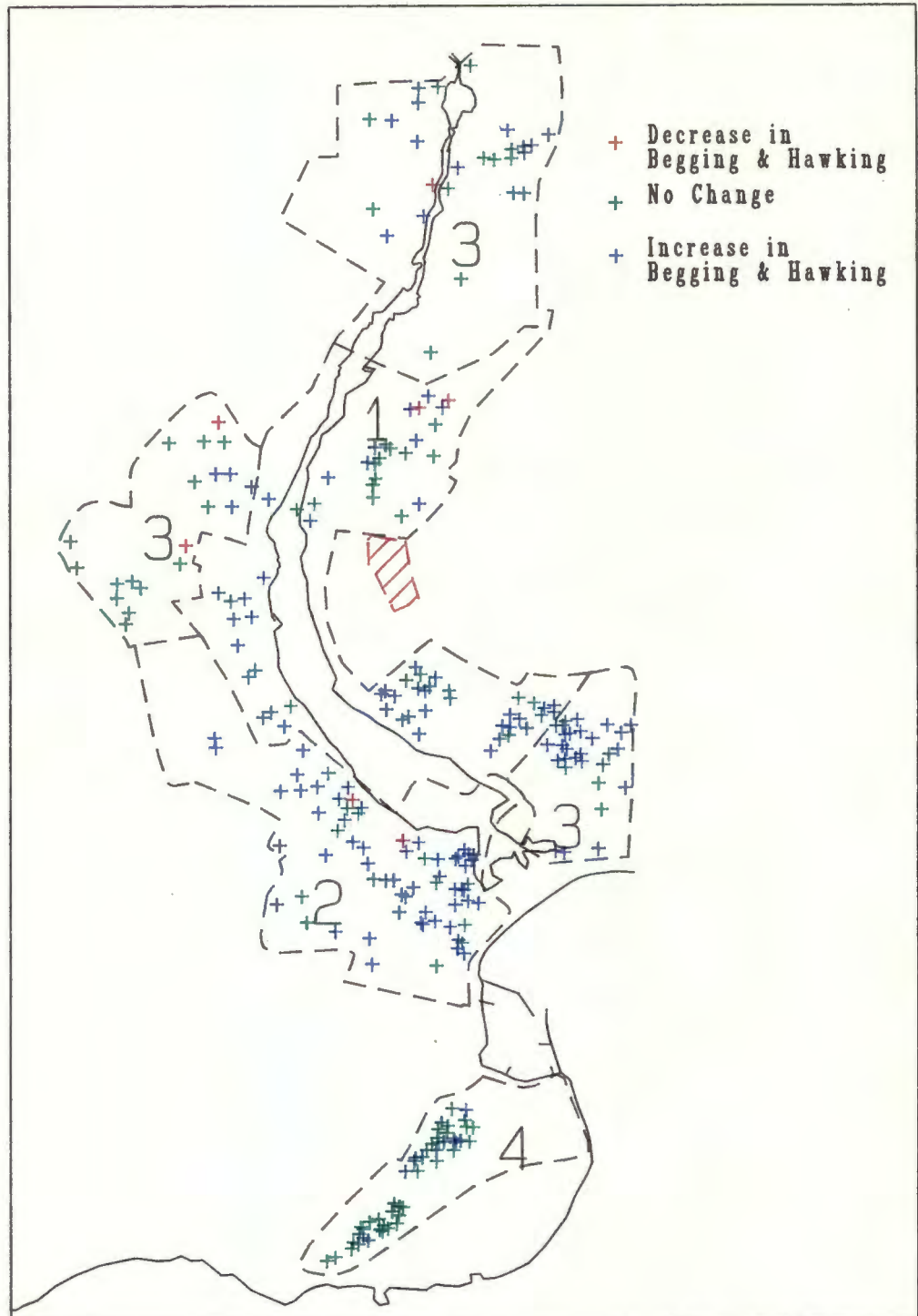


Figure 8.14 Perceptions of the impact of Mizamoyethu on the number of beggars and hawkers in Hout Bay.

Table 8.6 Perceptions of the impact of Mizamoyethu on the number of beggars and hawkers in Hout Bay.

	1	2	3	4	Total
Decrease	3%	3%	4%	0	2%
No Change	35%	19%	44%	80%	41%
Increase	60%	76%	52%	20%	55%

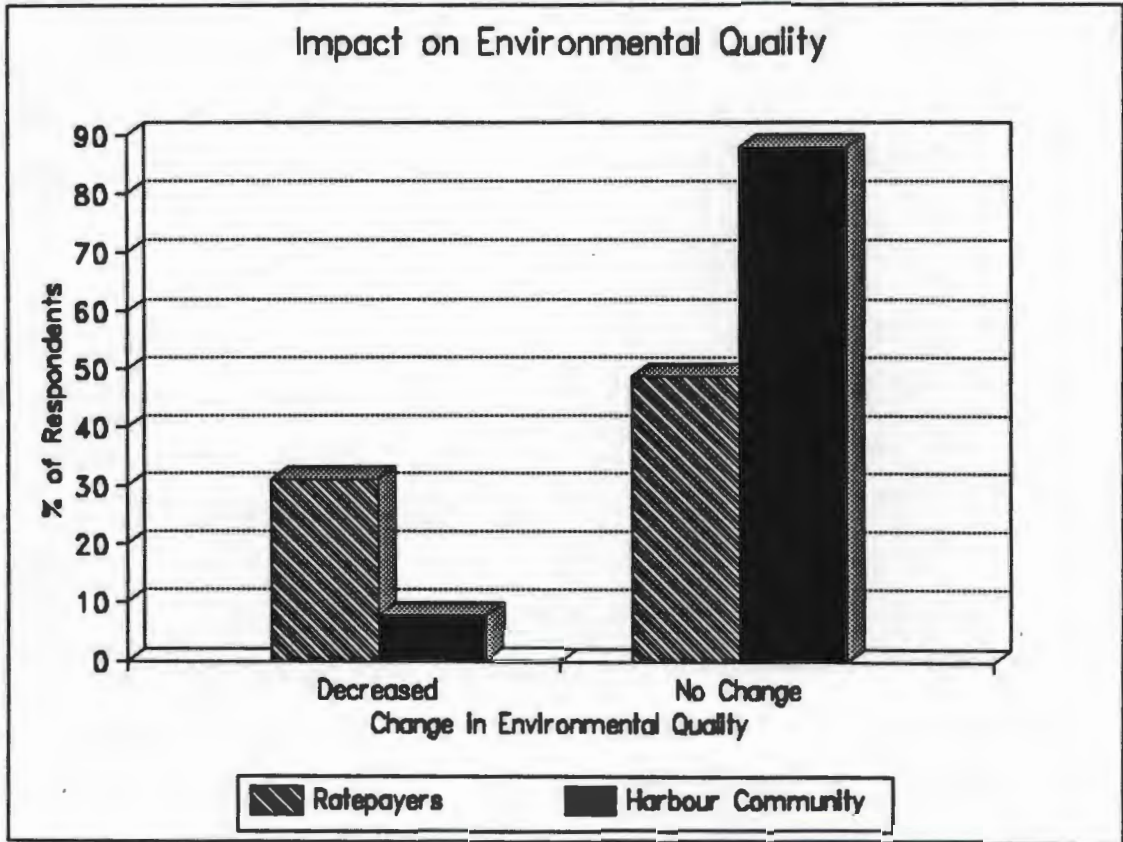


Figure 8.15 The perceived impact of Mizamoyethu of environmental quality.

Some of the respondents felt that it was too early to comment on the impact of the settlement on the environment of Hout bay as they felt that as the settlement developed so the impacts would get worse. Certain of the ratepayers felt that the environment had been affected because the informal settlers were not environmentally aware, an assumption which is clearly based on the stigmatisation of 'squatters', while others felt that litter in Hout Bay had increased. Some respondents indicated that the aesthetic quality of Hout Bay had decreased because of the views of the settlement. However, this was balanced by those who felt that Mizamoyethu was more aesthetically pleasing than a lot of the townhouse developments that had been developed in Hout Bay over the past five years.

Residents also felt that deforestation would increase dramatically in Hout Bay over the next few years as informal settlers used wood for fuel and building materials. They also felt that there were far more people loitering around in the streets and shopping areas and that people bothered by asking for money and jobs. Others indicated that the environmental impacts had decreased now that the 'squatters' had been moved away from the beach.

In summarising the findings, it would seem that the broad environmental impacts of the informal settlement on the surrounding Hout Bay community do not seem to be as serious at present as one would anticipate from the reactions of some residents and from the comments made in the press. This is probably due to the stigmatisation and stereotyping of 'squatters' which creates the perception that they impact negatively on environmental quality. The residents' perceptions of the impact that informal settlers have on the environment is probably influenced by the stage when the 'squatters' were on the original sites and had no services or facilities to enable them to minimise their impacts. Because informal settlers have such direct interaction with the environment, their impacts and the way the environment impacts on them, are often far more visible than the impacts of formal residents.

It is important to recognise that as the settlement develops so its impact on the environment will change. Increase in the number of people in Mizamoyethu may have serious implications in terms of impact on the broader environment. As the need for resources and land increases so the Cape Peninsula Protected Natural Environment (CPPNE) may come under threat. The provision of adequate structures and policies at government level and the future management of the settlement is thus essential to the issue of further impacts.

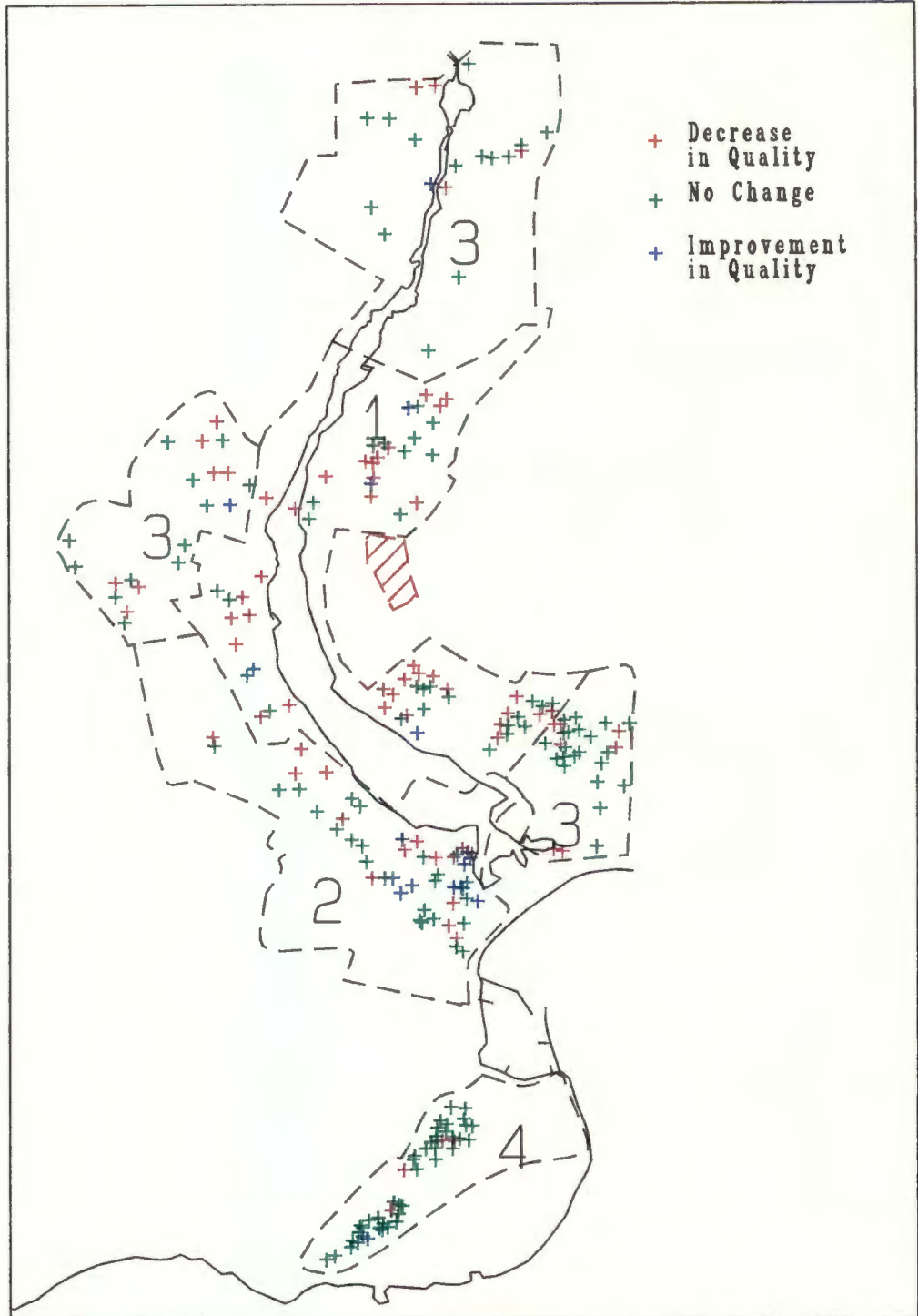


Figure 8.16 Perceptions of the impact of Mizamoyethu on environmental quality in Hout Bay.

Table 8.7 Perceptions of the impact of Mizamoyethu on environmental quality in Hout Bay.

	1	2	3	4	Total
Decrease	47%	23%	23%	8%	26%
No Change	44%	39%	64%	88%	56%
Improvement	5%	11%	3%	2%	5%

8.8 THE IMPACT ON SMOKE POLLUTION

This indicator reflects change in the environmental conditions of Hout Bay: that is, whether the amount of smoke in the area has increased significantly since the development of the settlement. Of the ratepayers, 68% felt that there had been no change in the amount of smoke in the valley. This is encouraging because one would expect there to be an increase in smoke since most of the residents of Mizamoyethu use wood as a source of fuel, and also because the micro-climatic and environmental conditions of Hout Bay would tend to accentuate and trap smoke in the valley. 27% of the ratepayers felt that there had been an increase in smoke and that it was worst in winter where the smoke tended to hang over the valley, due to inversion conditions.

84% of the harbour community stated that they noticed no change in the amount of smoke in the valley, while 14% said that the amount of smoke had increased.

8.9 CHANGE IN POLLUTION LEVELS

Respondents were asked to indicate whether pollution had changed in the valley in relation to the development of Mizamoyethu. Once again the findings reflect the differences in attitude between the ratepayers and the harbour community (see Figure 8.17). The graph suggests that no significant number of respondents commented that pollution had increased dramatically in Hout Bay.

Figure 8.18 and Table 8.8 indicates that spatial proximity to Mizamoyethu was not the only factor affecting residents' responses to increased pollution in Hout Bay. However, the results suggest that it is spatial proximity to an area of increased activity that is causing the residents in zone two to have the highest rating on increase in pollution. This is probably due to the fact that these people live closest to the commercial area of Hout Bay and hence are most aware of the increase of litter. This area experiences the greatest movement of people through it because of its proximity to the shops, the beach, the harbour and access routes where casual workers wait for lifts and

employment. They were also probably most aware of the pollution problems in the Princess Bush and Sea Products settlements, where the 'squatters' had no services and so had difficulty in managing the pollution of the area, and their perception may be carry over from this time. Residents in zone one also indicated that pollution had increased – they notice the rubbish and litter as it blows onto the fences surrounding the buffer zones. Residents most removed from the settlement indicated that pollution levels had not changed much.

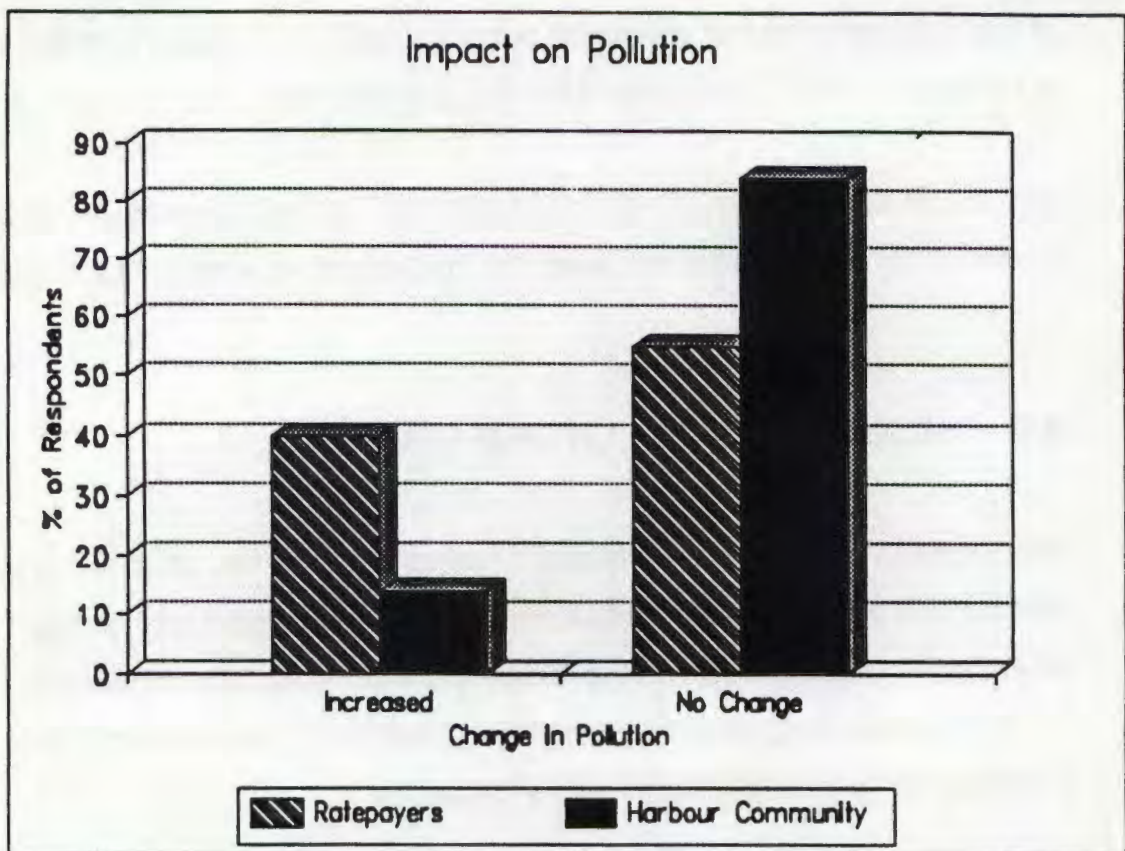


Figure 8.17 The perceived impact of Mizamoyethu on pollution.

Pollution seems to be related to spatial proximity. Again it is interesting to note the low concern of the harbour community. The level of services in this community are very poor and so their levels of pollution are high and thus comparatively they do not feel that pollution has increased to any great extent.

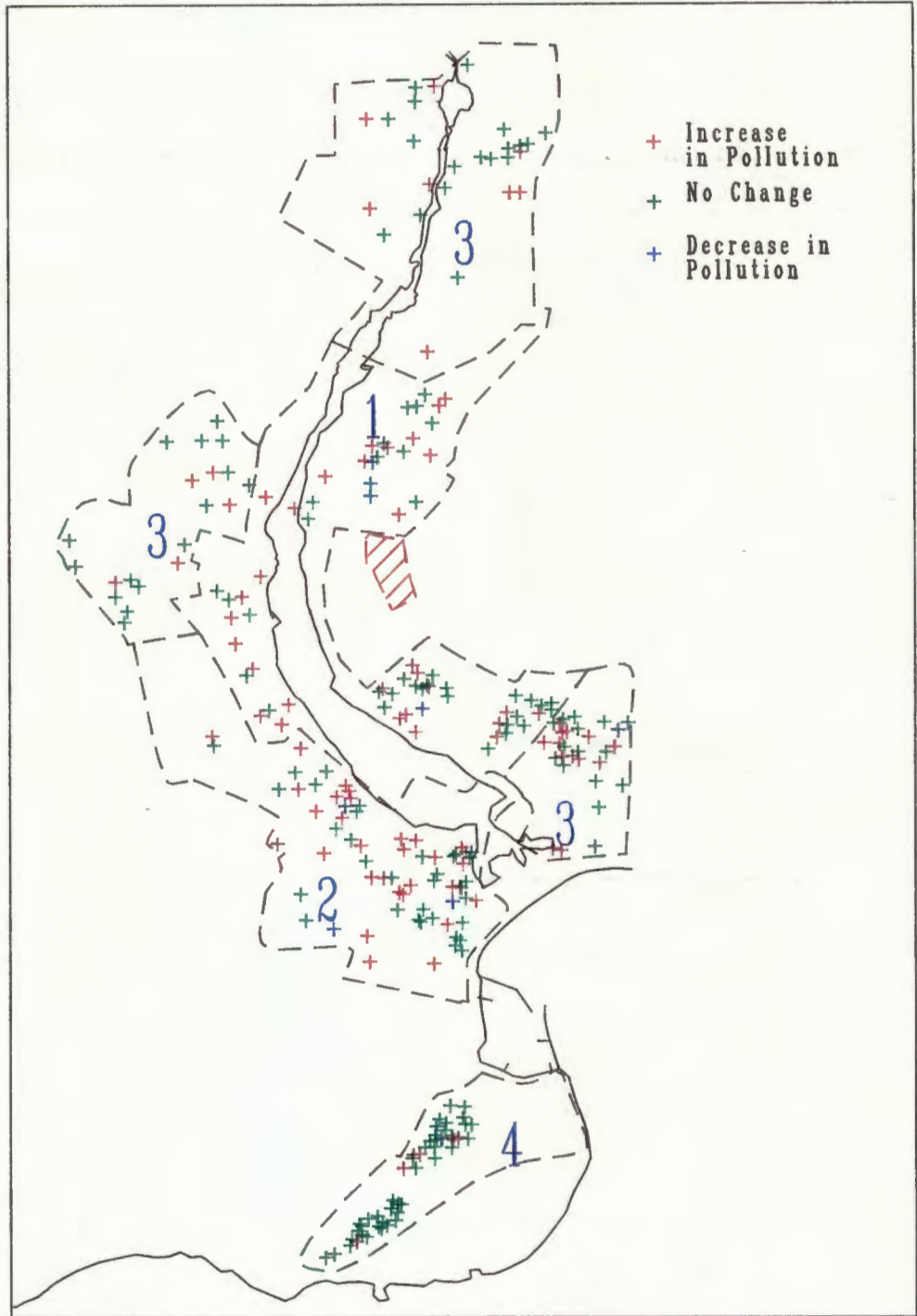


Figure 8.18 Perceptions of the impact of Mizamoyethu on pollution in Hout Bay.

Table 8.8 Perceptions of the impact of Mizamoyethu on pollution in Hout Bay.

	1	2	3	4	Total
Increased	41%	45%	32%	14%	36%
No Change	52%	47%	67%	84%	61%
Decreased	6%	4%	1%	0	3%

The Disa River was polluted during the period when the 'squatters' were living on the beach since it was the main source of water for the settlers. The dunes were also polluted as there was no access to any ablution facilities. However, since the development of Mizamoyethu the amount of pollution seems to have been controlled. The problems associated with the shortage of pit latrines led to the use of the CPPNE land above the settlement as a toilet area, but this impact will hopefully be minimised once the settlers have access to water- borne sewerage.

8.10 THE IMPACT ON DEFORESTATION

Deforestation can become a serious impact where people are using wood for fuel in order to sustain themselves. A large numbers of trees were also felled in order to make space for the development of phase two of Mizamoyethu, but this has been done in an environmentally sensitive way and hence the impact has been minimised. However views of the settlement prior to and after the development of the new phases of Mizamoyethu clearly show the impact of the removal of the stone pines.

Plate 13 shows the importance of retaining as much vegetation in the development as possible. The middle of the photograph indicates the area that previously had low level vegetation (it was the forestry nursery site), which has now been removed. Mizamoyethu continues across to the right of the photograph and in this area a large number of pine trees have been retained (see area A). The difference in aesthetic impact can be clearly seen.

As shown in Figure 8.19 the majority of ratepayers felt that deforestation had increased, whereas a just over a third felt that there had been no change. The harbour community were far less concerned about deforestation. Perhaps because they have enough other, more immediate issues to worry about, only 14% felt that there had been an increase and 84% indicated no change.



Plate 13 A view of the site of Mizamoyethu indicating the removal of vegetation for the development.

Deforestation in Hout Bay will probably increase with time. Mizamoyethu is to be electrified but many residents will not be able to afford electricity or electric appliances and so will continue to use wood and paraffin for fuel. A number of respondents stated that at this stage deforestation in Hout Bay was not serious but with time they worried that it would increase. Sensitive planning can limit the impact. For example, all the trees that were felled for the development of the second phase site have been put in a storage pile for use by the residents. This helps to limit their need to chop in other areas. There are many developments taking place in the Hout Bay area where trees are felled and attempts should be made to make this wood available to the residents of Mizamoyethu.

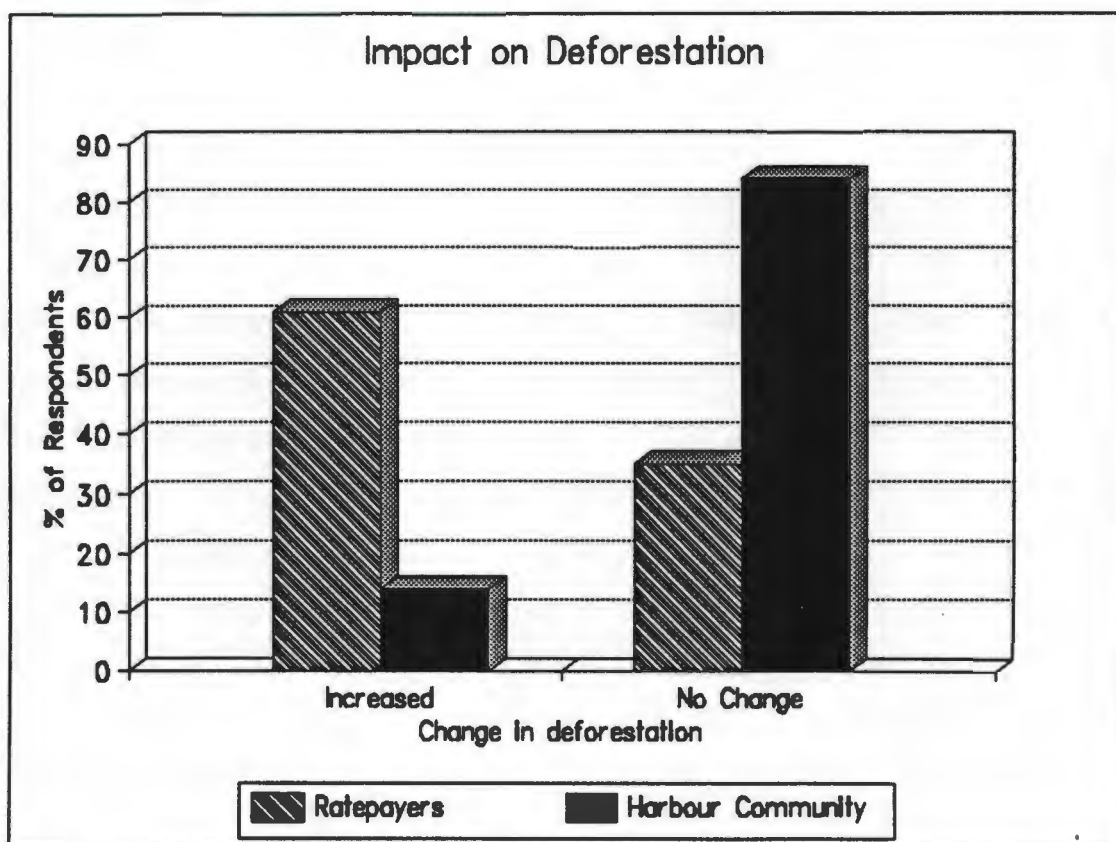


Figure 8.19 The perceived impact of Mizamoyethu on deforestation.

A noteworthy factor mentioned by a number of the residents was that there was far worse deforestation occurring on the sites of other developments in Hout Bay than the amount of deforestation occurring in relation to Mizamoyethu. This indicates that people will look for issues to validate the feelings and perceptions that they have in order to give more credence to their arguments. They fail to realise that similar impacts are occurring within the upper-income groups, considered to be of acceptable socio-economic status. Different standards are therefore adopted for 'insider' and 'outsider' groups. The ratepayers may be projecting all of the impacts of the extensive development that is going on in Hout Bay onto the informal settlers.

An investigation of the spatial relationship of residents' attitudes toward deforestation is interesting to consider. In this case proximity to the settlement did not influence the attitudes of the residents as can be seen in Figure 8.20 and Table 8.9.

Clearly deforestation has much broader impacts and it is easy to understand why. Those closest to the settlement are probably concerned about deforestation because of the valuable role trees play in creating a soft barrier between themselves and the informal settlers (refer to plate 15 in chapter 9). Both the interface zones are forested enough to break the view between the two communities. The residents in zone three, many of whom have a view of the settlement, would want the trees to remain in order to break the visual impact of the settlement. The forest is also seen as being part of the aesthetic character of Hout Bay and so residents, no matter how far they live from the settlement, would like the trees to remain. The negative impact of the removal of trees can be seen in the informal settlement in Noordhoek (Cape Peninsula) and Gonubie (Eastern Cape), where the informal settlements are very exposed. Thus the residents of Hout Bay are wise to want as many trees as possible to remain.

The reasons for residents' concern about deforestation are interesting to consider since they are based more on aesthetic reasons than on sound environmental principles. Certain residents may reflect a concern based on environmental reasons, such as the prevention of soil erosion, and the protection of the natural vegetation. However the majority want to protect the forest for other reasons. The stone pines around the site are alien vegetation and hence do not have much value in terms of the natural ecology of Hout Bay. It is not the natural environment that the residents of Hout Bay are wanting to protect, but rather the sense of place and aesthetic beauty that they have come to associate with the area.

Once again the harbour community's lack of concern with the deforestation reflects their socio-economic and political position.

The forests surrounding the settlement lessen the visual impact of the settlement and are therefore important in terms of the impact of Mizaroyethu on the visual character

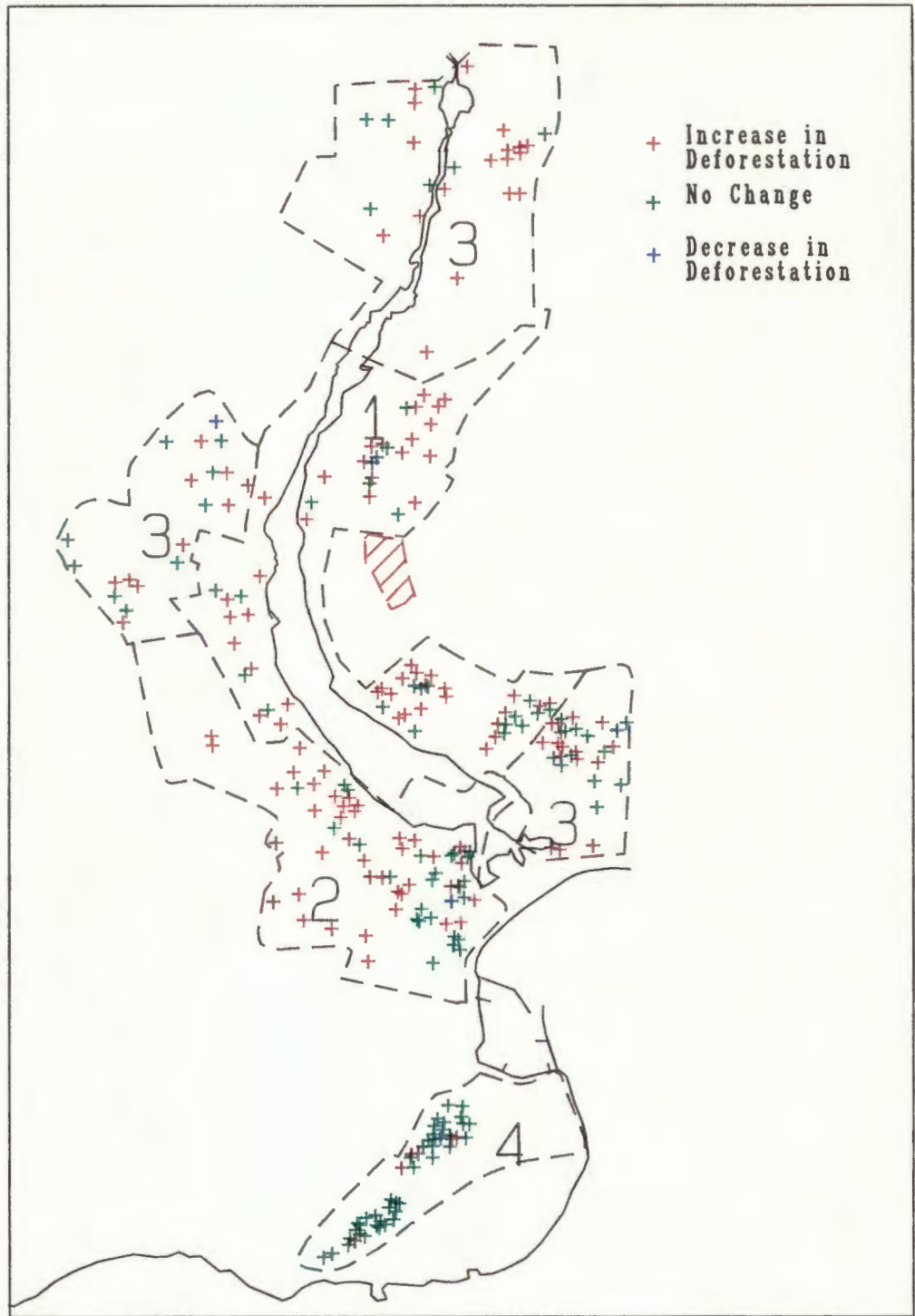


Figure 8.20 Perceptions of the impact of Mizamoyethu on deforestation in Hout Bay.

Table 8.9 Perceptions of the impact of Mizamoyethu on deforestation in Hout Bay.

	1	2	3	4	Total
Increase	63%	60%	60%	14%	52%
No Change	33%	35%	36%	84%	44%
Decrease	3%	3%	3%	0	2%

of Hout Bay (see Plate 13). They create a less harsh and aggressive interface zone and they also serve as wind and weather breaks for the informal settlement and thus it is important that they are conserved.

8.11 CHANGE IN HEALTH CONDITIONS

Health was not seen to be a major issue of concern for residents. 73% of ratepayers felt that health conditions in Hout Bay had not changed since the development of the settlement, and again the harbour community tended to see it as a non-issue, with 84% stating there was no change in health conditions.

One health risk mentioned by the residents was the inadequate management of sewerage in Hout Bay especially in Mizamoyethu, where the smell was often bad and where sewerage control and drainage was very poor during the winter months. Residents also felt that the rivers and the beach had been polluted by the 'squatters' but that the beach had improved since the 'squatters' had moved away. All of these problems should improve when the residents of Mizamoyethu are moved onto the new serviced sites.

Some residents mentioned that the number of flies in the area had increased over the past year and they felt this could be due to conditions in Mizamoyethu. Residents also expressed the view that health conditions had improved since the development of Mizamoyethu as services were now being provided.

The spatial display of the data, see Figure B.12 and Table B.12 in Appendix B, indicates that spatial proximity does not impact on residents' attitudes to change in health conditions. The only interesting response is that residents in zone two indicated that the health conditions in Hout Bay had improved. This once again reflects the changes in relation to the resettlement of the informal settlers into a serviced area (albeit with only basic services).

8.12 THE IMPACT ON NOISE POLLUTION

In considering environmental impacts it is necessary to take cognisance of the change in noise pollution. The majority of ratepayers felt that there had been no noticeable change in noise levels since the development of the settlement whereas a quarter of the ratepayers felt that noise had increased, but only marginally. These findings are displayed in Figure 8.21.

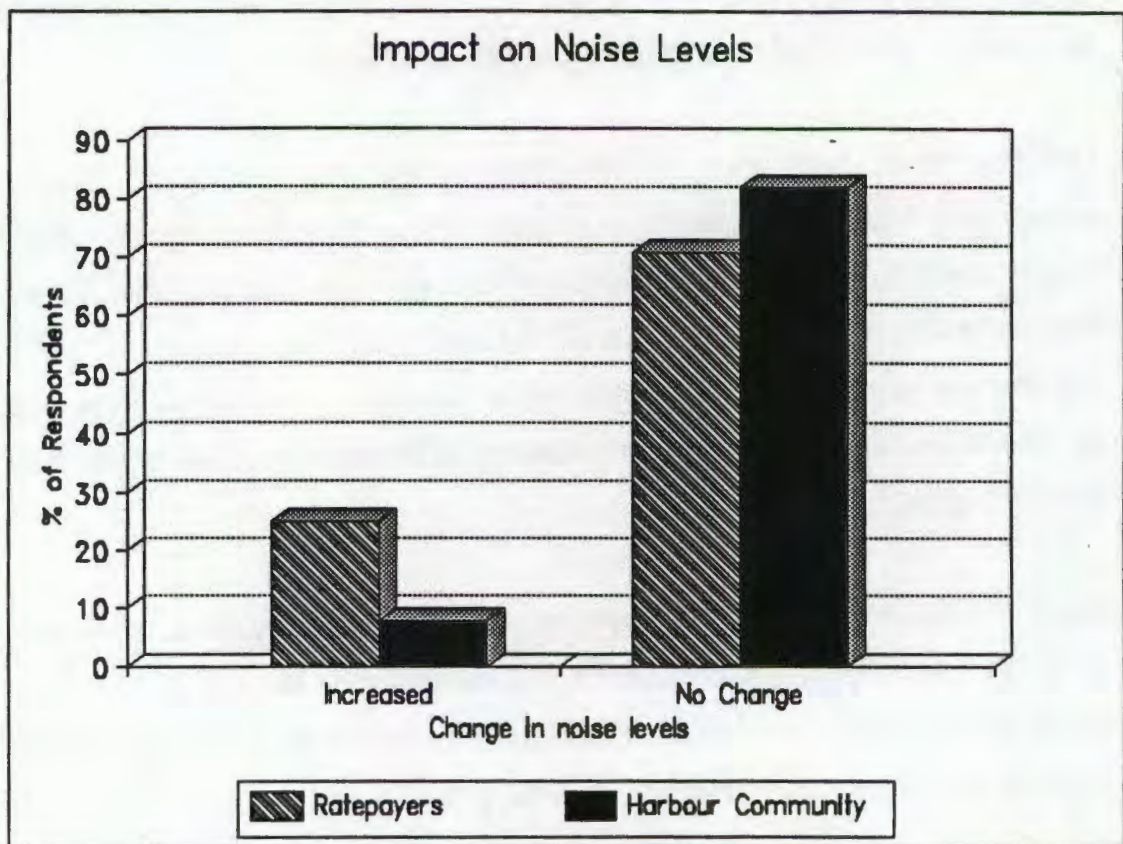


Figure 8.21 The perceived impact of Mizamoyethu on noise pollution.

The harbour community were largely unaffected since the majority indicated that there had been no change and only 8% felt there had been an increase. This could be due to a number of factors, such as distance from the settlement and their lack of concern with regard to the whole informal settler issue.

In considering the way in which proximity impacts on noise levels, it is evident that the obvious is true (see Figure B.13 and Table B.13). Those closest to the settlement and to the main access of activity are most affected by the noise of the settlement. Most respondents were not too concerned about the noise. They said that they often heard parties until late on a Friday night and that on the weekends the noise was quite bad. They said that they frequently heard the beating of drums, or the loudhailer when meetings were being held. Some stated that the shopping areas were far noisier. Many accepted that the increase in noise was relative to the increase in volume of people and therefore was to be expected. Some said that now that the 'squatters' had moved away from the old sites the noise levels had decreased. Many of the residents that had lived close to the old sites stated that the noise and activity at the sites during the weekends was very bad and that they were frequently disturbed during the night, especially once the smaller sites had grown in size just prior to the move, as there was a lot of fighting at this time.

The area that seemed to be most impacted upon by noise was the area along Valley road which is directly across the valley and in a depression which obviously transmits the greatest amount of noise, and not necessarily in the suburbs directly adjacent to the sites as the trees seem to act as a noise buffer.

Environmental planners need to take into account the fact that impacts are not always in the most obvious places, for example in the suburbs next door, but are often in areas further away. This is important in terms of the distance decay theory as zone one, which is closest to the settlement, is the area that has been perceived as being the most impacted upon, and yet certain impacts are more seriously felt in other areas. The area across the valley is affected more seriously by noise and by change in aesthetics – they look straight onto the settlement and many residents felt that this had decreased their property value. Some residents also found the view of Mizamoyethu stressful as it was a constant reminder of the problems of having informal settlers in Hout Bay.

8.13 CHANGE IN CONGESTION LEVELS

Congestion and increased traffic is another impact of the development since the number of people in Hout Bay has increased. The results of this question are displayed in Figure 8.22.

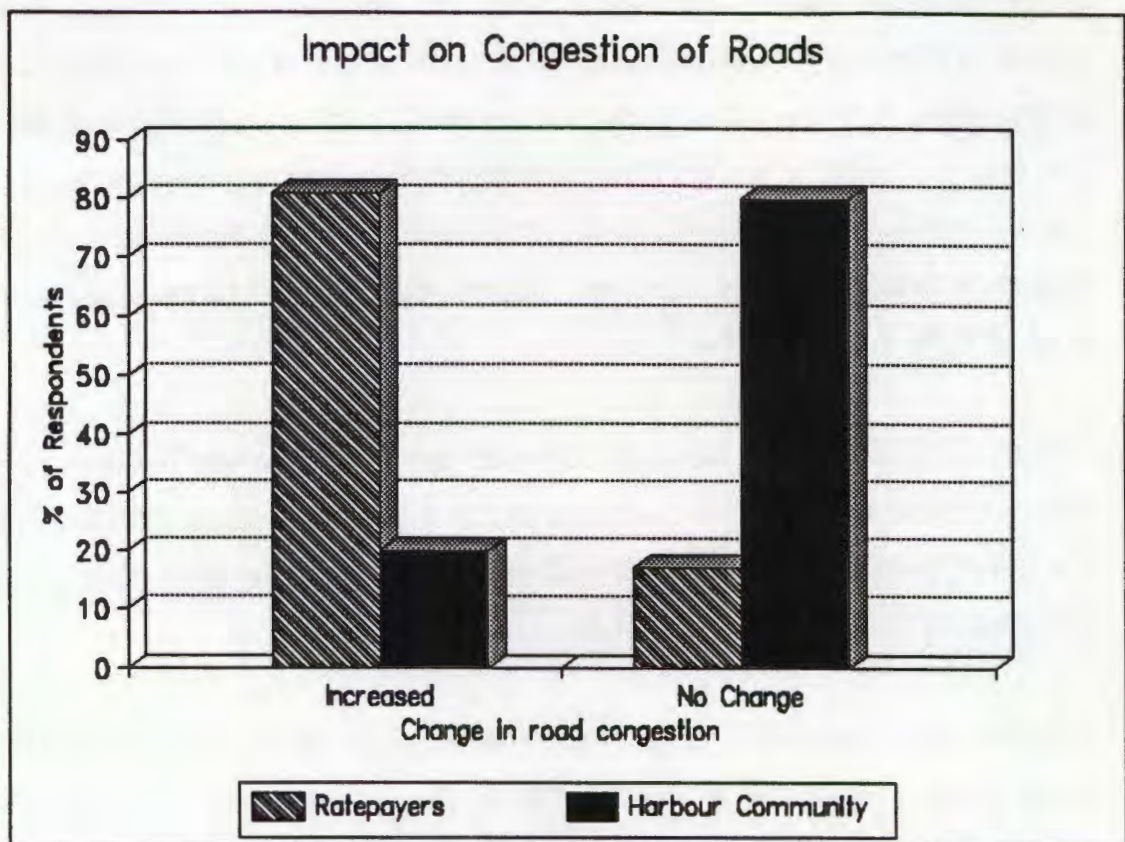


Figure 8.22 The perceived impact of Mizamoyethu on congestion.

A high percentage of the ratepayers indicated that congestion had increased. The harbour community responded totally differently with only one fifth of residents noticing an increase in congestion. This emphasises the fact that perceptions, needs and impacts are relative to one's own situation and expectations. The harbour community have limited access to private transport and perhaps because they are less mobile, their perception of congestion as an issue is totally different. 17% of the ratepayers felt

that congestion on the roads had increased dramatically. Most ratepayers felt that there had been a large increase in the number of taxis in Hout Bay. Issues relating to taxis on the roads are clearly felt right across urban South Africa. Residents' responses to whether there had been a change in the number of taxis are indicated in Figure 8.23. Again the harbour community did not think there had been an increase in taxis and hence did not consider this to be an issue.

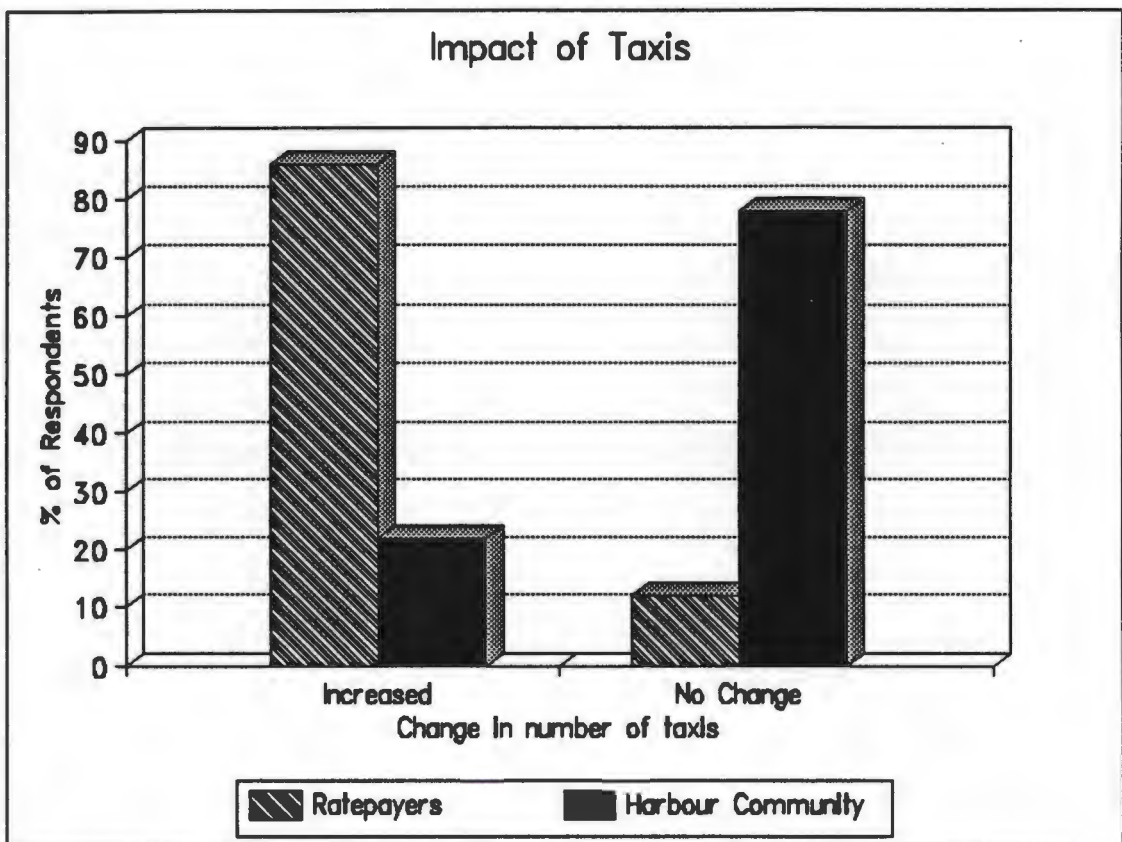


Figure 8.23 The perceived increase in the number of taxis in Hout Bay.

Residents felt that there was more noise in the area with the increase in traffic and also that the roads were now far more dangerous. They indicated that the roads were far busier and also that there were far more pedestrians on the narrow verges, particularly in the vicinity of the pick up point at the bottom of the access road to Mizamoyethu. They suggested that a better pick up terminus should be developed for the taxis.

Many of the formal residents commented that the increase in traffic was also due to the increase in number of townhouse and housing developments in Hout Bay and hence could not be attributed entirely to the 'squatters'. Members of the harbour community stated that, because they did not have cars, they were not concerned about the increased congestion. It is probably to the harbour community's benefit that there has been an increase in the taxi service in Hout Bay and hence they probably perceive the increase as a positive impact rather than as the negative impact that white residents feel.

In considering the role that distance from the settlement plays in determining residents' attitudes toward congestion, it becomes evident that spatial proximity to the settlement plays only a limited role in determining residents' perceptions of the impact (see Figure 8.24 and Table 8.10). This is because the impact is not localised but rather is felt right across Hout Bay, particularly for residents who use or live close to the Constantia Nek road. The increase in the number of taxis has upset the place ballets and time-space routines of residents who have had to get used to competing in the traffic with the taxis. This issue, like that of deforestation, has much broader impacts and hence is less affected by distance from the settlement.

8.14 CONCLUSION

From the above discussion it is evident that the harbour community attitudes differ significantly from the ratepayers in terms of the way they perceive that the informal settlement has impacted on the area. This is due to socio-economic differences, which result in a whole host of differing conditions and perceptions; their position in terms of the transformation that is occurring in the socio-political spheres of South Africa; and their own interpretations of sense of place relative to the circumstances within which they live. The ratepayers believe that far more has changed, and relative to their sense of place, this is true. The ratepayers have shown most concern toward issues such as security; value of property; increase in beggars and loiterers; and congestion of the roads, particularly with regard to taxis. The issues which concern the ratepayers

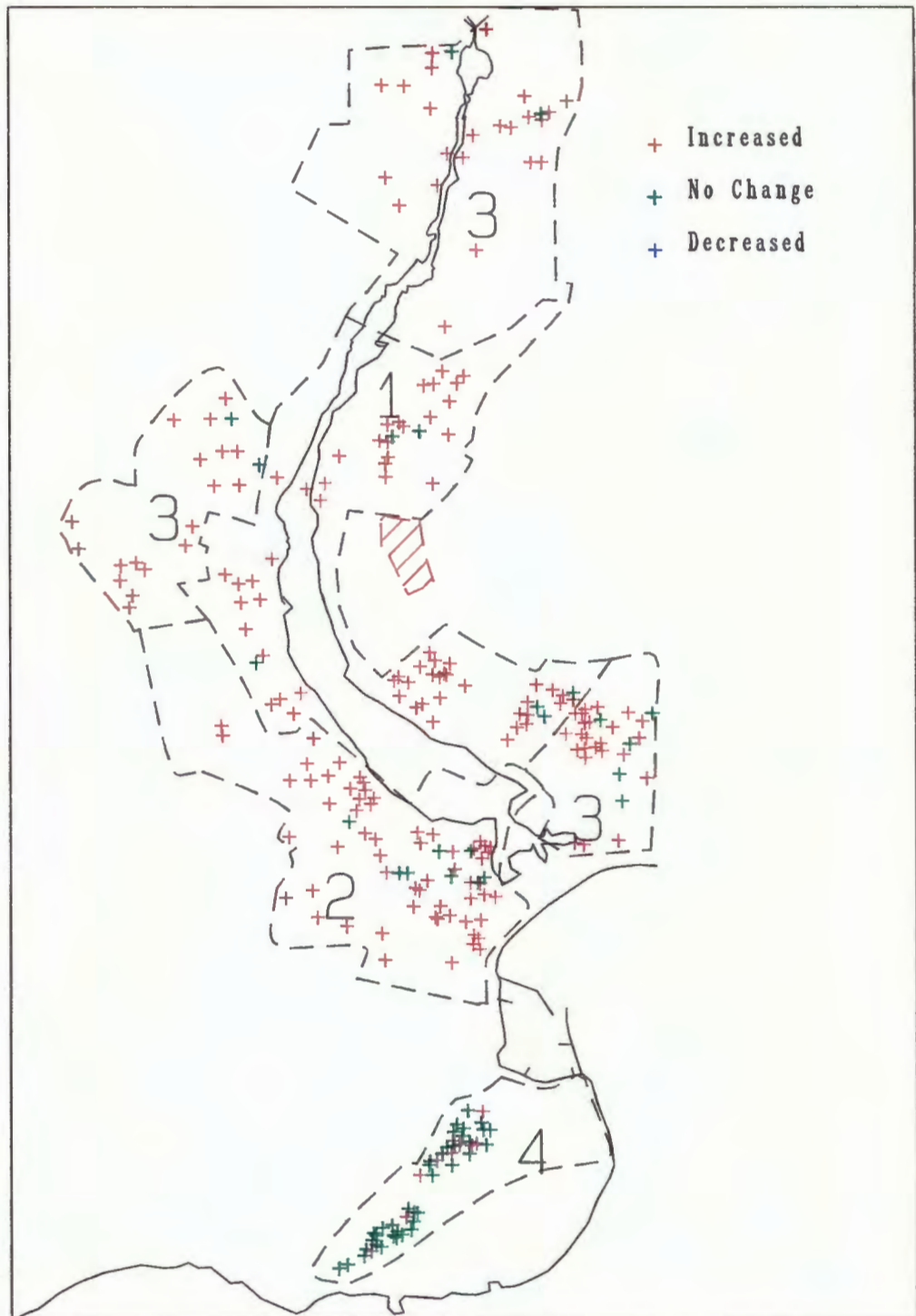


Figure 8.24 Perceptions of the impact of Mizamoyethu on the number of taxis in Hout Bay.

Table 8.10 Perceptions of the impact of Mizamoyethu on the number of taxis in Hout Bay.

	1	2	3	4	Total
Increased	90%	84%	86%	22%	74%
No Change	8%	13%	13%	78%	24%
Decreased	0	0	0	0	0

the least are smoke pollution, noise and health conditions. It has also been shown that certain impacts are distance sensitive in that residents closer to the new or original settlements are more impacted upon than those further away. Spatial proximity therefore plays a role in influencing residents' perceptions, but it is by no means the only determining factor.

The ratepayers of Hout Bay have indicated that certain aspects of quality of life in the area have changed as a result of the development of the informal settlement. This is to be expected as the resettlement of a vastly different community within an existing locality will produce a whole new range of circumstances and issues to which people have to adjust. What is important is the level of the impact and the ability of the surrounding residents to adjust to such changes. The reaction of the harbour community indicates that socio-economic and political factors also play an important role in determining how residents will react to perceived negative externalities in the area, and that these are relative to one's position in the class and power relations of society.

The most important finding of this chapter is that many of the impacts have decreased as a result of the resettlement of the 'squatters' into a developed and serviced area, where security of tenure and access to resources have been provided. This has major implications in terms of planning decisions that are made when land invasions occur. The stabilisation of the community seems to play a positive role in reducing most of the impacts (both perceived and measured) of the informal settlers in an area.

It is also important to recognise that many of these impacts may decrease or increase as the settlement develops in the future. It is essential for planners and major players in the development of the settlement to work toward minimising some of the perceived impacts of the settlement. Issues related to the management and future development of the settlement are discussed in the next chapter.

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CHAPTER 9

PROSPECTS FOR INTEGRATION AND FUTURE DEVELOPMENT ISSUES

9.1 INTRODUCTION

The first section of this chapter focuses on formal residents' views on the prospects for integration of the various communities in Hout Bay. Residents' perceptions of the origin of the informal settlers and problems associated with living in Mizamoyethu are explored. Attention is paid to the level of contact that has occurred between members of the various communities and the potential for integration is considered by focusing on the residents' perceptions of what conditions would make the informal settlement more acceptable to them. Their views with regard to shared or separate facilities in Hout Bay are also considered. The role of the informal settlers in the socio-economic functioning of Hout Bay and the extent to which the surrounding community employs informal settlers is explored.

In the second section of this chapter, residents' perceptions of the future development of the informal settlement are investigated. Their concerns with regard to the growth and expansion of the settlement are considered and their attitudes toward various planning policies and structures such as how the settlement should be controlled and the implementation of buffer zones are examined.

9.2 PERCEPTIONS OF THE LEVEL OF INTEGRATION BETWEEN THE VARIOUS COMMUNITIES IN HOUT BAY

9.2.1 The formal residents' perceptions of the informal settlers

The following section pays attention to the formal residents' perceptions of the informal settlers themselves. The surrounding community were questioned on their understanding of the informal settlers in order to gain deeper insight into their attitudes toward the newcomers in their locality.

In any society stereotypes are created and stigmatization of various groups occurs, based on, for example, class, culture, religion and gender. This is done by one group to preserve its identity relative to other groups that exist. Stereotypes are maintained and strengthened by segregation policies that keep people apart and hence do not enable them to communicate and learn to understand and accept each other. One group can thus build up prejudices against another group without ever being able to test whether they are true. The quote at the beginning of the applied South African theory section (chapter 3) strongly supports the idea that much of the fear that exists between different groups is because of a lack of understanding and communication between them.

In assessing the nature of people that are spatially grouped, the concept of community can be extremely misleading since it gives the impression of a relatively homogeneous, closely-knit group of people with common goals, values and expectations. In many cases, so-called communities are composed of different people with very differing needs and expectations. The Mizamoyethu community is composed of a number of different groups of people: namely, the original coloured 'squatters', urban blacks who have moved from more crowded areas within the harbour area as well as from townships on the Cape Flats, and newer rural-urban migrants. There are also Namibians who have arrived illegally on fishing boats in the hope of finding work at the harbour.

Thus the Mizamoyethu community is not culturally homogeneous. Another aspect of the people living there that varies considerably is the contrast between the more settled, family-oriented people who see Mizamoyethu as a place for permanent settlement and the temporary sojourners, or migrant workers, who are using Mizamoyethu as a springboard to other opportunities or as a temporary residential area while they are here to work. The circulatory nature of migration in South Africa is becoming more and more apparent as researchers consider the movement patterns of rural-urban migrants. This has serious implications because it indicates differences in level of commitment to the settlement and its integration into broader Hout Bay. Those that are there temporarily will not see the benefit of upgrading the community or maintaining good relations with the surrounding community nor will they be concerned with the impacts of increased crime and other associated problems on the surrounding community. The notion of community in Mizamoyethu must be dealt with in the context that the community has a strong leadership with a good following, but that there are marginal groups who are also part of the settlement and so need to be recognised as such when integration is considered.

Differences within the community have implications in terms of the surrounding residents' perceptions of the community, since they are stereotyping the group of people living there and yet it is not a homogeneous group. The stereotypes will be based on behaviour and lifestyle observations made by the surrounding residents, but essentially they will be formulated by the pre-conceived stigmas and perceptions that residents have of informal settlers as a group.

Attention is now paid to the section of the questionnaire which dealt with the perceptions that residents had of the informal settlers as a group of people.

The origin of the informal settlers

Respondents were asked where they thought the majority of residents of Mizamoyethu originally came from. This is an important issue because many Hout Bay people feel that the informal settlers are 'outsiders' that do not belong in Hout Bay. This

perception is based on a closed neighbourhood, territorial attitude where those that fit the socio-economic mould are accepted, while others who do not have those characteristics are only accepted because historically they are part of the area; or because they form an important labour source; or because they are in a manageable and controlled area, such as the low-income harbour community in Hout Bay. The class and power relations between the white residents and the harbour community have been clearly established and maintained through the apartheid era and hence have not caused undue conflict.

Migration of people into an area produces different reactions depending on the nature of the in-migrants. No-one questions whether the residents that move in at the completion of a townhouse development in Hout Bay are outsiders or not. They are automatically accepted as they can afford to live in Hout Bay. The process of residential segregation via the market initially decides who are considered as 'insiders' and who are 'outsiders'. This throws light on the way in which groups classify and perceive each other. For example, what are the criteria which make one group of people more acceptable than another? Tomaselli and Tomaselli (1992) and Schlemmer and Stack (1990) suggest that race no longer impacts on people's attitudes in liberal suburbs in South Africa as long as the people moving in are of the same socio-economic status. It is important therefore, to question how 'outsiders' and 'insiders' are defined.

The other issue of concern, in terms of 'insiders' and 'outsiders', is the perception of the surrounding community that the informal settlers, who are considered as being newcomers, have received land, service and facilities that others are entitled to. The members of the harbour community have made a considerable contribution to Hout Bay over a long period of time and have basically been sidelined in this whole process. This has created conflict and resentment.

The above discussion highlights the fact that people of a different socio-economic status to the host community will be considered to be outsiders. Given this

assumption it is important to investigate residents' perceptions of where the informal settlers have come from.

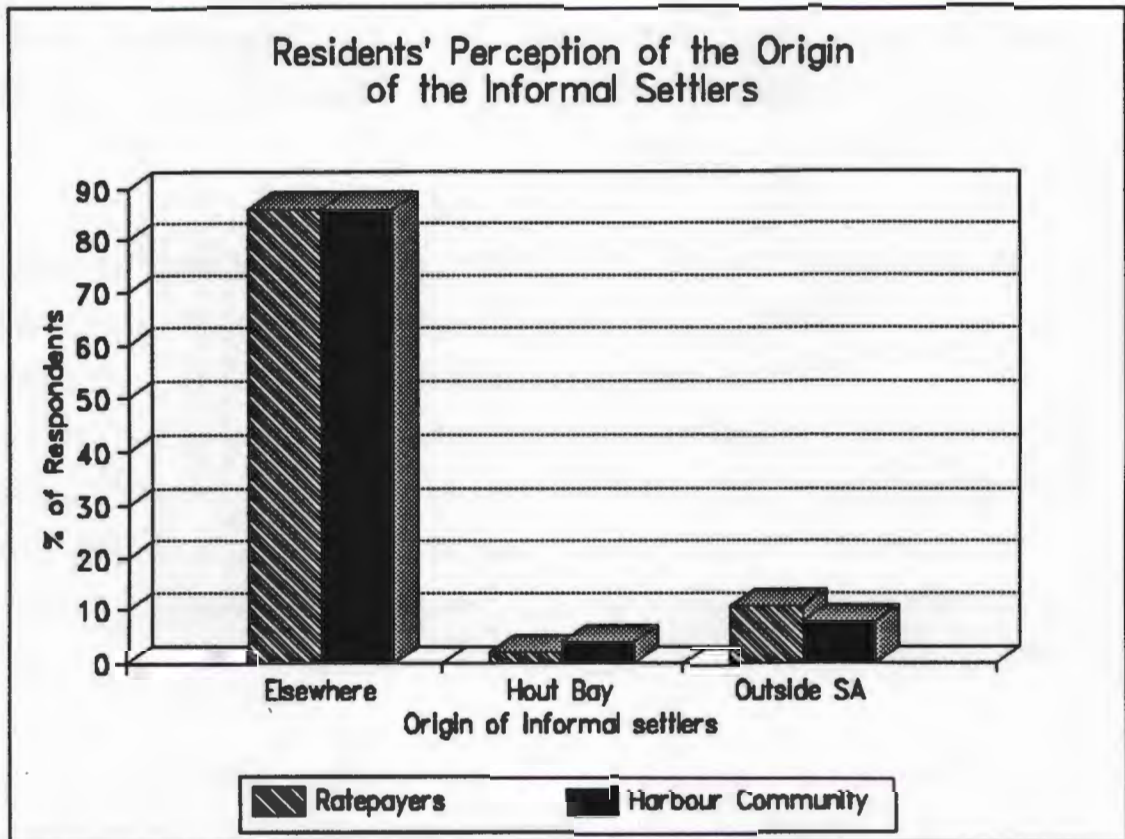


Figure 9.1 Residents' perceptions of the origin of the informal settlers.

As can be seen in Figure 9.1, only 2% of the ratepayers indicated that they thought the majority of the 'squatters' came from Hout Bay, whereas 86% felt that the 'squatters' came from elsewhere, particularly from the homeland areas. 11% of the ratepayers believed that many of the informal settlers came from beyond South Africa's international borders. This perception has caused a considerable amount of anger, as many of the surrounding community feel that people from Namibia and Angola are benefitting from the development of Mizamoyethu, over and above South Africans who cannot get access to housing.

A small percentage of the harbour community, 4%, felt that the 'squatters' originated in Hout Bay, while 86% felt they were from elsewhere and 8% stated that they came from regions outside South Africa (see Figure 9.1). Many harbour residents resented the 'squatters', who had only recently moved to Hout Bay but were now getting facilities and services that were far better than any of the services that they had, even though they had requested them for years. Hence the question of the 'squatters' being outsiders raises many issues and most certainly impacts on the perceptions that the groups have towards the settlement.

It is difficult to determine where the majority of the informal settlers have originated from. The demographic survey of the Mizamoyethu community indicates that this information is lacking (Gawith and Sowman, 1992). However, in speaking to the informal settlers it would seem that they come from a wide variety of areas: many were traditional 'squatters'; others lived as lodgers in backyard shacks in the harbour area; some moved to Hout Bay from the crowded areas of the Cape Flats townships; and a considerable number have arrived from the rural areas as well as from Namibia and Angola.

Chapter 6, section 6.4 and 6.5 considered the reasons given by the surrounding community as to why they felt the informal settlers had come to Hout Bay and also what advantages they felt they gained by being there. As mentioned already, this gives some indication of the residents' perceptions of the people of Mizamoyethu.

Perceptions of problems faced by the Informal settlers

In further developing the way in which the surrounding communities understand or relate to the informal settlers, residents' opinions of the greatest problems facing the Mizamoyethu community are considered. Residents were given a list of problems which they had to rank on a seven point scale, ranging from a critical problem to a problem which was of no concern to the informal settlers.

This was done in order to assess the surrounding communities' perceptions of the realities experienced by the informal settlers and also to determine if they have an understanding of the needs of this group, i.e. do they perceive them as people with the same basic needs and expectations that they have? The results are shown in Table 9.1. Residents are aware of problems faced by the informal settlers, but the seriousness of the problem varies for different groups and different problems.

Table 9.1 Formal residents' perceptions of the problems faced by the Mizamoyethu community.

Problem	Ratepayers	Harbour Community
	Problem	Problem
Unemployment	92%	88%
Health and hygiene	88%	90%
Infrastructural services	83%	90%
Security	80%	82%
Social stress	76%	82%
Attitude of surrounding community	82%	80%
Polarisation of communities	61%	70%
Distance to facilities and services	53%	80%
Transport	49%	80%
Problems with the site	46%	66%

The graph below (Figure 9.2) indicates the difference in opinion between the ratepayers and the harbour community. The mean values are used to contrast the broad differences (they may obscure polarised responses within the same group).

It is evident that the harbour community are far more aware of the problems facing the informal settlers. This is probably because they also struggle with similar issues and hence understand the constraints that poverty places on quality of life. The only problem which both groups rated similarly to was that of unemployment. Political and socio-economic factors clearly influence the way in which different groups perceive the

problems of others. The ratepayers may be ignorant of the problems in the settlement because of their low level of contact, or they may feel that the informal settlers could act to change their situation as discussed above.

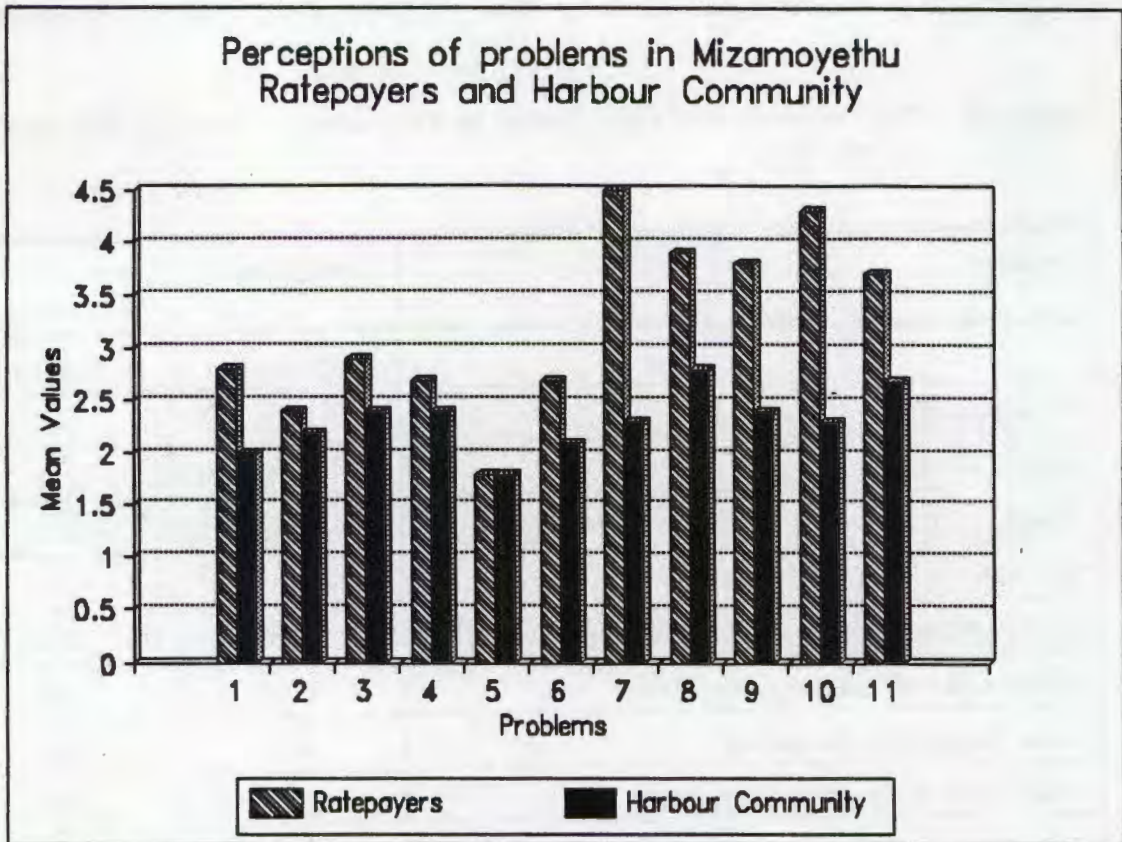


Figure 9.2 Perceptions of problems faced by the Informal settlers.

KEY:

- | | | |
|------------------------------|------------------|---------------|
| 1. Services | 2. Health | 3. Social |
| 4. Security | 5. Unemployment | 6. Facilities |
| 7. Transport | 8. Attitude | 9. Site |
| 10. Distance from facilities | 11. Polarisation | |

Range of values: 1: Critical problem to 7: Of no concern

Figure 9.3 and Figure 9.4 provide a visual display of the data. The different responses of the ratepayers and the harbour community reflect their own differences in socio-

economic position and their concerns with regard to the development of the settlement. The harbour community seem to be more realistic about the problems faced by the informal settlers. Lack of employment and services and facilities are perceived, by both groups, as being serious problems that the informal settlers have to face. The harbour community felt that the problems of attitude of the surrounding community toward the informal settlers; distance to facilities and services; the location and characteristics; and the polarisation of the two communities were of serious concern to the residents of Mizamoyethu. The ratepayers did not feel as strongly about these issues. The lack of experience of many of the ratepayers of living in degraded and poorer communities has most likely impacted on their responses as well as their own self-interest in the problems mentioned. Unemployment and lack of services are problems that will impact on the broader community and thus they are perceived as being serious by the ratepayers.

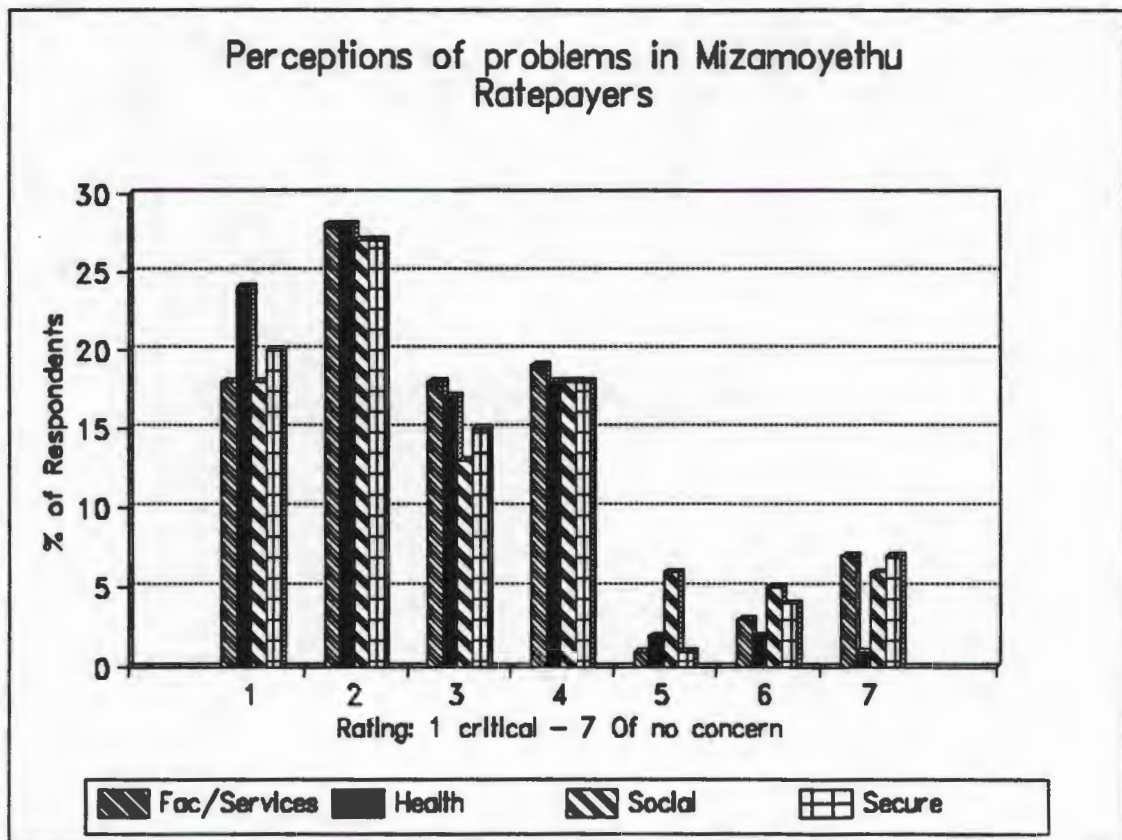


Figure 9.3a The ratepayers' perceptions of problems faced by residents in Mizamoyethu.

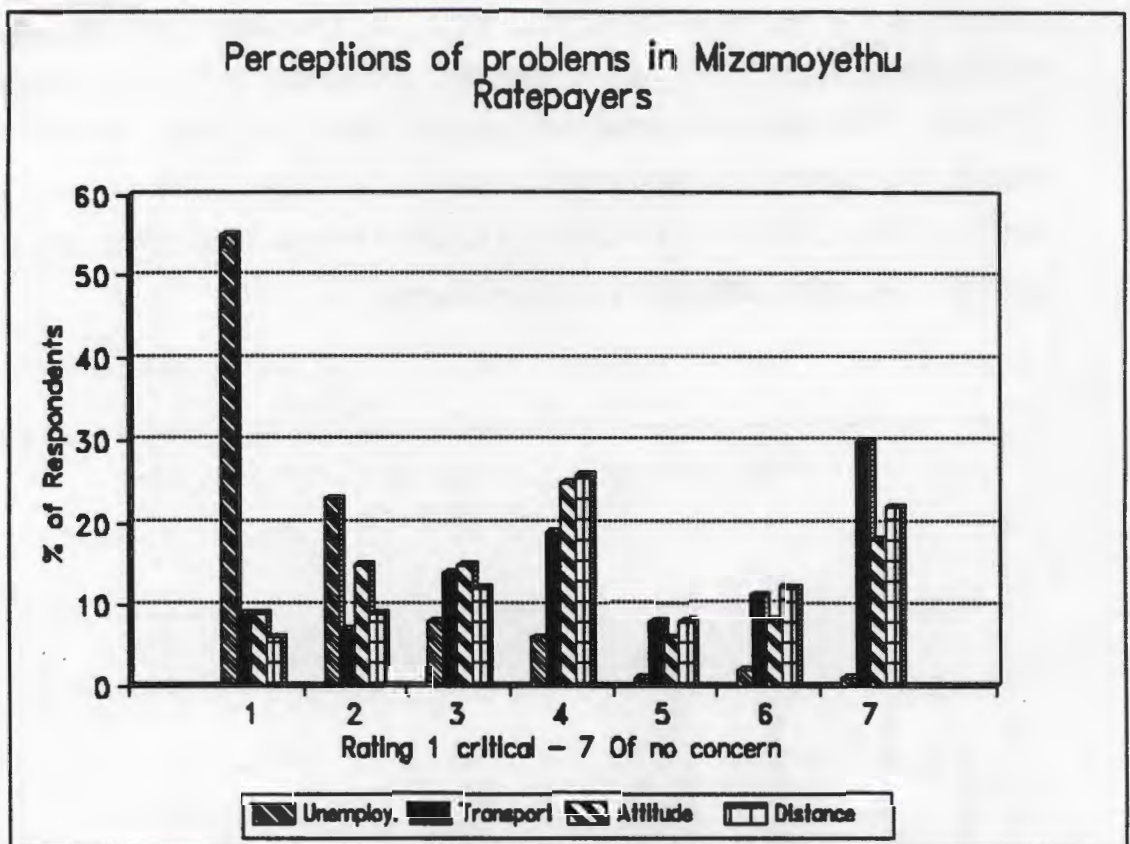


Figure 9.3b The ratepayers' perceptions of problems faced by residents in Mizamoyethu.

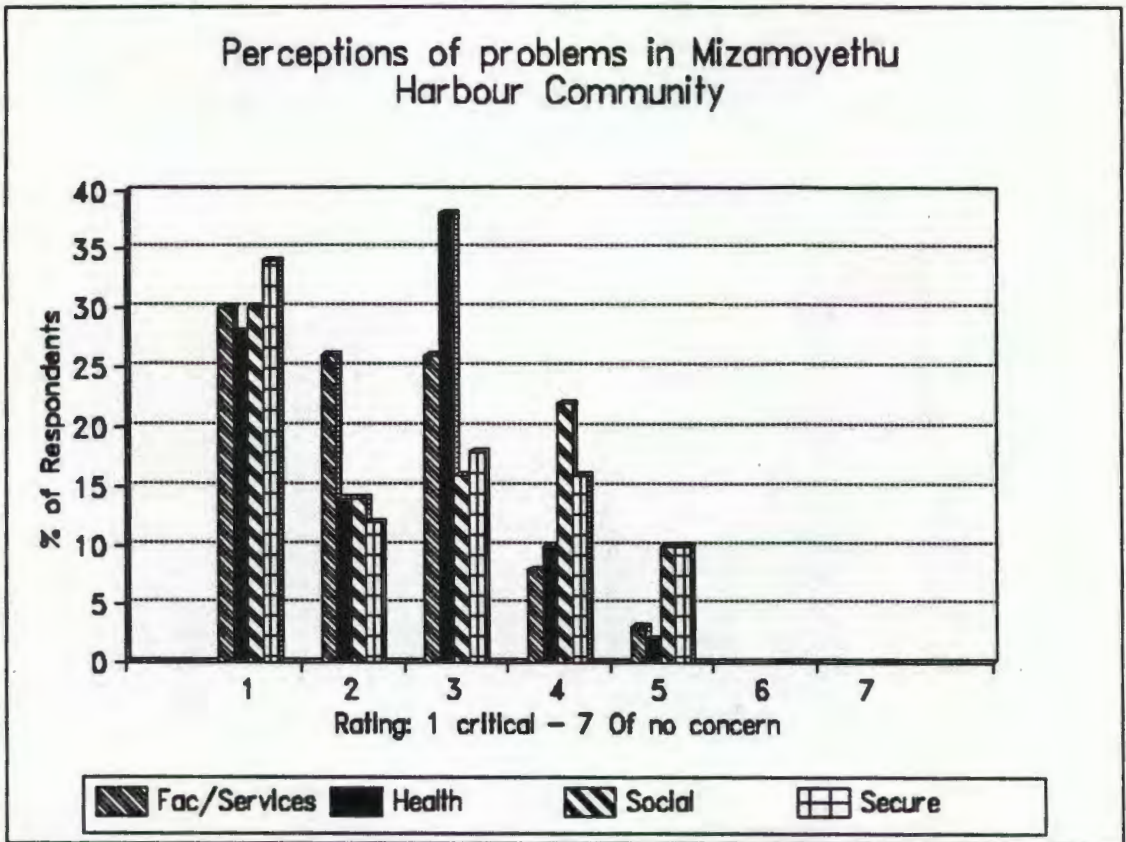


Figure 9.4a The harbour community's perceptions of problems faced by residents in Mizamoyethu.

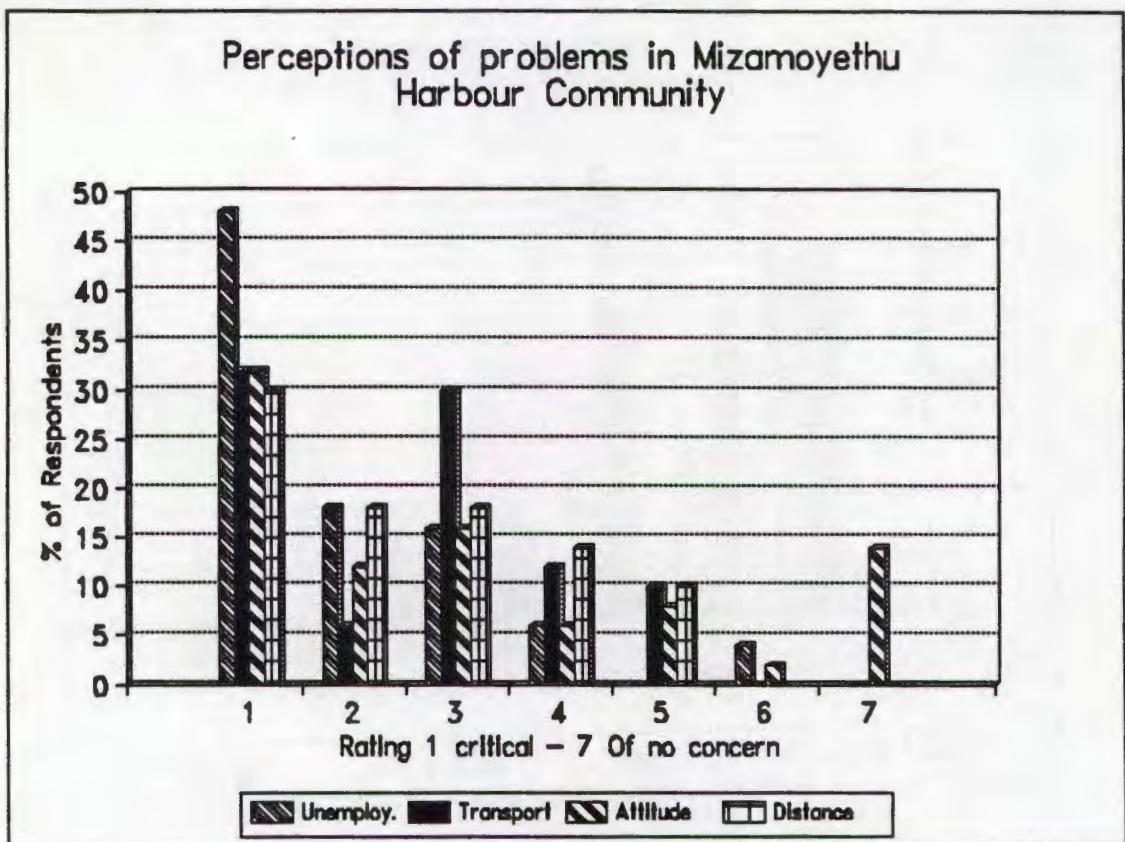


Figure 9.4b The harbour community's perceptions of problems faced by residents in Mizamoyethu.

It is difficult to determine what someone means when describing a problem as critical. To an individual who has all the services and conveniences of modern daily life, the lack of certain services may be seen as very serious, whereas to those who do not have access to land, the initial lack of certain services may not be viewed as being critical. The suggestion is not that impoverished people do not feel the problems of lack of services and facilities, but rather that they lack so many things that they end up having to prioritise their basic needs in terms of what they can afford. The lack of electricity may be seen as a major issue to the ratepayers, whereas the informal settlers may initially have more important concerns to deal with. They are aware that at present they could not afford the cost of both electricity and the necessary appliances and hence the provision of such a service is not appropriate.

A number of the residents of Hout Bay wanted the informal settlers to be removed, which indicates a very self-centred approach to the problem. They wish to satisfy their own agendas of protecting their rights, without accepting that the right of the informal settlers. These residents indicated that the informal settlers had chosen to live in Hout Bay, and therefore any of the problems they experience cannot be that great, because otherwise they would not originally have settled in the dunes. This level of ignorance is most likely due the lack of contact between these people and those less fortunate than themselves.

9.2.2 The nature of contact between the surrounding community and the informal settlers

Having considered the surrounding communities perceptions of the informal settlers, it is now important to consider the level of contact and integration between the different communities. The amount and type of contact between the formal residents and informal settlers is initially considered and then the surrounding communities' perceptions of the integration of the informal settlers into the broader Hout Bay community are investigated.

The cross-tabulations have shown that those that have had more contact with the informal settlers have a far more positive attitude toward the settlement and also have a far better understanding of the issues involved (see chapter 6). This could be approached from another angle, suggesting that those who are more positive are also probably the kind of people who would get involved with the settlers and would be more likely to employ them and hence positive interaction would be perpetuated. It is evident that, no matter in which way the above relationship is viewed, contact influences residents' perceptions.

Residents were asked whether they had been to Mizamoyethu, and if they had, what their impressions of the site were (see Table 9.2). Those that had not been to Mizamoyethu were asked if they were interested in visiting the site. A large number of the ratepayers responded that they were not interested in going to Mizamoyethu as they were afraid to go there. This has important implications in terms of the integration of the various communities.

Table 9.2 Number of formal residents that had been to Mizamoyethu.

	Ratepayers	Harbour Community
Percent that have visited Mizamoyethu	35%	29%
Percent that have not visited Mizamoyethu	64%	72%

The harbour community commented that there was no reason for them to visit the site, whereas the white residents had reason to go there in order to collect labourers or drop off chars etc. In terms of people's impressions of the site, a number of respondents felt that the conditions were very poor and that the settlement needed to be upgraded urgently; others felt that it was a terrible place; some residents felt sorry for the 'squatters'; while certain respondents felt that it was very positive place (as squatter settlements go) and that there was a sense of pride amongst the people.

From the figures indicating the level of contact between the communities, it is clear that many residents are basing their perceptions on images and information that they had not received first hand, but had rather picked up from other members of the community; from the press; from hearsay; and from their previous experiences, prejudices and attitudes and thus were not well informed. It was important to determine the relationship between those that had been to the settlement and their attitude toward the informal settlement issue. Residents were thus asked to indicate the amount of contact that they had had with the informal settlers.

The amount and type of contact

Respondents were asked to respond to a pre-determined set of categories in terms of the type of contact they had had with the informal settlers. It was hypothesized that as contact with or personal experience of the informal settlers increased so residents' attitudes and perceptions to the settlement would change (the findings in chapter 6 verify this).

Table 9.3 Type and amount of contact between the formal residents and the Informal settlers.

Type of Contact	Ratepayers		Harbour Community	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Employment - long term	19%	79%	6%	94%
Employment - casual	35%	64%	22%	78%
Church groups	8%	92%	6%	94%
Service organisations	8%	92%	6%	94%
Personal acquaintance	20%	80%	14%	86%
Sport	1%	99%	0%	100%
Meetings	6%	94%	2%	98%
Education programmes	3%	97%	2%	98%

From the above table it is evident that the amount of contact between the surrounding community and the informal settlers is very low and this impacts dramatically on the

way in which the different groups perceive of and understand each other. The lack of communication serves to perpetuate and maintain the self-fulfilling prophecy (i.e. with regard to the stigmatisation of the informal settlers) that exists between the two communities.³

Each type of contact is now considered individually. Table 9.3 indicates the level of contact in each category, as well as the difference between the ratepayers and the harbour community.

Contact through employment

Contact through long-term employment indicates that a relatively low percentage of informal settlers are permanently employed by the Hout Bay community. This is contrasted with employment figures given by the informal settlers who indicated that they were employed in Hout Bay (it must be noted that the informal settlers may be employed in the fishing industry or by other companies which are not linked to residents living in Hout Bay). However, the accuracy of these results can be questioned on the basis that the informal settlers feared being removed from Hout Bay if they did not indicate that they were employed in Hout Bay (Gawith and Sowman, 1992). The problem of employment is discussed in more detail further on in this section.

The harbour community's contact through long term employment is even lower, as can be expected, since the majority of these residents would not be able to afford to employ other people. The small percentage that did employ informal settlers are probably residents of Hout Bay Heights.

The results for casual employment indicate that there is more of this type of employment of informal settlers by ratepayers, but the figures are still low, with just over a third of ratepayers indicating that they employed 'squatters' on a casual basis. The harbour community's responses were also marginally higher in this category.

In interviewing and talking to respondents, it was found that those who had domestics or gardeners from Mizamoyethu were far more informed about many issues relating to the settlement. This group largely comprised women who were at home and so developed relationships with those that they employed. They seemed to be far more empathetic towards the informal settlers' situation and accepted them as residents of Hout Bay, rather than as outsiders who had invaded their territory.

Contact through Church Groups

Respondents were asked if they had had contact with the informal settlers through any church groups and it was found very few had had contact of this nature. Some of the Hout Bay churches have been involved in programmes to support the informal settlers. Those that were involved in church activities in the informal settlement tended to be far more accepting of the informal settlers, as well as having a far greater understanding of their needs and problems (however, this could be due to their Christian values of 'love thy neighbour' and not necessarily the direct outcome of actual contact).

Contact through Service Organisations

Respondents were asked to comment on whether they had had contact with the 'squatters' through service organisations and again the response was low.

Of note, however, was the reaction of the formal residents and the press to the fire that occurred in the Sea Products 'squatter' camp in December 1991. The residents of Hout Bay became very involved in helping the 'squatters' to cope with the devastation of the fire. Through contact with the settlers and because of the involvement of service organisations, who took full advantage of the Christmas spirit, everyone was suddenly seen to be on the same side and the 'squatters' were considered to be part of the Hout Bay community. It is remarkable how such an event, because of the timing and the response of the press to it, can result in such a different

response from the formal residents. This incident probably changed a number of people's perceptions of the 'squatters'.

Contact through Personal Acquaintance

Residents of the surrounding communities were asked whether they had had any personal contact with the 'squatters'. There are different levels of acquaintance that are considered in these results, since a Hout Bay resident may class giving an informal settler a lift in his or her car as making acquaintance with the settlers. Generally this question was taken to imply any personal contact with the residents of Mizamoyethu. There is a relatively high amount of contact between the settlers and the formal residents at this level. It is interesting to note how low the contact is between informal settlers and the harbour community. It is expected that many of them might work together in the harbour or at least know each other since some of the 'squatters' originated from crowded conditions in the harbour.

Contact through Sport.

Respondents were asked to indicate if they had had any contact with the informal settlers through sport. These figures were extremely low and once again emphasise the lack of interaction between the various communities. Sports meetings involving both communities was one of the suggestions made by the respondents to break down the polarisation that has occurred between the two groups. However, this had not yet been implemented. Sport is recognised as an excellent way of breaking down barriers and the development of combined sporting activities should certainly be actively encouraged. It is also important to note, however, that there are very few sports facilities in Hout Bay and hence new facilities would need to be built. It has been suggested that sportsfields could be built on the interface zones. However, there are noise and crowd related problems associated with this idea for those living alongside the buffers.

Contact through Meetings

In light of all the meetings, consultation and debate that has gone on in Hout Bay over the issue of permanently settling the 'squatters' in the area, it would seem reasonable to expect that the different communities would have had a considerable amount of contact through meetings. Once again these figures are disappointingly low. This indicates that most of the initial meetings must have been polarised into the various groups and shows that very little discussion between the different communities involved took place (so typical of the one-sided way in which conflict resolution is often managed). The various players are not brought together in one forum, and hence the mode of communication between the rival groups is usually the sensational report-backs which are mediated through the press. It is no wonder that the different groups have very little understanding of each other's fears, needs and expectations, and that they view each other so suspiciously.

It is important to note, however, that the forum of the Liaison Committee has gone a long way toward breaking down these barriers. The members of the committee have learnt and grown a great deal through their involvement in such a forum. Unfortunately, this is restricted to a few representatives of the different communities and so this kind of interaction at meetings is restricted to these members. It would be valuable to have joint public meetings where different people are able to express their views and concerns. Instead the majority of public meetings have been highly polarised, as reflected in the figures of level of contact through meetings.

Contact through Education Programmes

Residents were asked if they had had any contact through education programmes and the response was also very low. Clearly there is not much community interaction and support in this area.

In summarising the results of the above table (Table 9.3), it is obvious that there has been very little meaningful contact between the different communities and that at this

stage the communities are extremely polarised, with little direct information or experience moving between them. This has serious implications in relation to the perceptions the surrounding community has of the informal settlement and its residents. The lack of contact enables stereotypes to go unchallenged. As Pringle (1990, p 169) comments "segregation permits the reproduction and reinforcement of cultural values and attitudes towards the other groups without and need for critical assessment or re-evaluation.... which permits the development and perpetuation of myths which feed communal fear." Residents consciously or subconsciously select what they want to hear or see about the informal settlers, and they use this to support the attitudes they hold toward the residents of Mizamoyethu. This results in a self-fulfilling prophecy which is highly negative and destructive. Pringle's study on Northern Ireland raises many similar issues. He states that "each group's image of the other is based upon stereotypes which are continuously reinforced without the correcting influences of personal experience. Misunderstanding leads to fear, and eventually to further conflict" (Pringle, 1990, p 170).

The press has played a major role in influencing residents' perceptions, as has the neighbourhood network. It must be recognised that the formal residents and the informal settlers live in the same locality and hence they do interact and cross paths; but this crossing of paths generally upsets the pre-existing place ballets and sense of place of the surrounding residents, thereby creating conflict and reinforcing the attitudes they already have. There are cultural and socio-economic differences between the communities and therefore some degree of conflict is virtually inevitable. However, contact will help to let people see into each other's lifeworlds, thereby making them more tolerant and able to understand the behaviour of those different to them. The two communities are mutually dependent and hence it is imperative that the amount of contact between them increases.

9.3 THE FUTURE INTEGRATION OF THE HOUT BAY COMMUNITY

Having considered the amount of contact between the different communities, the focus is now turned to the way the formal residents feel about the integration of the different communities in Hout Bay. Integration is a problematic term. In this thesis it is taken to imply a community which functions as a whole, enabling each group of people the space to act and function within that community in a manner congruent with their culture and view of the world. In the case of Hout Bay, integration is taken to mean that the informal settlers are seen as being part of the Hout Bay community, rather than being considered as dependent 'outsiders' who have 'invaded' the place.

According to Pringle (1990, p 171)

If conflict exists, integration will only be possible over a long period of time. There would appear to be a limit to what may be achieved to encourage integration by social engineering and public policy at local level. Integration at local level requires a favourable 'environment', and attempts to foster integration should therefore focus on trying to resolve the conflict at the appropriate level.

The perceptions of the surrounding community of the prospects for integration are now explored.

9.3.1 Polarisation of the two communities

Before asking residents questions about whether or not the informal settlers could be integrated into the wider Hout Bay community, it was necessary to consider whether they believed the two communities to be polarised in the first place.

Figure 9.5 indicates that the majority of formal residents feel that the two communities are highly polarised, with the harbour community indicating a slightly lower level of polarisation. The spatial representation of the data, Figure 9.6 and Table 9.4, reveals that distance from the settlement does not impact on residents' perceptions of the level of polarisation that is evident in Hout Bay. Most residents, no matter where they live, are aware of the huge differences and lack of interaction between the two

communities. Even though the harbour community's responses are slightly lower, they also support the view that the Mizamoyethu community is seen as a very separate part of Hout Bay. It is necessary to investigate the reasons for this.

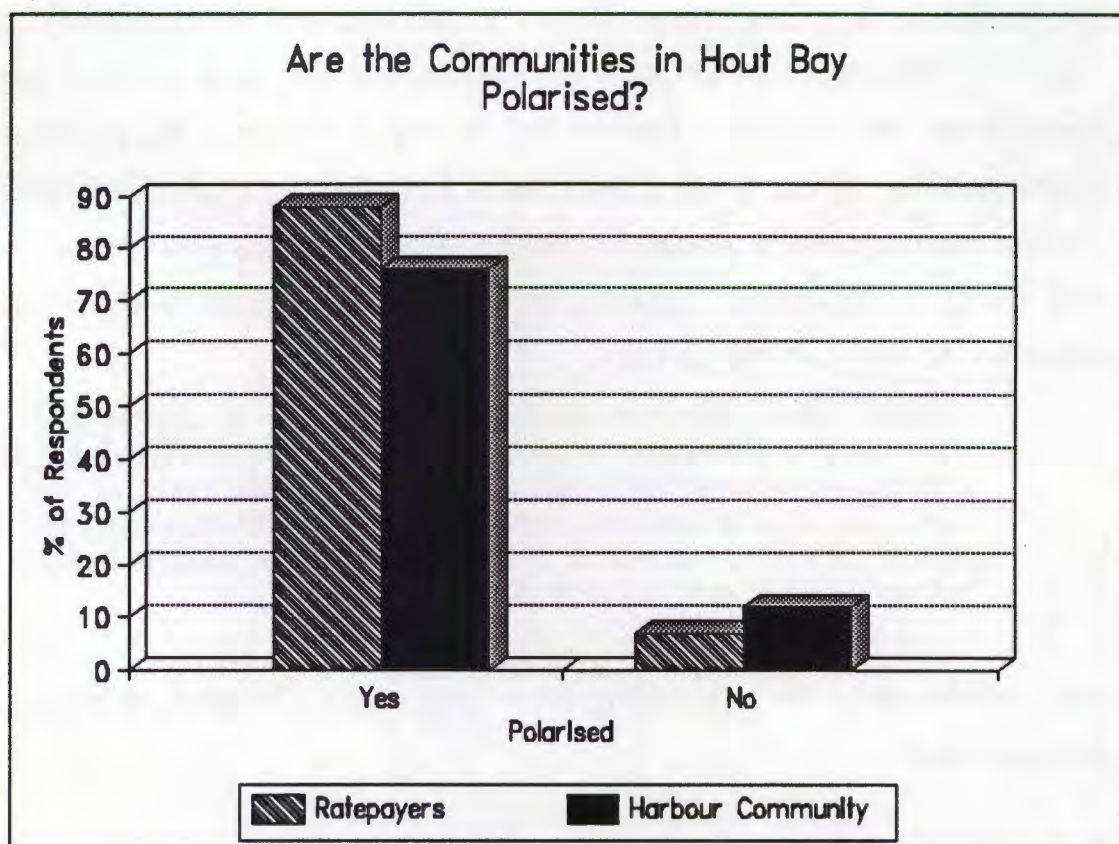


Figure 9.5 The polarisation of the formal and informal residents of Hout Bay.

The reasons given for the polarisation of the communities sheds light on the way in which the groups perceive the informal settlement; why they feel that there are such differences; on what these differences are based; and how they perceive the whole concept of the development of an informal settlement in their area.

Figure 9.7 and Table 9.5 represent the responses given by the formal residents as to why the two communities are so polarised. These results are summarised into broader categories and the more detailed reasons are discussed below. Distance seems to influence the response of residents to the reasons given for polarisation. Those closest

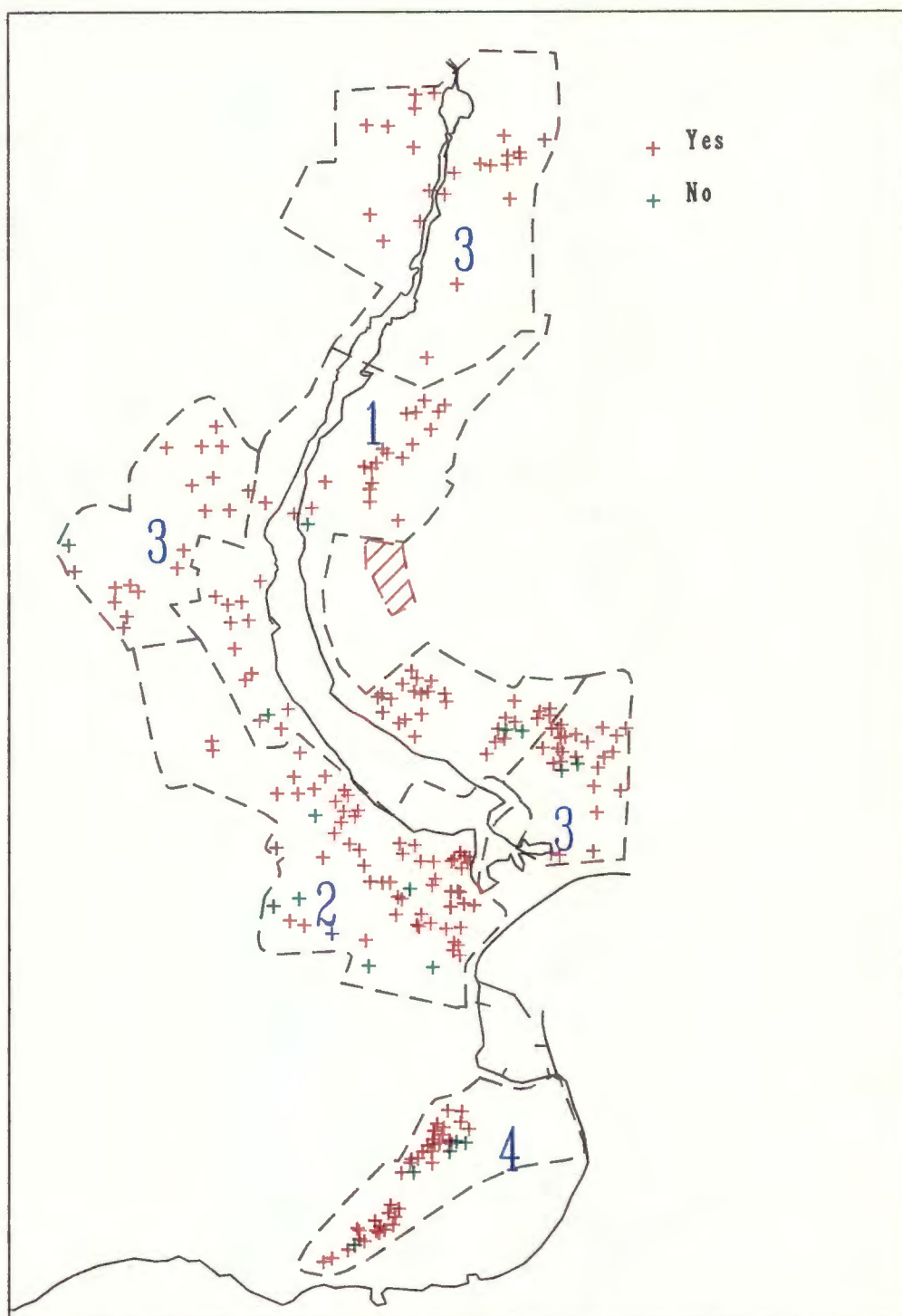


Figure 9.6 Perceptions of the polarisation of the formal and informal communities in Hout Bay.

Table 9.4 Perceptions of the polarisation of the formal and informal communities in Hout Bay.

	1	2	3	4	Total
Yes	88%	88%	87%	76%	86%
No	5%	9%	5%	12%	8%

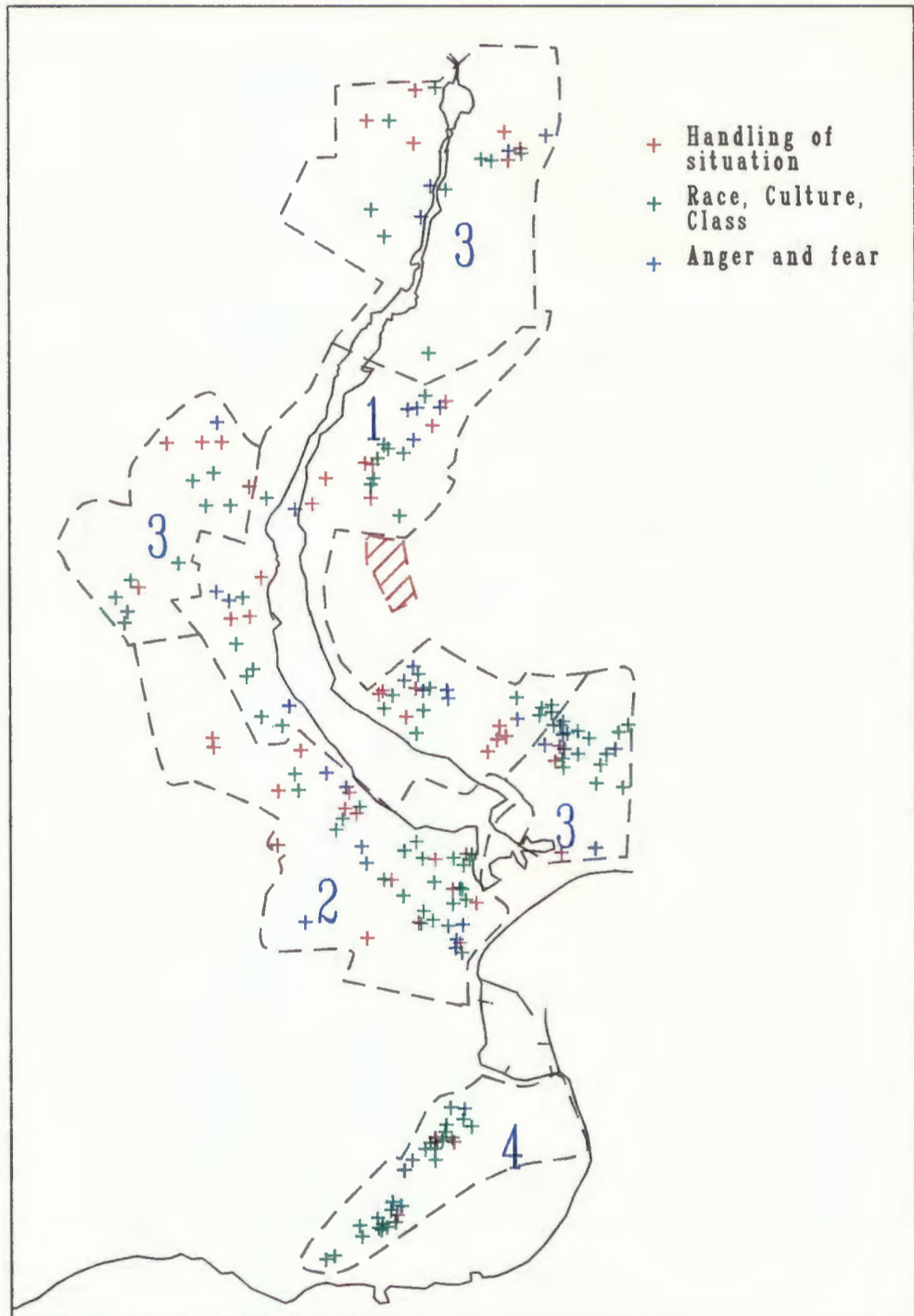


Figure 9.7 Reasons given by the formal residents for the polarisation in Hout Bay.

Table 9.5 Reasons given by the formal residents for the polarisation in Hout Bay.

	1	2	3	4	Total
Handling of situation	27%	24%	24%	8%	21%
Race, Culture, Class	35%	35%	53%	50%	40%
Anger and fear	23%	11%	15%	4%	14%

to the settlement understandably feel more anger and resentment toward the people of Mizamoyethu. Those that are further away seem to be more concerned about the socio-economic differences as well as the whole management of the planning process. The harbour community reflected that apartheid legacy had much to do with the polarisation that had occurred. Race and class differences seemed to be the major factor underlying the polarisation of the two communities.

A number of the ratepayers commented that the polarisation of the communities was largely to do with the class and cultural differences that existed between the two communities. Many felt that apartheid had created strong divisions between different communities, which were entrenched and hence resulted in the polarisation of the communities. Clearly the group which saw the apartheid structures as the main cause of polarisation was the harbour community. Residents living in zone three gave the highest indication that class conflict had resulted in the social separation of the two communities. This suggests that the conflict is driven and impacted on by residents' attitudes toward class and the need to preserve the status quo by maintaining the division of the classes, as explained by the structuralist paradigm. Some of the ratepayers stated that because the whole concept of the settlement being in Hout Bay was unacceptable (the formal residents did not want the 'squatters' in Hout Bay because of the lack of employment resulting in crime and a decrease in property values), the two communities were polarised. Many of the ratepayers felt that the way in which the whole situation was handled caused people to resent the 'squatters' and hence polarisation was the result.

Other reasons mentioned were that residents feared the development of Mizamoyethu and the implications associated with the establishment and growth of the settlement; and that they felt threatened by and angry toward the informal settlers. Still others felt angry about the loss they had incurred in terms of property value while some resented the fact that they had not been consulted in the decision-making process. Respondents also expressed their anger at the Mizamoyethu residents getting everything for free while they themselves had to work hard to pay for services and facilities. Some stated that they felt that a lack of communication and understanding

between the two groups had resulted in the polarisation that had occurred. It seems that the polarisation is largely due to class differences, but is underpinned by feelings of anger and resentment toward a group that have seemingly impacted upon and changed the locality of Hout Bay.

The relationship between the response of formal residents to the development of the informal settlement and their perception of the level of polarisation between the two communities suggests that response to the settlement does not impact on whether or not the communities are seen as being polarised (see Figure B.14 and Table B.14 in Appendix B). The cross-tabulations of demographic characteristics by polarisation also show little differentiation between the different groups (see Table C.3 in Appendix C). This suggests that there is a strong degree of polarisation between the Mizamoyethu residents and the broader Hout Bay community, and this will impact negatively on the process of integration.

Attention is now paid to the issue of integration in terms of the future development of the settlement.

9.3.2 The potential for integration in Hout Bay

Hout Bay residents were asked whether they felt that the Mizamoyethu community could be integrated into the broader Hout Bay community in the future. The responses given reflect residents' attitudes toward the settlement and the concerns they have about it.

Table 9.6 Formal residents' perceptions of integration of the informal settlers in Hout Bay.

Integration	Ratepayers	Harbour Community
Yes	20%	14%
No	21%	10%
Yes, in the Long Term	51%	18%
Don't Know	3%	34%
New Government	0%	16%

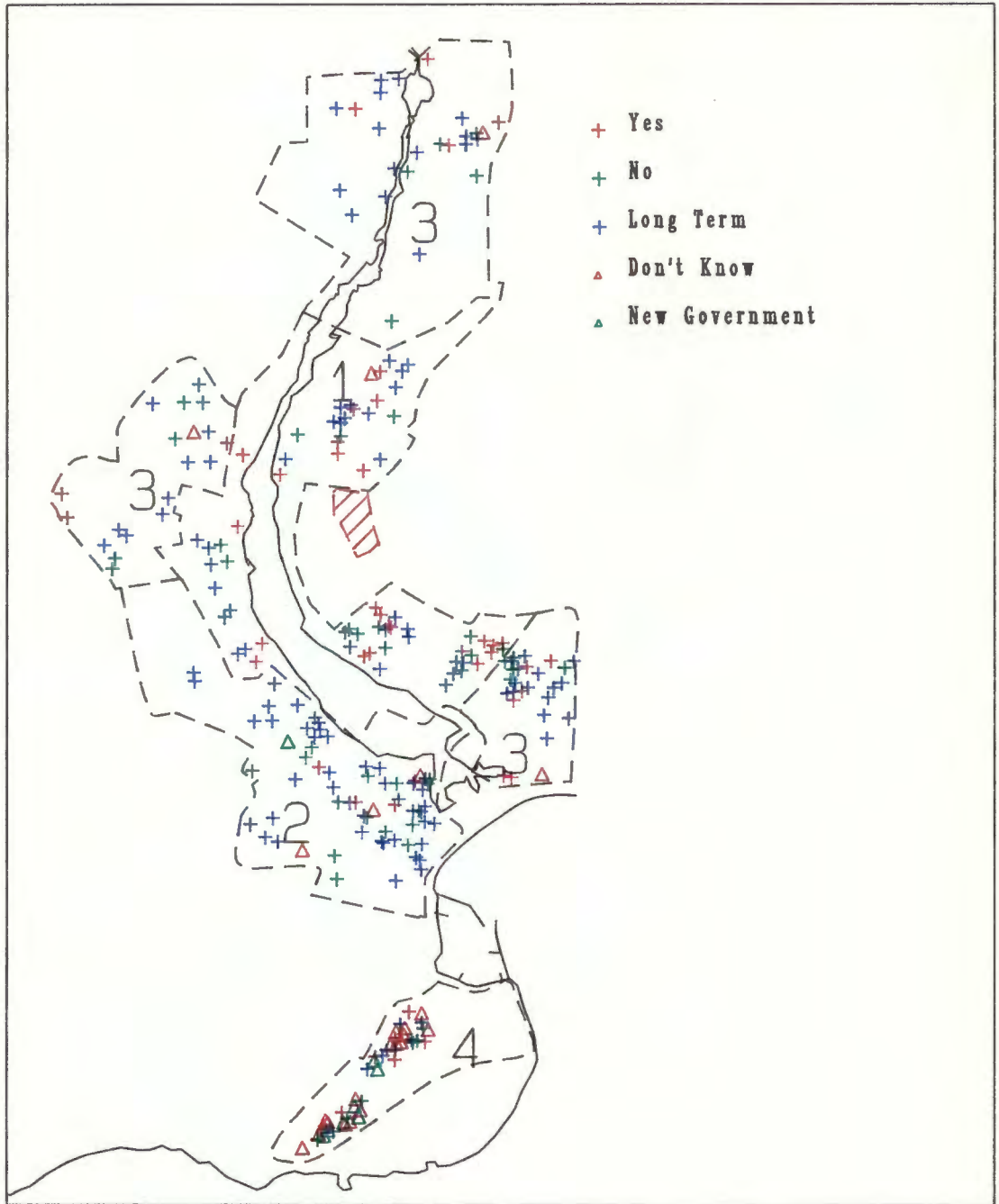


Figure 9.8 Perceptions of prospects for integration in Hout Bay.

Table 9.7 Perceptions of prospects for integration in Hout Bay.

	1	2	3	4	Total
Yes	33%	9%	17%	14%	19%
No	21%	21%	21%	10%	19%
Long Term	41%	60%	52%	18%	45%
Don't Know	1%	4%	4%	34%	9%
New Government	0	1%	0	16%	3%

The above table represents the different attitudes of the ratepayers and the harbour community to integration. On the whole the ratepayers were far more positive about the issue of integration. The fact that most felt that integration was possible in the long term indicates that people are aware of the work and effort required in order to overcome the polarisation between the two communities. A high percentage of residents in the harbour community said that they did not know if integration was possible. This probably reflects their apathy and lack of concern toward the informal settlement.

The spatial representation of the data, Figure 9.8 and Table 9.7, gives an indication of whether or not proximity to the settlement influences people's perceptions. It is interesting to note that residents in zone one were most positive about the future integration of the informal community. All ratepayer groups reflected the same number of residents who indicated that integration would not be possible, and those further away suggested that the community could become integrated into Hout Bay, but only over the long term. It is difficult to interpret why the residents in zone one would be the most positive, but perhaps it is because of their greater spatial contact with the settlers and their need for the conflict to be resolved, since it impacts more directly on them. It is also important to note that the majority of the formal residents believed that integration was possible, if not immediately, then certainly in the long term.

The relatively high percentage of harbour residents who indicated that integration would occur with the election of a new government, indicates the degree to which those disadvantaged by apartheid believe that society will change considerably with a shift in power. Residents need to realise that the strong socio-economic differences in Hout bay will serve to curtail the social changes brought about as a result of the shift of power. The Hout Bay community as a whole is going to have to work hard at overcoming the disparate living conditions of the different members of the broader community, thereby facilitating the upgrading of the informal settlement and enabling integration to take place.

Once again the level of contact between the surrounding community and the informal settlers influences their perceptions toward an issue. As can be seen from the table below (Table 9.8), ratepayers who had had more contact with the informal settlers indicated that the Mizamoyethu community could be integrated in the broader community. The cross-tabulations of the harbour community are not presented as the number of responses were too low in each case and thus the differences were not significant.

Table 9.8 The relationship between contact with the settlers and attitudes toward polarisation – the ratepayers.

Type of Contact	Contact - Yes	Contact - No
Long term employment	Higher integration	Less integration
Casual labour	Slightly higher integration	*
Church	Higher integration	Less integration
Personal	Higher integration	Less integration
Meetings	Higher integration	Less integration

The results of the cross-tabulations of demographic characteristics by the potential for integration are displayed in Table C.4 in Appendix C. The ratepayers that were most negative about the integration of the two communities were the middle-aged group, who had lived in Hout Bay for a long time. They were landowners who did not favour a voting system of one person one vote. The harbour community displayed different characteristics, with the residents that had been there for less than 5 years being most positive about integration. They were landowners, who favoured a system of a qualification vote and hence represented the middle-income group of Hout Bay Heights. The lower-income residents of the harbour, who rented accommodation and had been in Hout Bay for a long time indicated that integration would be possible with a new government.

In investigating whether residents' responses to the concept of the development of the informal settlement impacted on their perception of the integration process, the spatial representation of the cross-tabulations, Figure 9.9 and Table 9.9 is considered.

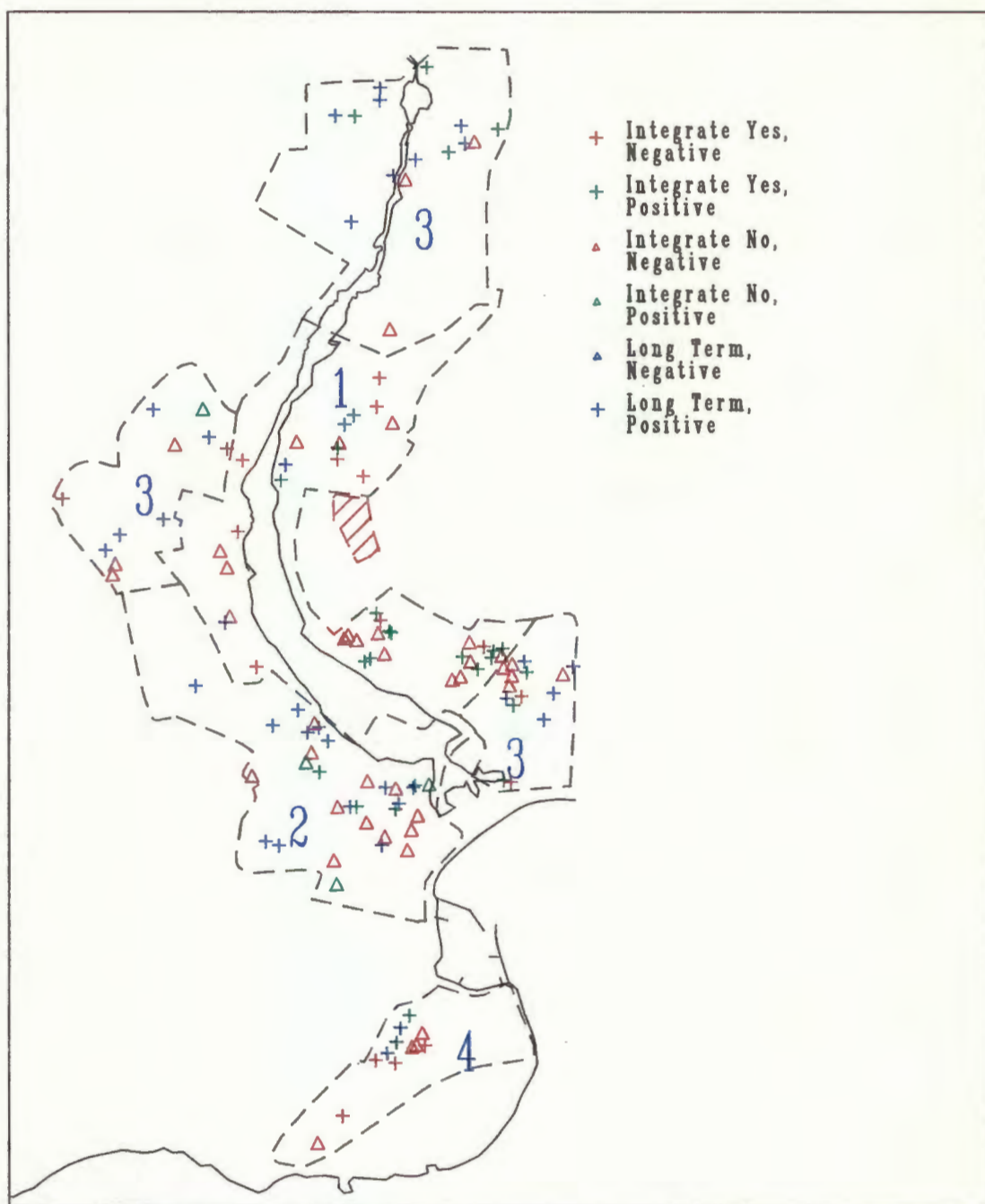


Figure 9.9 The relationship between prospects for integration and response to the development of Mizamoyethu.

Table 9.9 The relationship between prospects for integration and response to the development of Mizamoyethu.

	1	2	3	4	Total
Integrate Yes, Negative	12%	0	5%	8%	6%
Integrate Yes, Positive	17%	5%	9%	4%	9%
Integrate No, Negative	21%	16%	15%	8%	16%
Integrate No, Positive	0	4%	1%	0	1%
Long Term, Negative	23%	28%	15%	10%	20%
Long Term, Positive	4%	17%	24%	4%	13%

It is evident that those that were negative about the settlement tended to be more negative about the process of integration. Hence residents' perceptions and attitudes influence the way they feel about drawing the informal settlers into their community. This implies that if integration is to be possible, then the fears of the Hout Bay community will need to be addressed; they will need to be presented with more information about the future development of the settlement; and they will need to have more contact with the community. This reinforces the fact that integration may only be possible in the long term, once all the present anger and resentment has been dealt with.

Figure 9.9 and Table 9.9 support the finding that those closest to the settlement are most positive about integration, even though many of them have a negative response to the settlement. Zone one also had the highest number of residents that were negative about both the settlement and prospects for integration. However, residents in zone two and zone three also had a reasonable percentage of residents who responded in this way. The small percentage of residents who were positive about the settlement, but who felt that integration was not possible, were all concentrated in zone two. This represents a group of people who, through their own self-interest, felt positive about the settlement as it had been moved away from them, but were highly negative toward the informal settlers as a group. This kind of response is probably racially motivated. Residents in both zone two and zone three tended to support the idea of long term integration, the difference being that those in zone two were more negative about the settlement, whereas those in zone three were more positive about the settlement.

Given the above attitudes toward integration, residents opinions of what they felt should be done in order to facilitate the process of integration are now considered.

The following suggestions were made by residents (see Table 9.10).

Table 9.10 Ways of facilitating the integration of the various communities in Hout Bay.

	Ratepayers	Harbour Community
Communication	19%	18%
Uplift the community	14%	2%
Integration of schools, recreation	13%	2%
Job creation	13%	8%
Long term change - culturally so different	10%	0%
Churches	5%	2%

The findings of this research, in terms of the relationship between amount of contact and attitudes toward the informal settlers, supports the suggestion made by the surrounding community that communication is the most important way of facilitating integration. Much of the anger and resentment felt by the ratepayers is based on their perceived lack of involvement in the planning process as well as the misconceptions they have of the people living in Mizamoyethu. Most of the information they have about the informal settlers is based on stereotypes, newspaper reports, neighbourhood conversation, and the emotional responses of residents at heated meetings. If integration is to be possible, it is imperative that communication between the different communities is improved. Some residents felt that the informal settlers would become integrated only in the long term, as at present they were culturally too different, and that it would take them a long time to raise themselves to the 'standards' expected by the surrounding Hout Bay community.

It is interesting to note the difference between the harbour community and the ratepayers, particularly with regard to the fact that the ratepayers want to uplift the community, bringing them up to their own standards, which of course alludes to the class issue. Clearly the ratepayers want the integration to take place on their terms. They believe that the informal settlers must adopt the standards and forms of behaviour that they, as formal residents, deem to be acceptable. There is no sense of compromise or space to allow the settlers to be part of deciding how integration should occur. The realities of the South African situation will, and already have, caused

people to shift their perceptual boundaries. The ratepayers may think that integration is possible only on their terms, but the nature of the informal community, its impact on locality and the political power of the settlers will ensure that it becomes much more of a two-way process. The socio-economic strength of the ratepayer community is their balancing mechanism and they will use this to good effect. However, they will be confronted with other ways of being and they will need to learn to accept them. Already the Hout Bay community are living with conditions that a few years ago, and even a few months ago, they refused to accept. This is discussed in greater detail in the section on experiences of working on the Liaison Committee. Integration is a process largely facilitated by human agents, but the structures of society and changes in locality shape and alter those processes.

Residents also felt that integration could occur through church groups; if the crime rate decreased; if numbers are reduced or controlled; and if residents of Mizamoyethu were prepared to pay for services and facilities. These reasons suggest that the Mizamoyethu community must also take responsibility for the integration process. They need to be seen to be contributing to the well-being and development of Hout Bay as a community; they need to contribute financially, no matter how small that contribution is, by paying rates and taxes; they need to work toward limiting the amount of crime associated with the settlement; they need to work toward overcoming the violence that is prevalent in the community, and which is largely related to drinking problems and poverty; and they need to reinforce their willingness to develop as a community. This is very difficult as many of the abovementioned problems are related to the poverty levels of the community and hence are underpinned by the need for employment, and for the provision of services and facilities within the community.

Having considered the broad concept of integration, attention is now paid to specific areas of life in Hout Bay where the informal settlers and the surrounding community interact with each other. Residents' perceptions of the provision of integrated services and facilities in Hout Bay are first examined and then the employment opportunities that Hout Bay offers for the informal settlers and the role that the informal settlers play in the socio-economic functioning of Hout Bay is explored.

9.3.3 The integration of services and facilities

The next set of questions is important in terms of future planning, as the responses indicate residents' perceptions of the development of facilities and services in Hout Bay. It is important to consider the attitude of residents toward the development of shared or separate facilities. Residents were asked to indicate whether facilities such as creches, schools and clinics should be provided separately in Mizamoyethu or whether the informal settlers should be encouraged to use the existing facilities in Hout Bay.

Table 9.11 Shared or separate facilities in Hout Bay – formal residents' perceptions.

	Ratepayers	Harbour Community
Shared facilities	56%	40%
Own facilities	37%	60%

The majority of the ratepayers indicated that services and facilities in Hout Bay should be shared. However, quite a large percentage believed that separate facilities should be developed. A small percentage felt that facilities should be shared and/or created separately depending on the requirements and resources available.

The harbour community responded very differently to the ratepayers, with the majority indicating that separate facilities should be developed within Mizamoyethu. This is contrary to what one would expect but can possibly be explained by the overcrowding of harbour facilities and the lack of resources in their community and hence the perceived need for the development of new facilities for the informal settlers. This is supported by the reasons given by the harbour community in that 32% stated that they do not have enough of their own facilities. It is therefore understandable that they would not want to share these scarce resources with the informal settlers.

Figure 9.10 and Table 9.12 indicate the response of residents to integrated facilities in relation to their spatial proximity to the settlement. From these findings it is evident

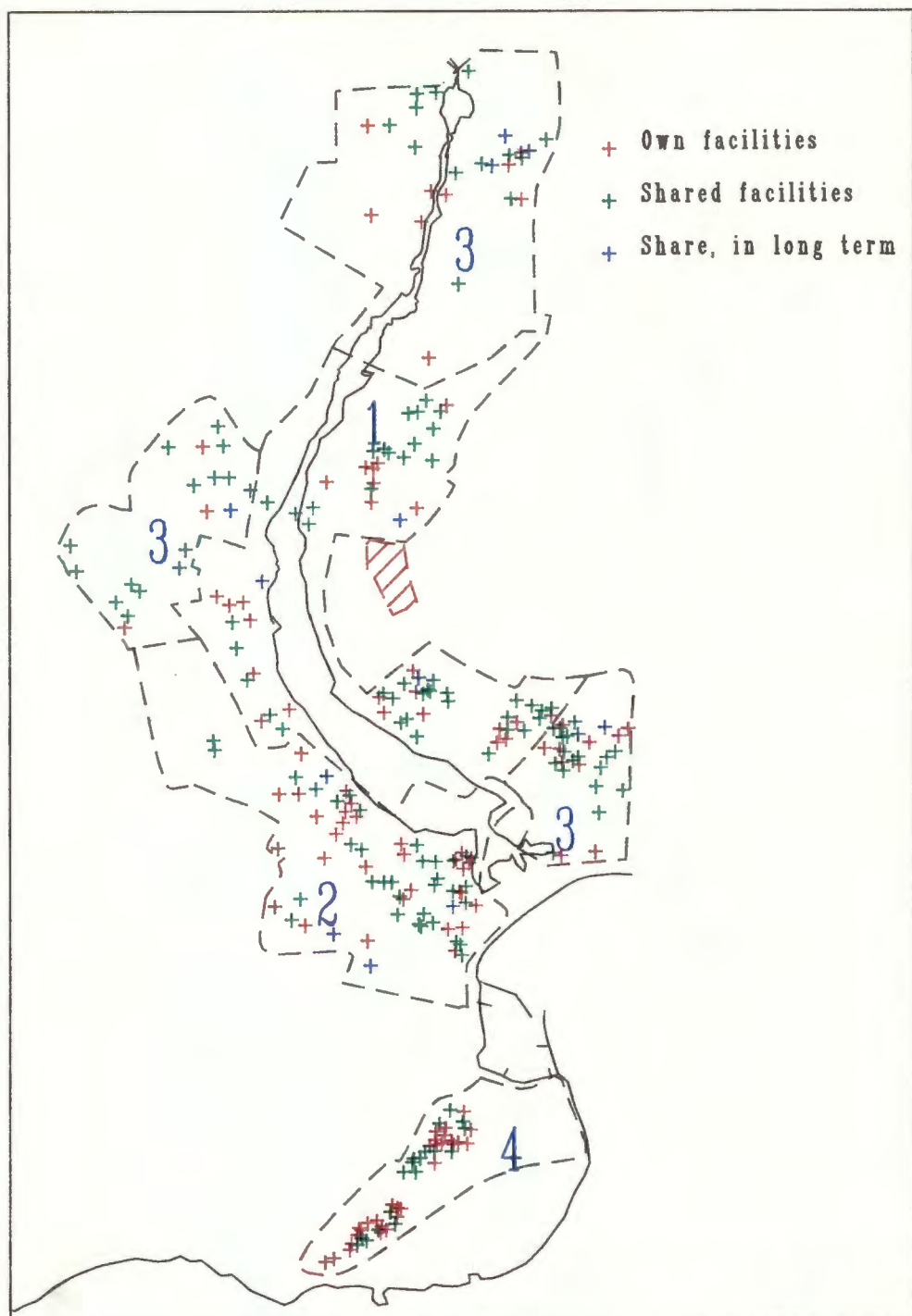


Figure 9.10 Formal residents' attitudes toward shared or separate facilities in Hout Bay.

Table 9.12 Formal residents' attitudes toward shared or separate facilities in Hout Bay.

	1	2	3	4	Total
Own facilities	35%	45%	31%	60%	41%
Shared facilities	61%	48%	57%	40%	53%
Share, in long term	4%	4%	9%	0	5%

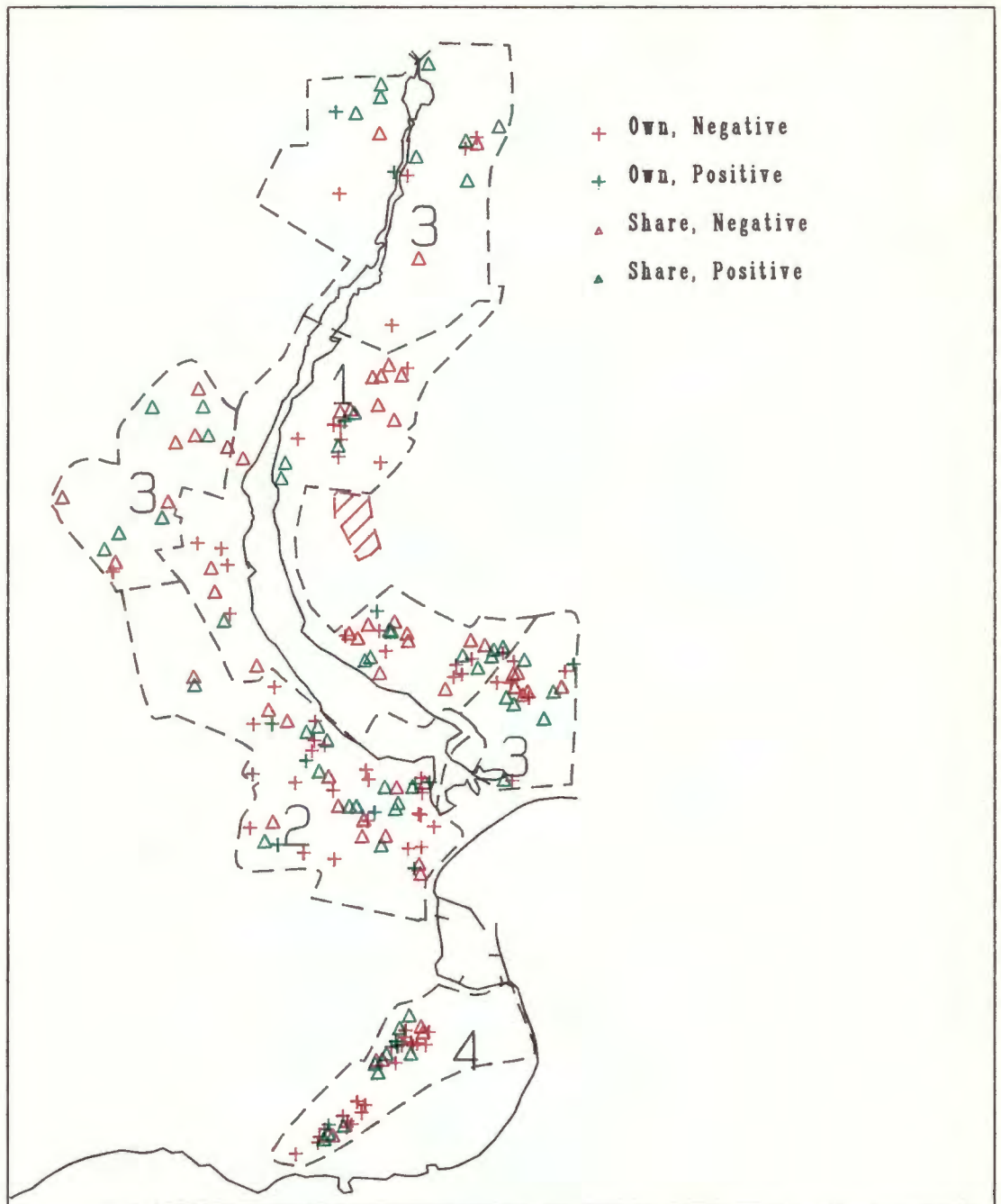


Figure 9.11 The relationship between attitudes toward shared facilities and response to the development of Mizamoyethu.

Table 9.13 The relationship between attitudes toward shared facilities and response to the development of Mizamoyethu.

	1	2	3	4	Total
Own, Negative	25%	29%	16%	42%	27%
Own, Positive	3%	9%	4%	6%	5%
Share, Negative	29%	17%	21%	10%	20%
Share, Positive	19%	17%	27%	18%	20%

that distance from the settlement does not impact on residents' attitudes toward shared facilities, but it is rather prejudices and negative racial and class attitudes which influence residents' perceptions, as well as limited and overcrowded resources. The group that was most against sharing facilities were residents in zone two.

In considering the cross-tabulations of integration of facilities by the response of residents to the development of the settlement it is evident that the attitudes of residents do impact, to a certain extent, on the way that they feel about integrated facilities, as indicated in Figure 9.11 and Table 9.13. Residents that felt that facilities should be shared, were equally split into those that were negative toward the settlement and those that were positive. However, those that felt that the informal settlers should have their own facilities had predominantly negative attitudes toward the informal settlement. The harbour community formed a large proportion of this group.

In terms of the demographic characteristics of residents in relation to the integration of facilities the following was found (see Table 9.14)

Table 9.14 The relationship between demographic characteristics and attitudes toward shared or separate facilities.

	Ratepayers		Harbour Community	
	Own	Share	Own	Share
Age	Oldest	Youngest	Same	Same
Length of time	6 – 10 years	< 5 and 10+ years	6+ years	< 5 years
Landownership	*	*	Rental	Landowners
Voting patterns	Group Rep. 1 R 1 V	1 P 1 V Qual. Vote	1 P 1 V	Group Rep.
Contact - Long term employment	No Contact	Contact	Less Contact	Contact
Contact - Personal	No Contact	Contact	Less Contact	Contact
Gender	Females	Males	Female	Male

Key: 1 R 1 V: One ratepayer one vote; 1 P 1 V: One person one vote; Qual vote: Qualification vote.

Older ratepayers that had lived in Hout Bay for 6-10 years were the most negative toward integrated facilities. They were residents who wanted a voting system of one ratepayer one vote, or a qualification vote, and they had had very little contact with the informal settlers. Hence they represent a group that wants to maintain and preserve the old status quo in Hout Bay. Those who wanted integrated facilities were politically more liberal, younger and newer in Hout Bay and had had contact with the settlers.

The harbour residents that wanted separate facilities had different characteristics to those of the ratepayers, as can be seen in Table 9.14. Those most negative about sharing were the low-income residents of the hostels and flats who had lived in Hout Bay for a considerable length of time. This community has very different reasons for wanting separate facilities; reasons that are based not necessarily on prejudice and class differences but rather on basic needs, since their facilities are already over-utilized. The group which favoured the sharing of facilities were the middle-income Hout Bay Heights residents who were reacting in a similar way to the liberal ratepayers.

It is interesting to note that females in both cases were most against integration. This is probably because they are the ones that have to take their children to the clinics, creches and schools and hence they are more exposed to the issues related to shared facilities. They also tend to be far more part of the neighbourhood network and hence negative stories tend to be passed around between them.

Residents were asked to indicate why they felt that facilities should be shared or provided separately. The reasons given for the development of separate facilities were that there were differing standards between the various communities using the facilities and since different cultures and classes do not mix, it would be better to separate the groups until the standards are more congruent. Certain residents stated that the informal settlers could not afford to pay for the quality of services provided in Hout Bay and that they should have facilities developed in their community that are in line with what they can afford. Others stated that there are not enough facilities in Hout

Bay at present and that these limited resources could therefore not be shared with the informal settlers.

Most of these negative responses are related to socio-economic differences and this supports the notion that much of the conflict that exists is based on the social reproduction of residents within a particular class.

The majority of ratepayers felt that shared facilities were important as they would break down the barriers created by apartheid and class divisions, thereby decreasing alienation and hence promoting a better understanding and relationship between the two groups of people. The fact that shared facilities are economically more viable was also considered to be important. Most South Africans are very aware of the cost incurred by the state (and the taxpayers) for the development of separate facilities, administration bodies etc, within the segregationist policies of apartheid.

The library, clinic, beach and some of the schools such as the Moravian school are presently being used by the informal settlers and the majority of residents are happy about this. Some were concerned about contracting health problems from other patients by going to the clinic and being in contact with the Mizamoyethu children. Others felt that the library was no longer a quiet place for reading and that the informal settlers were destroying the books. However one of the librarians was interviewed in the sample of ratepayers and she stated that although there were certain problems in the library related to the Mizamoyethu residents, such as noise and damage to books, they were small problems that could be resolved.

9.4 THE ROLE OF THE INFORMAL SETTLERS IN THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC FUNCTIONING OF HOUT BAY

9.4.1 Residents' perceptions of the broad role the informal settlers play

It would seem that the majority of residents feel that the 'squatters' do not play much of a positive role in Hout Bay. Of the ratepayers, 32% did not respond to this question; 40% felt that they played no role at all; 27% stated that the 'squatters' made a very small contribution by way of supplying short-term labour and by shopping at Shoprite; and 8% stated that they were a burden to Hout Bay and hence played no constructive role. Some felt that the only role that the 'squatters' played was as a part-time burglary squad, which reflects a very biased and prejudiced attitude. Many of the residents of the harbour community did not respond to this question. Those that did indicated that the informal settlers contributed to Hout Bay by shopping in the area and by providing a source of labour.

Many of the ratepayers stated that shopping and trading in Hout Bay had increased but only at places like Shoprite and other food shops. Some felt that the informal settlers had impacted on trading in Hout Bay because many of the formal residents now preferred to shop in Constantia away from the pressure and harassment of shopping with the informal settlers. Some felt that the noise in the supermarkets and the behaviour of the informal settlers had forced them to shop elsewhere. Others felt that the impact of the informal settlers on tourism would impact negatively on trading and shopping in Hout Bay.

A reasonable percentage of the ratepayers, 36%, stated that the informal settlers did play a role in supplying labour in Hout Bay, 30% said that there was no need for more labour in Hout Bay and 10% stated that they would not employ informal settlers because of the associated security risk. Residents felt that if they employed informal settlers they would be able to 'case the joint' and come back and burgle them. Certain respondents indicated that this had happened to them. These stories are then diffused

through the neighbourhood network or the media and this then affects people's attitude towards employing informal settlers. This has serious implications and becomes part of the self-fulfilling prophecy that is created about the informal settlers. Some contractors that were interviewed stated that they could not employ informal settlers, because if clients found out that they were using people from Mizamoyethu, they would be concerned about the security implications and so would cancel the contract. Other residents, on the basis of their resentment and anger toward the whole development, refused on principle to employ the informal settlers. Others worried about the health implications of employing informal settlers as domestic servants. Some felt that if an accessible employment bureau with a reference card system was set up, then they would be prepared to employ members of the community. They would value such a service and there is no doubt that this would benefit the informal community.⁴

9.4.2 The perceived employment status of the informal settlers

Residents were asked to indicate if they thought that the majority of the residents of Mizamoyethu were employed, and also where they thought that the informal settlers worked – in Hout Bay or elsewhere.

Figure 9.12 indicates that the majority of formal residents believe that most of the people living in Mizamoyethu are unemployed. This contrasts with data provided by the informal settlers in a demographic survey completed in November 1991 which indicates that 28% of the community over the age of 16, who were able to work, were unemployed (Gawith and Sowman, 1992). However, it would seem that unemployment levels in Mizamoyethu are higher than this and that "since employment status was considered by white resident associations and officials to be an important criterion for allocation of land in Mizamoyethu, figures pertaining to work status may not be reliable" (Gawith and Sowman, 1992, p 22). From the graph (Figure 9.12) it is evident that the majority of the surrounding community recognise the high level of unemployment that exists in the community. This is supported by the figures

discussed further on in relation to the number of residents who employ people from the informal settlement.

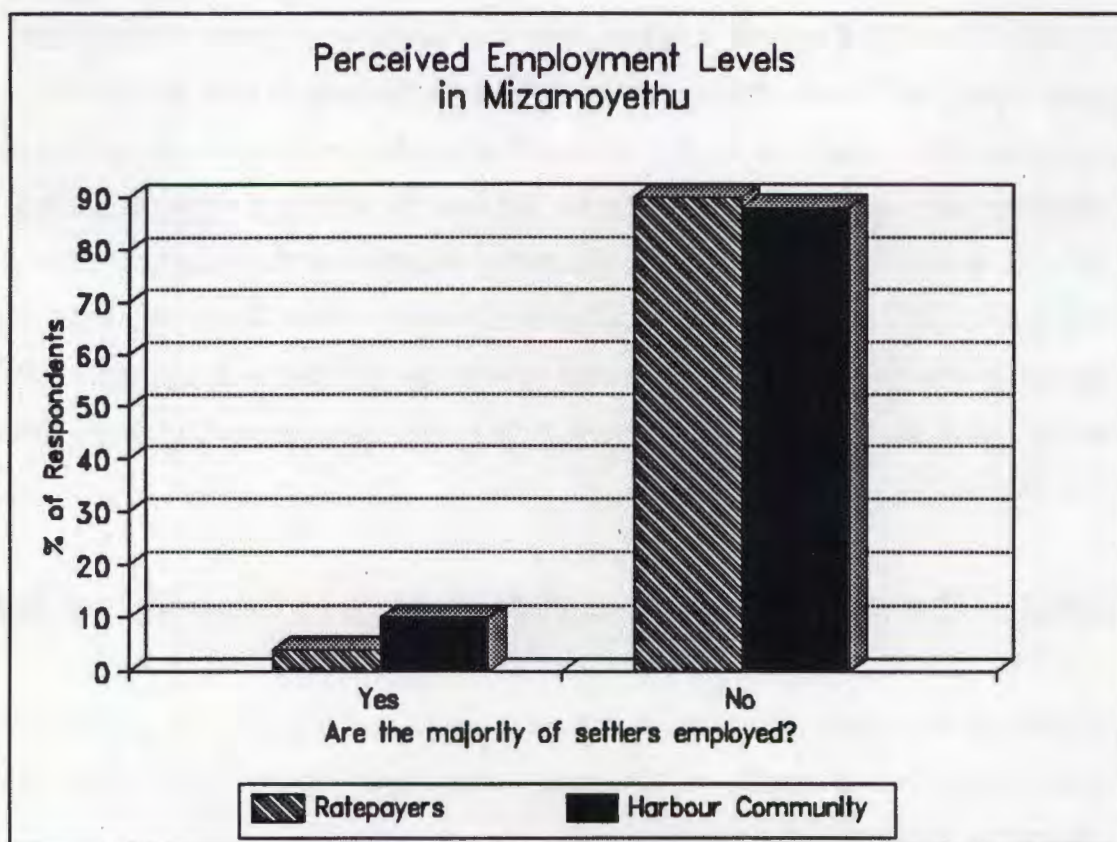


Figure 9.12 The perceived employment status of the informal settlers.

The issue of unemployment is a major issue of concern to most of the members of the surrounding community since it has serious implications. The ratepayers are very concerned about the high levels of unemployment since this reflects the inability of the informal settlers to support themselves. They believe that their rates will increase and they will end up supporting the Mizamoyethu community. They also believe that where there is unemployment and great disparities in wealth, as in Hout Bay, crime usually results. Unemployment also leads to an increase in begging and unoccupied people who loiter in the streets and this has already been identified as a socio-economic impact in chapter 8. For the harbour community the fears are very different. They fear that they will lose their jobs to the informal settlers, who (they feel) are prepared to

undercut them in terms of wages they are prepared to accept. Their community also suffers from unemployment and now the competition for jobs has become even greater. Unemployment creates the perception of the Mizamoyethu community as one that is not self-sustaining but rather financially draining and dependent. This perception has spin-offs in that the surrounding residents feel that the informal settlers get everything free while they have to work hard for what they have. The harbour community feel that they have not received the improvement in living conditions for which they have been waiting for a considerable time.

Respondents were then asked to indicate where they thought the informal settlers worked. These findings are displayed in Figure 9.13.

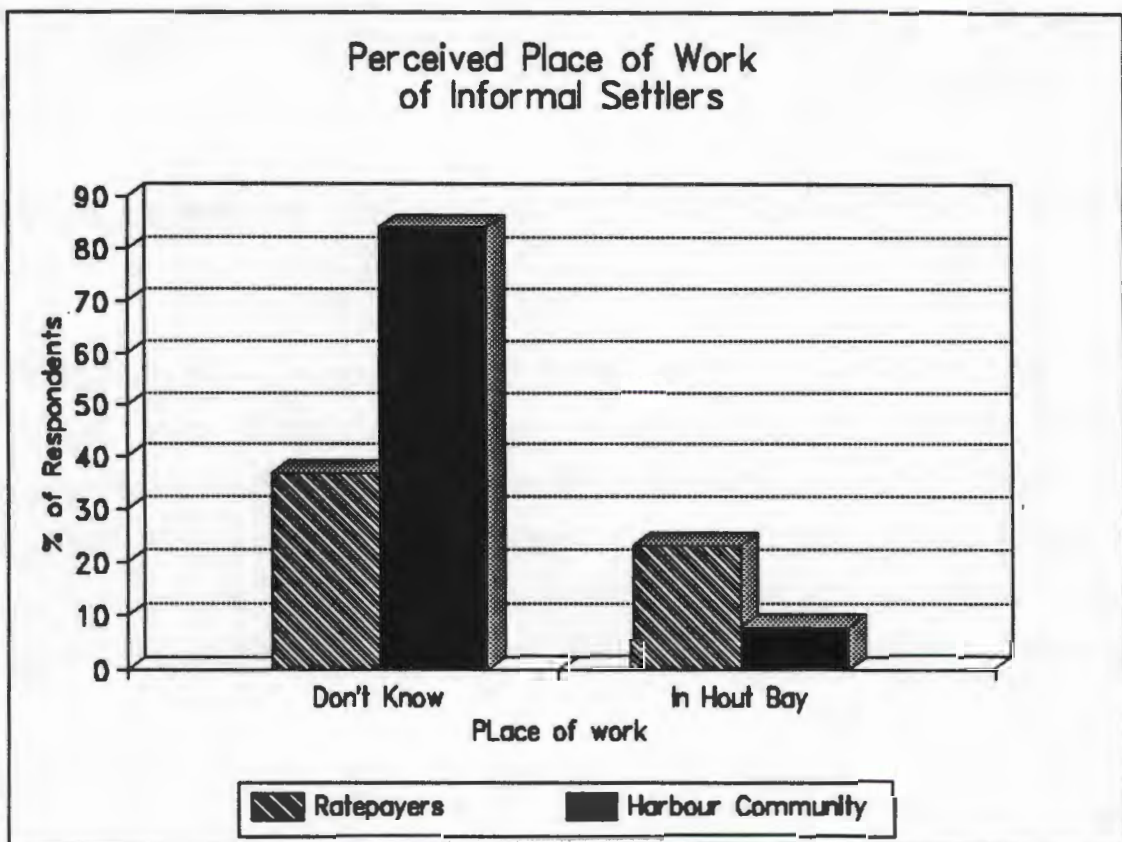


Figure 9.13 Perceptions of where the informal settlers work.

A high percentage of the ratepayers did not respond to this question. Only just over one fifth of the ratepayers indicated that the informal settlers worked in Hout Bay. 84% of the harbour community did not respond to this question due largely to a misunderstanding in terms of the interviewing process and hence these results cannot be accurately considered. In the demographic survey of Mizamoyethu (completed in November 1991), 91% of the informal settlers that were employed stated that they worked in Hout Bay. However, there was a low response rate to this question (50% of those that were employed) and hence these results may be unreliable (Gawith and Sowman, 1992).

There is a considerable amount of discrepancy between the formal residents' perceptions and the responses given by the informal settlers. At present it would seem that the formal residents' perceptions may be more accurate and that a considerable percentage of the informal settlers had provided the above information to protect themselves from eviction.

9.4.3 The employment of gardeners and domestics by formal residents

Information regarding the employment of domestic servants and gardeners by the residents of Hout Bay not only leads to a better understanding of the perceptions of the residents, but also has important implications for the members of the Mizamoyethu community and those trying to develop employment programmes. In the demographic survey the majority of informal settlers indicated that they worked as domestics, construction workers and in the fishing industry (Gawith and Sowman, 1992).

The table below (Table 9.15) indicates the employment patterns of residents in Hout Bay.

Table 9.15 Employment of domestic servants and gardeners in Hout Bay.

	Ratepayers	Harbour Community
Percent that employ a domestic	73%	22%
Number of times per week domestic employed	Once a week – 20% Twice a week – 13% Three-five times a week – 34%	Once a week – 4% Twice a week – 8% Three-five times a week – 10%
Percent that have a live in domestic	12%	2%
Percent of domestics that are from Mizamoyethu	7%	0
Percent that employ a gardener	54%	10%
Number of times per week gardener employed	Once a week – 42% Twice a week – 6%	Once a week – 6% Twice a week – 4%
Percent that have a live in gardener	3%	0%
Percent of gardeners that are from Mizamoyethu	18%	2%

The important figures that have been extrapolated from the results above, are that 90% of the ratepayers that employ domestic servants, employ domestic servants that do not live in Mizamoyethu and 64% of the ratepayers who employ gardeners, have gardeners that do not come from Mizamoyethu. It is thus evident that very few of the Hout Bay residents employ informal settlers in this capacity. The fact that more gardeners are employed from Mizamoyethu is probably because they begin on a more casual basis and also because a gardener is far more removed from a household's daily activities and does not work with the personal aspects of an employers life. Residents fear health and hygiene problems as well as security risks from having informal settlers in their houses.

These figures have serious implications for the informal settlers. It is important to realise that this type of employment is not the only type of employment that informal settlers could become involved in and also that they may work outside Hout Bay in

other areas. Nevertheless these are high figures given that many of the informal settlers were unskilled and had come to Hout Bay to look for work.

From the findings it is evident that a large number of residents of Hout Bay do employ domestics and gardeners and that very few of them have live-in servants. Hence there is considerable potential for that type of employment. It is important to realise, however, that a large number of residents employ people from the harbour and that this group will also compete for work in Hout Bay. This competition for employment is one of the issues that particularly concerns the harbour community, as they feel that they are going to lose out on jobs as a result of the informal settlers.

The spatial patterning of the number of residents who employ domestic servants and gardeners, and the origin of these workers, is represented in Figure 9.14, Table 9.16 and Figure 9.15, Table 9.17.

The first observation from this data supports the socio-economic divisions of Hout Bay. Zone two had a far higher number of residents that did not employ domestics and gardeners and this therefore indicates that they are a slightly less well-off group. The lower socio-economic position of the harbour community is also reflected in these figures. The group that has the highest number of domestic servants from Mizamoyethu are those in zone two, which contradicts many of the other attitudes that residents of this zone have. They have consistently come across as a group of residents who are negative toward the informal settlers and yet they are prepared to employ them, which is difficult to understand (Perhaps it could be to do with affordability and the lower wages requested by the informal settlers). Residents in zone three employ the highest number of gardeners from Mizamoyethu and this could be because they are most positive about the settlement as a whole. Zone three has many small holdings and so the demand for gardeners in this area is greater. Overall those that live closest to the settlement seem to be the most hesitant about employing people from Mizamoyethu. However the figures vary considerably and therefore it is difficult to draw from the data any distinct conclusions about the impact of proximity.

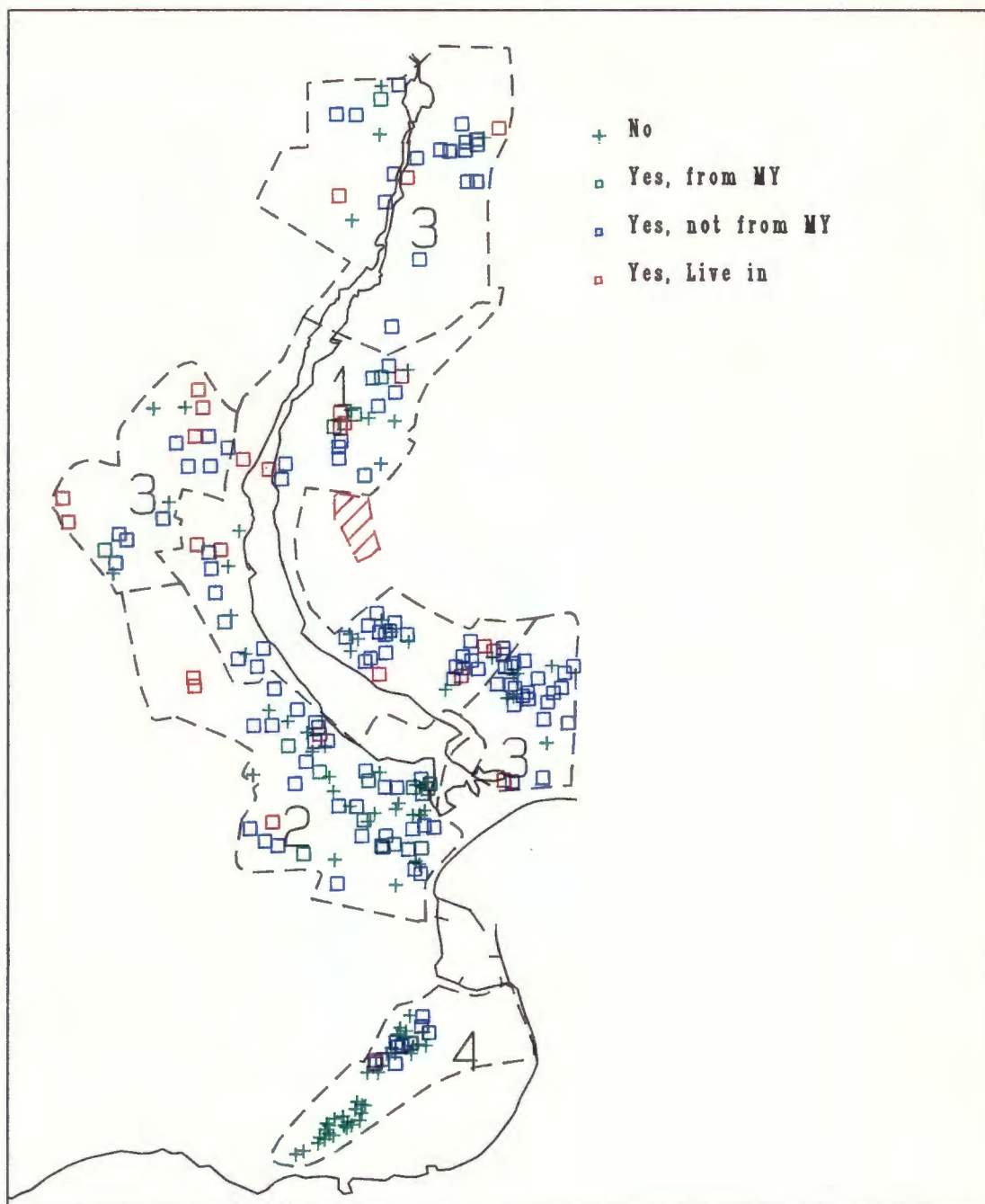


Figure 9.14 Employment of domestics by formal residents of Hout Bay.

Table 9.16 Employment of domestics by formal residents of Hout Bay.

	1	2	3	4	T
No	23%	32%	19%	54%	33%
Yes, from MY	4%	15%	3%	0	6%
Yes, not from MY	49%	40%	63%	20%	45%
Yes, live in	16%	5%	12%	2%	9%

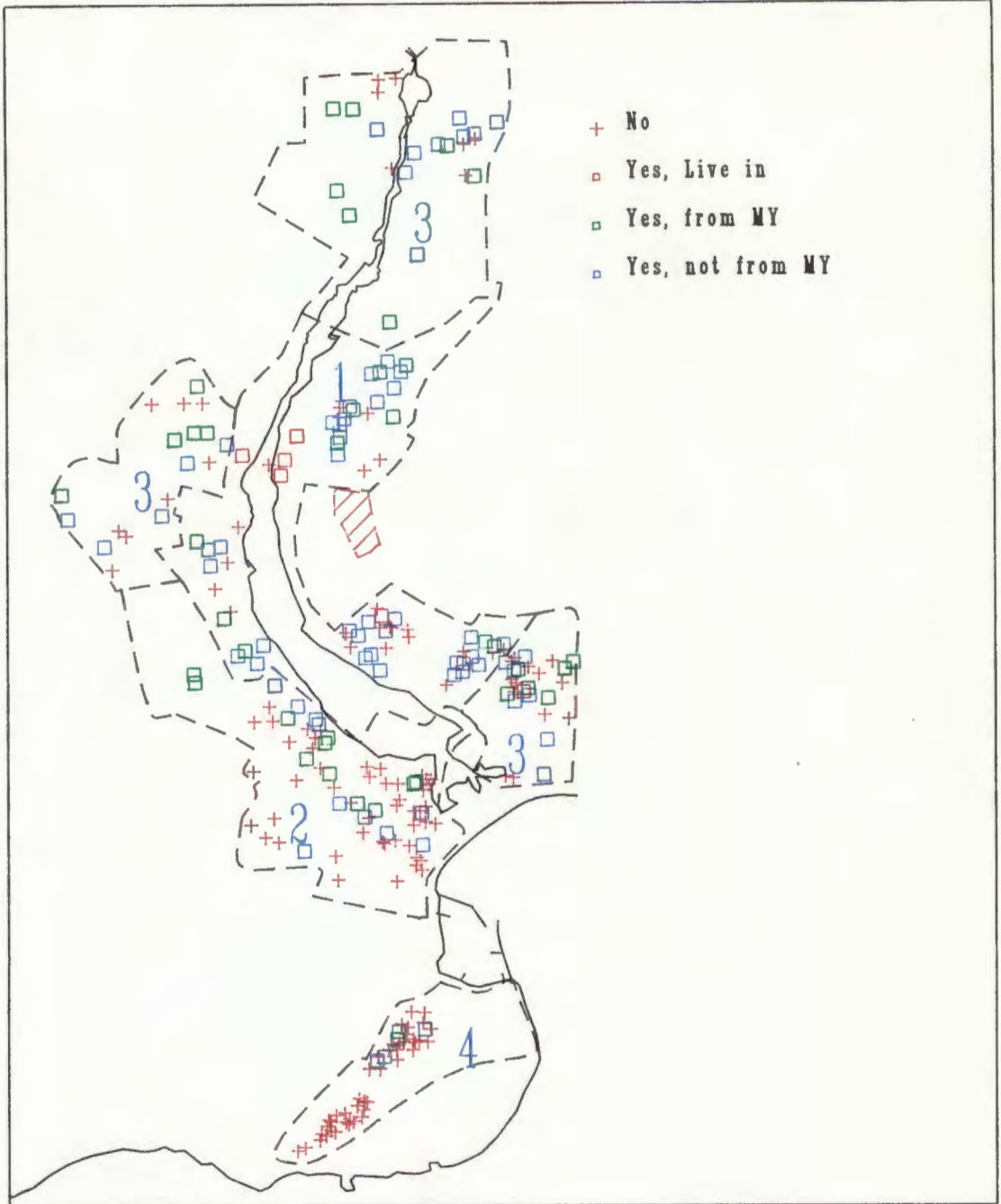


Figure 9.15 Employment of gardeners by formal residents of Hout Bay.

Table 9.17 Employment of gardeners by formal residents of Hout Bay.

	1	2	3	4	T
No	29%	64%	37%	86%	51%
Yes, MY	13%	15%	25%	2%	15%
Yes, not MY	27%	43%	13%	8%	25%
Yes, live in	8%	0	2%	0	3%

Many residents employ domestics and gardeners from the harbour community and have probably employed them for a long time. Thus the reason that they do not employ informal settlers has nothing to do with their attitude toward the settlers. However, in combining residents' responses to this question and those discussed above, there does seem to be some resistance on the part of the formal community to employ the informal settlers.

The next section considers respondents' perceptions of and attitudes towards the future development of Mizamoyethu. Many of these issues are also related to the above section in that they consider the issue of integration of the two communities.

9.5 THE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF MIZAMOYETHU

9.5.1 Introduction

This section focuses on a number of different issues related to the future development of the informal settlement. The conditions under which the informal settlement would be considered more acceptable to the surrounding community are initially explored. Thereafter attention is paid to residents' perceptions of the level and provision of services and facilities in the informal settlement and then residents' perceptions of the future growth of the settlement are considered. Finally the sensitive issue of the maintenance and development of interface (buffer) zones between the two communities as well as the issue of developing linked roads between the different estates is investigated.

9.5.2 Conditions that would make Mizamoyethu more acceptable to the surrounding residents

In considering the future development of Mizamoyethu, given that the informal settlement and the surrounding community are mutually dependent, it is necessary to take cognisance of the conditions that would make the development of Mizamoyethu more acceptable to the surrounding community. By evaluating the responses of the

residents to this question, an indication of the socio-economic and environmental impacts of such a development on the surrounding community is provided and an understanding of the way in which the residents perceive the settlement is developed. The findings are displayed in Table 9.18.

Table 9.18 Conditions that would make Mizamoyethu more acceptable to the surrounding residents.

Conditions	Ratepayers	Harbour Community
Settlement upgraded	46%	16%
Unemployment decreased	27%	16%
Numbers controlled	25%	0%
Nothing - the settlement is totally unacceptable	10%	8%
Informal settlers accept more responsibility for the upliftment of their community	8%	0%
Better security and more control	6%	0%
Harbour people need to be considered	0%	44%

Table 9.18 indicates once again that the responses of the ratepayers and the harbour community are vastly different. These differences reflect their different socio-economic and political positions as well as the way in which they view Hout Bay as a locality.

The surrounding community have indicated a need for the informal settlement to be upgraded and for the level of employment to increase, thereby creating a viable and self-sustaining community which is financially independent. This would serve to decrease the potential for crime. The ratepayers strongly believe that if the numbers are controlled then the settlement can be upgraded and become acceptable. It would also be to the advantage of the residents of Mizamoyethu to control the number of people in the settlement, since this means less pressure on resources and land. However, in these communities the concept of supporting extended family is far more prevalent and the concept of individual gain seems to be less firmly entrenched. The harbour community are less concerned about the above-mentioned issues. They feel that the settlement would be more acceptable to them if they also received the

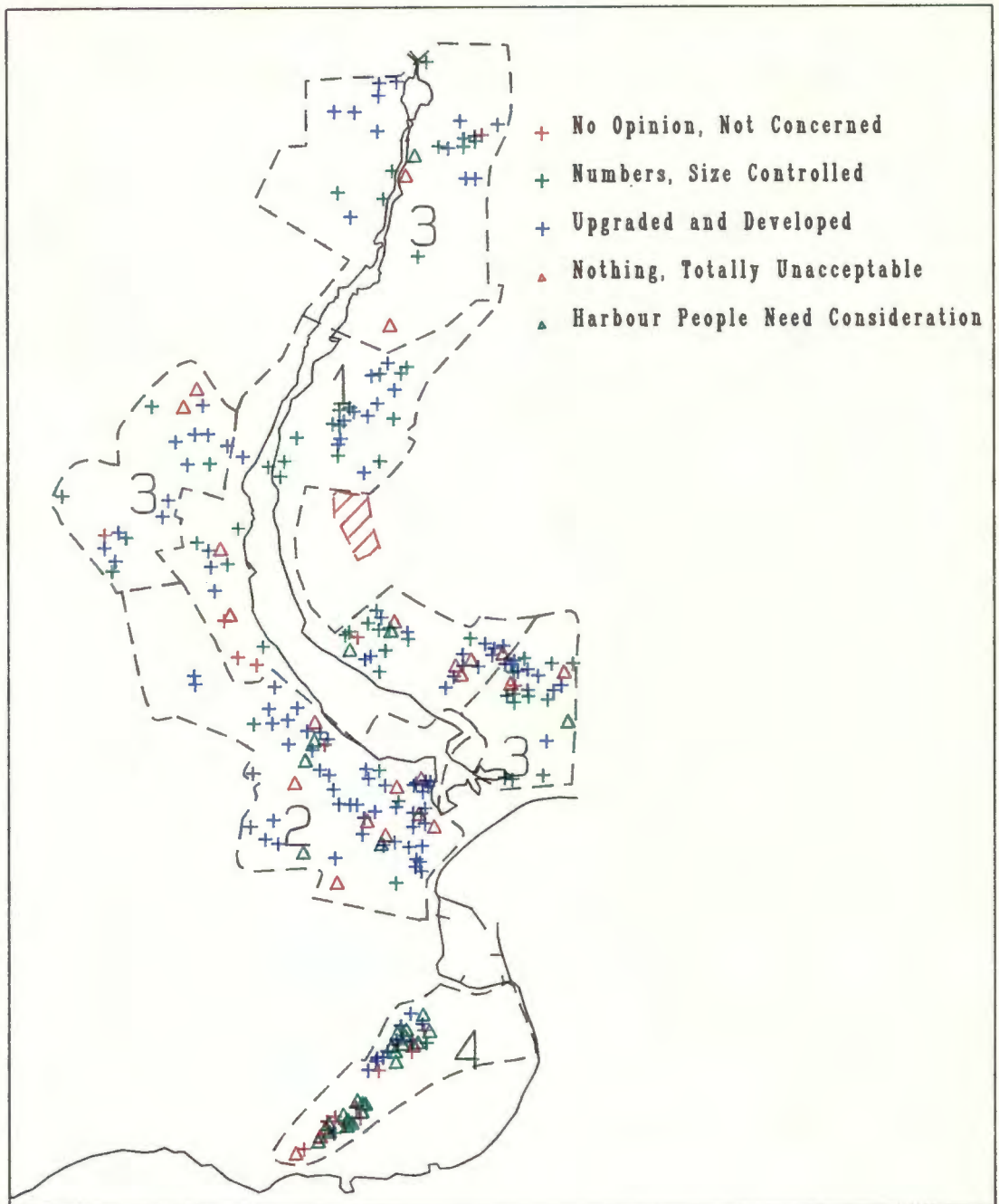


Figure 9.16 Conditions that would make Mizamoyethu more acceptable.

Table 9.19 Conditions that would make Mizamoyethu more acceptable.

	1	2	3	4	Total
No Opinion	5%	3%	4%	22%	7%
Numbers Controlled	40%	7%	34%	2%	22%
Upgraded	40%	70%	46%	24%	47%
Nothing	9%	13%	8%	8%	10%
Consider Harbour Community	3%	5%	3%	42%	11%

services and facilities that the informal settlers were getting. Their main concern with regard to the future development of the settlement is the further marginalisation of their community in the process of community upliftment.

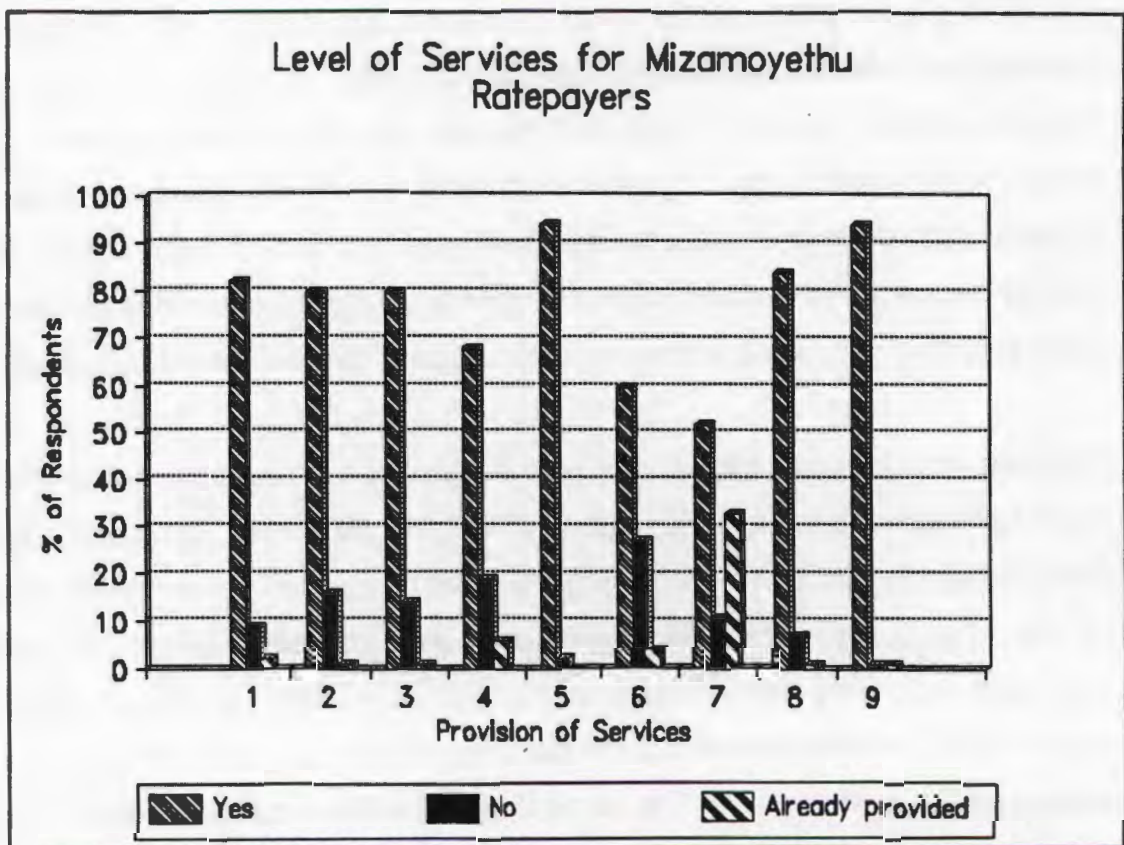
In considering the spatial representation of this data, Figure 9.16 and Table 9.19 it is clear that distance plays some role in determining residents' perceptions, but that there are other factors which influence the way people feel about the future development of the settlement. Residents in zone one are most concerned about the growth of the settlement. This is understandable, since if the size of the settlement is not limited, they will be most directly impacted upon. It is interesting to note that residents in zone three are also very concerned about the growth of the settlement. Residents in zone two responded differently by indicating that the settlement needed to be upgraded. This may reflect their previous concern for the very poor conditions which were evident in the original sites on Princess Road. This group also had the highest percentage who indicated that they found the settlement totally unacceptable and who stated that nothing could be done to make it better. This corresponds to other negative attitudes that they hold with regard to the informal settlement.

The cross-tabulations of response to the settlement by conditions that would make it more acceptable (see Figure B.15 and Table B.15 in Appendix B), suggests that those that are negative about the settlement are more concerned about the increase in size of the community. Obviously those that were negative about the settlement corresponded totally with those that indicated that nothing could be done to improve the situation. Those that wanted the settlement to be upgraded were split between being positive and negative. The same distance relationships, as indicated in Figure 9.16 and Table 9.19 above, hold true.

Having considered the perception of the surrounding community to the future development of the settlement, it is now important to consider their perception of the level of services and facilities that should be provided in the community and who they think should pay for these.

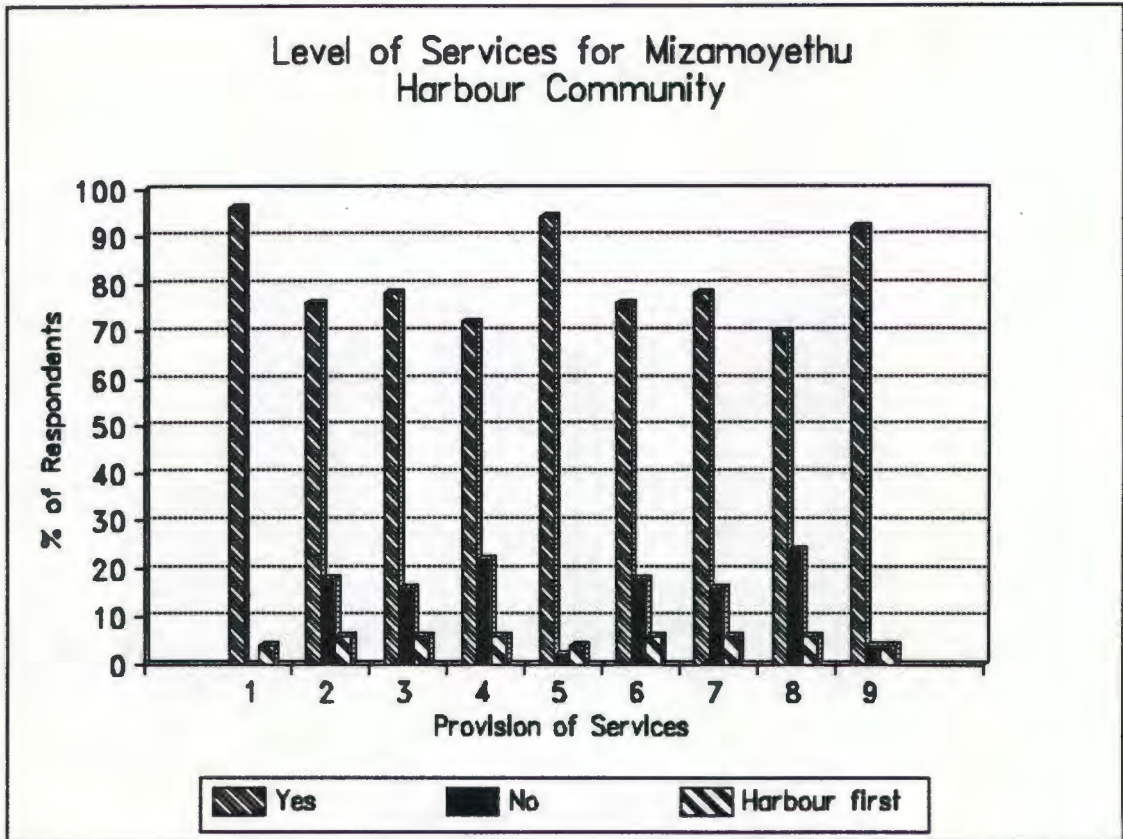
9.5.3 The provision of services and facilities in Mizamoyethu

In terms of informing the planning process, it is necessary to assess the level of service provision that is considered to be essential by the ratepayers and harbour community in the development of Mizamoyethu. These questions were divided into two tables, one asking respondents to comment on the provision of services and the second table requesting a response to the provision of facilities. The findings are displayed in Figures 9.17 – 9.20.



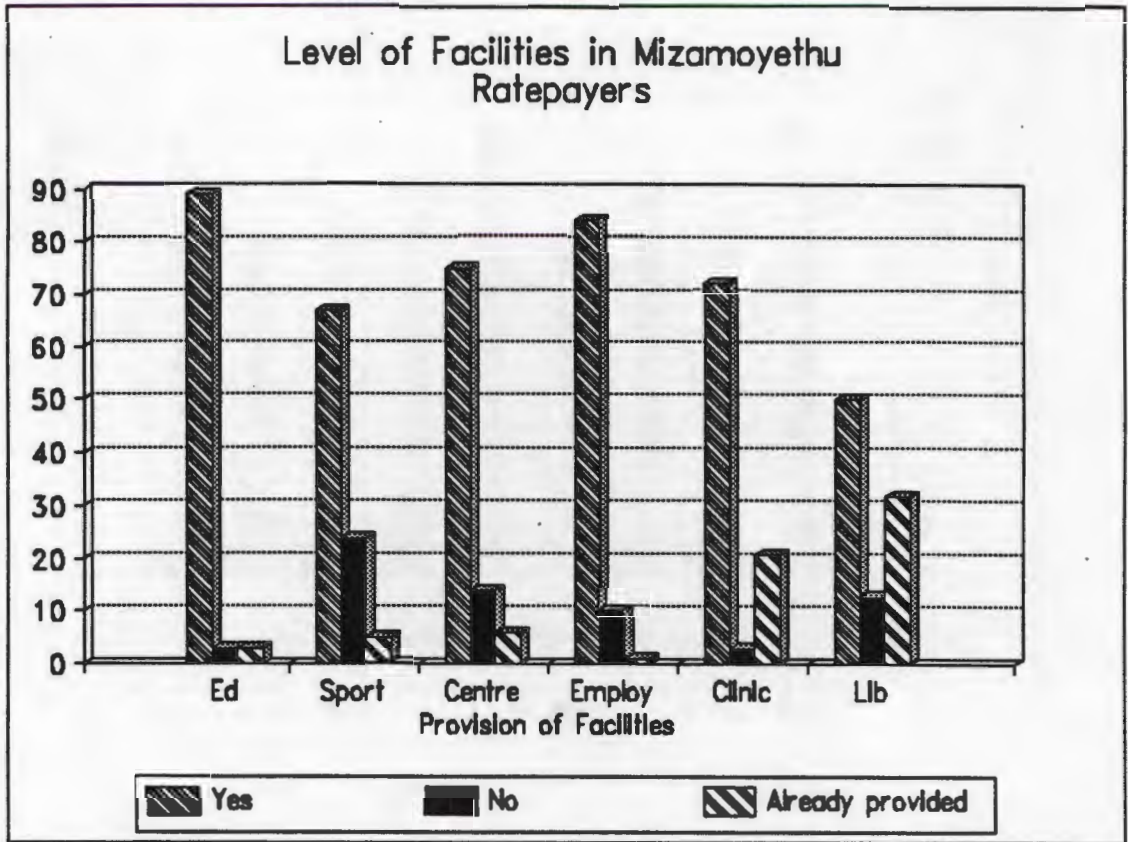
KEY: 1: Communal taps; 2: Taps in houses; 3: Electricity in houses; 4: Street lights; 5: Sewerage; 6: Tarred roads; 7: Access roads; 8: Storm water drainage; 9: Refuse collection.

Figure 9.17 The provision of services – the ratepayers' perceptions.



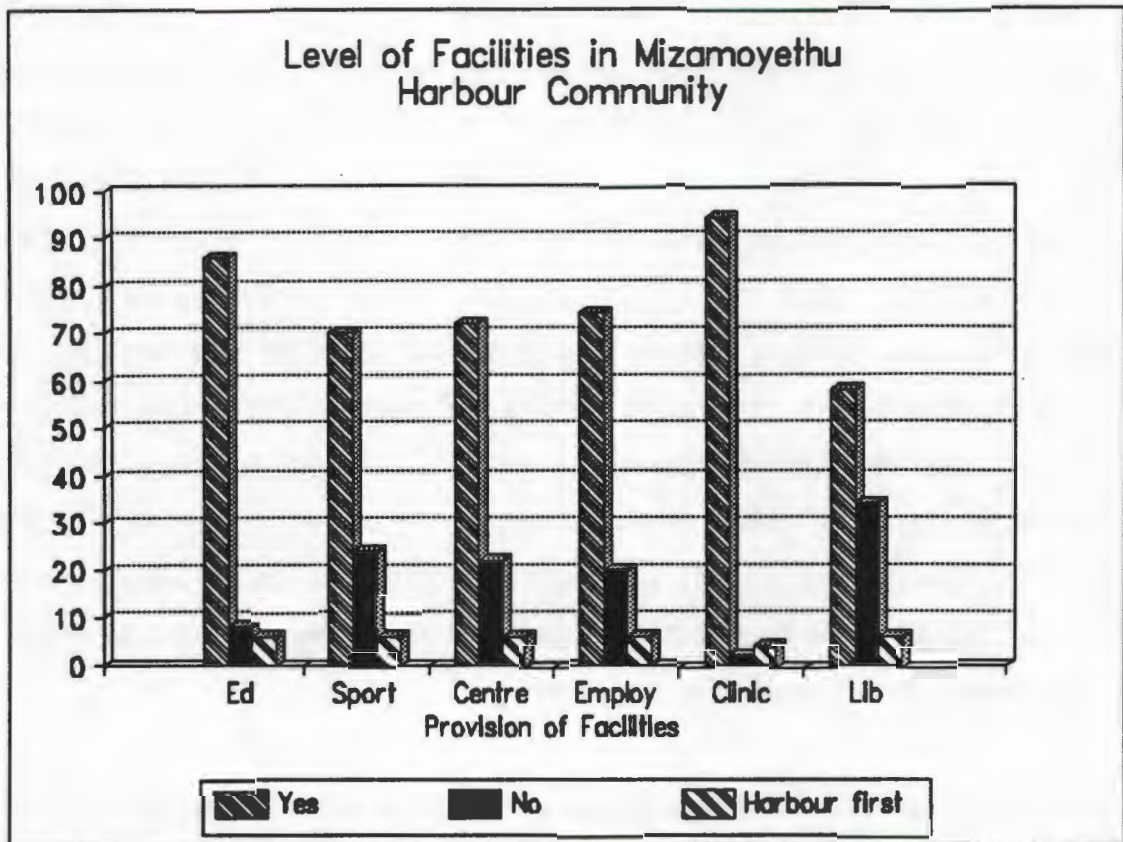
KEY: 1: Communal taps; 2: Taps in houses; 3: Electricity in houses; 4: Street lights; 5: Sewerage; 6: Tarred roads; 7: Access roads; 8: Storm water drainage; 9: Refuse collection.

Figure 9.18 The provision of services – the harbour community's perceptions.



KEY: Ed: education programmes; Centre: community centre; Employ: employment programme; Lib: library.

Figure 9.19 The provision of facilities – the ratepayers’ perceptions.



KEY: Ed: education programmes; Centre: community centre; Employ: employment programme; Lib: library.

Figure 9.20 The provision of facilities – the harbour community’s perceptions.

The majority of residents felt that a high level of service provision is necessary; however it is important to assess who they feel should pay for these services. People would want the best level of services and facilities in such a settlement, but when cost and the responsibility of bearing that cost are considered, then their perceptions of what is acceptable change. It is noteworthy that the residents of Hout Bay ranked the provision of services broadly in Hout Bay as poor (see Figures 5.6 and 5.7) and hence their own perceptions of the services and facilities they receive, relative to the high rates they pay, is negative.

It is evident from the graphs which indicate the responses of the two groups (see Figures 9.17 and 9.18) that the majority of services are considered to be essential. Water provision and electricity supply are rated as essential. A number of Hout Bay residents commented that they felt angry that the informal settlers had received street lamps and tarred roads as they felt that they themselves had been waiting for such services for a long time and still had to live with sand roads and no street lighting. This emphasises the need for ratepayers to understand where the financing of services in Mizamoyethu comes from. Many people resent the level of servicing that the informal settlers receive, thinking that the finance comes from their high rates for which they feel they receive nothing in return. Better roads within Mizamoyethu and an improved access road were not considered as important as electricity and water. Storm water drainage and refuse collection were considered to be very important (refuse collection got the highest rating of all the services). Again, this may be so because this problem in turn could impact directly on the outside community in the form of litter, environmental despoliation and disease.

The harbour community's responses were relatively similar to those of the ratepayers, where all services were ranked by the large majority as being essential. Many of the harbour people resented the fact that the Mizamoyethu residents were receiving services for reasons already discussed.

The majority of the residents rated most of the facilities as essential (see Figures 9.19 and 9.20), with education facilities being seen as the most important, probably due to the positive spin-off associated with education. Sports facilities were considered to be important and many people felt that this would be a good way of integrating and drawing the two communities together. A community centre, clinic and employment creation programme were also considered to be necessary. The library was not rated as an essential facility because some residents felt that the informal settlers would not use the library to any great extent. Others felt that the informal settlers could use the library already present in Hout Bay. The harbour community rated a clinic as being essential and this may reflect the overcrowding they experience or the need for more health resources, as the clinic in the harbour area could not cope with the increased

influx of people. Certain members of the ratepayer group refused to answer this question as they refused to accept that the 'squatters' were permanently settled in Hout Bay and hence would not refer to the provision of services to the community (6% of the ratepayers responding in this way). Many of the harbour community members stated that the informal settlers were only entitled to receive services once the harbour community had been uplifted and upgraded.

The respondents were then asked who should assume responsibility for paying for the services and facilities (see Table 9.20)

Table 9.20 Formal residents' perception of the financing of services and facilities in Hout Bay.

	Ratepayers		Harbour Community	
	Services	Facilities	Services	Facilities
Informal Settlers	57%	46%	44%	44%
State	45%	54%	60%	60%
WCRSC	29%	23%	8%	8%
Combination	11%	11%	8%	8%
Informal Settlers must contribute something	9%	0%	6%	4%
Ratepayers	0%	6%	8%	6%

The analysis of the responses as to who should pay for the services, which is imperative in any discussion with regard to service provision, indicates that the perception of the surrounding community is that the responsibility should fall largely on the informal settlers themselves. Respondents felt very strongly that the informal settlers should pay, as one of their fears is that the cost of service provision is going to fall strongly on their own pockets, and they are going to have to continue paying very high and even higher rates when they themselves do not receive adequate services. The state is also held responsible for the financial provision of services. From Table 9.20, it is clear that the state and the regional services council are deemed responsible for the provision of services. Many felt that the state should pay as the

authorities were responsible for the problem – they had made the decision to allow the informal settlers to remain in Hout Bay. Others felt that if the state paid then taxes would subsequently go up and so the residents would end up paying for services in the long run anyway.

The provision of services and the upkeep and payment for services is usually administered through rates and taxes. The initial costs are born by the Regional Services Council. Popular public perception is that lower-income communities are not very good at keeping up with their rate payments. This is also complicated in the South African situation where many low-income communities have boycotted the payments of rates as a response to the poor level of servicing that they receive (as well the rates boycotts against the tricameral parliament). Many of the Hout Bay residents fear that they will end up bearing the cost.

The issue of the provision of services and facilities is considered again in chapter 10 which investigates the results of a principal components analysis of the data.

9.5.4 The increase in size of the settlement

Residents were asked their opinion with regard to the increase in size and future growth of Mizamoyethu. The survey was done at a time before the new site area had been cleared and developed and hence there was a lot of uncertainty with regard to the increase and future development of the site.

Figure 9.21 indicates that the majority of Hout Bay residents are very concerned about the increase in the size of Mizamoyethu. The harbour community felt less strongly than the ratepayers, but still a large proportion of this community indicated that the growth of the settlement concerned them. A large proportion of the harbour community stated that the increase of people in Mizamoyethu did not matter to them, indicating their lack of concern with the development as a whole.

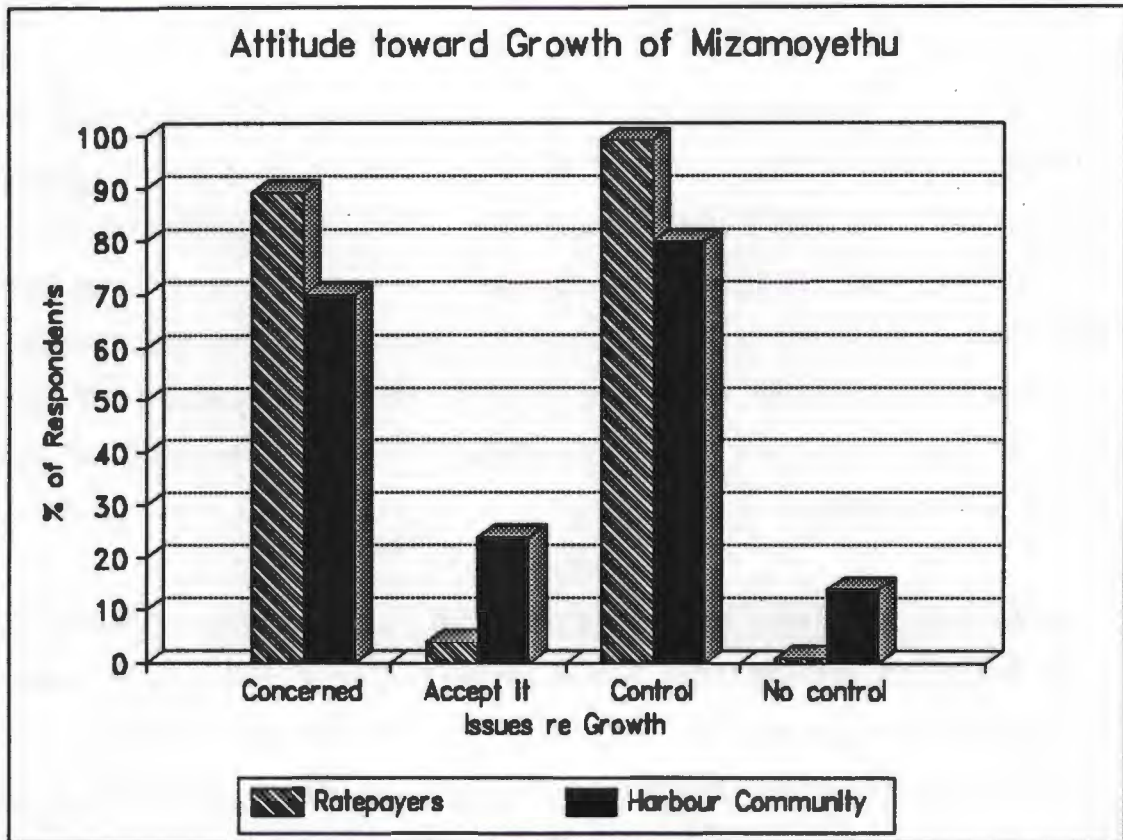


Figure 9.21 Formal residents' attitudes toward the growth of Mizamoyethu.

The explanations residents gave for being concerned about the growth of the settlement were as follows: they felt that tourism in Hout Bay would be affected; that there would be further increase in crime and violence; that there were already not enough jobs in Hout Bay for the informal settlers and hence unemployment would get worse; there were not enough resources to cope with a further increase of people in the settlement; and that an increase in the size of Mizamoyethu would not benefit the residents of Hout Bay nor the informal settlers. They also felt that the settlement would place a high financial burden on the ratepayers who already pay very high rates.

Certain residents accepted that the growth of the settlement is a reality and others felt that it was acceptable for the settlement to increase in size as long as it did not

exceed the level at which it could be upgraded and improved. However residents expressing these views were by far in the minority.

Almost 100% of the ratepayers felt that the growth of the settlement should be controlled, whereas 80% of the harbour community indicated that the growth of the settlement should be controlled. Clearly distance from the settlement does not impact on residents' attitudes toward the management and control of the growth of the settlement (see Figure 9.22 and Table 9.21). This issue is seen to impact broadly on the Hout Bay community. The formal residents would like to remain in the majority in Hout Bay, and this would be another reason for concern related to an increase in numbers in Hout Bay.

In considering the spatial representation of the cross tabulations between response to the settlement and the issue of size, Figure 9.22 and Table 9.21, it is evident that residents' attitudes toward the settlement do not impact on how they feel about the growth of the settlement. Residents of Hout Bay seem to be most concerned about the carrying capacity of the area. They realise that if the settlement is to be successfully upgraded, then the size of it will need to be controlled. Hence their perception of this issue is related to practical issues, rather than being based purely on misconceptions and prejudices that they might hold.

Residents were asked how the growth of the settlement should be limited. Respondents believed that the planners and the government should control the growth of the settlement. Others felt that the police should control the growth, which is noteworthy as it indicates the power certain South Africans vest in the South African Police (SAP) for the control of groups of people that they deem as unacceptable. What is surprising is the high number of harbour community residents that indicated that the police should control the future growth of the settlement (28%). This community would be expected to be very hostile towards the SAP and hence this response raises some interesting questions. The group responding in this way could represent the middle-income residents of Hout Bay Heights. Residents stated that the settlement should be controlled in terms of the number of sites available or in terms

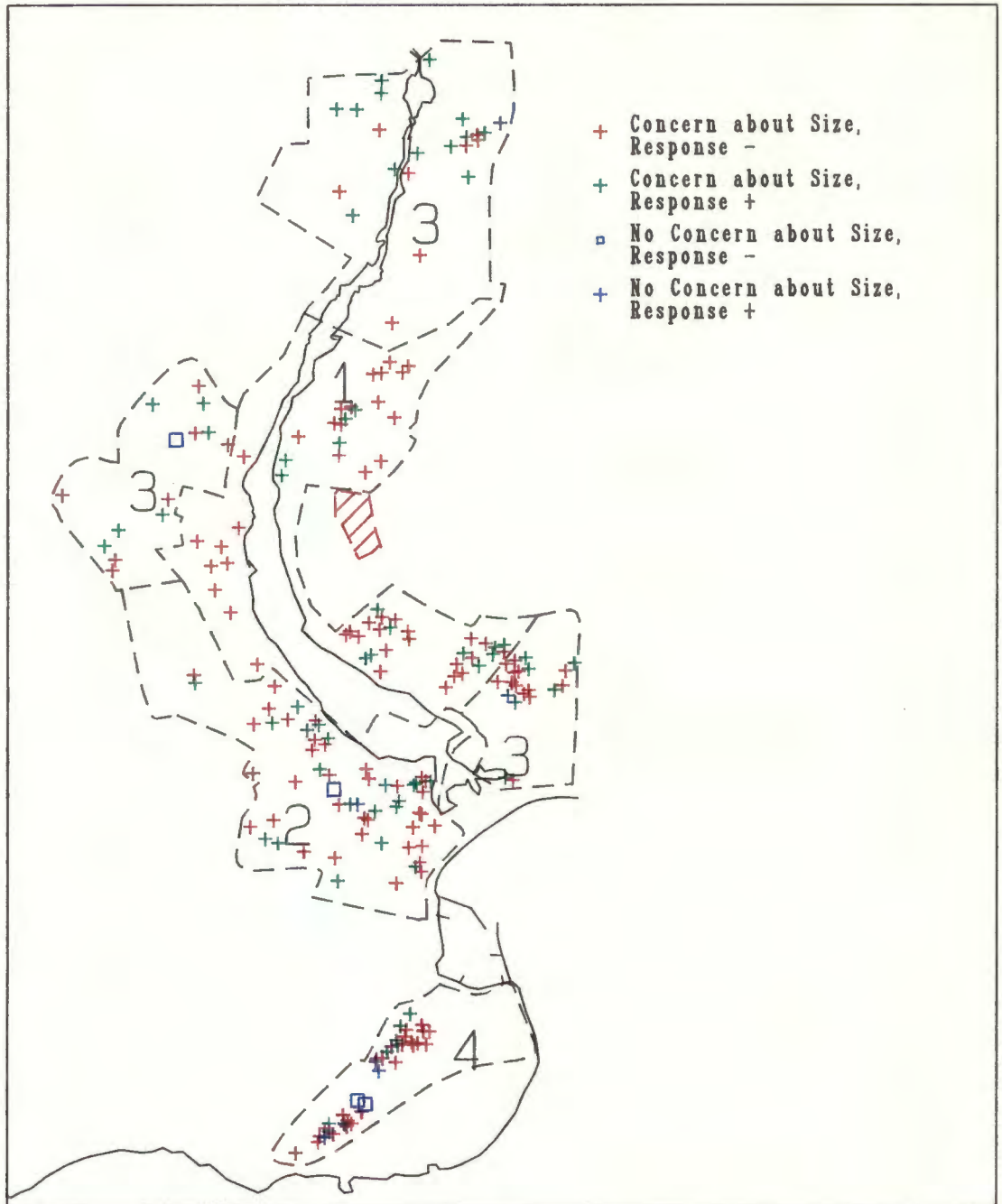


Figure 9.22 The relationship between response to Mizamoyethu and attitude toward the growth of the settlement.

Table 9.21 The relationship between response to Mizamoyethu and attitude toward the growth of the settlement.

	1	2	3	4	Total
Size of Concern, Negative	57%	47%	37%	48%	47%
Size of Concern, Positive	19%	27%	33%	10%	23%
Size of No Concern, Negative	0	1%	1%	4%	1%
Size of No Concern Positive	0	1%	3%	12%	3%

of the number of people per site. The resources needed to cope with the settlement should set limits on the size of Mizamoyethu. Access to employment was also considered a viable way of controlling growth. Some residents felt that it was in the informal settlers' best interests to contain the growth of the settlement and hence they should control the numbers themselves. A large number of residents said that they did not know how the growth could be curtailed and that it was a very difficult issue to address. This issue is presently high on the agenda of the Liaison Committee.

The growth of the settlement is a very sensitive issue. All the 'squatters' who moved from the five sites into Mizamoyethu were registered at the time of the move. These people, including the lodgers that moved with them, were all guaranteed access to a site on the 18 hectares that was to be developed. However, because the site allocations were not done right at the beginning of the process, but were rather left until October 1993, when the serviced sites were ready, the number of people in Mizamoyethu expecting to get access to sites had increased considerably. By the time that the allocations were done, there were 211 sites too few. This led to a conflict situation. The problem of the increase of the settlement is likely to be an ongoing process. The settlement will naturally expand as children in the settlement grow up, as well as due to the inevitable increase by in-migration. How this will be controlled is yet to be seen. The different values toward land that exist between the two communities results in a situation which makes conflict resolution problematic.

One of the ways of controlling the spatial expansion of the settlement is to establish facilities and services on the extra 16 ha of land which presently forms the interface zones. This would act as a barrier between the formal and informal residents, and would also serve to curtail the expansion of more shacks into this area. This issue is highly sensitive, as buffer zones are so symbolic of the apartheid era. They are territorial symbols that send out strong messages of separate development. They create a sense of 'us and them' or 'insiders and outsiders'.

9.5.5 Residents' perceptions of interface zones

Residents were asked their opinion on whether or not buffer zones should be created between the Mizamoyethu settlement and the adjacent suburbs (see Table 9.22). This information is important in terms of future planning decisions as a buffer zone is perceived as a means of controlling and limiting the impacts of the settlement.

Table 9.22 Formal residents' perceptions of the provision of buffer zones.

Buffers	Ratepayers	Harbour Community
Yes	77%	26%
No	19%	52%
Practically yes, morally no	2%	22%

The table above indicates that the majority of the ratepayers believe that there should be interface zones between Mizamoyethu and the surrounding community, whereas the harbour community are against the development of interface zones. This emphasises the difference in attitude and perceptions of the two groups towards the settlement and the impacts the settlement has on the different communities. The harbour community do not see the need for the development of buffer zones. They do not agree with the concept of buffers as they see them for what they are: ways of segregating different groups. Because of the apartheid policies of the past, they have always lived on the 'wrong side' of the buffers and so they have experienced the negative nature of such structures. Those that agreed with the implementation of the interface zones were probably the residents of Hout Bay Heights, who sympathised with the residents of Penzance and Hughendon. It seems that it is a group with something to protect that requires some form of buffer, or more especially a group that feels insecure. A buffer acts largely as a psychological barrier, since what is it, in a buffer, that creates defensible space?



Plate 14 The fence forming the interface zone along the northern side of Mizamoyethu.



Plate 15 Forests act as an effective interface zone on the Penzance side of Mizamoyethu.

The present buffers block out the Mizamoyethu community to a certain extent as they are forested. There is also a fence around the Mizamoyethu community which was put up when the informal settlers initially moved to the site. This is a very negative territorial symbol, and the razor wire on top of it creates negative images. Residents have already made holes in the fences and hence they serve to control only some of the flow of people across the neighbouring communities. The informal settlers are understandably very resentful about these mechanisms of control.

A number of residents stated that they felt that on moral grounds there should not be buffer zones, but in terms of the practical realities of the situation, buffer zones should be placed between the Mizamoyethu residents and the adjacent properties. The reasons given for the development of buffer zones indicate and emphasise the fears that residents have of the settlement. They reflect the perceptions that the formal residents have of living close to an informal settlement which is of a very different character to the existing residential suburb of Hout Bay.

The spatial patterning of responses to the issue of the interface zones, suggests that in this case proximity to the settlement (as is to be expected) plays an important role in determining residents' attitudes. These findings are displayed in Figure 9.23 and Table 9.23.

Interface zones are for the direct benefit of those residents that live alongside the community. However, from the figures it is evident that residents in both zone one and zone two show a high response in favour of the implementation of buffers. The reasons for those in zone one are obvious. Zone two residents may wish to have buffers implemented because of their past experience of living in close proximity to the original settlements. However, they are also the group that seems to be the most negative toward the whole concept of the development of Mizamoyethu, and hence are more in favour of buffers. A high percentage of zone three residents also indicated that there should be interface zones between the communities, and many of them commented that this would be appropriate not for their own needs, but rather because they felt those ratepayers living next to the settlement deserved some protection.

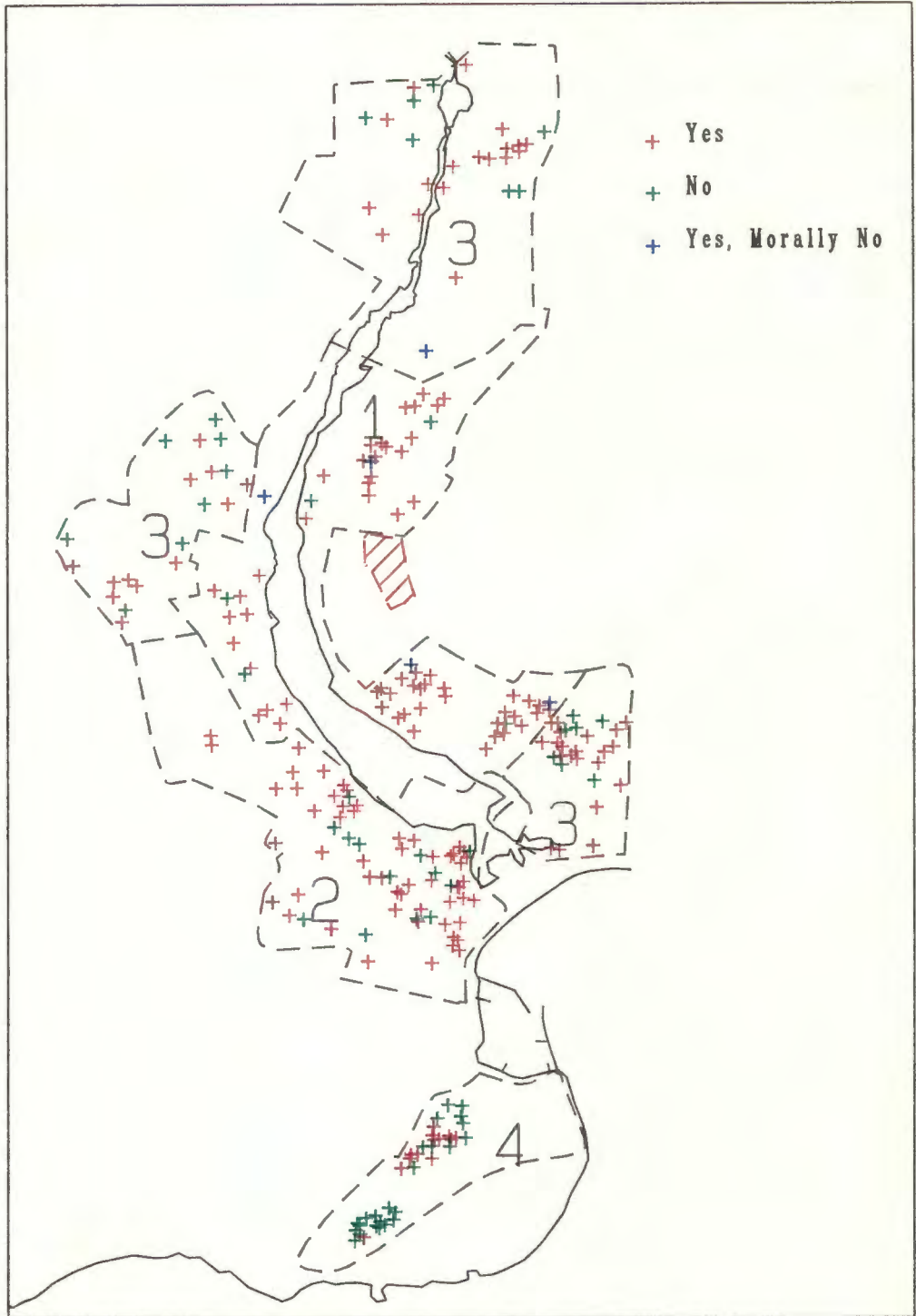


Figure 9.23 Perceptions of the need for buffer zones.

Table 9.23 Perceptions of the need for buffer zones.

	1	2	3	4	Total
Yes	83%	80%	68%	26%	68%
No	8%	19%	29%	52%	25%
Yes, Morally No	5%	0	1%	0	2%

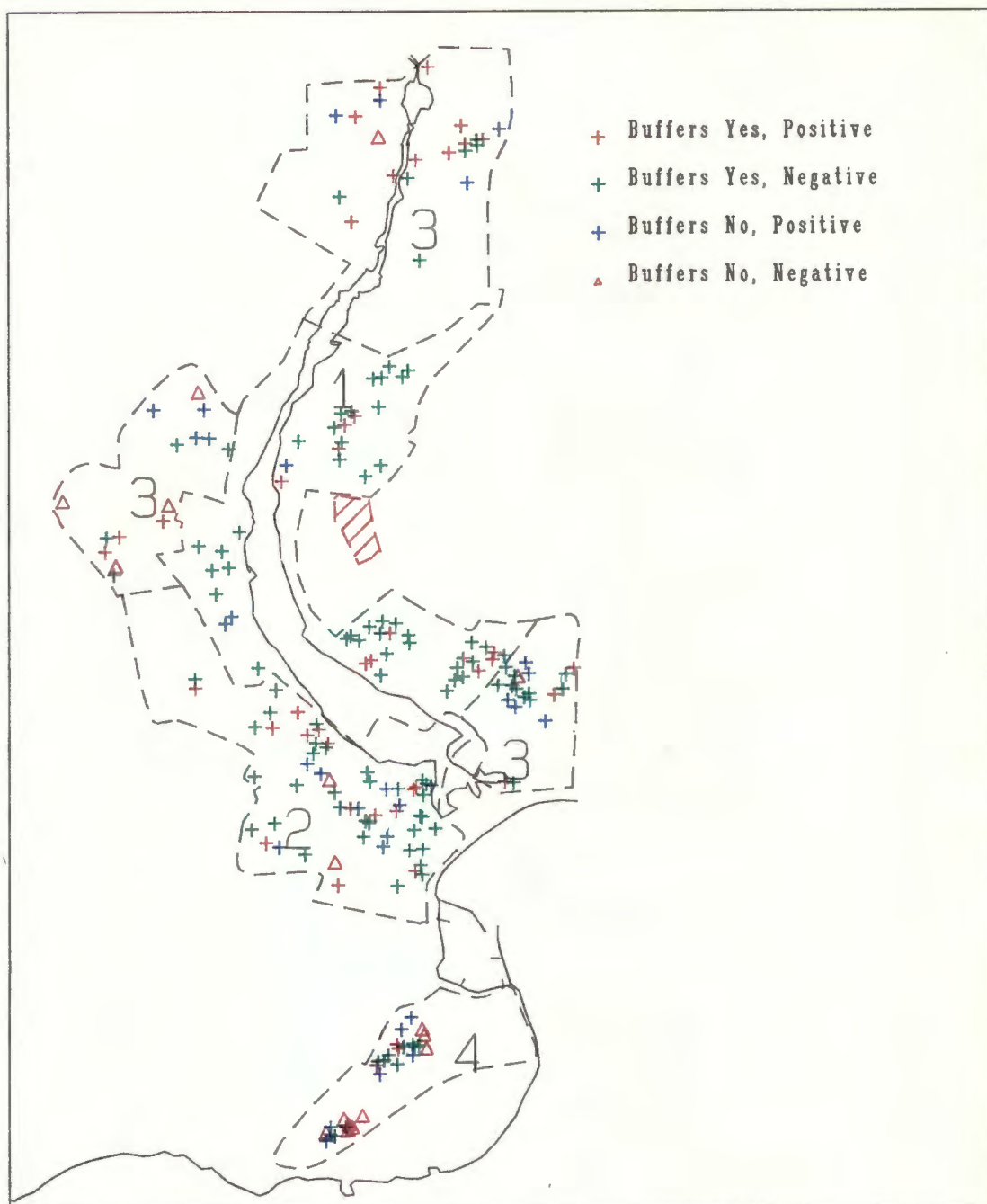


Figure 9.24 The relationship between response to Mizamoyethu and the need for buffer zones.

Table 9.24 The relationship between response to Mizamoyethu and the need for buffer zones.

	1	2	3	4	Total
Buffers Yes, Positive	15%	19%	21%	6%	16%
Buffers Yes, Negative	55%	45%	29%	16%	38%
Buffers No, Positive	3%	11%	16%	18%	11%
Buffers No, Negative	0	3%	8%	18%	6%

The cross-tabulations of response to the settlement and attitude toward buffer zones are displayed in Figure 9.24 and Table 9.24. It is evident from these results that residents' responses to the settlement do, to a certain extent, impact on their perceptions of buffer zones; but that this is certainly not the only factor determining people's attitudes. There are a considerable number of residents who are positive about the settlement but still recognise the need for buffers, particularly those living close by. It would seem that interface zones are required more for practical reasons than because of negative perceptions of the informal settlers. However, it must be noted that the fear and concern that residents have of the informal settlement and its impacts would seem to be based more on perceptions than on real experience and hence the practical reasons for wanting buffers are underpinned by perceptions and stereotypes of what the informal settlers represent. The influence of distance on residents' attitudes is also evident in this map. Those closer to the settlement are more concerned about the issue of buffers.

The results of the relationship between demographic characteristics and attitude toward the interface zones are indicated in Table 9.25 below. Once again the middle-aged group, who have lived in Hout Bay for 6 – 10 years; have had very little contact with the informal settlers; and would vote to preserve the status quo are most in favour of the development of interface zones. As identified earlier, this is the group who, because of their socio-economic position, their stage in the life-cycle, and their view of the world and of Hout Bay as a locality, feel that they have the most to defend and preserve in Hout Bay. They perhaps represent the most inflexible group. Table 9.25 supports the contention made earlier that the residents of the harbour community that are most in favour of interface zones are the middle-income, more conservative residents of Hout Bay Heights. Those that live in the hostels, flats and standard issue state houses were understandably most against the buffer zones. The findings also support the fact that contact between the ratepayers and the informal settlers certainly influences their attitude toward integration of the two communities. This is inversely true with the harbour community, but this is because their attitudes are based less on racial prejudices and more on socio-economic differences.

Table 9.25 The relationship between demographics and residents' opinions with regard to buffer zones.

Buffers	Ratepayers		Harbour Community	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Age	Middle Age	30-40 yrs	<30 and 30-40 yrs	50 + years
Landownership	Same	Same	Landowner	Rental
Length of time	6-10 years	< 5 years & 10 +	< 5 years	6 + years
Gender	Same	Same	Females	Males
Vote	1 R 1 V Group Rep.	1 P 1 V Qual. Vote	Group Rep.	1 P 1 V
Contact - Long term employ.	No Contact	Contact	Contact	No Contact
Contact - Casual Labour	No Contact	Contact	Contact	No Contact
Contact - Personal	No Contact	Contact	Contact	No Contact

KEY: 1 R 1 V: One ratepayer, one vote; 1 P 1 V: One person, one vote.

Having considered residents' attitudes toward interface zones, the reasons why residents feel that these structures should be maintained in Hout Bay are explored.

The reasons given by the majority of ratepayers for establishing buffer zones were for security (44%), which is clearly one of the most significant issues with regard to Mizamoyethu, and for socio-economic reasons. 44% of ratepayers felt that the socio-economic differences of the two groups were too great for the two communities to be located side by side and hence buffers were necessary; 10% stated that buffer zones are necessary at present but could be removed once the site is upgraded; and 11% of residents indicated that there should not be buffer zones feeling that people should be breaking down barriers in South Africa rather than creating them.

A large proportion of the harbour community did not give reasons, as most of them did not want buffer zones in the first place – 64% did not respond. Of those that did, 10% indicated that buffer zones should be created for reasons of security, while 18%

stated that there should not be buffers as residents should be working toward integration not separation.

It is interesting that residents perceive buffers as a form of security. What is it in a buffer that keeps people in or out? Is it the concept of spatial distance, or personal space that creates a psychological barrier? How does it make one more secure? Perhaps it creates peace of mind because there is a specifically demarcated space between 'insiders' and 'outsiders' (which reflects the importance of 'space' in society). Residents were expected to cite reasons such as aesthetics, noise, smell, hygiene, and environmental factors, but they have rather focused on security. In his study of Northern Ireland, Pringle (1990, p 170) found that "spatial separation provides short-term security for both sides by virtue of avoidance and defense functions...; it also reduces the minority's longer term fears of being assimilated and losing its group identity by providing a suitable context for ideological reinforcement." He also comments that "today, housing policy in Belfast recognises the need to provide security: housing estates are segregated and physically separated by 'peace walls', whilst housing design would appear to reflect a perceived need to provide 'defensible space'" (Pringle, 1990, p 175). Although the Hout Bay conflict differs in many ways to that in Northern Ireland, the idea of interface zones which initially reduce conflict and tension, until long term integration is possible, is notable.

A summary of the results of the reasons given for the provision of buffer zones are represented spatially in Figure B.16 and Table B.16 in Appendix B. The map indicates that distance from the settlement influences residents' attitudes toward buffer zones. Clearly socio-economic factors are the most important to surrounding residents. The higher percentage of zone three that indicated that there should be no buffer zones is noteworthy, and also that it is residents in zone two that score lowest in this regard. This is probably due to their more negative attitudes in general.

Given that they wanted interface zones to be developed, residents were then asked to suggest ways in which the area set aside for buffers should be utilised. The responses of residents are displayed in Table 9.26. Some of the more radical ideas

mentioned were to "wall them in", put "landmines in the area", to "fence them in with electric fences" (Hout Bay ratepayers, 1992). These comments are extreme and unjustifiable, but they are included to indicate the level of anger and aggression certain members of the Hout Bay public feel towards the informal settlers.

Table 9.26 Residents' perceptions of how interface zones should be utilised.

	Ratepayers	Harbour Community
No response	12%	78%
Forest	37%	6%
Parkland	13%	8%
Recreation	13%	0%
Open	10%	6%

From the above table (Table 9.26) it is clear that the majority of ratepayers felt that the buffers should be left as forested areas. A smaller percentage suggested that these areas should be utilized for recreation facilities, while others felt that the buffer zones should be developed as open parkland. A number of residents felt that the area should be left open, although others disagreed with this statement as they feared that any land that was left undeveloped or uncontrolled would be taken over by informal settlers and used for more sites. Some residents thought that the land should be developed and used for a nursery or for vegetable and market gardens.

Very few of the harbour community responded to this question, as many did not agree with the creation of buffer zones in the first instance. Those that did stated that the buffer zones should be left as forest area or developed as a natural parkland.

In considering the distance factor in relation to the use of the interface zones (see Figure B.17 and Table B.17 in Appendix B), it is clear that distance does not impact on residents' attitudes to any great extent as there seems to be consensus about the use of the buffer zones. The only slight differentiation is that those closer to the settlement wanted the fences to remain.

Having considered the issue of the interface zones, which relates to issues of integration and future planning, attention is paid to a similar issue, although one which is not nearly as controversial because of the existing layout of suburbs in Hout Bay: the issue of linked roads.

9.5.6 The Issue of linked roads

This question tested residents' perceptions of the level of integration and interaction that they found acceptable, in that they were requested to comment on whether they felt that the roads developed in Mizamoyethu should connect with the roads in adjacent suburbs. Many of the suburbs of Hout Bay have only one access road anyway and hence it would be considered 'normal' if the same system was developed within Mizamoyethu.

The majority of ratepayers, 63%, felt that the roads should not be interconnected, whereas the harbour community had completely the opposite reaction with only 14% stating that the roads should not be linked and 68% indicating that they felt that connected roads were more appropriate.

The reasons given for not developing linked roads were mainly reasons of security; privacy of upmarket houses; the problem of an increase of taxis in the area; decrease in property values; and a lack of control. Some residents indicated that the roads in Hout Bay were generally laid out in the same way with only one or two access roads to a suburb and thus Mizamoyethu did not need to be any different. Others indicated that the roads should remain separate until the settlement had been upgraded to acceptable levels. Those respondents who indicated that the roads should be linked stated that they should be planned in this way in order to decrease the alienation of the settlement.

However, it would seem that the majority of residents do not favour this type of integration and hence would like to see access to the settlement controlled. By the time the development of Mizamoyethu is completed, there will be two tarred access

roads into the settlement. In considering the spatial representation of this data (see Figure B.18 and Table B.18 in Appendix B), it is evident that distance does influence residents' attitudes in this regard. Those closest to the settlement would be most impacted upon by the increase in the number of taxis and other traffic moving through the neighbourhood and therefore they were most negative with regard to developing linked roads.

It does not seem necessary that linked roads be developed between the two settlements. The two access roads are adequate and the increased movement of people through the surrounding estates is only likely to create more conflict for very little gain. Fortunately, as it has already been mentioned, the other suburbs in Hout Bay have similar street patterns and hence the development of only two access roads to Mizamoyethu does not result in a jarring statement of separation, even if that's what it really is. Planners need to take into account the needs and fears of all groups and this issue should be considered in a manner which minimises conflict without impacting on the functioning of the informal settlement.

9.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter has focused on the prospects for integration of the various communities in Hout Bay. The difficulties of breaking down the barriers that exist between the formal and informal residents have been considered. Issues relating to the future development of the settlement have been investigated and the concerns of the surrounding community with regard to the future growth of the settlement have been noted.

The next chapter considers broad trends suggested by both the data from the questionnaire and by experiences and observations made from participating in the Liaison Committee.

CHAPTER 10

A BROAD VIEW OF THE CONFLICT

10.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapters, various components of the study have been drawn into themes related to residents' perceptions of the establishment and growth of the informal settlement in the area. In this chapter, two contrasting methodologies are adopted to investigate broad trends in the perceptions and attitudes of the formal residents of Hout Bay to the development of Mizamoyethu.

First a statistical analysis of the entire data set is considered and secondly experiences and observations gleaned from working on the Liaison Committee of Hout Bay are documented and discussed. The approaches are very different in that the first uses extensive (and positivist) methods whereas the second adopts intensive (humanist) research techniques. Both provide insight into the nature of the conflict in Hout Bay and are congruent with a realist approach. The integration of these two sections in one chapter emphasises the diversity of method used to gain an understanding of the conflict that has developed. Since the conflict is multi-layered and complex it requires various tools of analysis. Rather than being discordant, these methods complement each other, thereby offering insight into the underlying factors influencing the responses and reactions of the formal residents of Hout Bay.

10.2 PRINCIPAL COMPONENTS ANALYSIS

In running a principal components analysis (pca) of the Hout Bay data, it was first necessary to exclude all the variables that were not responses to the 'squatter' issue such as erf number, date, interviewer, etc. A pca was run three times on this data set,

excluding variables that were considered insignificant each time, or which had a high level of non-responses. The final run consisted of 150 variables and the total 275 questionnaires.

The total amount of variance explained by the components amounted to 43%. (see Table C.17 in Appendix C for the percentage variance of each eigenvector), which is reasonably high for a 'human' data set. However, this level of variation also implies that residents of Hout Bay are behaving relatively independently and that they are not highly correlated with each other. The n rule test was carried out on the data and it was decided that fourteen eigenvectors should be retained. The values of the eigenvectors are given in Table C.17, Appendix C. The principal components were difficult to interpret because of the nature of the data set. It was decided that the cut-off value for the variables, in terms of their loadings, would be 0.55 (and below). The ranked components, each with the loadings of their significant variables, are given in Table 10.1 below.

10.2.1 The principal components

The first component was identified easily. This component represented residents' attitudes toward the provision of services and facilities in Mizamoyethu, which seemed to be the only issue that all formal residents agreed upon. From this result it is clear that the majority of the surrounding residents in Hout Bay strongly support the provision of services and facilities in the informal settlement. The relative importance of the different services and facilities are displayed by the ranked loadings in Table 10.1. This information is significant in terms of the planning process and the development of the site. However, as mentioned in the section on services and facilities (chapter 9), it was suggested that the problem with the provision of services and facilities is not whether the informal settlement should have such infrastructure and facilities, but rather who should pay for them.

The second vector represented residents' perceptions of the acceptability of the old sites to the 'squatters' themselves and the number of people who had been burgled

in the past two years. There is no obvious relationship between these two variables, but it would seem that they are similar in that residents' responses to these questions reflected a broad range of responses across the various categories. Residents were not polarised in their responses to these issues.

The highest number of variables loaded onto the third vector. It was difficult to determine what this eigenvector was representing because of the diversity of these variables. Most of the variables had polarised responses, while two had a broad spread of responses. Formal residents seemed to have responded similarly to the following issues: low level of awareness (of formal residents) of the investigation by private consultants for site identification; low contact through education programmes; low number of residents who had been burgled in the past ten years; high levels of unemployment of the informal settlers; the need for sports facilities in Hout Bay; low variation of home language spoken; the problem of the lack of facilities in Mizamoyethu; and the need for adequate refuse collection. The two variables that had an even spread of responses, thus indicating variation in residents' responses, were whether the informal settlers should have been moved all together into one settlement and residents' perceptions of the level of security in Hout Bay.

The next component, eigenvector four, comprised variables with high loadings but again the interpretation of these was problematic. Reasons given by residents for wanting shared or separate facilities loaded highly onto this component; as did lack of concern for the development of new shopping malls in Hout Bay; and the need for both communal water points and household water supplies for residents in Mizamoyethu. The relationship between these variables is not immediately apparent. The responses of residents to these issues were reasonably polarised with the latter two variables having most residents responding in a similar way to each of them. Most residents did not feel that the development of shopping malls in Hout Bay was an issue of concern, while the majority of residents indicated that water services should be supplied in Mizamoyethu. Residents' responses to shared or separate facilities were divided reasonably equally across the sample. The reason why this variable loaded onto this vector is not clear.

The fifth vector had only one variable loading onto it with a value greater than 0.55. Residents were split in relation to their concern for the quality of the road to Constantia Nek. The ratepayers are concerned about the road, whereas the harbour community do not see it as an issue of concern. This highlights the differences that occur due to different socio-economic conditions resulting in different needs and concerns.

Component six had two variables loading highly onto it. This is probably because they both had a high degree of negative responses. The first variable related to whether the old sites should have been upgraded, rather than creating a new settlement, and the second variable indicated whether residents had been burgled in the past two to ten years. Both these variables had a high number of negative responses across the sample. Residents agreed that it would not have been appropriate to upgrade the old sites. Most residents also indicated that they had not been burgled in the past two to ten years.

Component seven seemed to indicate issues of strong concern with regard to the development of the settlement. Residents were grouped together in their response to the issue of the future growth of the settlement. A high percentage of respondents agreed that this was an issue of strong concern. Residents were also worried about conditions in the settlement.

It was evident from the variables loading onto it that eigenvector eight represented the most serious problems faced by the informal settlers in Mizamoyethu. The two issues that most of the formal residents agreed upon was that security was an issue of concern to the informal settlers, as well as the high level of unemployment that exists. The noteworthy aspect about these two variables is that they reflect the self-centred approach of the formal community to the problems of the Mizamoyethu community. Both these issues represent one of the major fears of the white residents, that is the increase in crime in Hout Bay in relation to the development of the informal settlement. Unemployment and security are strongly related in terms of the formal residents' perceptions (particularly in terms of the ratepayers).

Eigenvector nine represents another issue where there is strong agreement from the formal residents and which relates to the variables loading onto vector seven, namely, that the growth of the settlement should be controlled. The other variable which loaded highly onto this component was income of residents in Hout Bay, and this can probably be explained by the fact that there was a high percentage of non-responses in this category.

Component ten indicates that most residents had not changed their attitude to the informal settlement over the past year. This is related to a high percentage of non-responses in the other three variables that have loaded highly onto this vector, indicating that this vector probably represents a grouping of responses in one direction.

The next eigenvector, vector eleven, was quite difficult to interpret. It represented a variable that had loaded highly onto vector five as well. The variable was residents' responses as to how concerned they were about the Constantia Nek road. The only possible explanation for this is that the responses to this issue are more highly polarised than other issues, with the division lying between the ratepayers and the harbour community. The ratepayers are highly concerned about the Constantia nek road whereas the harbour community displayed little interest in the conditions prevalent on that particular section of road.

Eigenvector twelve did not provide any unusual insights. It reflected that most residents felt that distance to the shops and transport routes was not of major concern to the informal settlers. It also indicated the degree of polarisation between those that employed gardeners and those that did not. Very little could be drawn from this vector.

Component thirteen revealed some interesting correlations. Most residents agreed that security in Hout Bay was fair, and that the environmental quality of Hout Bay was good. This contradicts, to a certain extent, their perceptions of the impact of the informal settlement on Hout Bay. If most residents agree, as the pca suggests, that

the above two variables rank better than average on a scale representing quality of life in Hout Bay, then the actual impact of the informal settlement must be less serious than many residents perceive it to be. The high negative loadings onto this vector also provide valuable information. Most residents agree that Mizamoyethu is an issue of strong concern and that the planning process implemented in Hout Bay was unacceptable. However, as has been discussed in the previous chapters, the reasons why Mizamoyethu is an issue of strong concern differs markedly between the ratepayer community and the harbour community.

The last eigenvector, vector 14, had no variables with loadings higher than 0.55 and hence this was excluded from the analysis.

Table 10.1 The loadings of the variables onto the eigenvectors.

I		II		III	
Sewerage	0.831	Old Site S	0.579	Investig.	0.752
Employ. P	0.831	Burgled 2	0.573	Short H.	0.747
Refuse	0.813	Control size	-0.587	Ed. contact	0.714
Education	0.811			Burgled ten	0.713
Water H	0.781			Employ.	0.645
Elec. H	0.78			Sports	0.631
Centre	0.764			All tog.	0.607
Sports	0.763			Secure	0.593
Drainage	0.749			Language	0.593
Water C	0.714			Facil.	0.582
Elec. Rds	0.699			Refuse	0.582
Roads	0.698				
Library	0.634				
Clinic	0.582				
Access Rd	0.572				
IV		V		VI	
Own/share	0.873	Contantia Nek	0.574	Upgrade old	0.718
Shopping	0.831			Burgled ten	0.574
Water H	0.723				
Water C	-0.848				
VII		VIII		IX	
Size	0.731	Secure P.	0.74	Control size	0.744
Health P.	0.699	Unemploy P	0.72	Response m	0.737
Elec H	0.695	Gardener-	0.641	Income	0.719
Sport cont	0.631	live in		Site	0.68
				Env. qual	0.639

X		X1		XII	
Size m	0.833	Constantia Nek	0.603	Water C	0.725
Own/share	0.832			Gardener	0.646
Where from	0.725			Distance	-0.756
Attitude	-0.854			problem	
XIII		KEY:			
Secure	0.579	P: Problems; C: Communal; H: House; Elec: Electricity; Rds: Roads; Short: Shortage; Ed: Education; tog: together; Facil: Facilities; m: reason; Env. qual: Environmental quality.			
Env. qual	0.546				
Mizamoyethu	-0.686				
Planning	-0.765				

10.2.2 Summary

It is important to recognise that the explained variance of each vector in this pca is relatively low. However, the eigenvectors do provide an indication of trends in the data and therefore are useful. In summarising the above findings it is clear that the pca raises a number of key factors. Issues such as the provision of services and facilities in Mizamoyethu; the control and growth of the settlement; security; unemployment and the nature of the planning process seemed to be of strong concern to the majority of formal residents. Residents were concerned about the settlement in terms of the future development of Hout Bay, and most of them had not changed their attitude toward Mizamoyethu during 1992. Other findings suggested by the above analysis were that residents were generally unaware of the investigation undertaken by private consultants in relation to site identification; there has been very little contact between the formal and informal residents; the majority of residents indicated that the old sites could not have been upgraded; many felt that the environmental quality in Hout Bay was good and that security was average; and most residents had not been burgled in the past two to ten years.

What is noteworthy is that the issue of buffer zones did not load highly onto any vector, even though there seemed to be reasonably strong agreement on this issue within the ratepayer community. However, the harbour community had responded very

differently, and some ratepayers had disagreed with buffers and this is probably why this issue did not align itself with a vector.

It is evident from the above analysis that there was a high degree of variation in responses given by residents to a large number of the questions. Residents were not all responding in the same way and thus it is important to consider what underlies their different reactions. The nature of the variation in responses and reasons for this are documented in the previous chapters.

In order to determine whether or not different groups of people loaded highly onto any particular components, the scores on each eigenvector were considered. It was found that the relationship between people interviewed and their loading onto the principal components did not result in any particular pattern. Distance from the settlement was not reflected in the way different people responded to the variables represented by the principal components. Perhaps this is because most of the vectors represented similarities in responses and hence variation by distance was not reflected. However, the fact that most of the components represented similar responses indicates that spatial zoning did not result in divided responses from residents. This suggests that residents in particular zones were not behaving uniformly. If distance from the settlement was a key factor, then it would be expected that the responses by zones would separate out onto different components. The components generally indicated a high degree of consensus on certain questions.

It is interesting that the harbour community's scores tended to be polarised at either end of the spectrum and this may reflect their difference in attitude to many of the issues. This is, however, merely a trend which is supported by the conclusions made in the previous sections.

From the above analysis it is evident that, with regard to many of the issues considered, the perceptions of the surrounding community vary considerably. This is due to socio-economic factors; the different interpretations and world views of individual human agents; the socio-political history of South Africa; and the nature of

the locality of Hout Bay. All these factors combine to create a diverse range of responses of the formal residents of Hout Bay to the development of the informal settlement in the area. However, there are certain issues that most residents feel strongly about and these should be noted in the future planning of the settlement as well as in relation to the resettlement of other such communities in established residential areas.

Having considered the broad reactions of the formal residents to the establishment of the informal settlement, the focus is now shifted to consider the forum which represents the various constituents of Hout Bay. Experiences on this committee provide insight into the broad issues of concern and ways of being of the different communities being represented.

10.3 THE LIAISON COMMITTEE - EXPERIENCES GAINED

During the past year I have been involved in the Liaison committee of Hout Bay. In the past few months (August, 1993 to January, 1994) the committee has had to deal with issues such as the allocation of sites and the problem of having 211 sites to few, as the settlement had expanded since the initial registration at the time of the move to Mizamoyethu. The negotiation of issues such as whose responsibility it is to maintain control over the growth of the settlement, as well as the future development of the buffer zones, has been extremely interesting. Participation in a number of public meetings within the Mizamoyethu community and the minuting of site meetings and inspections of the development of the settlement have provided valuable insight into the issues faced by the informal settlers. By working with the civic association on a number of issues and participating in workshops in the community a holistic understanding of the conflict has been gained. Through these experiences, valuable insight into the conflict in Hout Bay has been developed. As an observer I have been able to identify the different frameworks within which the various communities are operating 5.

There are many observations that can be drawn from experiences on the Liaison Committee. Those that are most relevant to this thesis are commented on and reference is made to particular incidents which illustrate and support many of the contentions made earlier in this dissertation.

An important observation that was made was that the informal settlers and the ratepayers at present operate within different structures of society and so the way they interpret the nature of society and space is opposed. The informal settlers tend to be broadly socialist in attitude, expecting the state to provide them with basic services and goods. This attitude is a relic from the apartheid years, where black people were largely dependent on the state for the provision of housing, as they had no rights to ownership within the urban sphere. The informal settlers are prepared to work toward the common good of all the homeless people in Hout Bay and thus are ready to share the resources that they have (it must be noted that this is the ethical stance of most of the residents, but in practice it may change in relation to particular individuals). The ratepayers on the other hand are largely individualistic, with strong capitalist attitudes in relation to the maintenance and functioning of society.

By considering the different attitudes of the two groups to land in Hout Bay, the disparities in attitude become clear. The informal settlers have gained access to land through the state. They do not (yet) value that land for its investment potential but rather see it in terms of the very basic needs it satisfies. They have shown concern for the lack of housing and land for the homeless people of Hout Bay, including the extra 211 families of unregistered lodgers who at present do not have access to sites in Mizamoyethu. The ratepayers on the other hand value their property for all the reasons discussed in the theory section on the structuralist interpretation of residential segregation. They have gained access to land through the property market and so value their land, not only in terms of its investment potential, but in terms of what it offers in relation to social reproduction. Hence the two communities, that live in such close spatial proximity, value a fundamental resource in a very different way. It is interesting to observe the way in which the ratepayers attempt to impose their values on the informal settlers. In the discussion on the issue of the extra people and the

growth of the settlement, the ratepayers continually stated that "the informal settlers should protect their rights to land; that they should oppose the increase in size of the settlement and defend their sites which now belong to them and represent an investment; that more people would mean less facilities for those already there" (Liaison Committee meeting, October, 1993) thereby supporting an individualistic and capitalist attitude toward land resources. However, the civic, when questioned on the extra people, indicated that they had a mandate from the community that they all agreed that the community had a responsibility to house the extra people in Hout Bay. It is fascinating to see the two opposing frameworks coming face to face in the process of negotiation. This makes conflict resolution very difficult as the starting points and frames of reference of the two groups are so different.

A second interesting observation is the continual power play between the two groups. The ratepayers represent a group that has a high socio-economic status and so has access to resources, both financial and legal, by which it can attempt to influence the state. The informal settlers, on the other hand, have strength in terms of political power. This juxtaposition is clearly represented in the conclusion which considers the interaction of causal powers within the realist framework. The CPA planners (who represent the state, and hence have their own agendas) have had to mediate between these two opposing forms of power. They understand the contentions of the ratepayers, whose demands are largely based on class issues, but are at the same time having to recognise the political strength of the informal settlers, as well as the need to provide homeless people with access to land. The political strength of the informal settlers at present seems to be dominating the situation. The informal settlers use their political leverage to place pressure on the planners to resolve many of the issues that have evolved as a result of problems in the development process. This is made possible by the lack of government structures at this time, and also because there are no strong policies in place at present informing the process of the development of informal settlements which have occurred as a result of land invasions. The confusion surrounding the housing invasions that have taken place at Tafelsig in the Cape, and in Cato Manor in Natal (January, 1994), reflect the present lack of policy and structure at government and local level in South African urban places.

The third interesting observation is the extent to which the boundaries of the ratepayers have tended to shift while the informal settlers have largely maintained their position. Developments that the ratepayers would have refused to have accepted three years ago have already been implemented and accepted and new issues of concern have emerged. Six months ago the ratepayer constituency refused to accept the accommodation of 211 unregistered families (illegal lodgers and or people living in illegal structures) in Hout Bay. They threatened to get court orders to remove the illegal settlers, which would be supported by documentation in the government gazette stating that only 18 hectares of land on the WCRSC site was available to be developed for residential land use in Mizamoyethu. The issue of the development and utilisation of the interface zones alongside Penzance estate, were raised at the same time, as the informal settlers felt that the extra people could be accommodated on this land. Through negotiation and the creative use of resources available, which took place within the forum of the Liaison Committee, a solution which met the needs of all the parties concerned was reached. It has been requested that the WCRSC services be moved from their present site, on the Main road side of Mizamoyethu, up onto the interface zone between the settlement and Penzance. This would free up land for the development of phase four of Mizamoyethu and hence the extra 211 households could be accommodated. The informal settlers and the formal residents would benefit by retaining the fire fighting and emergency services in Hout Bay, the interface zone would be secured and the extra people would be accommodated. This proposal is presently being considered by the WCRSC. The solution to the problem therefore benefited both communities, but the compromise came largely from the ratepayers.

The fourth observation, and perhaps the most important one, is the very positive role the Liaison Committee has played, and continues to play, in the development of the informal settlement. Through this committee, participatory planning has been possible, with the local community largely driving the development process within the given constraints and parameters. It is unfortunate that such a forum was not set up right at the beginning of the process, when the initial planning was under way. This would have resulted in a far more open and up-front approach, enabling the fears and concerns of the various players to be expressed. The channels of communication that

exist between the informal settlers and the ratepayers on the committee are fundamental to positive change, and clearly these were absent at the outset of the process. Through the Liaison Committee, the different communities have begun to understand the fears, concerns and hopes of the other parties involved in the process and they have begun to work toward development which is for the common good of the Hout Bay community as a whole.

A negative aspect in terms of representation on the committee is the absence of any strong or meaningful representation from the harbour community. Hout Bay Heights is represented but they see themselves as separate from the rest of the harbour community. The lack of involvement of this group in the whole process has been clearly evident throughout the study and the needs and concerns of this community have therefore not been adequately considered.

Another problem faced by the committee is that it takes a considerable amount of energy to maintain the process and at various times communication has broken down. Each time that this has happened, issues have mounted up, finally ending in a crisis situation. This has forced the communication channels to be re-opened and hence the negotiation process continues. The planners (in this case the CPA) allow communication to break down between themselves and the various communities. It is imperative if such a development project is to be a success, that those responsible for the planning prioritise participatory planning approaches and maintain them.

The Liaison Committee reflects the important role of human agents in change. It reinforces the theoretical position of the dualism of structure and agency. The structures of society in Hout Bay have been altered by the development of the informal settlement in the area, but human agents have acted to shape the nature of change by becoming involved in the process and by negotiating their own future. The Liaison Committee is inspiring in that it is a forum, like many of the other peace forums presently operating in this country during this period of transition, that brings people from very different backgrounds together, enabling them to discuss and negotiate a common future resulting in conflict resolution that does not allow the dominance of

one group over the other. The nature of the process cannot be viewed too idealistically, but in Hout Bay where the juxtaposition of two communities is so extreme, the Liaison Committee has gone a long way to ease the tension. Perhaps the most important aspect of all, is that people are learning to understand and respect each other and to seek out common goals. It is unfortunate that this type of interaction does not extend through all levels of the community.

10.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter has taken a broad view of the conflict that has developed in Hout Bay. These findings support and complement the more detailed findings given in the previous results chapters. In the final chapter of this dissertation the various findings are drawn together and an understanding of the conflict, in relation to structure; agency and locality, is developed.

CHAPTER 11

CONCLUSION

11.1 INTRODUCTION

According to Wolch and Dear (1989, p 4) our "objective in human geography is to understand the simultaneity of social, political and economic life in time and space." The land-use conflict which developed in Hout Bay displays all of these elements. The close spatial proximity of three such different communities within the same locality has resulted in the development of interesting and contrasting socio-spatial patterns. It is evident, from the investigation of the perceptions of the surrounding community to the development of an informal settlement in the area, that distance from the settlement is not the only factor influencing residents' perceptions. A myriad of underlying factors combine to form the responses of residents to the situation that has evolved. Realism provides an appropriate framework within which these factors can be integrated. In concluding this thesis, the various factors which underlie the conflict are drawn together. A perceptual 'map' which represents the relationship between the causal powers, the contingent conditions and the three communities under investigation, as set within locality, is constructed. In the second part of this chapter, the focus shifts to the particular findings of the research in Hout Bay and recommendations are made as to how these issues could have been or should be resolved.

11.2 A REALIST MODEL OF THE CONFLICT IN HOUT BAY

The development of the informal settlement dramatically altered the nature and functioning of the locality of Hout Bay and so resulted in conflict. Formal residents responded in a number of different ways. The ratepayers and the harbour community showed different trends in their reactions to the establishment and growth of the

settlement. This thesis set out to explore the nature of society and space in Hout Bay in order to determine what factors and conditions influenced the way in which the surrounding community perceived the situation. It also aimed to examine why the presence of an informal settlement resulted in struggle and conflict and how the formal residents responded to this. These issues were considered within a realist, locality-based approach. Lessons learnt from the Hout Bay case study can be applied to other such localities where land invasion and resettlement occurs.

The spatial analysis contained in this dissertation indicates that spatial proximity to the settlement is not the single factor influencing residents' perceptions of the development of Mizamoyethu. Certain issues, such as the need for buffer zones and the impact of the settlement on property value and security, were influenced by proximity to the settlement. However, this was not to the extent that it could be stated that distance from the settlement was the only factor influencing such responses. Thus the 'real' impacts of the settlement are not solely responsible for the reaction of residents and are, in some instances, less significant than factors such as class structure, sense of place and changing power relations. As Ley and Duncan (1993, p 329) suggest, "landscapes and places are constructed by knowledgeable agents who find themselves inevitably caught up in a web of circumstances – economic, social, cultural and political". It is the interaction of these various components which forms the basis of residents' responses. Differing socio-economic and political circumstances of the groups involved, as well as different worldviews of individuals, have resulted in a variation in the nature of responses given by formal residents. Amount of contact with the informal settlers; stage in the life-cycle; landownership; and length of time spent living in Hout Bay have also influenced residents' perceptions. The nature of the locality of Hout Bay has played an important part in determining the particular outcomes and events.

In investigating the conflict which has developed in Hout Bay and forming an understanding of why the formal residents responded in the manner in which they did, it became clear that there were two broad sets of factors which determined the nature of the conflict as perceived by the formal residents: namely structural forces and the

action of human agents. However, in considering structure, two different components, which both play a fundamental role in the conflict, were identified and thus a tri-partite model was formed. Class structure, political relations, and human agency and interpretation form the three causal powers which are inter-related and linked in time and space. These three mechanisms, as set within locality, underlie and influence the formal residents' perceptions and attitudes.

Human agency and Interpretation

This group of causal powers or factors relates, in part, to a humanist analysis of the conflict in Hout Bay. Perceptions, individual interpretation of landscape, and the meaning and sense of place, all play a role in determining residents' responses to the development of the informal settlement. Cultural differences result in different worldviews and ways of being. The contrast and interfacing of such different groups, and the crossing of a variety of daily paths, has upset the place ballets of the previously dominant white community. The various communities in Hout Bay interpret and value the sense of place of Hout Bay differently. This is evident in the responses of the ratepayers and harbour community to many of the issues. Territorial behaviour has emerged as a response to the need to protect the sense of place and identity of Hout Bay. This has served to influence the conflict and further polarise the communities by creating groups of 'insiders' and 'outsiders'.

The action of human agents has worked to alter or maintain the structure and nature of society and space in Hout Bay and is therefore connected to both the other causal powers identified. Action groups which have been formed within the formal community; the struggle and mobilisation of the informal settlers; and the impact of the media, have played a fundamental role in affecting the processes that have emerged. Certain groups, such as the ratepayers, have acted to maintain the previous status quo and thus human agency has resulted in an attempt to perpetuate previous structural relations in order to gain control. The harbour community has been relatively complacent in terms of their reaction, as they are largely marginalised through their lack of access to both economic and political power. Although they were co-opted into

the initial struggle of the landless people of Hout Bay (many of whom were residing in backyard shacks in the harbour community), in order to attempt to secure the upliftment of their own community, their lack of power, and perhaps interest in this issue, soon resulted in them remaining on the periphery. The informal settlers have been successful in challenging the previous status quo, using their political power to alter the socio-spatial patterns that existed.

Structures are therefore both enabling and constraining, depending on the causal powers and contingent circumstances present. Wolch and Dear (1989, p 6) comment that "human landscapes are created by knowledgeable actors (or agents) operating within a specific social context (or structure). The structure-agency relationship is mediated by a series of institutional arrangements which both enable and constrain actors." The changing political structures of South Africa have enabled the informal settlers, through the process of land invasions, to secure land in areas that, under market conditions, would have been totally inaccessible to them.

Class structure

Class conflict, the social reproduction of groups of people within spaces that are congruent with their socio-economic position, and the maintenance of the status quo, underlies much of the concern expressed by the formal residents, particularly the ratepayers, in relation to the development of Mizamoyethu. The process of distancing which is prevalent in capitalist societies has been over-ridden by the informal settlers and economic dominance, which usually secures access to the powers of the state, has been challenged. Socio-economic position plays a fundamental role in determining residents' perceptions of the conflict. This is supported by the different responses and perceptions of the ratepayers in comparison to the harbour community. The needs, expectations and concerns of the two groups in relation to the development of Mizamoyethu are underpinned by their socio-economic status.

The ratepayers' responses reflect that their resentment toward Mizamoyethu is not overtly racist, but rather is class based. It is likely that racism may underlie the conflict,

due to prejudices created partly by the system of apartheid. However, as the case studies on integrated suburbs indicate, socio-economic issues seem to be presently of greater importance. The ratepayers felt that the siting of a low-income informal settlement within a middle- to upper-income residential area, with many desirable qualities and positive externalities, was inappropriate and unacceptable. Their concerns reflect a need to maintain a neighbourhood that is congruent with their values, ways of being and socio-economic position. They have invested in the built environment in Hout Bay in order to reap the benefits of a market orientated system and they believe that the presence of the informal settlers has eroded this investment.

The harbour community, on the other hand, feel threatened at a far more basic level. They resent the fact that the informal settlers have been provided with services and facilities to which they believe their community are entitled and still have not received. They are angry about the increased competition for jobs in an area that already has high unemployment and they are concerned about competing with the informal settlers for already scarce resources. The ratepayers are able to choose whether they want to share the clinic and shopping areas with the informal settlers, as they are mobile enough, both financially and physically, to seek these services elsewhere. This is not the case with many of the residents of the harbour community.

The harbour community have shown less concern for many of the issues identified in this research. They generally felt that the development of Mizamoyethu had not impacted negatively on their quality of life in Hout Bay. They had existing problems within their own community, such as crime, pollution, overcrowding, and lack of services and facilities and hence were more concerned about these, than the impacts of the informal settlement on Hout Bay in general.

Political relations

The ratepayers, due to their socio-economic position, have economic power, which in the previous political system usually guaranteed the support of the state in the maintenance of the status quo. Their race classification under the apartheid system

provided them with unbalanced access to political power. However, during the current period of political and social transformation, this power has been reduced and over-ridden by an economically powerless but politically powerful group, who have been able to alter society and space.

Shifting power relations, which are a result of the transformation of South African society, have been instrumental in influencing the conflict in Hout Bay. Robinson (1992) comments that it is not only economic structures which determine socio-spatial processes, but rather that political power can play a fundamental role in altering society and space. The informal settlers have secured political power through various means (mentioned above) and so have gained access to land through a series of land invasions, that have over-ridden the previous distancing evident in residential segregation in capitalist apartheid society. The fact that the state has largely ignored the wishes of the privileged elite by addressing the needs of the homeless people in Hout Bay, has resulted in conflict. The ratepayers expected the state to maintain and reinforce the patterns created by market-oriented processes. Thus the elite groups relationship with the state has been undermined. As Wolch and Dear (1989, p 8) suggest, "transcendental social change occurs through the autonomous actions of classes and groups within the economic, political and social spheres. The potential for such change is intimately bound up with breaking the repetitive cycles of reproduction".

From the above discussion, the overlap and inter-connection of the three causal powers becomes clear. Each one interacts with and impacts on the other, thereby creating the nature of the conflict in Hout Bay. The relationship of these causal powers is played out in time and space, and therefore it is necessary to consider the significance of locality.

Locality and the context of place has played an important role in shaping the nature of the conflict in Hout Bay. The particularities of place have resulted in specific outcomes in relation to the mechanisms and abstract processes present. As Wolch and Dear (1989, p 4) suggest, "the formation of territorial outcomes is contingent upon

the essentially unpredictable interactions of the spatial with the economic and the political and social/cultural spheres." Locality, and the contingent circumstances present in place, therefore influenced residents' perceptions of the establishment of an informal settlement in the area. In Hout Bay, due to the specific nature of place certain socio-economic and environmental concerns have been emphasised in the resolution of the conflict.

The broader context of Hout Bay is also important to consider. The present transformation of South African society has played a fundamental role in determining the situation that has developed. The broader political and societal context enabled the land invasion to occur in the first place and then, supported by shifting power relations, resulted in the permanent resettlement of the informal community within an existing residential area, thereby negating the usual processes of distancing that the formal residents had grown to expect. The importance of place and time in influencing the particular outcomes and events is thus paramount. The timing of the establishment of an informal settlement in Hout Bay, during a phase when coherent official policy and government control were virtually absent in South Africa, resulted in crisis management. The absence of legitimate structures, which could have been implemented, and the lack of governance both locally and nationally, has played a significant role in determining the nature of the outcomes and events. White fear, related to the broader changes in society and the shifts in political power, exacerbated the uncertainty felt by the (white) ratepayers of Hout Bay. As the previously dominant culture, they had a certain amount of control over the locality and this has now been eroded. The conflict is therefore partly as a result of a resistance to change and the need of certain groups to maintain the previous status quo in their own neighbourhood, in the context of a rapidly changing broader society.

11.2.1 The perceptual map of conflict

In order to understand how these causal powers interact with each other and with the contingent circumstances as set within the context of locality, a model based on a realist understanding of society and space has been developed. The causal powers

which underlie the Hout Bay conflict are integrated in a tri-partite structure, which is framed within the particular locality (see Figure 11.1). This structure is based on work done by Watts and Bohle (1993), as outlined in chapter 4. From the research it is evident that it is the dialectical relationship of structure and agency, as set in time and place, that results in the dynamic of conflict in Hout Bay. Structures produce certain tendencies (mechanisms) which interact with each other and with other mechanisms (such as individual human agents) and these are mediated by variations in the local conditions (such as the transitional phase in South Africa at present).

Causal powers are not mutually exclusive. They are interconnected, overlap and each carry a broad and complex literature with them. Each one contributes to an understanding of the conflict which has developed. The causal powers and contingent conditions under investigation were activated by the increase of 'squattling' in Hout Bay and the subsequent decision by the state to resettle the informal settlers permanently in the area, thereby resulting in an alteration of society and space. The different communities have shifted their positions relative to the causal powers as the structures, outcomes and events, and contingent circumstances in Hout Bay and South Africa have been changed.

The model (see Figure 11.1) reflects how each of the three different communities' relationship to the causal powers operating, have shifted since the establishment of Mizamoyethu, thereby creating a new set of circumstances, outcomes and events. The locality of Hout Bay has been altered and so the formal residents have had to adjust to this change.

The Initial scenario

Prior to the development of the informal settlement issue in Hout Bay, the ratepayers had economic and political power because of their relationship with class and apartheid structures. Their culture was dominant and within the constraints of the structures of society, they could control the territory and localities within which they existed by means of financial exclusion and state apparatus (since these policies were

based on segregation and division). This is indicated by their central position in the first triangle of Figure 11.1

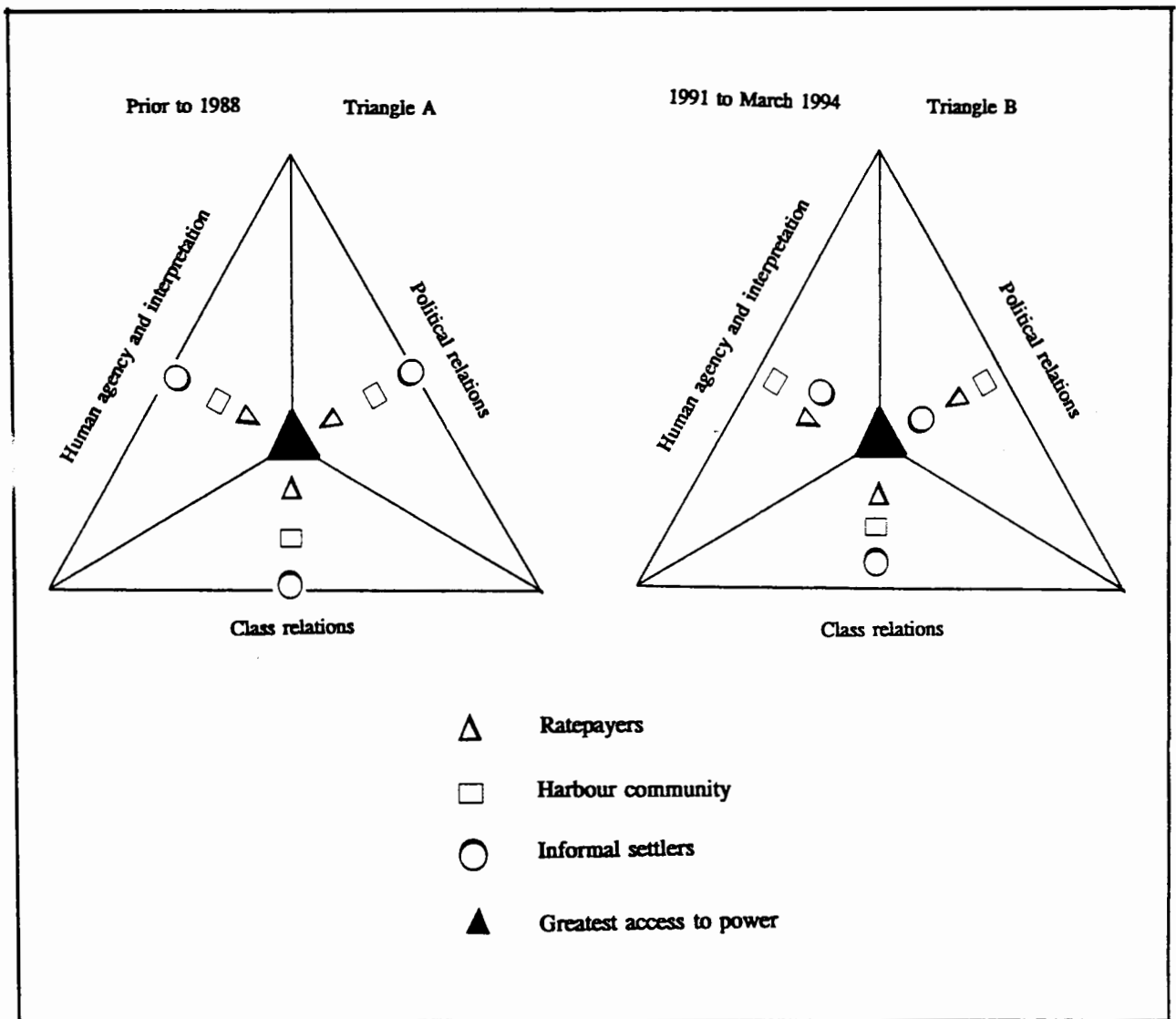


Figure 11.1 A realist model of the conflict in Hout Bay.

The harbour community existed on the periphery. They were initially allocated space through state mechanisms in order to provide labour for the fishing industry in Hout Bay. They were spatially constrained by apartheid legislation and were economically less powerful and so were restricted in terms of the causal powers operating. The

development of the middle-income Hout Bay Heights community resulted in a shift in the harbour community. This group of residents were restricted spatially in terms of the Group Areas Act, thus reflecting their lack of political power. However, they were economically more powerful and in certain ways aligned themselves with their white neighbours in the valley. The relative position of the harbour community to both the ratepayers and the informal settlers is indicated in their middle position in triangle A.

Prior to 1988 the informal settlers were marginalised in all respects, as shown by their position in the first triangle. Socio-economically they had no power, and they were severely constrained politically, as were all black people. Their culture and existence in space was restricted to crowded areas set aside by the state for urban blacks. They were treated as temporary urban sojourners and so could not get a permanent foothold in urban society. Access to urban land was through state provided housing, hostels linked to employment, or by hiding in inconspicuous places as illegal 'squatters' on private or state land, with no security of tenure.

The shifting of positions

However, the late 1980s saw a shifting of positions. Informal settlers gained political power through the transformation of society and pressure on the state to address the needs of the homeless people. Presently, due in part to the lack of legitimate structures, policy and governance, informal settlers within urban areas command strong political power. As a result of these changes, 'squatters' have been able to gain access to land thereby forcing the state, planners and other residents to recognise their communities as being part of the urban sphere. The Hout Bay 'squatters', through the process of land invasion and community action, secured 'rights' to land for themselves. The dramatic shifting of their position is reflected in Figure 11.1, triangle B. The informal settlers now have the greatest access to political power, relatively and hence they hold the central position in this segment of triangle B. Action taken by this group and the interpretation and representation of their community interacts directly with and is contrasted against the sense of place, culture and representation of the ratepayers. Both communities hold equal power in this regard

at present as indicated in Figure 11.1, triangle B. The relationship of these two groups in this segment has resulted in a considerable amount of conflict. However, socio-economically the informal settlers still lack power.

Over the past five years the positions of the ratepayer and harbour communities in Hout Bay have also shifted considerably. The ratepayers still have the greatest access to power derived from class relations, but they have lost the unequal access they had to political power (see Figure 11.1, triangle B). Their interpretation of and attachment to place and the nature of action that they can take, has come up against the sense of place, interpretation and action of the informal settlers as discussed above. The harbour community have remained marginalised in all respects. Economically they occupy middle ground in Hout Bay, but politically and in terms of the representation of their community, as well as the action they have taken, they remain marginalised (see Figure 11.1, triangle B).

The inter-relationship of economic and political structures and the action and interpretation of human agents in locality defines the nature of conflict that has arisen in Hout Bay. It is imperative that planners and developers take cognisance of these different factors when resettling an informal community within an existing residential area. The following section considers specific aspects of the establishment and growth of the informal settlement in Hout Bay from the perspective of the formal residents. These recommendations and observations can be applied to the future development process in Hout Bay, as well as to other localities where land invasions have occurred.

11.3 ISSUES AND RECOMMENDATIONS

11.3.1 The importance of locality

It is essential that planners recognise the nature of locality when resettling an informal community within an existing residential area. The sense of place; the nature of the various communities living in the area; the resources; employment opportunities; and

environmental opportunities and constraints must be considered within the context of locale, if the implementation of such a development is to result in a limited amount of conflict and be sustainable. The particularities of place need to be incorporated in the planning process, not merely as an afterthought but as integral to an understanding of socio-spatial processes and their outcomes. The different perceptions and needs of the two formal communities in Hout Bay, namely the ratepayers and the harbour community, should have been adequately considered and addressed.

Site identification and the solutions to an informal housing development must be appropriate to the particular locality. It is thus essential that from the outset of the process, the planning authorities adopt a participatory planning approach. Consultation with a local forum, comprising all the players involved, is necessary in order to build up an understanding of the nature of society and space in that particular locality. It is important that a situation develops where all parties are part of the transformation of the locality, so that together they can negotiate a new identity of place. This has not happened in Hout Bay and the polarisation that has occurred has resulted in the development of 'insiders' and 'outsiders', which is highly destructive.

Territorialism is inevitable in situations where resettlement occurs. The reason for this kind of behaviour is discussed in depth in this thesis. However, the recognition and inclusion of notions of locality in the planning process can ease the conflict that develops. Resistance to change, on the part of the ratepayers, seems to underlie much of the conflict. Their adaptation to change can be facilitated by a process which considers all the factors and issues at hand within the context of the particular locality. Blueprint planning in offices far from the site of the conflict is thus unacceptable. In order for sustainable development to be possible, it is essential that the resettlement process occurs in such a way that the opportunities of the area (shared infrastructure, resources, employment opportunities) are maximised and the constraints and limiting factors (class conflict, economic and environmental impacts) are minimised, which is possible only through an in-depth study of the locality.

11.3.2 Response to the development of Mizamoyethu

A majority of both the ratepayers and the harbour community responded negatively to the development of the informal settlement. However, this was for very different reasons, which were largely based on socio-economic position and the differing interpretation of and meaning attached to place. Many residents resented the development of Mizamoyethu as it represented a breaching of class barriers. The ratepayers wanted to maintain the socio-economic status of the neighbourhood, while the harbour community felt threatened because of the increased competition for scarce resources.

The negative perceptions of the formal residents were fuelled by a lack of information; non-participation in the planning process; anger and resentment against the changes taking place in the neighbourhood, over which they felt relatively powerless; and the reports on the situation in the press. Resistance to change seems to be a contributing factor as newer residents in Hout Bay seemed to be less concerned about the development of the informal settlement. Residents who had lived in Hout Bay for a longer time wanted to preserve the previous sense of place of Hout Bay. The most negative group of ratepayers were those who were in the middle stages in the life-cycle, middle aged, male, landowners and who had lived in Hout Bay for 6-10 years. Because of their position they represent a group with the greatest vested interest in the neighbourhood and so they have the most to protect and defend. Residents in zone two, a middle-income area in Hout Bay (a less mobile group), tended to be negative about most of the issues under discussion. This probably reflects their position in the class structure. They have invested a great deal in order to locate themselves in Hout Bay, in order to gain access to its socio-economic privileges and the opportunity for upward social mobility, and they do not want to see this eroded.

In the harbour community the lower-income residents, mostly female, who had lived in Hout Bay for over 10 years tended to be the most concerned. This group were most threatened by the presence of the informal community because of competition for scarce resources. Many of the men in this category in the harbour community

indicated that they did not care about the informal settlement, but stressed that the needs of their community should have been met.

The ratepayers generally indicated a lack of understanding with regard to the opportunities afforded to those less privileged than themselves. Many of them believed that the informal settlers had come to Hout Bay for political motives and this reflects their uncertainty of and mistrust in the changing political structures in the country.

The harbour community seemed to have a far better understanding of the needs of the informal settlers. Class position certainly influences residents' perceptions in this regard. The process of residential distancing, as well as past apartheid structures, separated people thereby facilitating the development of misconceptions and stereotypes.

Many action groups were formed in Hout Bay as a result of the development of the 'squatter' issue. The homeless people mobilised themselves in order to secure rights to land in Hout Bay. The ratepayers formed residents associations which aimed at protecting the nature of the locality of Hout Bay as the formal residents perceived it. The harbour community existed on the periphery of many of these committees although they were initially well represented by the Hout Bay Squatters Co-ordinating Committee which aimed to secure land for the homeless people in Hout Bay, including those in the harbour. Public meetings were held and the press played a fundamental role in communicating the issues in Hout Bay to the community itself and to the broader public. The Liaison Committee of Hout Bay has been instrumental in determining the nature of the development of Mizamoyethu since 1992 and still is a major player in the development process. Thus human agents have acted to shape and alter the outcomes and events present in Hout Bay.

11.3.3 The planning process

The formal residents found the planning process unsatisfactory. They indicated that there had been no participatory planning in the initial stages of the process,

particularly with regard to the site identification. There had been no consultation of the formal residents and they felt that they had had very little access to information with regard to the development of Mizamoyethu. No meaningful joint meetings involving all the players involved in the conflict were held in the early stages of the process. It is important to recognise that the formal residents' perceptions of the planning process may reflect the fact that they did not have their needs and wishes addressed in the planning process. Their relationship with the state had been undermined and hence they perceived the planning process to be poor.

Decision-making in the planning process in Hout Bay was difficult because a solution which met the needs of all the groups involved would have been impossible to negotiate. There had to be compromise and interestingly it was the previous status quo which was over-ridden. As discussed in this thesis, this indicates an important shift in power relations and also raises questions about the agendas of the different players involved in the process.

Residents felt that outside agents who knew very little about Hout Bay had done the planning. The issue of the lack of local government in Hout Bay was raised since residents felt that the people of Hout Bay should have decided on the solutions to the housing crisis that had developed. The establishment of the Liaison Committee has played a fundamental role in the present development of Mizamoyethu. Participatory planning has been possible and this has made a considerable difference to residents' attitudes toward the development process. The formal residents now feel that they are part of the process and that they have an opportunity to express their concerns. The negative aspect of this committee is the absence of representation from the lower-income harbour community, serving to marginalise their community even further.

It is essential in the planning and development of an informal settlement within an existing residential area that the planning process is ongoing. Planners need to remain involved way beyond the initial design and implementation of the site and service scheme. As has been found in the Hout Bay case, as soon as communication broke down between the planners and the various communities, problems built up and

conflict situations which resulted in crises arose. Residents need to be informed about the development process and the planners need to be aware that the situation, particularly in terms of the expansion of the settlement, is highly dynamic.

Crisis management seemed to dominate the initial stages of the development process in Hout Bay. The process was poor in that there was little participation from any of the communities involved, and no surveys were done to assess the needs and concerns of the ratepayers, the harbour community or the informal settlement. An environmental and social impact study was not implemented. However, in the case of Hout Bay, there were severe time constraints and hence this may not have been possible. However, planners and developers can learn from the mistakes made in Hout Bay and in a sense this retrospective impact study may be used to inform such future resettlement programmes. The planning process was unacceptable in the sense that it was not transparent, communication was very poor and up-front information was not provided to the communities involved. Residents often only heard about stages and problems in the development through the press. The problems associated with this form of communication have been outlined in this dissertation.

The context and timing of the Hout Bay situation has had a significant impact on the planning process. The development of Mizamoyethu has occurred during the transitional phase of South African society where the lack of governance and appropriate and legitimate structures and policies has made urban planning extremely difficult. Shifting power relations and the fluidity of urban policy has resulted in considerable structural changes taking place in society and space, often in an ad hoc and unco-ordinated fashion.

In order for the planning process to be deemed acceptable by the surrounding community, it is essential that the planning process is participatory. Forums such as the Liaison Committee are fundamental to the process and must be instituted from the outset and be ongoing. Only when those involved in the conflict are drawn into the process in a meaningful way will the anger and resentment that has developed in Hout Bay be reduced.

11.3.4 The socio-economic and environmental impacts

The difference in perception of the ratepayers and the harbour community to the impacts of Mizamoyethu on Hout Bay are important to note. Socio-economic and political differences influence and underlie these varying perceptions.

For the ratepayers the most serious impacts of the establishment and growth of an informal settlement in the area has been the perceived decrease in security and property values in Hout Bay. Security and property value are linked, since a perceived change in security will impact on the value of property. Much of the change that has occurred in the property market is related to the perceived change of quality of life in Hout Bay. Outsiders have no way of verifying the impacts of an informal settlement in an area, and so they base much of what they believe on stereotypes and misconceptions that are built up about informal settlements and also from what they read in the press. Residents of Hout Bay who put their houses on the market did not want to live in close proximity to the informal settlement for a number of different reasons, based on class conflict and the changing nature of place. Many were concerned about the future development of Mizamoyethu.

Initially both security and property values in Hout Bay decreased with the growth of the original settlements. However, since the development and upgrading of Mizamoyethu has occurred, these seem to have stabilised. It is important that all residents of Hout Bay including the informal settlers accept responsibility for the security situation. The formal and informal communities are in many ways mutually dependent and hence they need to work together to re-establish a positive identity for Hout Bay. The problems of abject poverty, unemployment and the contrasting socio-economic positions of the two communities makes the crime situation a difficult issue to deal with. However, with the upgrading of the settlement and the subsequent stabilisation of the informal community, crime should decrease as the informal settlers begin to appreciate the vested interest they have in the positive functioning of the broader Hout Bay community.

Residents have reacted to the change in security by installing security systems, owning large dogs and implementing neighbourhood watches. The territorial symbols that have been developed in Hout Bay have changed the sense of place of the neighbourhood and have impacted on the quality of life in Hout Bay. However, this is a reality being faced by many South Africans during this period of transition.

The ratepayers indicated that the amount of begging and hawking in Hout Bay had increased since the development of the informal settlement. This had upset the place ballets and daily routines of the surrounding community thereby altering the sense of place. Congestion had also increased, particularly with regard to the number of taxis on the roads, and residents suggested that the Constantia Nek road should be upgraded and that a better taxi rank should be developed. At present it is at the bottom of the access road on a very dangerous corner.

Deforestation is considered to be an impact which will increase over time. Residents are concerned that since the informal settlers need wood for building materials and fuel, deforestation in Hout Bay will get worse. The expansion of the settlement into the Cape Peninsula Protected Natural Environment area is of considerable concern as this area borders the settlement and is the only area that offers unlimited expansion of the settlement once the other interface zones have been developed. It is important that the value of the CPPNE to the informal settlers becomes evident. The importance of the natural area above Mizamoyethu and the pines within the settlement as weather breaks and as means of stabilising the soil on the steep slopes needs to be discussed with the informal settlers, since unless they value the resource as something useful to their community, they will be unlikely to want to protect it. Log stores should also be created in the community. There is a considerable amount of development going on in Hout Bay with areas being cleared and this wood could be moved to the informal community for their use. However, the issue of wood for fuel also needs to be considered in terms of atmospheric pollution. Appropriate energy sources for the informal settlers therefore need to be developed. The deforestation in Hout Bay must be considered in a broader context. There are many other developments occurring in the locality, where trees and vegetation are being cleared for up-market housing

estates, and hence the impact of Mizamoyethu must be considered relative to these other developments.

The fact that most of the impacts stabilised or decreased once the informal settlers had moved to Mizamoyethu must be recognised. Clearly the resettlement of 'squatters' into site and service schemes where they are provided with services, facilities and security of tenure has a positive affect on the impacts of the settlement on the surrounding community. This finding has important implications in terms of the planning process and the development of appropriate policies and structures.

The nature and functioning of the locality of Hout Bay has been considerably altered and for the formal residents, particularly the ratepayers, this represents a large impact on their quality of life. However, the alteration of society and space in Hout Bay must be considered in relation to the social change and reconstruction occurring in South Africa at present and the attitudinal shifts that are necessary. The ability of the residents to adjust to change and the management of the future growth and development of Mizamoyethu will determine the nature of the impacts in the long term. The fact that the impacts of the informal settlement are dynamic and continually in the making must be recognised.

11.3.5 Prospects for integration

The formal and informal communities in Hout Bay at present are highly polarised. The lack of integration between the communities is due to extreme differences in socio-economic position; anger and resentment on the part of the formal residents; lack of communication, understanding and awareness due to lack of contact; the development of misconceptions and stereotypes; cultural differences; territoriality and the structural history of South African urban places. The informal settlers are perceived by many as being 'outsiders' that have 'invaded' the locality of Hout Bay and thus are not considered to be part of the broader Hout Bay community. The informal settlers are considered to be a financial burden on the broader community as they are perceived as being unable to support themselves. The formal residents recognise the

high unemployment levels in the settlement and are concerned about this in terms of the successful integration of the informal settlers, both economically and socially. Very few of the formal residents employ the informal settlers.

The majority of the formal residents indicated that integration could occur in the long term with socio-economic differences being cited as the major stumbling block to integration. The harbour community indicated that integration could occur with a new government.

The Liaison Committee has aided the process of integration but unfortunately this has not filtered down to individuals in the broader community as yet. Integration will only occur if there is greater communication and contact between the informal residents and the surrounding community. It has been shown in this thesis that there is a positive relationship between contact with the informal settlers and positive attitudes. It has been suggested that contact through sports activities; joint meetings and development ventures; the development of a labour office; shared facilities and services; and service and employment programmes could improve integration. Residents also commented that an indication of the commitment of the informal settlers to take responsibility for their community and to indicate a willingness to support themselves would facilitate integration. The development of a craft market in Mizamoyethu, which could be linked to the tourist industry in Hout Bay, is one of the ideas that has been suggested.

Integration is a long term process. The changes that are occurring in South Africa at present and the resultant uncertainty that this brings, in many ways, perpetuate territorial behaviour. Time will facilitate acceptance by most residents of the change that has occurred in the locality of Hout Bay. However, the lack of integration at present and the dearth of programmes within the community to facilitate integration needs to be addressed if the barriers and misconceptions between the various groups are to be broken down. The informal settlers need to consider and acknowledge the fears and concerns of the surrounding community and work towards eliminating these and the formal residents need to learn to understand and respect the position of the

informal settlers. There needs to be a shift in attitude which allows all groups to be recognised as being a part of the Hout Bay community and where the rights of all are respected and acknowledged. A new sense of locality, which incorporates the ratepayers, the harbour community and the informal settlers needs to be developed. Without integration, the informal community runs the risk of becoming an isolated township within a broader community, reflecting the patterns of the past apartheid era.

11.3.6 The future development of the settlement

The formal residents all agreed that basic services and facilities should be supplied in Mizamoyethu and that the informal settlers and the state should be responsible for paying for these. The ratepayers indicated that the informal settlement should be upgraded to standards which were comparable to the rest of Hout Bay. Given the poverty and unemployment in the settlement at present this would seem unlikely. However, since moving onto their new and permanent sites, the informal settlers have made a considerable effort to upgrade their community and there has been a vast improvement in the quality of the settlement. This has been facilitated by the provision of adequate services.

The future growth of Mizamoyethu was of major concern to the formal residents. The carrying capacity of Hout Bay was questioned as many residents felt there were not enough resources to cope with the further growth of the settlement. The lack of availability of land, employment, a tax base, transport, facilities and other services were emphasised. The majority of residents indicated that the growth of the settlement should be controlled. This is highly problematic since the settlement is presently growing in two ways: the influx of new people and the natural increase from within the present community. All registered households, lodgers and unregistered lodgers in December 1993 gained access to a 120 m² site in the new development. Since moving to these sites, the informal settlers have now taken on new lodgers, from outside of Mizamoyethu, to supplement their income and to offer support and opportunities to extended family members. Thus the number of people in the settlement has grown considerably. However, at present these lodgers have no means

of securing access to their own land as the allocation of sites has been completed. In time, these lodgers may begin to demand access to land and so the process will continue. The erection of illegal structures on the periphery of the settlement continues to be a source of tension. Mechanisms and means of control have still not been implemented by the planning authorities even though the Liaison Committee has given a mandate to the CPA to remove these structures. Present government policy is lacking in this regard.

The size of the settlement will also grow naturally and the circumstances and ways of coping with the natural increase are very different for the various communities in Hout Bay. The values toward and the means of gaining access to land differ markedly due to class and past political structures, and this is bound to cause conflict in Hout Bay in the future. The control of the expansion of the settlement will be difficult to manage and will need to be informed by policy developed at government level under the new dispensation. It is essential that planners address the issue of the growth of informal settlements at the outset of any planning process which deals with the resettlement of informal communities in existing residential areas.

The issue of different standards being tolerated for different groups needs to be debated and resolved. Formal residents indicated that they had to go through rigid time-consuming procedures in order to be allowed to build a tool shed or extra garage in their garden and yet the informal settlers, living only 100 metres away, were not restricted by any planning regulations. It is important that a local government is developed in order to be able to address such issues locally within the framework of government structures and policy on the macro-scale.

The development and maintenance of interface zones between the informal community and the neighbouring formal residents is a highly sensitive and contentious issue. The majority of ratepayers indicated that buffers should be implemented for reasons of security while the harbour community were totally against buffers as they symbolised the segregation of the apartheid legacy of the past. The ratepayers indicated that the buffers should be left as forested areas so as to limit the views of the settlement.

Certain studies (Pringle, 1990) indicate that interface zones can limit the development of conflict by creating space between communities that are socio-economically or politically very different. By addressing the concerns of the surrounding community and by providing them with the security that an interface zone offers, the conflict can be minimised. It is important that the rights of property owners in close spatial proximity to the settlement are recognised and respected. It has been suggested that shared facilities and services (such as fire-fighting and emergency services, the clinic, and sportsfields) should be developed in these areas. However, sensitive environmental planning needs to occur so as not to create the feeling of an informal settlement encircled by spatial and physical barriers.

11.4 CONCLUSION

Finally in this section it is necessary to consider whether the decision to settle the 'squatters' permanently in Hout Bay was appropriate. This is a complex and difficult issue to consider as it must be viewed from the perspective of the various communities involved, as well as in terms of the local and national context. The development of Mizamoyethu has undoubtedly changed the nature of locality in Hout Bay. This thesis has examined the nature of change from the perspective of the formal residents. The perceptions of the surrounding community, which have been influenced by a myriad of factors, seem to be largely negative. However, in considering the socio-economic and environmental impacts it would seem that the impact of Mizamoyethu is not as serious as residents perceive it to be. Misunderstandings and misconceptions which have developed as a result of a non-participatory planning process and the lack of contact and communication between the various communities have fuelled the negative perceptions of residents. The issues of class conflict and the changing nature of place are issues that can be partly resolved by the appropriate management of the locality of Hout Bay in the future. Many of the issues related to the development of the settlement have stabilised since the establishment of Mizamoyethu. However, the management of the growth of the settlement will have a major impact on the functioning of Hout Bay in the future. The way in which policies and structures

within the new dispensation address these issues will have serious implications for Hout Bay. However, given the dramatic restructuring that has taken place in Hout Bay over the past five years, the negative impacts that have occurred seem to be less significant than the positive contribution the settlement has made to the many homeless people of Hout Bay.

Land invasions, where the homeless move onto vacant land, are becoming a more common element of the urban landscape in South Africa. With appropriate participatory planning, the resettlement of informal communities within existing residential areas can be successful and can work toward the redistribution of wealth and resources that is so desperately required in this country. A socio-economically established residential area can support the development of a less privileged community. Employment links, as well as the pooling of resources and facilities can certainly be to the long-term benefit of everyone in the community. Formal residents will have to face certain changes in terms of their existence in the area, but this forms an important part of the transformation which is necessary in South African society. Wolfson (1991, p 237) states that "while people's investment in their homes is a planning concern, so are the rights of the homeless to appropriately located housing." The suggestion is not that every residential area should get its own informal settlement. It is also important that the rights of all parties are respected and upheld where the resettlement of informal communities within existing residential areas occurs. Where land invasions spontaneously occur, planners should find solutions which are acceptable to the broader community, but which also serve to remove some of the vast inequalities which exist within our society. It is essential that in the resettlement process there is participatory planning, in which the nature of locality is considered.

The transformation of South African society has resulted in the alteration of the nature of society and space. One such change has been the location of informal communities within existing residential areas. This has resulted in a shift in structural relations, and a change in the nature and functioning of locality, resulting in conflict. South Africans need to accept their differences and work toward a society, however diverse, where the rights of all are respected and acknowledged. It is necessary to move from

situation of divided space to shared space, thus developing a more just and equitable society.

The potential role of geographers in the process of reconstruction of urban places in South Africa needs to be recognised and taken up. As Dodson and Goudie (1993, p 18) state, "the challenge of developing alternative and progressive frameworks for analysis and constructive intervention is enormous". This thesis has indicated how realism can offer an appropriate framework for investigating the complex socio-spatial patterns that are presently emerging in the transformation of South African urban society, as well as for making recommendations as to how these processes could be managed and resolved. The need for action research, which contributes both to the reconstruction of urban society as well as to the academic development of our discipline, is evident in South African geography at present. "Geographers need to re-examine the very foundation of their discipline, exploring new theoretical frameworks, broadening the base of their empirical research, (and) establishing cross-disciplinary links. On a practical level, urban scholars need to understand and harness the forces of change that are reworking the South African landscape" (Dodson and Goudie, 1993, p 18). The study of the perceptions of the surrounding community to the development of an informal settlement in Hout Bay has shown how the theoretical frameworks and methodological approaches of the discipline of geography can contribute to an understanding of the reconstruction of society and space in South Africa.

Notes

1. Racial classifications have been used as they are significant in understanding the conflict which has developed. While not wishing to perpetuate the iniquitous system of racial classification of the apartheid era, an understanding of the socio-spatial patterns which are evident in South Africa requires such a classification. This thesis differentiates between white, coloured (mixed race) and black people.

2. Ratepayers: this is the term used in Hout Bay for the formal residents. In this study the white formal residents are referred to as the ratepayers. The harbour community form a subset of this group and have been identified separately in the analysis because of their different socio-economic and political position. It must be noted that the harbour community do pay rates in Hout Bay.

3. All the people that I have dealt with that have been involved in local forums and committees responsible for the resolution of conflict (Hout Bay, Midrand Indaba, Noordhoek) have commented on the positive affect this has had on their attitude toward the resettlement process.

4. At present the development of such an office within the community is being considered by the civic committee and they are hoping to promote the idea in the formal committee.

5. I co-presented a paper at the HSRC Conference on 'Global Change and Social Transformation' in November, 1993, entitled "The perceptions of different socio-economic groups toward environmental resources – implications for conflict resolution" (Sowman and Oelofse, 1993). This paper considered the way the different communities in Hout Bay perceive of environmental resources because of their different socio-economic and political backgrounds.

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APPENDIX A
THE QUESTIONNAIRE

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ISSUES IN GENERAL

1. What issues are of most concern to you as a resident of Hout Bay? Please rate each issue on the 7 point scale.

Of no concern Of little concern Of some concern Of strong concern Critical

1 2 - 3 4 5 - 6 7

ISSUE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
a) Lack of local government							
b) The sewerage outfall							
c) The increasing density of housing							
d) The Imizamo Yethu settlement							
e) Development encroaching on the mountain							
f) Pollution and environmental deterioration in Hout Bay							
g) Development of shopping complexes							
h) The quality of the road to Constantia Nek							
i) Shortage of housing in the harbour community							

2.
3.
4.
5.
6.
7.
8.
9.
10.

4. How far did/do you live from

- (a) The original squatter settlements _____
(b) Imizamo Yethu _____

24.

--	--

25.

--	--

5(a) Can you see the informal settlement from your home?

Yes _____ No _____

26.

--

(b) Can you hear the informal settlement from your home?

Yes _____ No _____

27.

--

PLANNING PROCESS

6. Have you attended any meetings with regard to the squatter issue?

Yes _____ No _____

28.

--

If yes, what meetings have you attended?

29.

--

7. Who are the planners/parties responsible for the decisions regarding the informal settlement?

30.

8(a) When did you find out that the squatters would be permanently settled in Hout Bay?

33.

--

(b) How did you find out about the decision to permanently settle the squatters at Imizamo Yethu?

34.

9. What was your response to the decision to permanently settle the squatters in Hout Bay?

37.

38.

10. Were you consulted on the issue of permanently settling the communities in Hout Bay?

Yes _____ No _____

39.

If yes, by whom?

40.

11. Do you feel that your comments/inputs were seriously considered?

Yes _____ No _____ Don't know _____

41.

12. Were you aware of the investigation by private consultants to identify land for squatters in Hout Bay?

Yes _____ No _____

42.

13. Were you consulted about the different options available?

Yes _____ No, _____

43.

If yes, what was the nature of consultation?

44.

14. Do you feel that your comments/inputs were seriously considered?

Yes _____ No _____ Don't know _____

45.

Justify your answer

46.

15(a) What do you think about the decision to move all five communities (namely Princess Bush, Disa River, Dawid's Kraal, Sea Products and Blue Valley) together?

Disapprove _____ No opinion _____ Approve _____

47.

Give reasons for your answer.

48.

(b) What was your opinion with respect to the idea of upgrading some of the old settled sites, rather than moving all the people to Imizamo Yethu?

49.

50.

16. How acceptable (on a 7 point scale) were/is:

Totally unacceptable Unacceptable Indifferent Acceptable Ideal

1 2 - 3 4 5 - 6 7

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
a) The old sites							
i) to you							
ii) to Hout Bay community							
iii) to the squatters							
b) The new site							
i) to you							
ii) to Hout Bay community							
iii) to the squatters							

51.

52.

53.

54.

55.

56.

Comments

57.

58.

59.

17. What site/area would you have recommended to the planners? Why?

60.

61.

18. How do you view the role of planners with regard to the settlement of people in Imizamo Yethu? Who are they accountable to and what should their long term aims be?

62.

63.

64.

19. What is your opinion of the planning process thus far?

Very bad	Bad	Acceptable	Good	Excellent	
1	2 - 3	4	5 - 6	7	

65.

Explain

66.

INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS - GENERAL

20. Do you think that informal housing is a permanent part of the urban landscape in South Africa in the future?

Yes _____ No _____

Explain.

67.

68.

21. Do you know of any other communities in South Africa who are experiencing a similar situation, with regard to informal housing, as Hout Bay?

Yes _____ No _____

Qualify your answer.

69.

70.

ATTITUDES TO INFORMAL SETTLEMENT

22(a) Why do you think the informal settlement has developed in Hout Bay?

71.

72.

73.

(b) What advantages do the Imizamo Yethu residents gain by living in Hout Bay?

74.

75.

76.

23. What are your major issues of concern regarding the settlement of informal communities in Hout Bay, (rank on the 7 point scale) and in what ways have these issues changed your quality of life since the growth of Imizamo Yethu?

Decreased dramatically Decreased a lot No change Increased/Improved a little

1

2 - 3

4

5 - 6

Increased/Improved dramatically

7

Issues	Scale	Changes to quality of life	Measures taken
a) Security		Have you ever been burgled? (a) In past 10 years No. (b) In past 2 years No. Has anyone you know of been burgled? Explain	
b) Value of property			
c) Quality of life			
Begging/Hawking			
d) Environmental quality			
Smoke from fires			
Pollution			
Deforestation			
Health problems			
Noise			
Other			
e) Congestion			
Roads			
Taxis			
f) Other			

PERCEPTION TOWARDS SQUATTERS

24(a) Have you ever been to Imizamo Yethu?

Yes

No

19.

(b) If yes, what are your impressions of the settlement?

20.

21.

22.

(c) If no, are you interested in visiting the site?

23.

25. What contact do you have/have you had with the residents of Imazamo Yethu?

Type of Contact	Yes	No
a) Employment		
i) long term		
ii) casual		
b) Church		
c) Service organisations		
d) Personal acquaintance		
e) Sport		
f) Meetings		
g) Education programmes		
h) Other		

24.

25.

26.

27.

28.

29.

30.

31.

32.

26. In your opinion, what do you consider to be the greatest problems facing the Imizamo Yethu Community? (On a 7 point scale).

Critical Very serious problem Of some concern Of little concern Of no concern
 1 2 - 3 4 5 - 6 7

Problem	Scale	Comment
a) Lack of infrastructural services		
b) Health/hygiene		
c) Social Stress		
d) Lack of security - housing		
- personal		
e) Unemployment		
f) Lack of facilities		
g) Transport		
h) Attitude of surrounding community		
i) Problems with the site		
h) Distance from facilities		
i) Polarisation of community		
j) Other		

33.		
34.		
35.		
36.		
37.		
38.		
39.		
40.		
41.		
42.		
43.		
44.		
45.		

27. Do you think the majority of people living in Imizamo Yethu are employed?

Yes _____

No _____

46.

If yes, where do they work? Hout Bay _____

Elsewhere _____

47.

28. Where do you think the majority of residents of Imizamo Yethu are originally from?

Hout Bay _____

Elsewhere _____

48.

29(a) Do you think there has been polarisation of the broader Hout Bay community and the Imizamo Yethu settlers?

Yes _____

No _____

49.

(b) If yes, explain.

50.

30. What role do you think the residents of Imizamo Yethu play in the socio economic functioning of Hout Bay?

Trading/Shopping increased _____

Labour supply _____

51.

52.

53.

Explain.

54.

IMPACT OF FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS

33. Were you initially for or against the decision to permanently settle the squatters in Hout Bay?

For _____

Against _____

72.

34. Has your attitude towards the squatters changed over the past year?

Yes _____

No _____

73.

If so, what experiences have shaped your changed in attitude?

74.

35. Under what conditions would the permanent settlement of low income communities in Hout Bay be more acceptable to you?

75.

76.

77.

78.

36(a) How do you feel this community could best be integrated into the broader Hout Bay community and what could be done to resolve the issues and area of conflict?

1.

2.

3.

(b) Should facilities such as creche/school/clinic be provided in Imizamo Yethu or should people be encouraged to use the existing services in Hout Bay?

Own facilities _____

Shared facilities _____

Explain?

4.

5.

(c) As far as you know what facilities of Hout Bay do the Imizamo Yethu community use at present? Comment.

6.
7.

37(a) Should there be buffer zones/interface zones between the Imizamo Yethu community and adjacent properties?

Yes _____ No _____

8.

Why/Why not?

9.

(b) Should there be linked roads between the settlement and adjacent suburbs?

Yes _____ No _____

10.

Explain?

11.

38. If this open land (for buffer, interface zones) is created, how should it be utilized?

12.

39. What is your opinion regarding the increase in the number of people in Imizamo Yethu?

13.
14.

40(a) Should there be some sort of control limiting the future growth of the settlement?

Yes _____ No _____

15.

(b) If yes, how should the growth of the settlement be limited?

16.

41. What type of political representation should be developed at local government level in Hout Bay?

One person one vote _____

Group representation _____

17.

Other (Explain) _____

PROFILE

42(a) Age: < 30 30 - 39 40 - 49 18.

50 - 59 60 - 69 > 70

(b) Sex: M F 19.

(c) Home language: English Afrikaans 20.

Xhosa Other

(d) Income bracket: 0 - R 1 499 R 1 500 - R 2 999 21.

Per household R 3 000 - R 4 499 R 4 500 - R 5 999

R 6 000 - R 7 499 R 7 500 +

(e) Occupation: _____ 22.

(f) Highest education qualification: _____ 23.

(g) Marital status: Single Married Divorced 24.

(h) Relationship to head of household: _____ 25.

(i) Ages of children in household: _____ 26.

43. Employment:

(i) Domestic worker Yes No 27.

Days per month _____ Live in Yes No 28.

From Imizamo Yethu Yes No 29.

(i) Gardener Yes No 30.

Days per month _____ Live in Yes No 31.

From Imizamo Yethu Yes No 32.

44. How long have you lived in Hout Bay?

33.

under 3 years _____ 3 - 5 years _____ 6 - 10 years _____ Over 10 years _____

45. Do you own this property?

34.

Yes _____ No _____

46. Are you considering moving away from Hout Bay in the near future?

35.

Yes _____ No _____

Reason :

36.

47(a) Are you an active member of any community organisation?

37.

Yes _____ No _____

38.

(b) If yes, which one?

48. Any other comments

39.

--	--

Thank you

APPENDIX B

MAPS OF RESIDENTS' RESPONSES

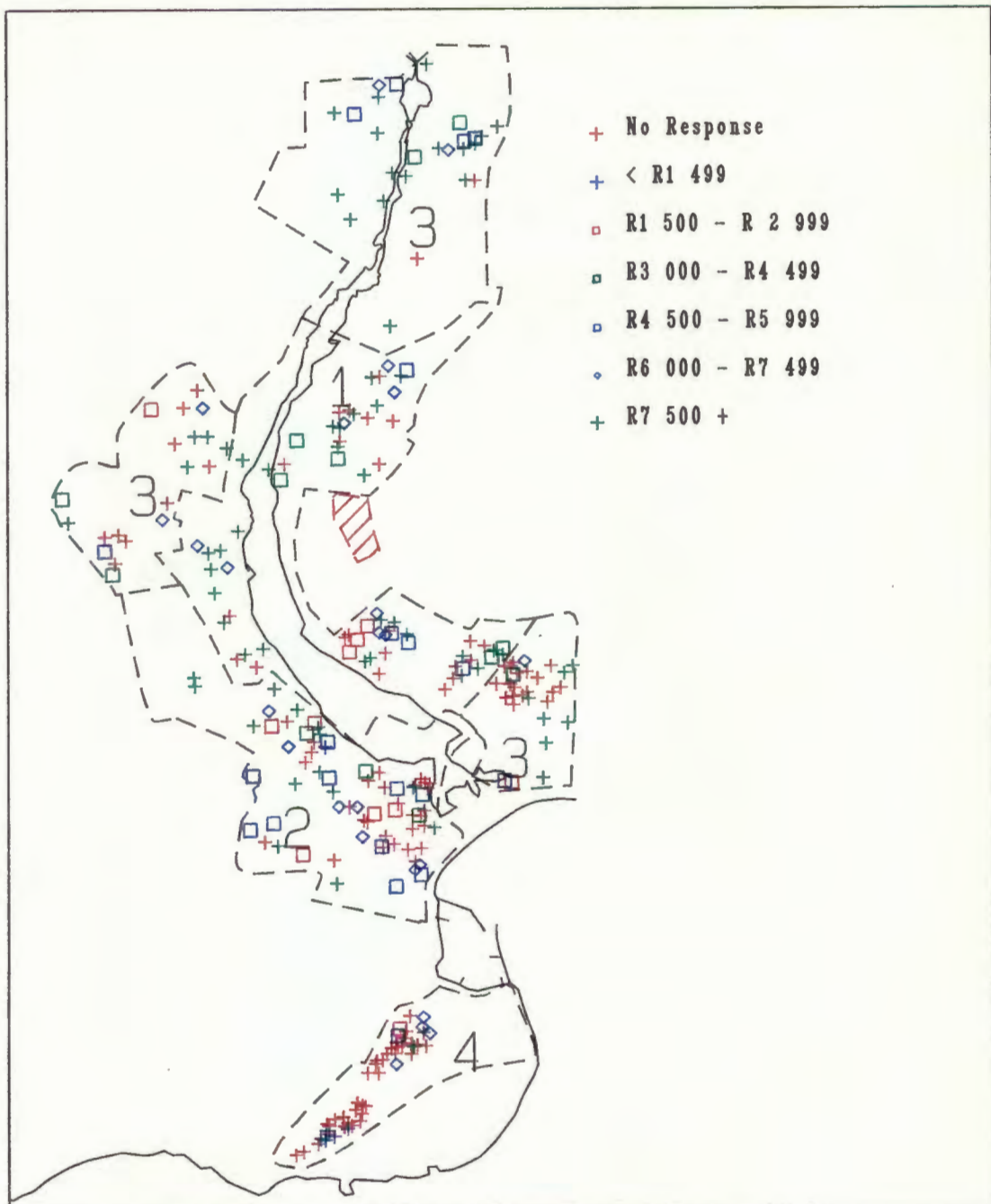


Figure B.1 Monthly income of the formal residents of Hout Bay.

Table B.1 Monthly income of the formal residents of Hout Bay.

	1	2	3	4	Total
No Response	29%	41%	39%	76%	44%
0 - R1499	0	1%	0	10%	2%
R1500 - R2999	4%	7%	3%	2%	4%
R3000 - R4499	8%	4%	7%	0	5%
R4500 - R5999	5%	16%	7%	2%	8%
R6000 - R7499	11%	11%	8%	8%	9%
R7500+	43%	20%	37%	2%	28%

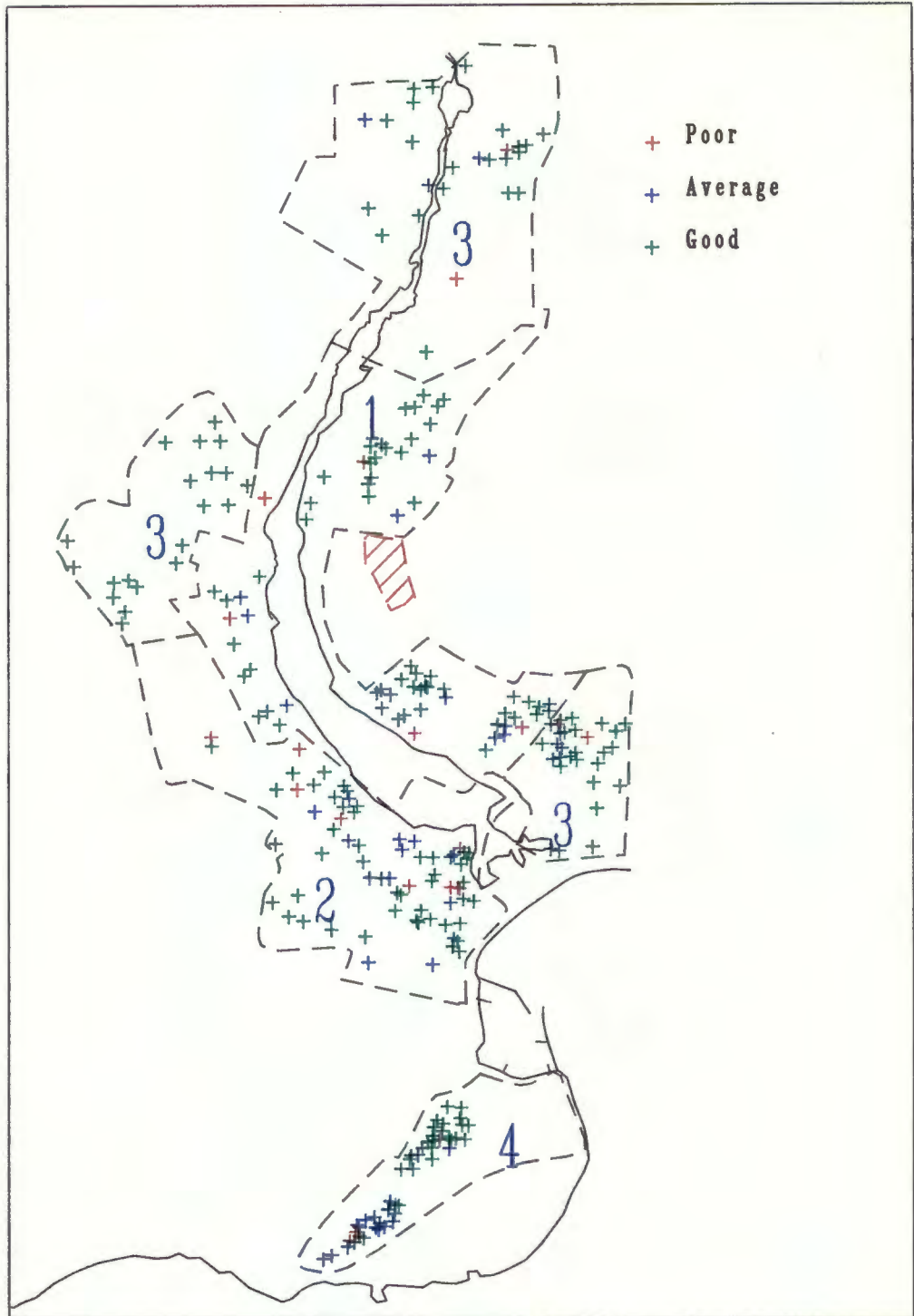


Figure B.2 Perceptions of the peacefulness of Hout Bay.

Table B.2 Perceptions of the peacefulness of Hout Bay.

	1	2	3	4	Total
Poor	7%	13%	4%	8%	8%
Average	21%	20%	9%	30%	19%
Good	71%	67%	87%	62%	72%

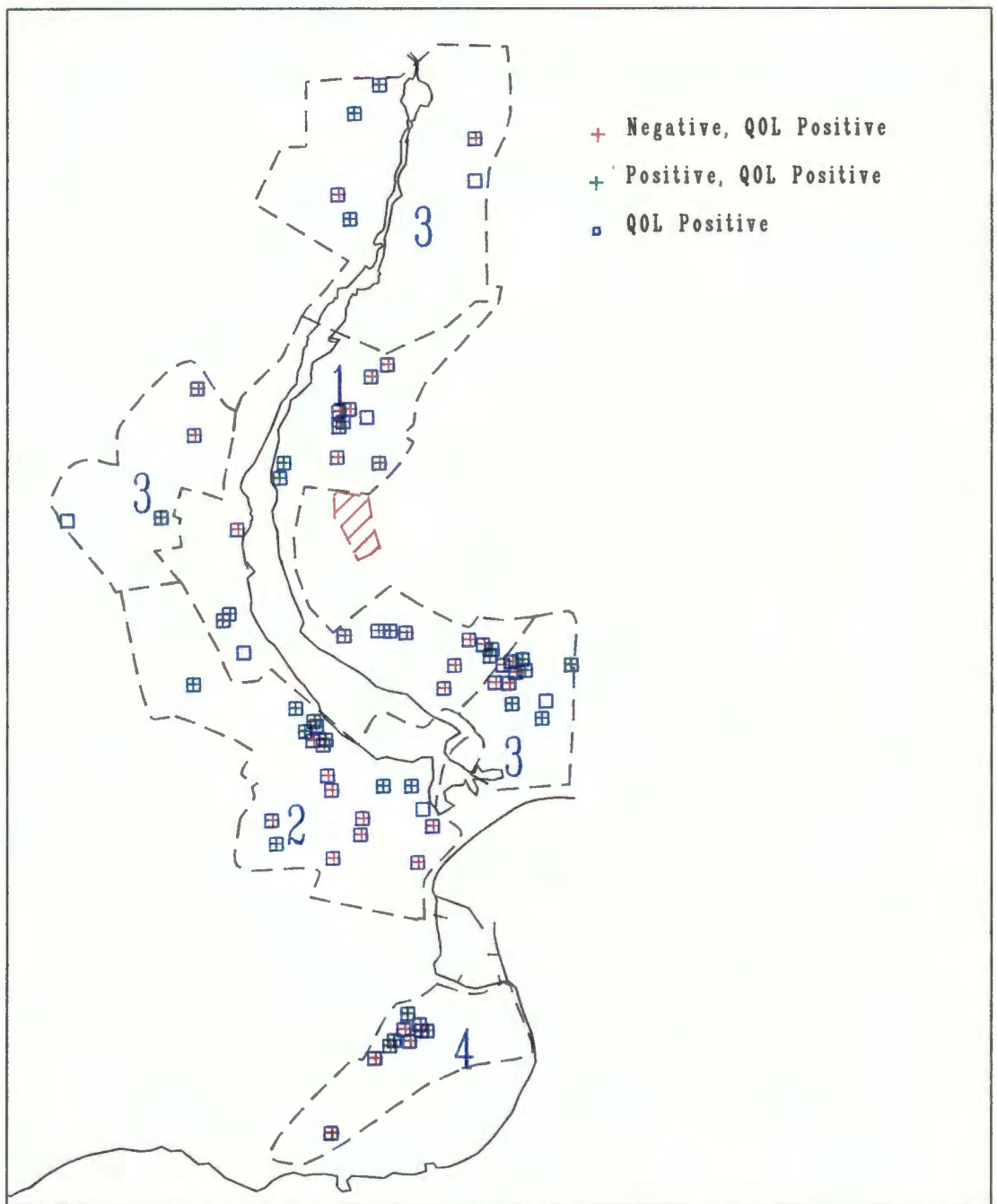


Figure B.3 The relationship between response to the development of Mizamoyethu and perceptions of quality of life indicators.

Table B.3 The relationship between response to the development of Mizamoyethu and perceptions of quality of life indicators.

	1	2	3	4	Total
Negative, QOL Positive	21%	15%	21%	16%	16%
Positive, QOL Positive	9%	11%	12%	4%	9%
QOL Positive	33%	26%	28%	20%	28%

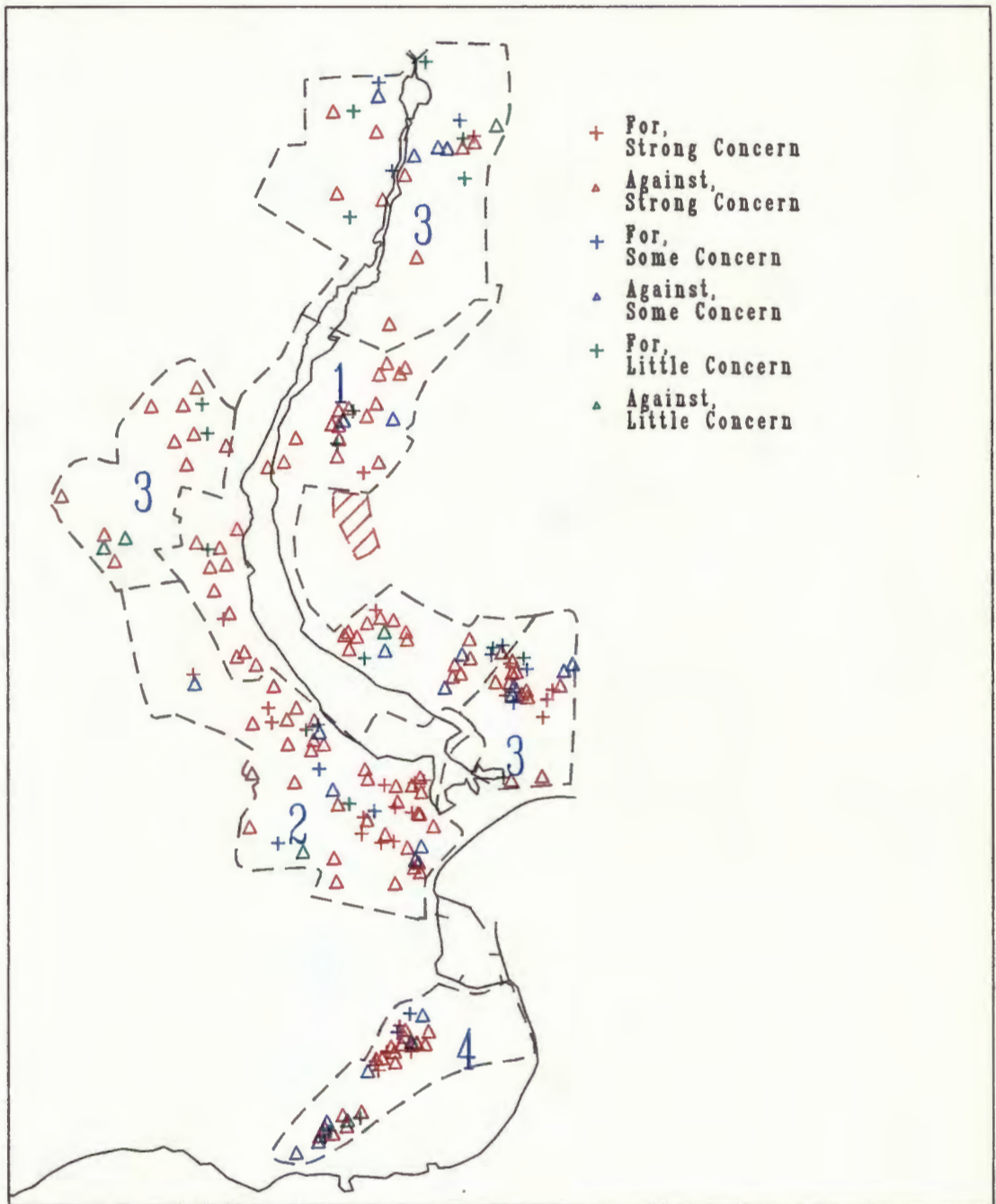


Figure B.4 The relationship between residents' opinions of the planning decision and Mizamoyethu as an issue of concern.

Table B.4 The relationship between residents' opinions of the planning decision and Mizamoyethu as an issue of concern.

	1	2	3	4	Total
For, Strong Concern	4%	16%	8%	10%	9%
Against, Strong Concern	55%	43%	40%	36%	44%
For, Some Concern	3%	5%	7%	6%	5%
Against, Some Concern	7%	7%	11%	12%	9%
For, Little Concern	7%	3%	12%	4%	7%
Against, Little Concern	1%	1%	4%	2%	2%

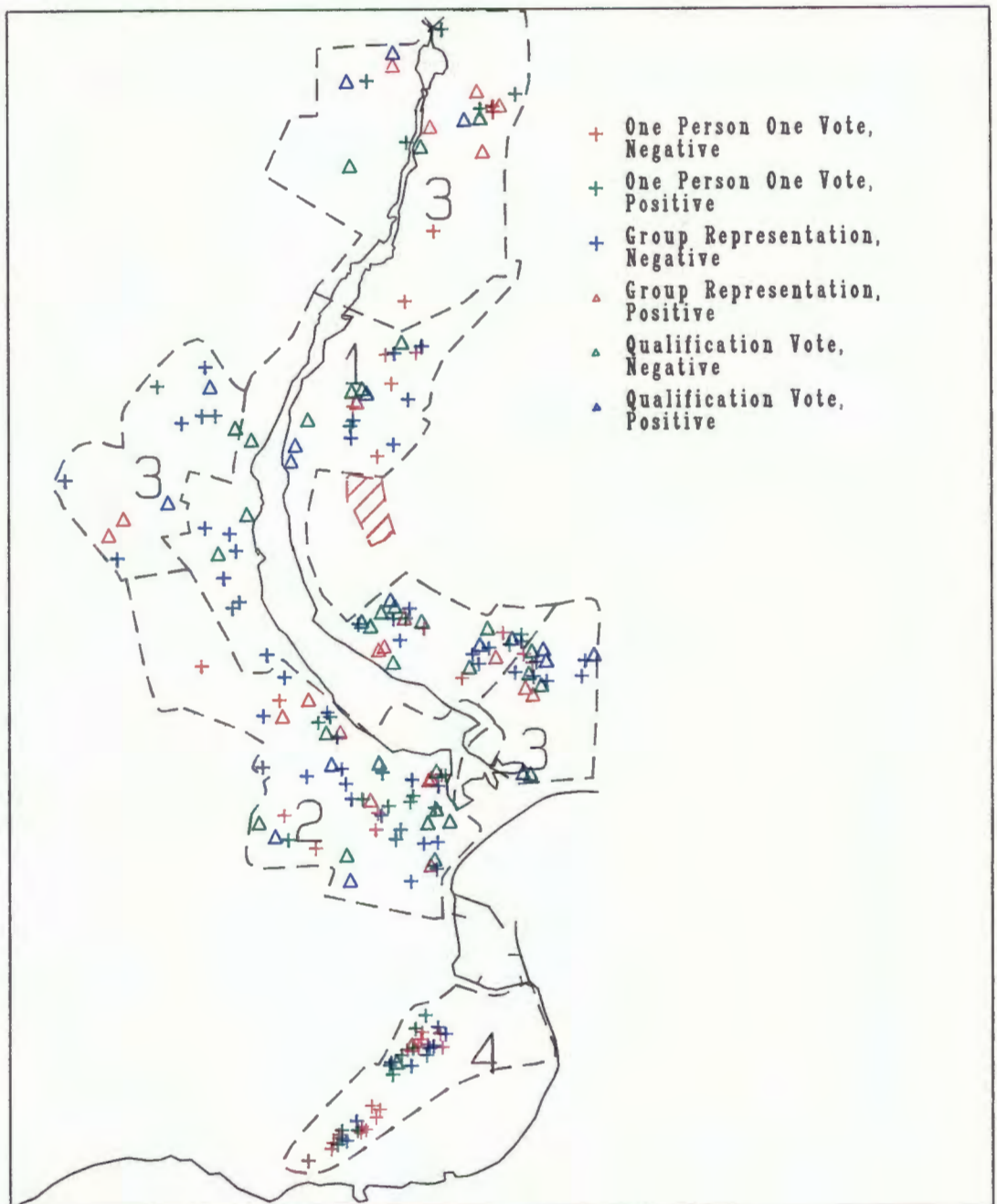


Figure B.5 The relationship between local voting patterns and response to Mizamoyethu.

Table B.5 The relationship between local voting patterns and response to Mizamoyethu.

	1	2	3	4	Total
One Person One Vote, N	11%	9%	8%	34%	14%
One Person One Vote, P	7%	12%	9%	22%	12%
Group Representation, N	27%	25%	15%	16%	21%
Group Representation, P	7%	9%	12%	2%	8%
Qualification Vote, N	20%	12%	11%	2%	12%
Qualification Vote, P	8%	4%	12%	0	7%

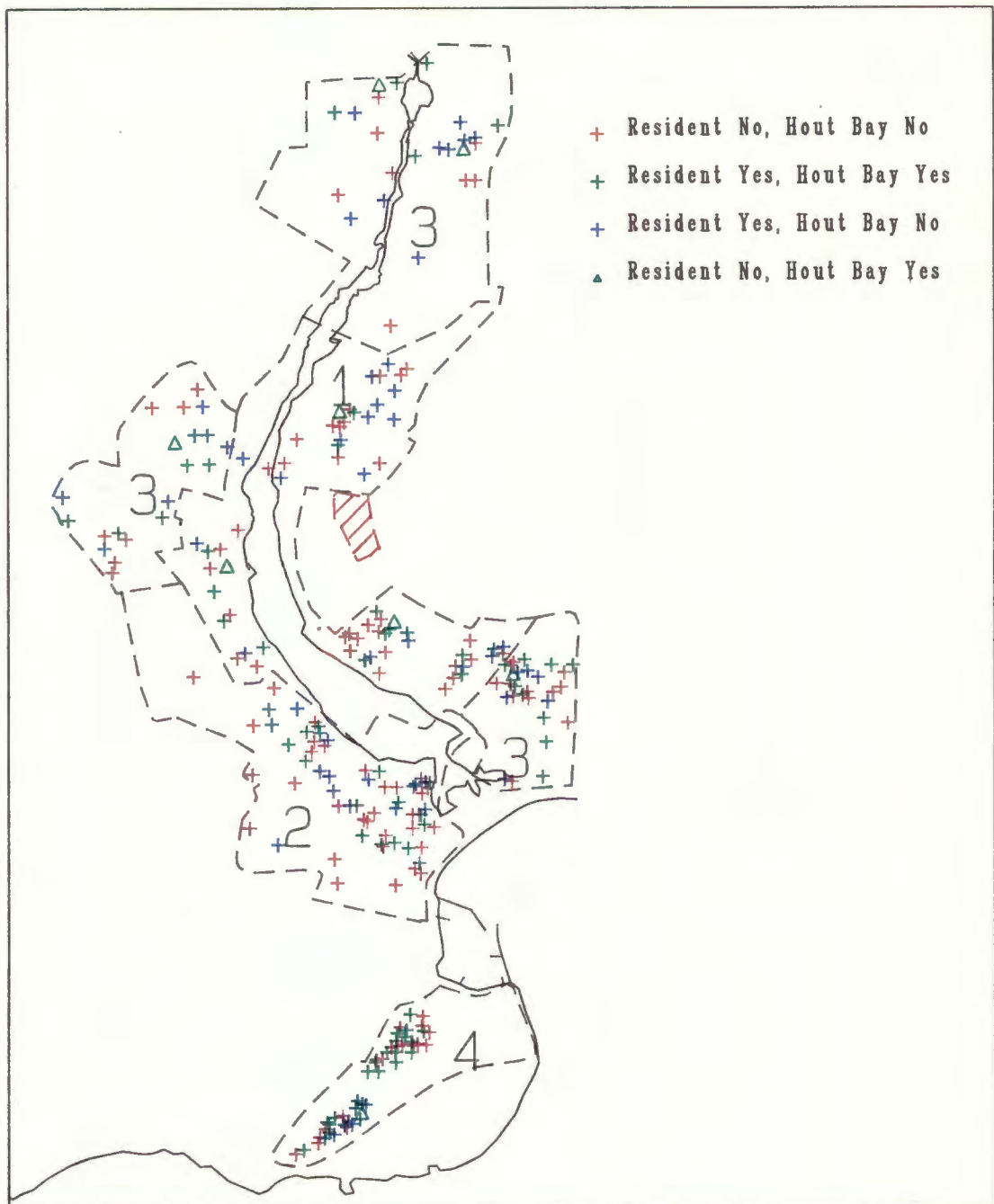


Figure B.6 The acceptability of the old and new sites to residents personally and to the Hout Bay community.

Table B.6 The acceptability of the old and new sites to residents personally and to the Hout Bay community.

	1	2	3	4	Total
Personally N Hout Bay N	44%	43%	36%	36%	40%
Personally Y Hout Bay Y	19%	24%	27%	48%	28%
Personally Y Hout Bay N	23%	17%	28%	10%	20%
Personally N Hout Bay Y	4%	1%	5%	0	3%

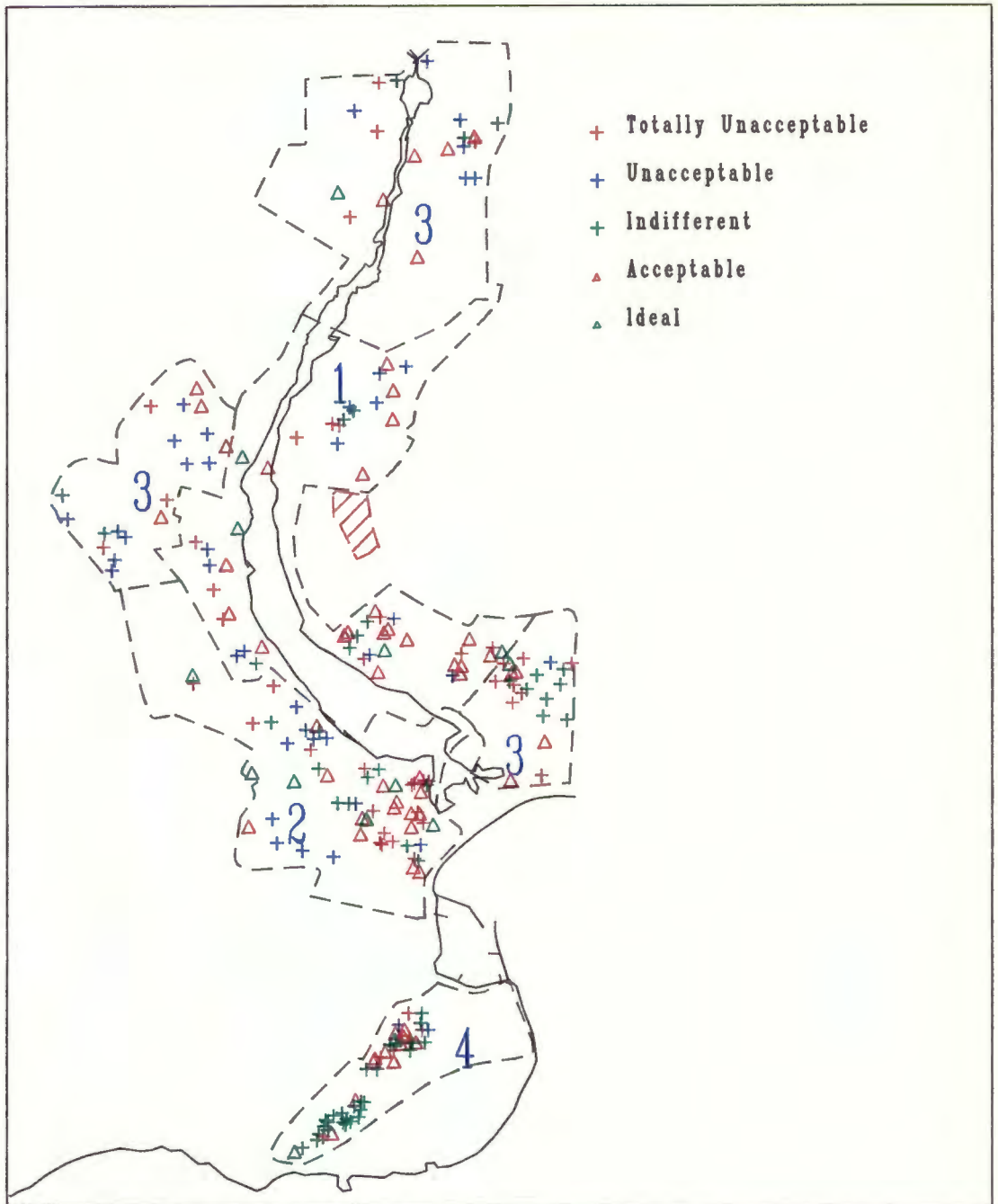


Figure B.7 Acceptability of the old sites to the 'squatters'.

Table B.7 Acceptability of the old sites to the 'squatters'.

	1	2	3	4	Total
Totally Unaccept.	13%	23%	20%	14%	18%
Unacceptable	16%	17%	23%	4%	16%
Indifferent	12%	15%	15%	54%	21%
Acceptable	29%	23%	19%	22%	23%
Ideal	5%	8%	3%	4%	5%

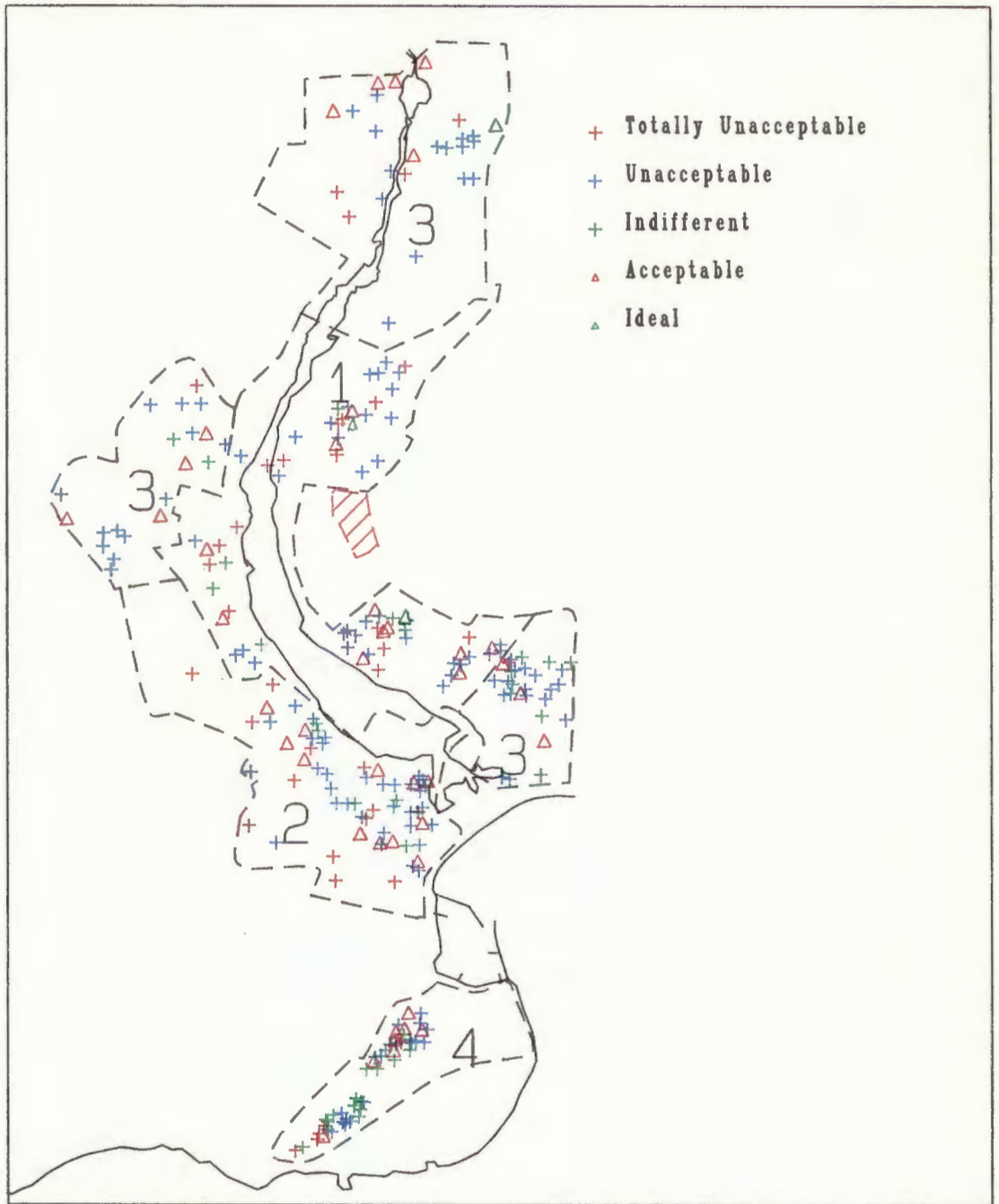


Figure B.8 Acceptability of the new site to the Hout Bay community.

Table B.8 Acceptability of the new site to the Hout Bay community.

	1	2	3	4	Total
Totally Unacceptable	23%	19%	8%	10%	15%
Unacceptable	47%	47%	56%	36%	47%
Indifferent	8%	9%	15%	36%	15%
Acceptable	16%	17%	18%	18%	17%
Ideal	1%	0	0	0	0

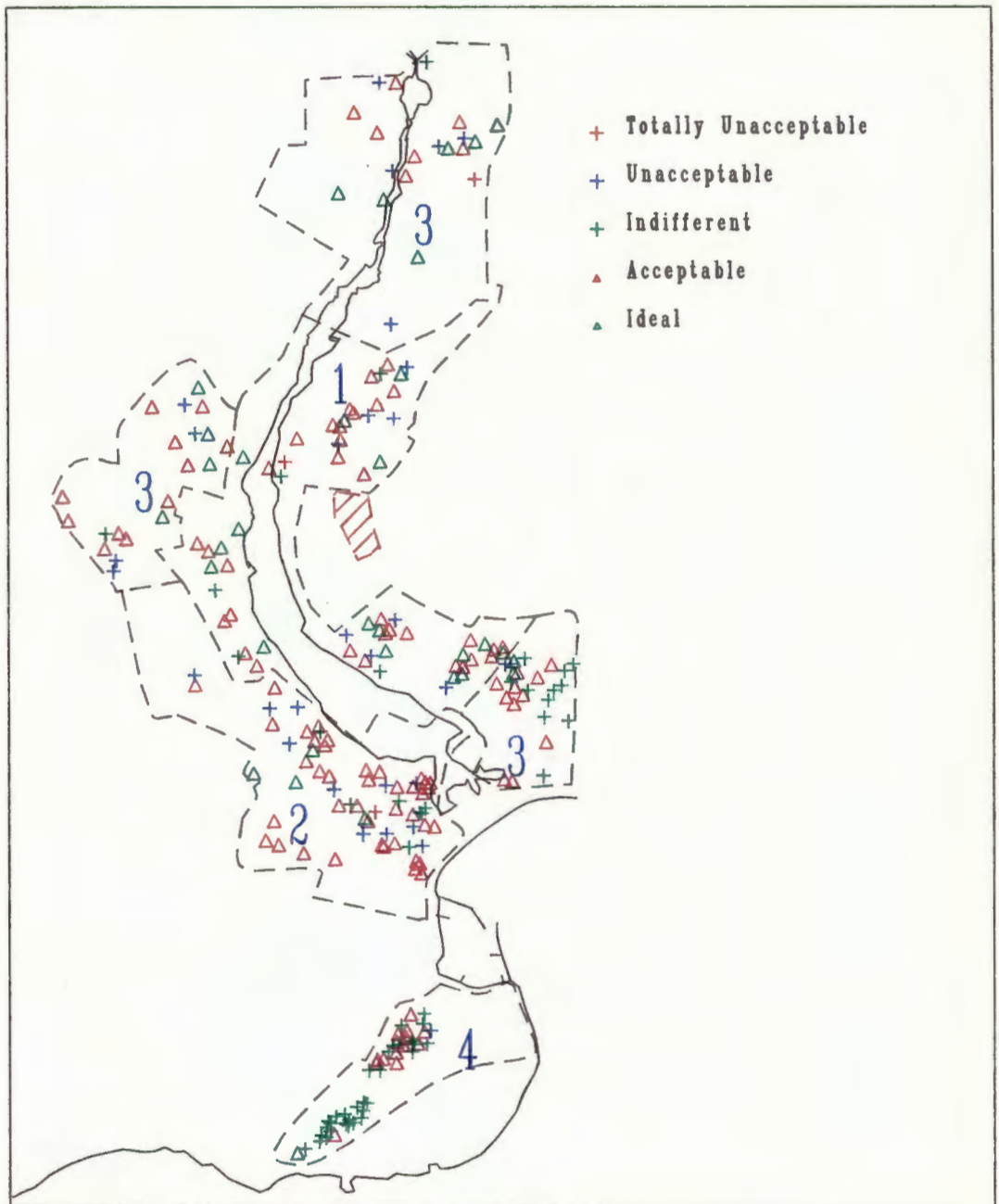


Figure B.9 Acceptability of the new sites to the 'squatters'.

Table B.9 Acceptability of the new sites to the 'squatters'.

	1	2	3	4	Total
Totally Unaccept.	1%	1%	1%	0	1%
Unacceptable	11%	15%	15%	2%	11%
Indifferent	7%	9%	17%	66%	21%
Acceptable	48%	59%	37%	28%	44%
Ideal	23%	7%	16%	2%	13%

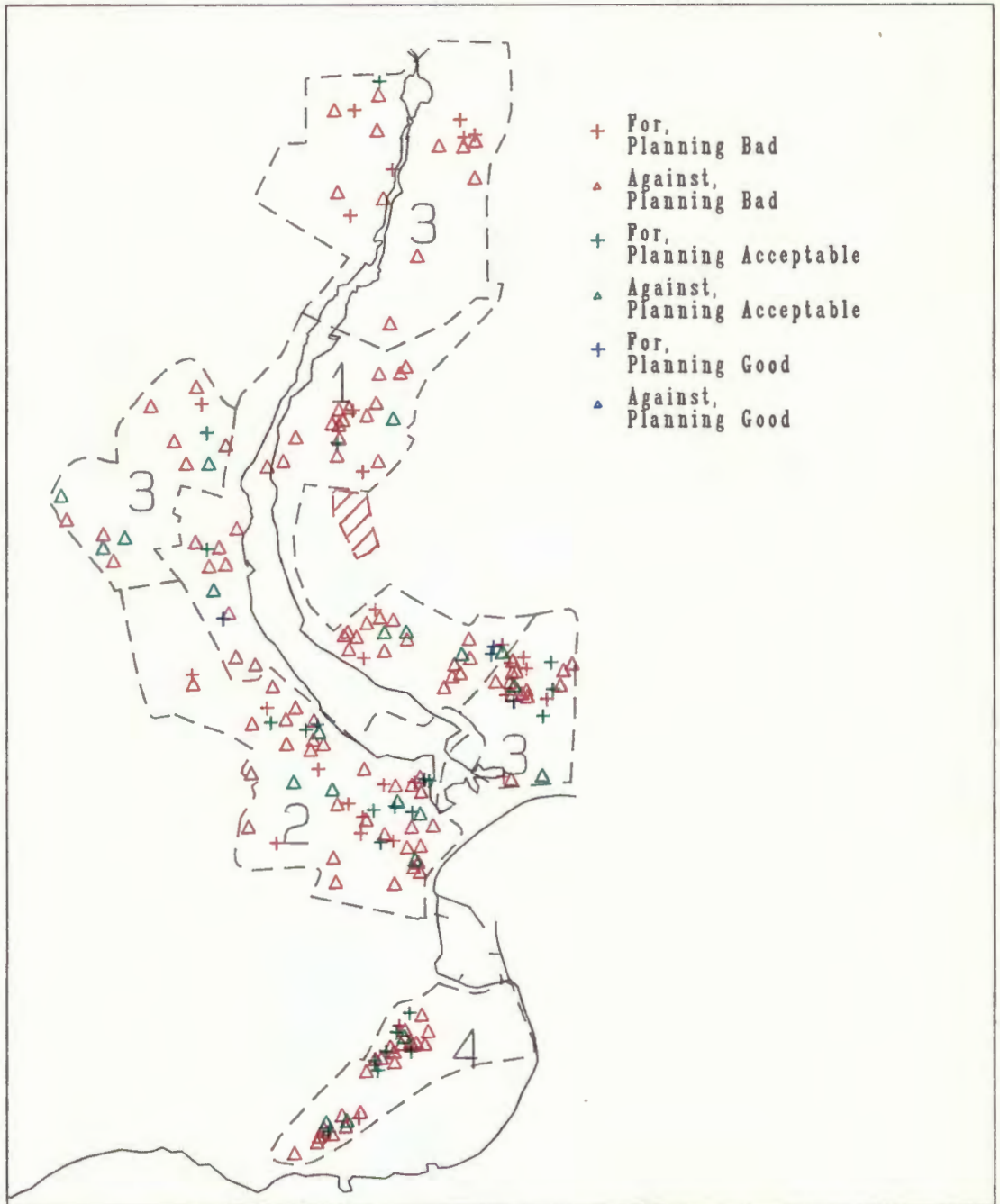


Figure B.10 The relationship between attitude toward the decision and opinion of the planning process.

Table B.10 The relationship between attitude toward the decision and opinion of the planning process.

	1	2	3	4	Total
For, Planning Bad	7%	135	17%	6%	11%
Against, Planning Bad	52%	40%	43%	44%	45%
For, Planning Acceptable	4%	11%	7%	14%	8%
Against, Planning Acceptable	8%	8%	8%	6%	8%
For, Planning Good	3%	1%	1%	0	1%
Against, Planning Good	1%	1%	5%	0	2%

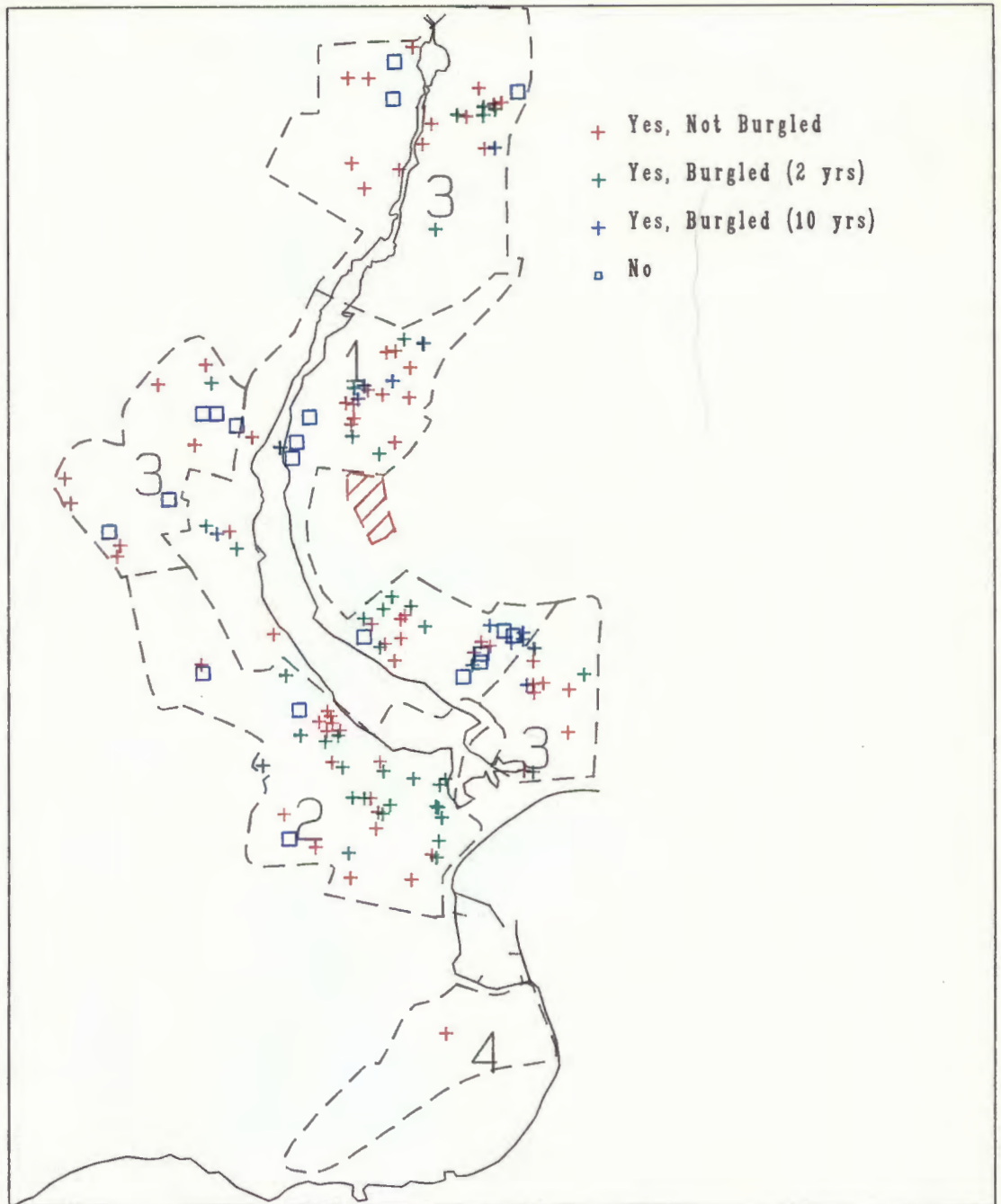


Figure B.11 The perception of neighbourhood crime.

Table B.11 The perception of neighbourhood crime.

	1	2	3	4	Total
Yes, Not Burgled	31%	23%	36%	2%	25%
Yes, Burgled (2 years)	15%	25%	11%	0	14%
Yes, Burgled (10 years)	3%	1%	1%	0	2%
No	6%	4%	11%	0	5%

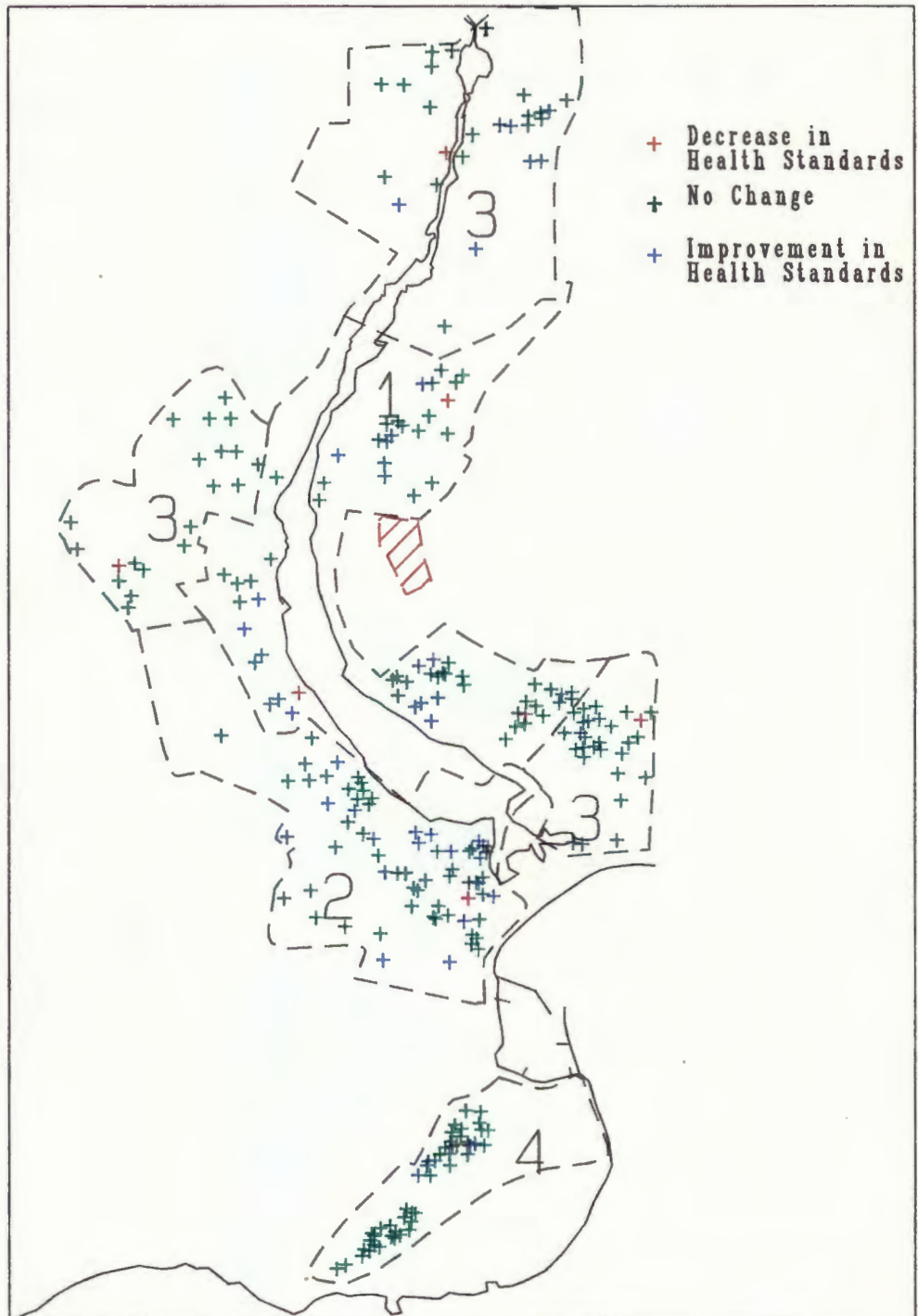


Figure B.12 Perceptions of the impact of Mizamoyethu on health conditions.

Table B.12 Perceptions of the impact of Mizamoyethu on health conditions.

	1	2	3	4	Total
Decreased	4%	3%	4%	2%	3%
No Change	71%	67%	83%	84%	75%
Improvement	21%	27%	12%	14%	19%

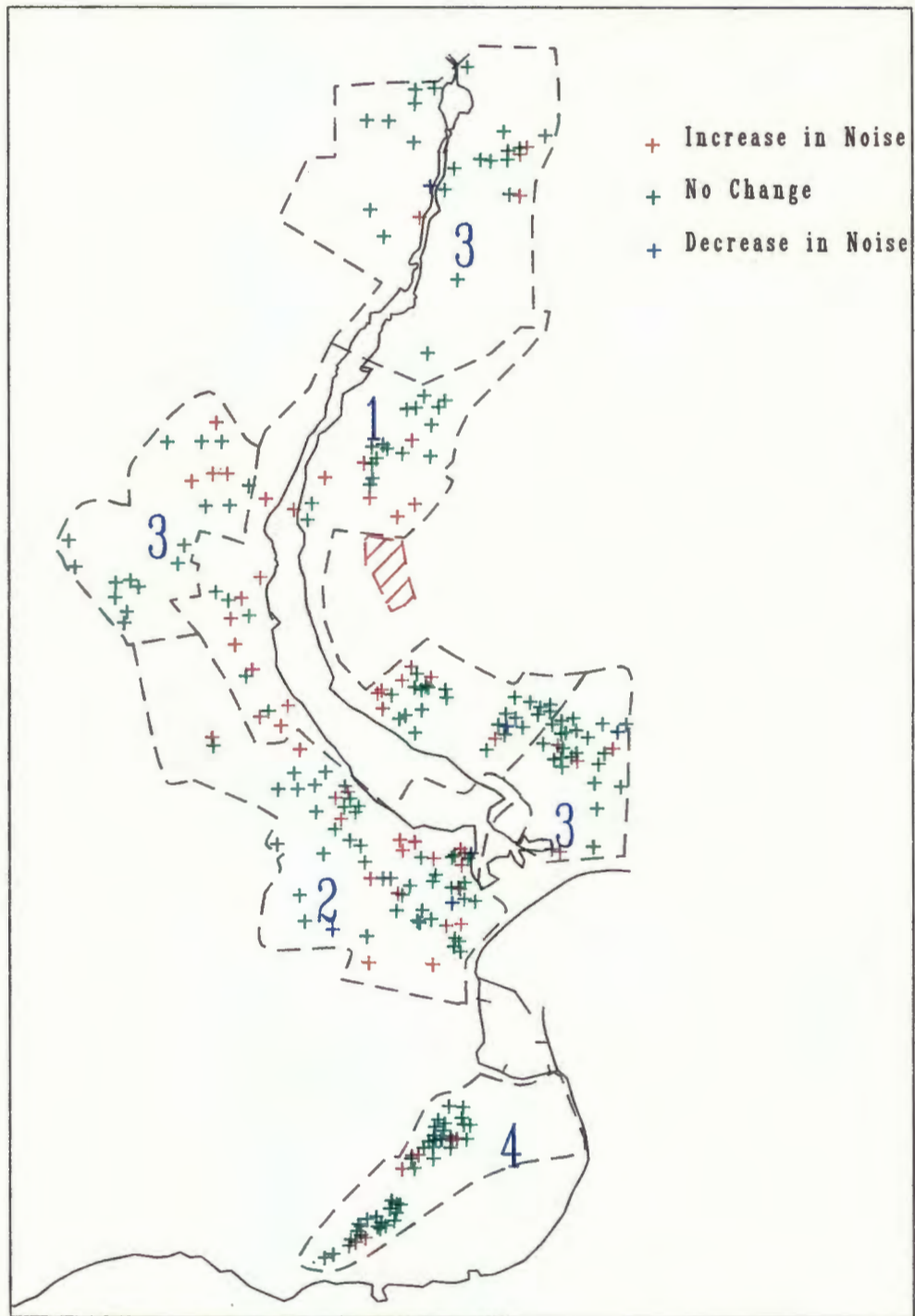


Figure B.13 Perceptions of the impact of Mizamoyethu on noise

Table B.13 Perceptions of the impact of Mizamoyethu on noise

	1	2	3	4	Total
Increase	32%	28%	16%	16%	23%
No Change	67%	67%	80%	82%	73%
Decrease	2%	3%	3%	2%	2%

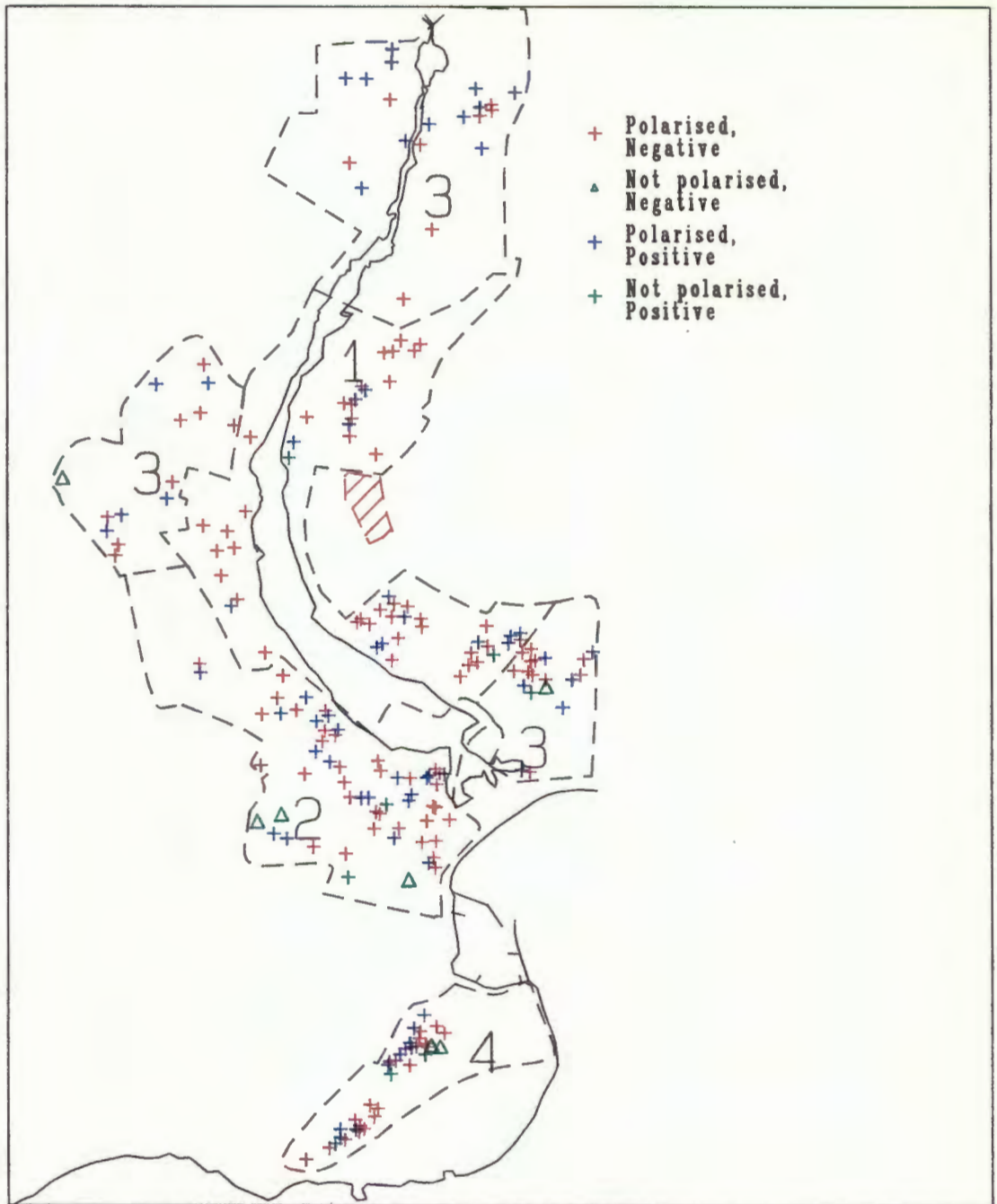


Figure B.14 The relationship between perceptions of polarisation and residents' response to Mizamoyethu.

Table B.14 The relationship between perceptions of polarisation and residents' response to Mizamoyethu.

	1	2	3	4	Total
Polarised, Negative	53%	45%	36%	42%	44%
Not polarised, Negative	0	4%	3%	3%	3%
Polarised, Positive	17%	27%	31%	18%	24%
Not polarised, Positive	3%	3%	1%	6%	3%

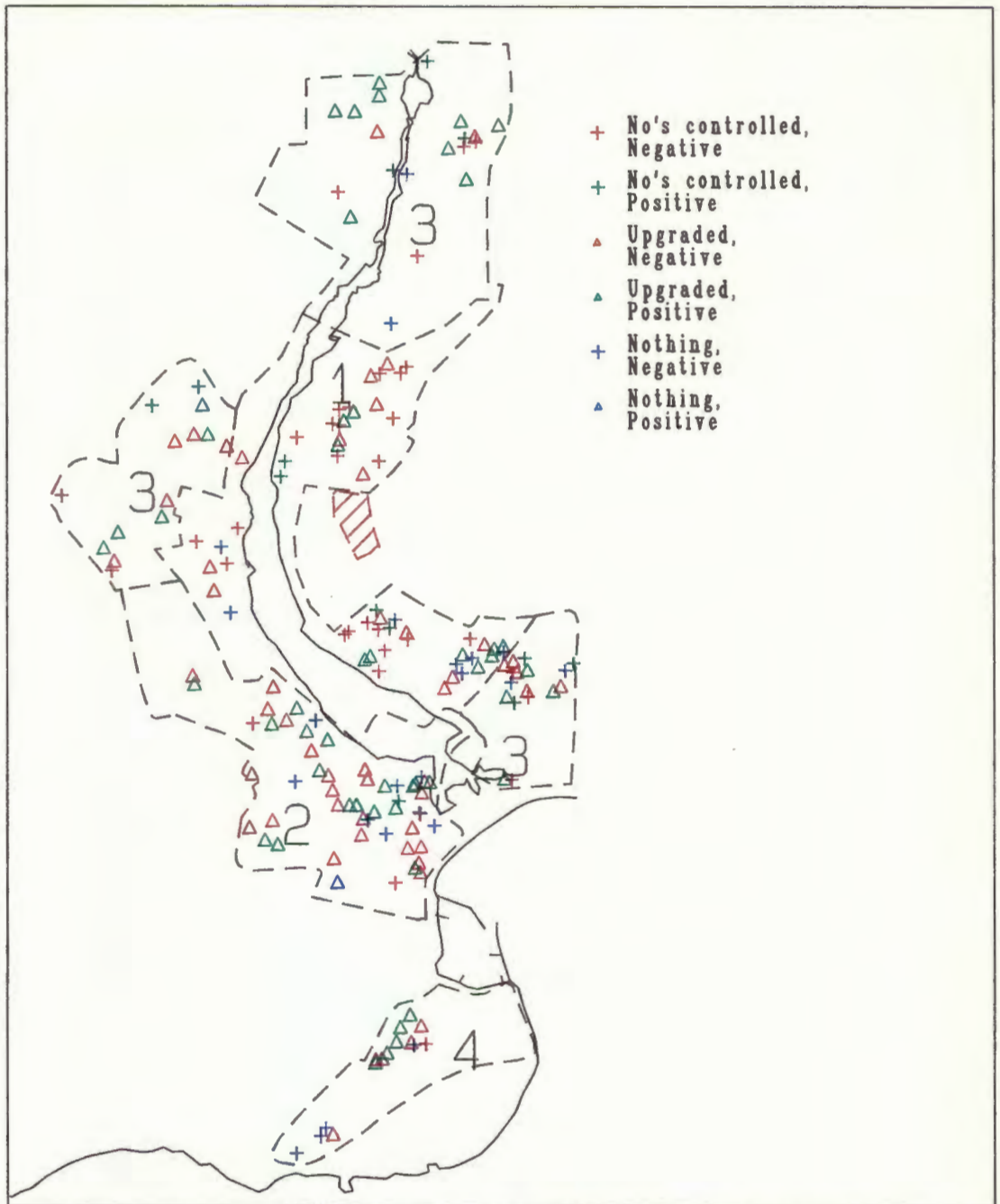


Figure B.15 The relationship between conditions that would make Mizamoyethu acceptable and response to the settlement.

Table B.15 The relationship between conditions that would make Mizamoyethu acceptable and response to the settlement.

	1	2	3	4	Total
No's Controlled, Negative	29%	4%	12%	2%	13%
No's Controlled, Positive	5%	1%	9%	0	4%
Upgraded, Negative	17%	31%	16%	10%	19%
Upgraded, Positive	13%	23%	24%	10%	18%
Nothing, Negative	9%	11%	7%	8%	9%
Nothing, Positive	0	1%	0	0	0

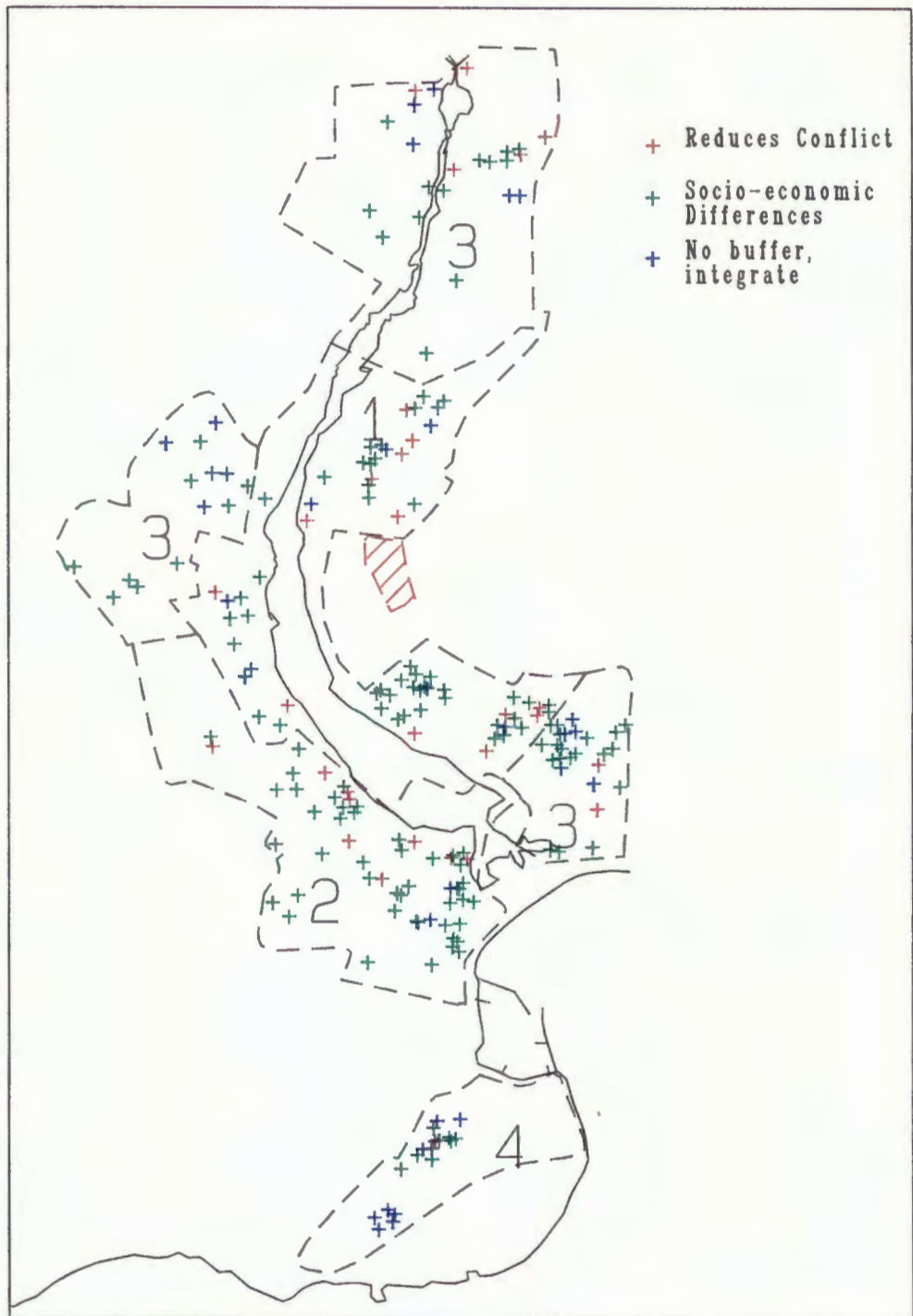


Figure B.16 Reasons given for attitudes towards buffer zones.

Table B.16 Reasons given for attitudes towards buffer zones.

	1	2	3	4	Total
Reduces Conflict	19%	13%	9%	2%	12%
Socio-economic diff.	68%	64%	55%	16%	54%
No buffer, integrate	9%	4%	20%	18%	13%

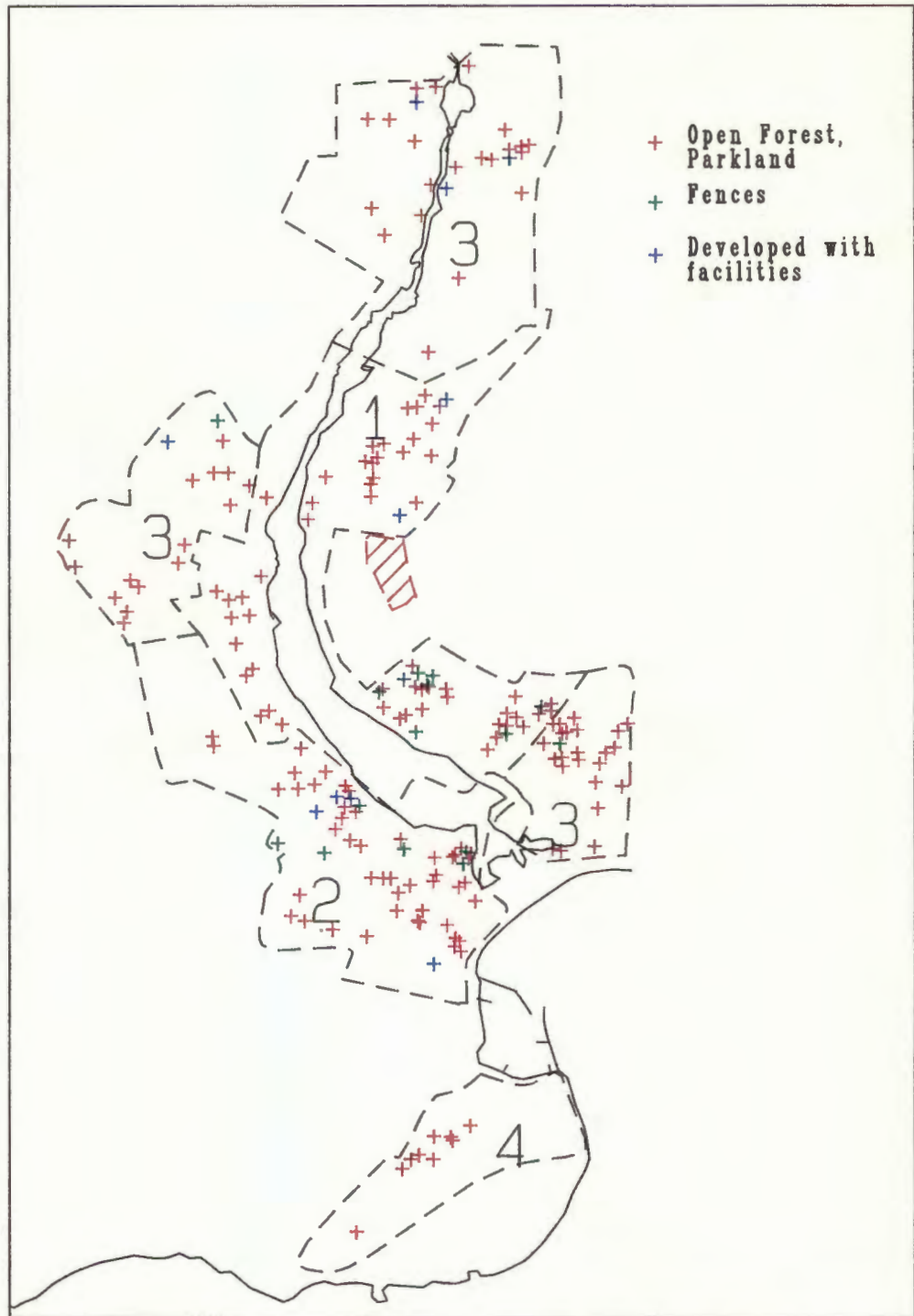


Figure B.17 Utilisation of the buffer zones - residents' opinions.

Table B.17 Utilisation of the buffer zones - residents' opinions.

	1	2	3	4	Total
Open Forest, Parkland	75%	67%	81%	22%	64%
Fences	9%	8%	3%	0	5%
Developed with facilities	7%	5%	6%	0	5%

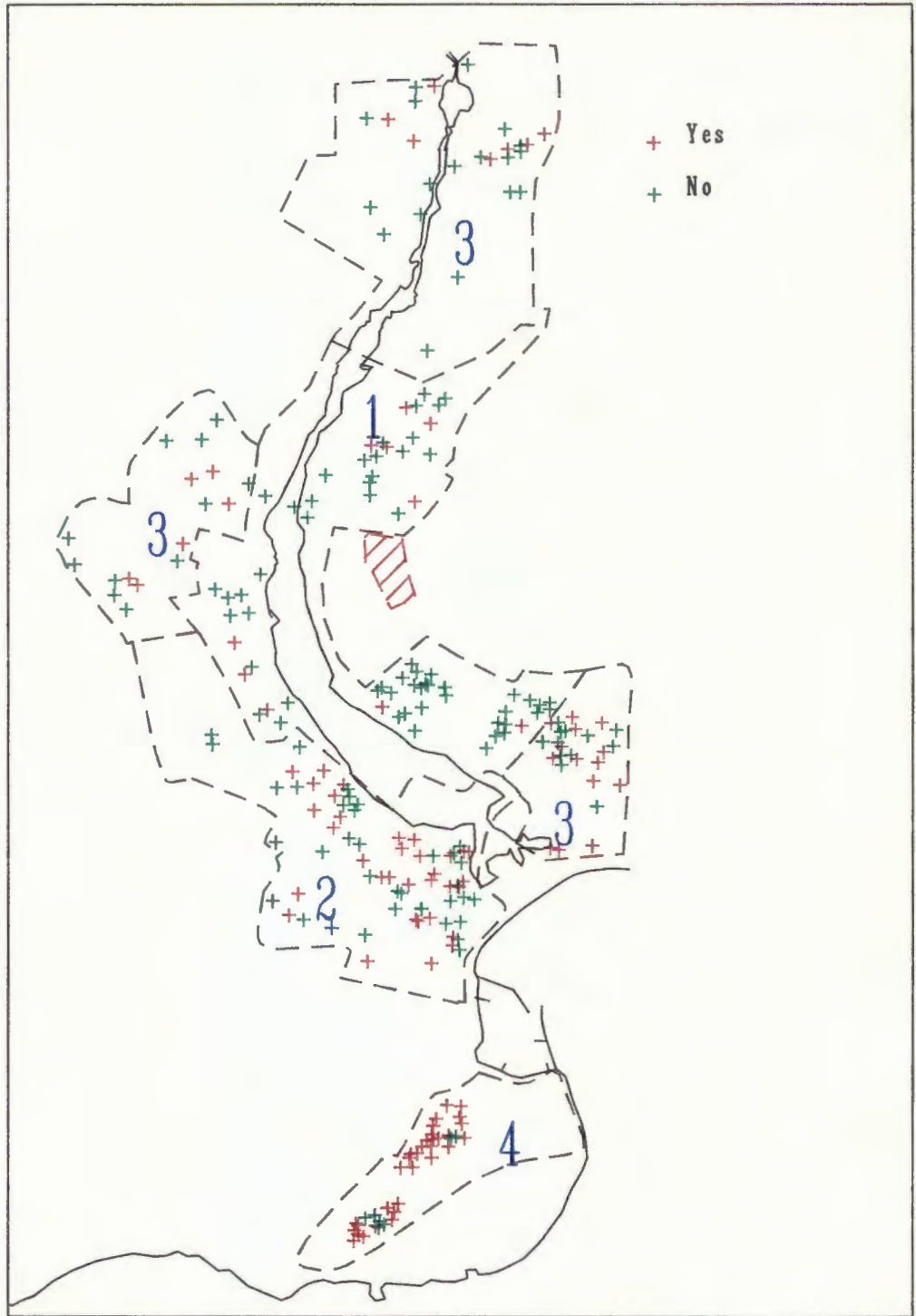


Figure B.18 Residents' opinions of linked roads.

Table B.18 Residents' opinions of linked roads.

	1	2	3	4	Total
Yes	16%	48%	33%	68%	39%
No	81%	51%	57%	14%	54%

APPENDIX C

TABLES, CROSS-TABULATIONS AND PCA

CROSS-TABULATION TABLES

Descriptive Tables

In all tables of cross-tabulations, a * indicates that the data did not reflect a pattern which was significant enough to be included.

Table C.1 The relationship between amount of contact and change in attitude with regard to the informal settlement.

Contact	Ratepayers		Harbour Community	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Long term employment	Changed	No change	No change	No change
Casual Labour	Marginal change	No change	No change	Marginal change
Church	No change	No change	*	*
Personal	Changed	No change	Changed	No change
Meetings	Changed	No change	*	*

Table C.2 The relationship between demographic characteristics and the perceived advantages for the informal settlers living in Hout Bay.

Perceived Advantages	Ratepayers			Harbour Community		
	Nothing to gain	Peace and QOL	Free land/services	Nothing to gain	Peace and QOL	Free land/services
Education	No differentiation					
Gender	Females	Males	Females	*	*	*
Age	30 - 60 yrs	< 30 yrs	*	50 - 60 yrs	< 40 yrs	*
Length of time	6 yrs +	< 5 yrs	*	6 yrs +	< 5 yrs	*
Land-ownership	Landowner	Rental	Landowner	Landowner	Rental	Landowner
Polarised	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	*
Decision	Against	For	Against	Against	For	Against
Response	Negative	Positive	Negative	Negative	Positive	Negative

Table C.3 The relationship between demographics and perception of polarisation.

	Ratepayers		Harbour Community	
Polarised	Yes	No	Yes	No
Length of time	Middle	Older & newer	Middle	Older & newer
Landownership	Landowners	*	Landowners	Rental
Gender	Females	*	Females	Males
Response	Negative	Positive	Negative	Positive

Table C.4 The relationship between demographic characteristics and residents' perceptions of the prospects for integration.

	Ratepayers			Harbour Community			
Integrate	Yes	No	Long term	Yes	No	Long term	New gov
Length of time	< 5 yrs	6 yrs +	*	< 5 yrs	*	10 yrs +	3-10 yrs
Land-ownership	No difference		Rental	Landown	*	Landown	Rental
Vote	Ratepayer	Lowest % 1 person 1 vote	1 person 1 vote	Group rep.	*	*	1 person 1 vote
Age	Oldest & youngest	Middle aged	*	Middle	*	*	*
Gender	Males			*	Males	Females	Males

Raw data tables used to compile cross-tabulation tables.

Examples of the data used to compile the tables representing relationships between variables (cross-tabulations)

The methodology used is described in chapter 4. The following tables give the raw data values. Due to the large number of tables used, only a selection of tables have been presented in this appendix.

Table C.5 Cross-tabulations: Casual employment (rows) by response to the settlement (columns).

	No response	Negative	Positive	Mixed feelings	Total
No response	0	1	1	0	2
Yes	1	35	29	13	78
No	1	81	40	23	145
Total	2	117	70	36	225

Table C.6 Cross-tabulations: Length of time spent living in Hout Bay (rows) by response to the settlement (columns).

	No response	Negative	Positive	Mixed feelings	Total
No response	0	1	0	0	1
< 3 years	1	23	22	4	50
3 - 5 years	0	23	20	9	52
6 - 10 years	0	33	10	10	53
10 + years	1	37	18	13	69
Total	2	117	70	36	225

Table C.7 Cross-tabulations: Gender (rows) by opinion of the planning process (columns).

	No response	Poor	Acceptable	Good	Total
Male	3	64	21	5	93
Female	8	72	32	6	118
Total	11	136	53	11	211

Table C.8 Cross-tabulations: Perceptions of why the informal settlers came to Hout Bay (rows) by response to the settlement (columns).

	No response	Political motives	Family/work	Peace	Soft target	Total
No response	0	3	1	3	1	8
For	6	14	13	16	4	53
Against	14	76	16	20	12	138
Mixed feelings	2	9	3	10	2	26
Total	22	102	33	49	19	225

Table C.9 Cross-tabulations: Ownership of property (rows) by perceived advantages gained by informal settlers (columns).

	Nothing	Everything free	Quality of life	Don't know	Total
Landowners	73	23	94	7	197
Rental	8	2	17	1	28
Total	81	25	111	8	225

Table C.10 Cross-tabulations: Contact through long term employment (rows) by change in attitude toward the settlement (columns).

	No response	Change	No change	Total
No response	0	1	3	4
Yes	2	20	21	43
No	7	56	115	178
Total	9	77	139	225

Table C.11 Cross-tabulations: Length of time spent living in Hout Bay (rows) by residents' opinion of the decision to permanently settle the 'squatters' in Hout Bay (columns).

	No response	For	Against	Mixed feelings	Total
No response	0	0	1	0	1
< 3 years	8	14	22	6	50
3 - 5 years	0	14	32	6	52
6 - 10 years	0	4	42	7	53
10 + years	0	21	41	7	69
Total	8	53	138	26	225

Table C.12 Cross-tabulations: Ownership of property (rows) by attitude toward retention of buffer zones (columns).

	No response	Yes	No	Morally no, prac. yes	Total
Landowners	5	154	33	5	197
Rental	0	18	10	0	28
Total	5	172	43	5	225

Table C.13 Cross Tabulations: Perceptions of prospects for integration (rows) by personal contact (columns).

	Contact - yes	Contact - no	Total
No response	1	3	4
Yes	3	4	7
No	0	5	5
Long term	1	8	9
Don't know	1	16	17
New gvt.	1	7	8
Total	7	43	50

Table C.14 Cross-tabulations: Voting choice (rows) by perceptions of polarisation of communities (columns).

	No response	Polar - yes	Polar - no	Total
1 person 1 vote	5	26	5	36
Group representation	1	11	1	13
Qualification vote	0	1	0	1
Total	6	38	6	50

Table C.15 Cross-tabulations: Ownership of property (rows) by separate or shared facilities (columns)

	Own	Share	Total
Landowners	14	13	27
Rental	16	7	23
Total	30	20	50

Table C.16 Cross-tabulations: Age (rows) by Perceptions of prospects for integration (columns)

	No response	Yes	No	Long term	Total
< 30 yrs	0	5	1	7	13
30 - 40 yrs	2	16	11	45	74
40 - 50 yrs	2	13	14	27	56
50 -60 yrs	0	4	9	17	30
60 - 70 yrs	2	2	8	13	25
70 + yrs	1	5	5	6	17
Total	7	45	48	115	215

Principal Components Analysis

Table C.17 Eigenvector values and amount of explained variance.

Eigenvector	Eigenvalue	Explained variance
I	12.13	5.9%
II	9.06	4.7%
III	6.15	4.1%
IV	5.28	3.1%
V	4.33	3.0%
VI	4.01	2.9%
VII	3.74	2.8%
VIII	3.52	2.8%
IX	3.13	2.6%
X	2.87	2.5%
XI	2.75	2.2%
XII	2.54	2.2%
XIII	2.46	2%
XIV	2.26	1.8%

APPENDIX D

**PRESS REPORTS SUMMARY AND
PROPERTY VALUES**

TABLE 10.1 Analysis of press reports

Date	Real Event	Content	Nature of Article	Number	Who was Quoted
May '89	Original squatters on private land.		2P	2	Planners.
July '89	Emergence of squatter issue.	Timebomb of squatter problem.	1S	1	Urban Foundation.
Nov '89	Increase in numbers.	HB to help squatters. Problems of more squatters, health problems.	1P 2S	3	Ratepayers.
Jan '90	Increase in numbers: Problem of eviction of squatters on private land.	Discussion to solve squatter problem.	1P 1S	2	Ratepayers, CPA.
Feb '90	Court case re Disa River squatters.	Eviction of squatters from private land. Evidence from SAP, lower number of squatters in HB. Claims to land.	5S 2N 2P	9	Ratepayers, Court case, SAP.
March '90	Court case re eviction of Antony family.	Sympathy for evicted squatters. Negative: crime has increased in HB.	1S 1N	2	Lawyers, SAP.
April '90		Tension of squatters and ecological problems. Sympathy for squatters and problems.	2S 2N	4	Ratepayers.
May '90	Conflict over growth and development of Princess Bush.	Need to help and find solution for squatters - sympathy. Residents demand resolution of problem re property rights and increase in crime. Remove squatters. Action to identify land for squatters. People fight for squatters' rights.	3P 8S 5N	16	CPA, Squatters, Property rights, Government planners, Ratepayers.
June '90	Discussions re settlement of squatters.	Drop in property prices, crime - other negative impacts. Land identification will find solution appropriate for all; successful meetings, concerned residents, rights of property owners. Sympathy for squatters. Racial tension in HB; squatters stand against demolition. Discussions, negotiations both have rights; HB squatter talks pave way to solution.	10N 11S 7P	28	CPA, Squatters, Estate agents, Property rights.
July '90		Discussion on identification of site. Negotiations; squatters to be accommodated, but no new squatters. Police, violence, arrest due to demonstration. Shootings. Concern over influx, increase in numbers, no control.	8N 6S 2P	16	Squatters, Property rights, Planners.

Aug '90	Eviction notices served on squatters.	<p>Petrol bomb from Princess Bush. Eviction notices for squatters. Squatters fight eviction, plea for humanist acceptance. Negatives of squatters voiced, political invasion, HB residents vow not to pay rates. Property rights take action at meetings, police armed against marchers, law and order broken down in HB as government cannot evict squatters. Pay rates and yet nothing done about squatters. Squatters have to move. Non-racial council voted in HB, but will not include squatters as yet. Planners try to make the best of the situation, reprieve for squatters. Secrecy about land identification, solutions should involve discussions made by all.</p>	16W 6S 11P	33	Police, Squatters, Government, Property rights, Landowners, CPA.
Sept '90	Identification and allocation of site.	<p>MLH appointed. Church groups involved, Property rights wins many seats to become ratepayers association to get fair deal on squatter issue. Strong power of property rights as squatters main issue. Eviction discussion re Princess Bush - fairness requested re removals. HB wants open council.</p>	4S 6P 3N	13	Property rights, Ratepayers, Supreme Court.
Oct '90			0	0	
Nov '90		<p>Squatters accuse police after raid for stolen goods, dagga. Police harassment. 17 arrested in HB crime prevention. All crime re squatters.</p>	2P 2S 1N	5	
Dec '90	Fire in Sea Products settlement.	<p>Drop in number of holiday homes rented - squatters. Security steps for crime. Squatters ordered off private land. Options discussed, sympathetic, cannot just evict people. Halting of court order, attempt to find just solution. Conflict between legal confines and needs of squatters. Request for solution. Increase in crime, stolen goods retrieved from squatter settlement. Police misconduct. Squatters arrested for loitering. RSC demolished 8 shacks - not in the spirit of negotiations. March by squatters. Fire in camp - 4 killed, sympathy from HB community, compassionate acts. Relief as Sea Products allow squatters to stay on land, emphasises squatter misery.</p>	7N 17S 7P	31	Police, Court, Landowners Squatters, Property rights, CPA, Relief workers.

Jan '91	Identifica- tion of site for new settlement.	Needs of squatters emphasised. Create best site for squatters. Attempts to reduce crime rate, loitering/drinking charges. Increase of pollution from squatters. Aid, compassion for 5 victims. Ratepayers angry at choice of site. Identification of site 18/1. Fire urgency - had to decide on site therefore chose best available. Explanation of decision. Squatters sceptical about new site. HB residents prepared to pay to keep squatters off land. - this criticised - need to work together. Rising crime concern re squatters. Squatters getting prime land - anger. - squatters to get RSC land. Confidence in property boom in HB. Now squatters accepted - sales increase.	7S 10P 11N	28	Ratepayers, Owners, Police, Government, Planners, Squatters, Property, rights.
Feb '91		Police station petrol bombed. Mugging & crime in HB from squatters, anger from residents. Squatters ready to move. Victimisation of taxis by police. Squatter shot dead in car robbery. Government needs to address housing problem. Squatters unhappy about registration of sites. Conflict between residents through letter column. Anger & fear in Penzance, Hughendon, Riverside Terrace - crime, minibuses, fire risk, value of property re move of squatters. Harbour residents angry, have been ignored & squatters have all. Site not prepared properly, squatters say sites are too small.	10N 6S 2P	18	Police, Squatters, RSC, Harbour residents.
March '91	Squatters move to MY.	Fire & vandalising of fence by squatters in new settlement, squatters vow to struggle for more land, site not properly prepared, no facilities, no services. Tension between squatters & harbour people. Squatters get free what others have worked hard for. Letter sub-economic squatter camp in upmarket area full of Namibians.	4N 1P 1S	6	Squatters, RSC, Letters.
April '91		Crime has dropped by 40% in HB. Funding for MY. Squatter issue been highly publised but now property prices increase. Squatters do not want police presence. Harassment of squatters by police Opposite MY - house with wall - had to fight off man; could not prove it was a squatter. Need to develop good relations between squatters & police. Squatters affect housing prices, but now on increase. Will thorn trees or olive branches grow between HB squatters & their wealthy neighbours. Whites feel they have lost a lot.	6S 1P 3N	10	Police, British Embassy, Residents, Squatters.

May '91		Whites must accept squatters, whites have always had easy access to land. Letter response to left wing press - rip off rich whites - result propaganda unfair. Burglary of farm - 16 times in 2 months - chickens & vegetable stolen. Shotgun for woman after thieves raid. Residents want government to put up wall between them & the squatters.	2S 1P 3N	6	MHL, Residents.
June '91		Request for wall - poor community next to rich community can only lead to crime. Church service, festival to say thanks that squatters had won rights to land - seen as a victory. Set up neighbourhood watch for crime.	1N 2S 1P	4	Residents, Squatters.
July '91		Squatters pelt policeman with stones in camp. Civic will protect squatters against hit squad, control officer petrol bombed. Cannot go back to forced removals. Woman raped - no reference to squatters.	2N 1S	3	Police.
Aug '91		Rapist arrested in MY. Second rape attack in a week.	3N	3	Police.
Sept '91		Fire guts squatter camp officer.	1P	1	
Oct '91				0	
Nov '91	Issue re increase in size of MY emerges.	Neighbourhood watch working well to prevent crime. Camp is expected to expand - RSC. Free water for squatters from CPA.	1S 1N 1P	3	Police, RSC, CPA.
Dec '91		Elderly couple attacked badly - robbed. Car found at MY.	2N	2	Police.
Jan '92		Violence & murder in MY. Shack fire due to domestic argument. Fire fighters pushed around by residents. ANC working to establish community identity - crime & violence due to lack of recreation & jobs. Police should get involved.	4N 1S	5	Police, Squatters.
Feb '92		Police want to combat crime.	1P	1	Police.
March '92				0	
April '92	Extension of MY proposed.	Worried about increase in size, without consultation, CPA just decides.	1N	1	Residents.

May '92	Discussions re future planning and extension.	<p>MY to be enlarged to ease overcrowding, buffer built, those from MY will be employed in building. Crime increase, residents worried about increase in size. Residents shortsighted, ANC chairman says squatters will control numbers. Despite protests from residents, squatter settlement to increase in size. Letter: Do not want squatters in HB. Squatters & ratepayers concerned about the size. Anger from residents about broken promises - impact bad, settlement to increase. Ratepayers will have to take legal action to stop expansion. Anger towards CPA. Need control, even though police said crime had dropped, still very bad around MY - residents. Size to double but no more people - planners. Plan to enlarge camp enrages landowners. Launch of ANC Youth League in MY.</p>	3S 10N 4P	17	Ratepayers, Squatters, CPA.
June '92		<p>Shacks not legal - flattened by civic. HB model for the rest of SA - solution. PAC angry at demolition - ANC & CPA no right to destroy PAC houses. Angry residents at ratepayers meeting demand wall for buffer zone. Government attacks whites who want to keep the squatters away. Debate on squatter issue in Parliament - deal with reality. Letter: squatters will affect tourism badly - need to listen to residents.</p>	3S 2P 4N	10	Ratepayers, PAC, Residents, Police, Parliament.
July '92		Letter: squatter issues are understandable but cannot accept that they have been settled in HB.	1N	1	
Aug '92		<p>ANC action from squatters re strike dismissals. Letter: land not suitable for MY site - no proper planning. Extension of site into well planned area.</p>	2N 1S	3	Ratepayers, ANC, Residents.
Sept '92		Extension of site - plan.	1P		Letters.

Oct '92	Discussion about the expansion of the settlement.	<p>Concern about expansion. No help from planners re squatters, want them out. Do not remove forest - even though sympathetic to squatters. MY to be expanded even though row from squatters.</p> <p>Letter: need mass action against squatters lower crime rate.</p> <p>Letter: Criticism of Meiring - why does he not accommodate them.</p> <p>Letter: Concern over trees, criticism over planning process.</p> <p>Letter: Squatters get anything they want, impact on us & yet we get no compensation.</p> <p>Letter: do not conform to normal social standards, greater crime, violate social laws.</p> <p>Squatters - we came here to find work, let us get on with our own lives. White residents have nothing to fear.</p> <p>Republic of squatters land, increase in size will increase negative aspects.</p> <p>Letter: Cannot sell property - want compensation.</p> <p>CPA must consult, must say what is happening.</p> <p>Letter: Anger at loss of capital, get squatters out, HB ruined.</p> <p>Letter: want to decide our future. Irate residents walk out of meeting about expansion.</p> <p>Stable population in MY - services will work.</p> <p>Plan shown for extension Happy squatters.</p>	23N 7S 4P	34	Letter - lot, Squatters, CPA Civic.
Nov '92		<p>All need to work together to see big picture for HB - equally bad for environment.</p> <p>Letter: need to be sensitive to poor.</p>	2S	2	
Dec '92		<p>Letter: need balance between poverty & development.</p> <p>Letter - condition of Constantia Nek Road.</p> <p>Letter - ANC will not sell Clifton but have wrecked HB property prices.</p> <p>Letter - environmental attack on development at MY - site inadequate.</p>	2P 2N	4	
Jan '93	Extension of site. Development begins.	Trees cut down.	1P	1	
Feb '93		Explains move, servicing of sites relocation.	1P	1	CPA.
March '93		Helping MY woman to get skills, squatters do things for themselves.	1S	1	Residents.

HOUT BAY PROPERTY ANALYSIS

TABLE 10.2

MONTH	NO. OF UNITS SOLD	TOTAL VALUE	AVERAGE PRICE
1988			
August	59	R6 241 000	R105 779
September	69	8 268 000	119 826
October	43	4 290 000	99 767
November	57	8 838 000	147 158
December	30	4 146 000	138 200
1989			
January	26	4 088 000	157 230
February	36	6 409 000	178 027
March	35	5 985 000	171 000
April			
May			
June			
July	25	5 146 000	205 840
August	53	9 726 000	184 000
September	45	9 039 000	210 000
October	41	8 523 000	207 000
November	41	9 831 000	239 000
December	22	4 328 000	197 000
1990			
January	33	6 516 000	197 000
February	43	11 168 000	260 000
March	70	15 492 000	221 000
April	27	6 331 000	234 000
May	57	14 095 000	247 000
June	49	14 059 000	287 000
July	18	6 409 000	356 000
August	22	5 745 000	261 000

MONTH	NO. OF UNITS SOLD	TOTAL VALUE	AVERAGE PRICE
1990			
September	32	*13 517 000	422 000
October	19	5 840 000	307 000
November	29	9 050 000	312 000
December	18	4 597 000	255 000
1991			
January	25	6 969 000	279 000
February	23	5 914 000	257 000
March	34	15 514 000	456 000
April	39	12 531 000	321 000
May	28	10 646 000	379 000
June	34	7 733 000	227 000
July	30	8 302 000	277 000
August	30	8 800 000	273 000
September	2	710 000	355 000
October	29	9 760 000	336 552
November	29	8 562 000	295 000
December	16	5 196 000	325 000
1992			
January	19	4 496 000	237 000
February	22	5 809 000	264 000
March	23	9 052 000	394 000
April	24	9 052 000	377 000
May	42	*14 769 000	352 000
June	24	6 926 000	288 000
July	23	6 926 000	301 000
August	20	6 065 000	303 000
September	24	9 016 00	376 000
October	19	5 823 000	306 000
November	30	9 901	330 000

* Abnormalities - developments, large pieces of land.